

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 3

3rd March 1984

# HANDS OFF SRI LANKA

In 1505 the first Western colonisers, the Portuguese obtained a toe-hold of a fort in Colombo. Then they spread their rapacious tentacles further inland until they became a curse to our people.

In 1658, the King of the time invited the Dutch to help get rid of the Portuguese. The Hollanders came—and stayed put for almost 150 years.

But this dependence should not extend to total surrender, which is what the Reagan Administration is known to be demanding.

Lanka would not allow itself to get entangled in any military tie-up with the West. On his return to New Delhi Mr. Rao told the Lok Sabha—and through it the whole world—that he had conveyed it to the Jayewardene Government that India's position in regard to Sri Lanka and the big powers was "Hands Off."

## PAPER TIGER!

Why has the SATURDAY REVIEW been singled out for "special treatment" by the Jayewardene Government?

Guidelines meant for the Censor during and immediately after the dastardly events of July 1983 are still being applied now—but only to the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Why?

Is it because the Government, which has an impregnable majority in Parliament through which it has armed itself with enormous power, is scared of a puny paper based in Jaffna and functioning with very limited resources of manpower and technical facilities, regarding us as a "Paper Tiger"?

Or is it an acknowledgement that "the pen is mightier than the sword"; that the SATURDAY REVIEW (before it was banned) was in its small way influencing people's minds and hearts; that the truth hurts and hurts badly?

One of the primary objectives of the SATURDAY REVIEW is to help bridge the communication chasm between the Sinhalese and Tamil people, something to which most of the Colombo-based "national newspapers" have so far given scant attention.

On the contrary, some of these newspapers—quite unlike the SATURDAY REVIEW—have contributed not a little to sow the seeds of suspicion and mistrust between the two communities.

In some newspaper establishments, the English, Sinhalese and Tamil publications have at times followed three different and conflicting policies to satisfy their particular readerships!

Worse, one Tamil newspaper is known at one time to have published three different editions each day to cater to the taste of the Colombo Tamils, the plantation Tamils and the Jaffna Tamils!

The SATURDAY REVIEW had done no such thing before it was banned. It had only one edition and one policy: to fight against injustice, to fight for the underdog, to fight for lost causes, as it were.

The resurrected SATURDAY REVIEW wishes to continue with the same policy. But we are hemmed in by so many restrictions (see "Guidelines to Censor" published in our last issue) which prevent us from doing what we regard is our duty. We cannot even report or comment on events in Jaffna which vitally concern all Sri Lanka!

President Jayewardene is on record stating that "the freedom of the Press is the essence of liberty, etc., etc.," but his Government has denied the SATURDAY REVIEW that freedom.

Why?

We say that just as the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 1st July 1983, using Emergency powers, cannot be justified on any grounds, the imposition of a special censorship on the SATURDAY REVIEW cannot also be justified on any grounds.

Don't you agree, Mr. President?

In 1815, to get rid of an unpopular monarch (Sri Wickreme Rajasinghe, who was a Tamil, let us not forget), the Kandyan Chieftains invited the British. (By the way, the Kandyan Convention was signed in Tamil, from our side!) The British got a stranglehold on our country, which could not be loosened for another 150 years.

Now, with our eyes open, are we going to fall in broad day-light into the same pit that we fell into in the total darkness of night?

Ever since the British withdrawal from Sri Lanka, the United States of America has been endeavouring to fill the "vacuum", to the exclusion of the Soviet Union and China, as part of its overall policy to prevent the spread of Communism in Asia; in other words, to "save Democracy".

The Americans almost succeeded in achieving their objective during Sir John Kotelawala's tenure as Prime Minister. Inclusion of Sri Lanka in the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was the immediate aim. But the pressure of public opinion prevented Sri Lanka from being dragged into the western system of military alliances.

Now, using economic aid as a lever, Washington is again attempting to pressurise Sri Lanka into acquiescing in its foreign policy objectives, using the "Indian threat" as a convenient bogey.

Perhaps, small countries like Sri Lanka have no alternative but to lean on a big power for survival and security.

## CENSORED

All news and views appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW have been subjected to censorship by the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. D. Nesiya, who has been appointed Competent Authority for this purpose by the Secretary to the Ministry of State, Mr. Douglas Liyanage, acting under Emergency regulations.

In addition to the constraints imposed by the censorship, the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, approved by Parliament on 6th August 1983, states under Article 157 A (1): "No person shall, directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a Separate State within the territory of Sri Lanka."

During the unfortunate events in July last year, the United Press International reported that the Jayewardene Government had sought military assistance from the United States, Britain, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This report was vehemently denied in Colombo but, significantly, not in Washington or London.

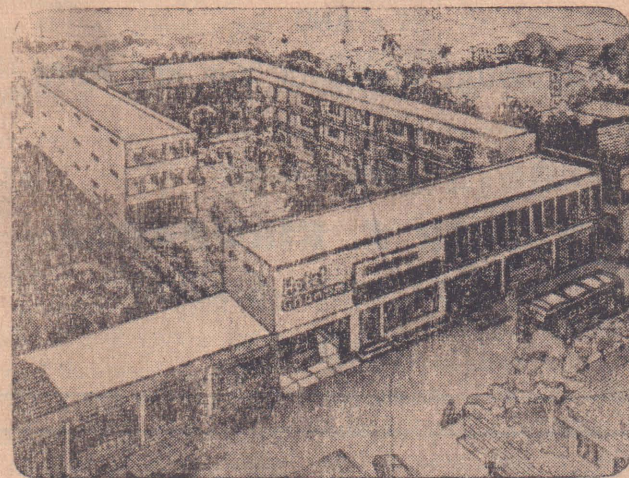
The fact remains that India's Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Narasimha Rao rushed to Colombo to seek an assurance that, in the guise of seeking military aid to quell the violence, Sri

The American way of development and the American life-style does not suit an Asiatic country like Sri Lanka.

Equi-distance from the big powers, among whom must be included India in relation to Sri Lanka, is the best policy for our country.

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# A MOMENT — WITH DIOGENES

The day was a Poya Day and Diogenes as usual was walking on the Galle Face Green close to the road. The High and Mighty ones were sailing in the fabulous limousines. His friend drew the attention of the Master to the pomp and glory of these mighty mortals who clad in spotless white were being driven in plush comfort in their air conditioned cars whose procurement and daily maintenance cost the State many times what the average worker earned to maintain himself and his family.

"Are they Gods or Men?" asked the Master. "They are men," replied his friend. Thereupon, Diogenes proceeded to speak from his knowledge of the Dhammapada.

"Pity these chaps," said the Wise One. "These mighty ones you see are subject to death and decay. The body of man is a nest of diseases and a heap of corruption. Who will feel joy in looking at them? They are dried bones covered with putrid flesh and clotting blood, empty gourds soon to be thrown away at the end of Summer. Pride and hypocrisy dwell in this house of bones with old age and death. The glorious chariots of Kings wear out. Bodies wear out and age sooner. If a man has no awareness, he grows old like an OX. His body grows older but his wisdom does not grow. They all suffer from the fever of life and desire, folly and ignorance. They live in darkness at noon. How can they be happy and smug when the whole country is going to ruins? How can they do the grand when the people whom, they say, they lead are hungry and suffering?"

"On the other hand, think of that man whom we saw last evening in his tiny little

hut on the bank of the canal. He had not enough food for himself and his children. He was sick, he had no money for his medicines. He had neither milk nor bread in his home. His greatest regret, however, was that he had no coconut oil to light the lamp (paana) at the feet of one little Buddha statue in his little home.

"There were no plush carpets there were no chandeliers, there were no imported wall paper and electrical gadgets and there were no flood lit lawns. There was only the mosquito and filaria-infested dirty canal in front of his humble home. But there was love and reverence more precious than all the worldly treasures.

"Those men in the palaces and limousines are prisoners both in their palaces and chariots. But this man is a King on his dung hill. He is free and blessed. He lives in the light in the midst of darkness. He sheds a light over the world like that of the moon when free from the clouds. Only the watchful can see.

"Those men whom you pointed to me passing by in their chariots are powerful but powerless over their desires (tanha), ignorance (avidya) and arrogance (aham kara.)

"This man is not powerful. He wields power over no human being. But powerless though he be, he is supremely powerful over his own self. Those men are powerfully powerless. This man is powerlessly powerful."

"Our 'leaders' cannot control their pride, desire and ambition but this man, like all our people in this country not only can control his desire for power but has learnt to control his hunger, and even their desire for food. In that way, perhaps,

the people are really sovereign as has been twice proclaimed in two Republican Constitutions."

The Master walked across the green and sat with his friend on a bench, the crow hit on it having been wiped by his friend with a piece of newspaper (not the SATURDAY REVIEW). Diogenes told his friend, "Do not accept anything without examination. Hold your head high. Conquer yourself. The fool who does evil to a man who is good, to a man who is pure and free from sin, the evil return to him like the dust thrown against the wind". He added, "Accept the Dhamma after examination and practise it even if you be mistaken for a Marxist or a Naxalite." The Master then closed his eyes and went into deep contemplation.

## GA TO BE TRANSFERRED

Mr. D. Nesiah, Government Agent of Jaffna, will shortly go on transfer. Mr. Camilus Fernando, Government Agent of Trincomalee, is to take his place.

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# To Solve the Tamil Problem

It is accepted by all that there is a national problem this island is faced with at the present moment, known as the Tamil problem. Indeed, the problem has gone as far as the United Nations organisation. No problem can be solved by propaganda. There must be a will to solve it. It must be faced courageously and a solution found without any further delay.

A solution is placed here for the consideration of all concerned it, and it is earnestly hoped the scheme will help the readers think on it. The Tamil problem is more than language problem alone; it is a question of status, self-respect nay, now it is a question of the very survival of the Tamil people. The following scheme is a mere outline. The arguments and reasons in support of the proposals have been reduced to a minimum for the sake of brevity.

C. M. Macartney in his book, "National States and National Minorities" wrote; "The troubles of our day arose out of the modern conception of the national state, out of the identification of the political ideals of all the inhabitants of the state with national cultural ideas of the majority in it. If once this confusion between the two things which are fundamentally different can be abandoned there is no reason why the members of a score of different nationalities should not live together in perfect harmony in the same state, and not even the smallest of them need suffer from the moral degradation which today attends the lot of the national minority.

What are the alternatives to a separate state? Almost all countries with similar problems have accepted the principle of national unity with the principle of local autonomy in federation. Sovereignty has to be vested in all the people and not in a section, however large it may be. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are not applicable to heterogeneous countries like Sri Lanka.

The unitary constitution is the disease in the body politic. The Sinhalese and the Tamils are two distinct and separate nationalities, different from each other in race, language, religion, etc.

In all countries where there is a national minority in distinct regions, federal, semi-

federal or quasi-federal constitutions have been adopted. Problems of minorities have been solved by devolution from unitary constitutional structure. The British united the whole country for administrative convenience without regard to historical, ethnic or linguistic considerations. Now the time has come to devise a constitution where there will be devolution of power and the security of the Tamil people can be ensured. In the commonwealth countries, also in countries out - side the Commonwealth, it was the only possible compromise in the particular circumstances.

The existing district councils are not the answer or solution. They must be abolished. The lowest that can satisfy the Tamil people will be provincial councils with very wide powers. There should be political self - government under regional autonomy and an exclusive regional service. Over centralisation leads to authoritarianism, dictatorship and fascism.

It has generally been accepted that if a minority is geographically concentrated, its claims may be met satisfactorily by federation or devolution. A Canadian professor, R. L. Wasts in his book "New Federations. Experiments in the Commonwealth" writes: "In such situations where the forces for integration and for separation have been at odds with each other, the federal solution has proved a popular formula. It makes possible the large political and economic unit composed of varied peoples and cultures in which these smaller groups are assured some autonomy.... When force has been used for the unification of diverse groups it is difficult to justify as a per-

manent solution. Federal government presents a constitutional way of winning support for political and economic integration from a heterogeneous population".

Father Tissa Balasuriya, Director of the Centre for Society and Religion, in his affidavit filed in connection with the application No. 6

of 1984 in the Supreme Court under the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution, has stated:

One of the objectives of the Centre is to work for national harmony through peaceful methods.

We are interested both in knowing the thinking of people in the North as well as in the South and also in communicating our views to them.

Our Centre has been receiving the SATURDAY REVIEW from its inception up to the time it was closed and several persons have been regularly reading the paper at our Centre.

From this publication we gathered a lot of useful information regarding news and views of the happenings in this country and elsewhere and also in respect of the ethnic problems that have arisen in Sri Lanka.

The SATURDAY REVIEW also published some of our statements and documents which sometimes did not find a place in other newspapers.

We were able to learn the views of knowledgeable writers in the South on important national questions only through the SATURDAY REVIEW.

It was after the paper Ceased publication that the ethnic problems in this coun-

I never know that public memories are so short until I received letters from several readers asking who was my "guest writer" last week. He was none other than His Excellency, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. What I reproduced was extracts from the 1977 election manifesto of the

United National Party, which was incorporated in toto in the first Policy Statement of the UNP Government in Parliament on 4th August 1984.

Today, I make way for another writer, who has come up with some ideas on how the National Question should be tackled.

GAMINI NAVARATNE

by

T. Subramaniam

regional authority. When there is devolution of power, there is inevitable a division of power, between the centre and the region or regions. It is a matter that should be left to constitution-makers or committee. A study of the constitutions of other countries such as Canada can help in this matter.

## University Education

University education should be organised on a regional basis because that is a subject that has caused much heart-burning, bitterness and suspicion in the past. The Northern and Eastern provinces should have each a university with all the faculties. It should be under the control of the regional authority. The centre should not interfere at all with the selection of students admission and administration of the two universities.

The concept of protecting minority nationalities is not new. It is very unfortunate that the UN has failed to provide any specific measures for the protection of minorities except to make the right of self-determination. Declarations on human rights are no substitute for legally binding minorities guarantees. The declaration is legally ineffective. In the area of minorities protection the UN retrogressed as compared with the spirit of (Continued on page 4)

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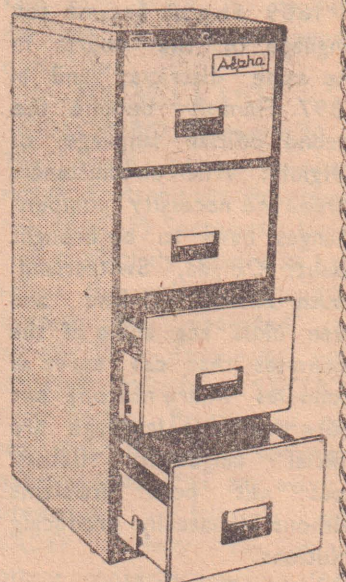
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# To solve the...

(Continued from page 3) fairness and justice which had animated the framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations. J. L. Brierly in his "The Rule of Law In International Society", includes minorities treaties among the manifold social and humanitarian works of the League of Nations.

Considering various factors and the past history of the island since 1956, particularly Sinhala-Tamil relationship, one cannot but make the suggestion that the regional authority should have control over the police, particularly in the North and East. It is also suggested that the racial composition of the police force should be in proportion to the racial composition of the people residing in every province and every district. A study of the constitutions of some African countries, particularly that of Nigeria, would be helpful in this matter.

The language policy of the present Government has been totally unsatisfactory, although Tamil has been made a "national language" constitutionally. In the 1956 election manifesto of the Ceylon Communist Party, there was a clear statement of policy, which if implemented, will solve the language problem. Its policy statement meant that both languages should be made official languages. The Communist Party stood for primacy of place for Sinhala, as it is the language of the majority. The policy of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party on the language question was well-known, but unfortunately, when they had a chance to implement it, they miserably failed.

Sri Lanka is not the only country with two languages. In 1983, Flemish was made the language of instruction in secondary schools in the Flemish parts of Belgium; in 1889 Flemish became the language of the courts in the same districts, and in 1897 Flemish became the second official language of Belgium. When circumstances force and necessity compels, changes have to be brought about. Canada, Switzerland, South Africa, Finland and even India are some of the countries that can serve as examples where not one but more than one language are official languages. History does not pose problems without eventually producing solutions.

## Second Chamber

Always arguments can be

found for and against a second chamber. The Donoughmore Commissioners rejected the demand for a second chamber, but the Soulbury Commissioners granted one. The senate was abolished in 1971. Even in countries with a unitary constitution, the need for a second chamber has felt. Many arguments have been adduced by eminent writers in support of a second chamber. It is not necessary to enumerate them here. Walter Bagehot's arguments are still valid.

Besides, a lower chamber, as a revising and leisured legislature, is extremely useful. Without exception in all countries where there is federalism or where there are regional authorities and devolution and division of power, there is bicameralism. In countries where there are national minorities with federal or semi-federal constitutions, the will of the majority in the lower chamber is offset by a second chamber in which minority and regional interests may be guaranteed special representation. The existence of a second chamber may make

tion of the composition, powers and functions of a second chamber, if it is to be established.

I suggest that there should be an independent minorities commission composed or representatives of each community. The terms of office of the members of the commission should synchronize with that of the legislature. The function of the commission should be to keep a constant watch over the interests of minority communities, to call for such information as the Commission consider necessary to review periodically the policy pursued in regard to the implementation of non-justiciable fundamental rights and to submit reports to the head of the government. The recommendations of the commission should be considered by the cabinet, and the head of the government should place the report of the commission with the full statement of action taken thereon before the legislative whi-

## For establishment of politically neutral zones

A Judicial Service Commission.,

A Public Service Commission,

A Police Service Commission,

An Exclusive Regional Service and,

A Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights should not be qualified as to be meaningless. They should be justifiable. It should not be a large scale pretentious catechism of socio-economic and cultural postulates. They must be raised to the rank of subjective rights which the individual can enforce against the state. Without corresponding judicial protection, most of the freedoms are of paper value. The need of the hour is a living constitution in the sense that it is essential for the life not of the professional politicians manipulating them but of the common people, instrumental for the pursuit of happiness of all people. A specific society requires a specific constitutional order

ture's sins of commission. It is said to correct the faults of legislature which may act corruptly or in defiance of the mandate of the electorate, that it maintains a useful and healthy contact between the electorate and the electors and that it secures that no law which is opposed to the popular will shall be passed.

But in no other country in the world has a general election been postponed by a Referendum. It is unheard of in parliamentary history. It is believed by many to be a flagrant violation of the generally accepted democratic freedoms. If the Tamil problem is to be solved, there have to be changes in the structure of the constitution. If the time has come to ponder and think deeply about these changes, it is also the time to think about this very important question whether any government has the moral right to postpone general election by Referendum.

Herman Finer wrote some years ago about France thus: "It can almost be asserted that since 1789 to this very day, there has been no Frenchman, enjoying a normal span of life, who could not remember a time when his nation was disorganised by fratricidal bloodshed in a land vowed to fraternity. If the government of a nation is to be orderly, smooth, active then sound common philosophy must be the authority to which all should submit."

The same can be said, mutatis matandis, of Sri Lanka's history of the last 30 years,

If fundamental changes have to be brought about in the structure of the constitution, a new constitution should be drafted. That can be done only by members elected by the people. The present parliament consists of nominated members also.

Even Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene had admitted that "the present parliament is also not the proper forum for this type of issue as it does not represent public opinion. Hence discussion on this issue should be held at national level." (Weekend 23, October, 1983). If he wants all the changes to be discussed at national level, it cannot be done by inviting a thousand organisations to a conference table. The proper thing to do is to hold a general election in the larger interest of the coun-

(Continued on page 10)

## "In no other country in the world has a general election been postponed by a Referendum. It is unheard of in parliament history."

it more difficult to enact certain kinds of legislation and to alter entrenched sections of the constitution. Concentration of power is very much more easily abused than divided power. Bicameralism can, to some extent, be a foil to "constitutional dictatorship".

History records many a decision whose deplorable results might have been avoided, had there been more knowledge, more time for reflection, more opportunities for consideration. Experience of history is the best argument in favour of a second chamber. With rare unanimity the civilized world has decided in favour of a bicameral legislature, particularly in all federal or quasi-federal states. Just as there is division of powers between the centre and the region or regions in a federal or semi-federal states, so also in such a state there is bicameral legislature. It is inescapable. It is the business of a select committee to go into the ques-

ch shall have facilities provided for discussion thereon. This was one of the proposals of the Sapru Committee before the Partition of India.

## Entrenched Clauses

If Tamil is made an additional official language, if a second Chamber is established and if other provisions to safeguard the interests of the minorities, such as a share for minorities in all services in proportion to their populations, etc., are enacted, there should be a clause to say that they can be removed or amended in any way only when three-fourths of the Tamil-speaking members vote for any such changes in the law. Every guarantee or safeguard should come under a specific enactment. It is accepted by all constitutional lawyers that a minority has to seek safeguards in the form of impenetrable shields.

It should provide tangible remedies for tangible grievances.

## Fundamental charges

There are political scientists and constitutional lawyers who feel that fundamental changes should be effected in the present constitutions. It is not proposed to go now into all the changes that are believed to be necessary and the reasons for such changes, but some comments should be made on one aspect of it.

The Referendum, the popular initiative and recall, the three ultra-democratic devices, have been devised in some countries because it is said that the system of representation has been found to be inadequate. The Referendum allows the electorate to review the acts of the legislature before they become law. The referendum was meant to protect the people against the legisla-

# The Dilemma of the North

(Continued from last week)

The dilemmas of regional as well as of national development were discussed in the earlier section. The national economy of Sri Lanka has made two heroic efforts to face these dilemmas. In the early seventies (1970 - 1977) it adopted an inward-looking posture and virtually closed the economy. It was nearly impaled on the horns of the dilemma. The closure of the domestic market to foreign economic penetration and exploitation

ed that the net inflow of wealth will be greater than the net outflow, but the ever-worsening terms of trade and reverse capital flows are tending more and more to tilt the balance against Sri Lanka, in favour of the industrialised countries. The domestic market has been largely captured by foreign exporters and to some extent, the local producer is being squeezed out. The economy remains buoyant because expending foreign markets compensates the loss of domestic market. Foreign employment

six years, there was a euphoria of investment in infrastructures (Mahaweli, urban development, mass-housing etc). These long gestation investments were not balanced by short gestation investments so as to prices of stabilise consumer goods. The result was rapid inflation. The signs, as stated by the Minister of Finance recently, are that the rate of inflation will accelerate in the next six years. Regional economies should at least dyke up against such economic deluges by strategies of self-reliance in basic needs.

The impact of the open economy policy on agricultural prices, particularly those of onions, chillies and potatoes, which are the main crops of the Jaffna peninsula, are too well known to need recounting here. The policy ruined the Jaffna farmers. Whether the ruin was hastened by Government's timing of imports of those commodities to coincide with the Jaffna harvests was and is a subject of hot controversy in the North. Whatever the facts are, the experience of the northern farmers is an open economy has been ex-

tremely bitter.

The lessons of the two diverse experiences of the early seventies and of the subsequent period are clear. A middle path between the two extremes would be congenial to the growth of the peasant agricultural sector, not only in the two provinces under discussion, but in four other provinces of Sri Lanka.

Given these and the other foregoing constraints, what is the path of most rapid development of the north and east?

(To be continued)

by **S. R. Asirwatham**

evoked a powerful foreign retaliation. The power of international capital and finance (World Bank, I.M.F, M.N.C's etc) retaliated and laid seige to the closed economy by cutting off capital flows, finance and technology. Given time the economy could have reorganised itself for self-reliant growth but the parliamentary system would not give a reprieve. Following the general elections of 1977 a bold and promising experiment was abandoned.

Since 1977 the economy has adopted an outward-looking posture and has thrown wide open all the doors of the market. The economy is now being borne aloft on the horns of the same dilemma. Foreign economic penetration and exploitation are proceeding apace. It was hop-

more than compensates the loss of domestic employment but the buoyancy is unstable because of increasing protectionism and declining foreign employment.

The most destabilising feature of the economy is the over-investment in infrastructures and the paucity of short term investments in quick-yielding consumer goods production. Unrestricted imports have dampened the latter activity. International capital and finance organisations fell over one another to develop Sri Lanka as a model of the open economy so that the more self-reliant third-world countries will opt to be drawn by its demonstration effect into the process of global economic integration which is a process of "development of under development". In the last

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## LIVING THOUGHTS OF JR...

From President J. R. Jayewardene's Address to the Nation from the Octagon of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy on 28th July 1977

You are aware that not only after our magnificent victory, but also during the last two or three years I have constantly emphasised the need to show compassion to those who opposed us. It is very essential that we be charitable. It is not for us to insult, harm, or harass anyone.

The United National Party Government is dedicated to the creation of a new society based on the lofty teachings of the Compassionate One. It is our duty to safeguard the Buddha Sasana. We will also not spare any effort to protect and further the cause of the Sasana. All other religions will be treated equally and impartially.

After the rejection of British rule, state assistance for Buddhist activities was first provided by the United National Party Government which Mr. A. Ratnayake was the Minister of Home Affairs. For 134 years after the end of the line of Sinhala kings, Buddhism did not receive any aid from the State. We will, therefore, in our future activities, continue to provide that aid. While we develop the Sasana we must think also of the problems of the people.

They are the problems of the high cost of living and the need to get adequate quantities of essential goods. The people want to know how we propose to solve these problems, to solve the problem of unemployment.

We drew attention to these basic questions during the last election campaign. At Cabinet meetings we have discussed these problems. We have decided to do away with the queue system and allow the consumer to buy his essential goods from a place of his choice. We have decided that essential goods for the people such as rice, flour, sugar, textiles, pharmaceutical goods will not be imported and distributed as a State monopoly. We hope, before long, to reduce the prices of these essential commodities.

You are no doubt interested in the manner in which we hope to solve the unemployment problem, especially in keeping with the expectations of the young people of this country. Under the present constitution we have no power to appoint District Ministers. After we amend the constitution it will be possible to appoint District Ministers, and set up the machinery

through those Ministers. Members of Parliament of that area and especially youth to develop the country intensively.

The people are anxious to know the manner in which we will solve these two major problems. I ask for your patience, for a few weeks. The United National Party government intends to fulfil all the promises that it gave to the country in establishing a just society based on the teachings of the Buddha. I want to assure followers of every religion that these principles are consonant with all the religious values that they too cherish.

We hope to inculcate a sense of discipline beginning at the very top. The Prime Minister, Ministers and Members and of Parliament will abide by this code of conduct and discipline in the election campaign. I emphasised that unless we set an example in ethical and disciplined conduct it would be difficult to provide a service to the public. It is on this foundation that we propose to build a just society. From "A New Path", published by the Information Department.

# Genius and Greatness

Life yields greatness to some, happiness to much fewer. Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., who celebrates his 80th birthday today, (11th February), can claim the satisfaction of a life successfully spent in a struggle to give consolation to others.

As one whose duties took me to his chambers almost daily, for nearly nineteen years, I naturally came to know him well. I have witnessed some part of his generosity.

Every Sunday, a company of ten or fifteen men—all in their sixties all of whom have seen better days, perhaps—would gather at his Castle Street home, Mr. S. Nadesan would ring for his all-purpose clerk Amujan. The latter followed his master's gaze, then left the room and came back with a stack of hundred or fifty-rupee notes. These duly delivered, the visitors would nod to their benefactor and leave.

I have seen young people who had passed their medical entrance or gained admission to some engineering course, crowd into his chambers. Each was soon drawing up a list of the text-books he needed. I saw this not once but year after year. On one occasion, I recall a student tried to tell my senior that some cheaper or second-hand version was available. He was anxious to keep the bill as low he could.

"I say," replied Mr. S. Nadesan in what to me always seemed a deliberately drawn-out style of speech, "I say, young man, did I ask you to compile a list of second-hand books. Tell me what you want. All you need to see you through to the best you can do, I say, I'll find the money. You find the time and the energy to do your best."

## Orthodox

### Hindu

Mr. S. Nadesan is a deeply orthodox Hindu. Yet St. Peter's College, a Catholic institution which stood close by, found a ready benefactor in him.

"No, you see", I heard him tell a client who looked aghast when the lawyer brought one and all of the ticket books some boys were selling prior to some concert or school show.

"No, you see; I say, those men there are doing a great human service. I hear that Fr. Panditharatne, or some priest there, has a Ph. D. in physics from London. He has sacrificed everything in the cause of humanity as a

President J.R. Jayewardene talks so often and so much about the freedom enjoyed by the Press in Sri Lanka. But he apparently does not know what is happening just under his nose, that is, at the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (Lake House).

The acting Editor of the state-controlled Daily News, Mr. George Mason, wrote a birthday tribute to Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., intended for publication in its issue of 11th February.

It appeared in the pro-



Mr. S. Nadesan

Christian, Surely, we owe it to them ourselves, I say, to help causes like that?"

I will never forget one of the first and finest lessons I've learned at Mr. S. Nadesan's hands. Having assigned some work to me, he got ready to leave for Hulftsdorp. At the door he paused. "I say, George, not only your splendid phrases—I want my points too, right?"

Of himself, the Queen's Counsel would say "I am a lawyer, professor, a physician by vocation and choice." The distinction, perhaps, revealed his deeper instincts: his humanness mainly.

self be carried away by some idle remark from anyone however unworthy.

There was one celebrated case in which Mr. S. Nadesan's adversary addressed court for a almost a fortnight. Mr. S. Nadesan's reply took less than an hour. He won.

Mr. Nadesan was not without a sense of humour. His arch adversary, in many famous cases, the late Mr. C. Thiagaligam, Q.C., once protested to Court at the beginning of a case one morning.

"I don't know, your Honour, what my learned friend has to smile so much about.

vincial edition of the Daily News, but not in the other editions of the newspaper.

Why? Orders had come from above that it should be pulled out!

If Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is genuine about his concern for the freedom of the Press, then he should order an inquiry into this shameful act—and take action against the person concerned.

Today we publish what the Daily News failed to carry in its Colombo and other editions—

Even Mr. C. Thiagaligam could scare forbear a cheer.

Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe, one of the most astute minds of his generation, had implicit faith in Mr. Nadesan as a lawyer. His tactics, his court-craft—all suited the limitless situations that arose in journalism.

## Tireless worker

Mr. S. Nadesan is a tireless worker. His own capacity speaks for his health programme. Often at 3 in the morning when I was plainly under strain, he would

graphs, on the Constitution and on Human Rights, among other subjects. He has contributed the most stimulating studies to the Press. In the Senate, his speeches were clear, fearless and learned.

He was—and is—always ready to fight the cause of the underdog. His clients have been legion. His Sinhala friends without number.

I once had occasion to look for some authority in his library. "I say, Mason," he interrupted, "surely you know, I'm not exactly an academic or one who relies over-much on learned tomes, I try to think out a solution and then test it with precedents and commentaries I can lay hold of."

## Clear mind

This was a technique that the late Mr. H. V. Perera, Q. C., once said he himself used to adopt.

Mr. Nadesan has never betrayed any hint of conceit or malice. A man with a deep philosophic turn of mind, he is steeped in religious literature, in historical works and political writings.

It is a well-deserved tribute to the man that he

# wrapped in silks

He is wearing a broad grin, if I may use the word."

## Laughter in

### Court

Once, when Ernest Corea, then Editor of the Daily News, told him of a special diet he was advised to follow, Mr. S. Nadesan cut in "I say, Ernest tell your doctor to return my book when he's finished with it, will you?"

"Mason, why ever do you smoke like this?" he would say, urging that he was conducting a one-man campaign against smoking. His patients included Father Justin Perera and veterans like Proctor A. C. de Alwis, Seneviratne.

As a lawyer, he will always rank with the sharpest minds the bar of this country has ever known.

I've heard one of our most eminent judges address him thus: "Mr. Nadesan, I'd like to hear more of your own views on this matter. I find you more illuminating than some of the authorities you cite."

Never rile the bench, he would advise. Always remember your first duty is by your client. Never let your-

"Ah," rose Mr. Nadesan to explain, now visibly shaking good humouredly. "Ah, your Honour I thank God for a happy disposition. After all, Sir, we are not here waging war on each other. Sir, we are trying to seek your judgement on a legal matter in a very civil and peaceful manner. After all, Sir, I see many things to make me happy, this fine morning. The sky is blue, the sun is shining, the birds are singing, the flowers are blooming—and good cheer is infectious. There you are, I see your honour smiling, too. After all, Sir, life is short. Let us live and die smiling. For myself, Sir, I have many reasons for smiling and not the least of them is that it seems to annoy my learned friend."

There was a roar of laughter throughout the court.

ay, "George, you're tired. Get home and rest. I'll sit up for another hour or two. Don't be worried. Sometimes for all this study I go in and play it by ear."

To a fanatic who was mounting a fierce anti-Catholic campaign in the sixties, Mr. Nadesan said; "I say, I hold nothing particularly against them. These people

held an esteemed place in the Senate almost throughout the entire period that we in this country claimed a Second Chamber, a tribute to him and a tribute and pride to the people of this land, no less.

At eighty, Mr. Nadesan enjoys a fine, clear and astute mind.

by **George Mason**

think they alone know the way to Heaven. They may be wrong. But I admire their generous instinct. "We know the way and we are determined to take you along with us. One cannot complain that they are shutting the gates on us or refusing to share what they consider their good fortune."

Mr. S. Nadesan has written several brilliant mono-

He blends in himself a fine balance of a rare mental talent and a large and generous heart.

He has added lustre to our legal history. lustre to our history as a people, I have known him to help many: never to hurt anyone by so much as an unkind word.

We were dealing with the preliminary objection raised, that the Supreme Court can not examine or rule on the constitutional or legal validity of an executive or administrative act of the President in terms of section 35 of the Constitution which states that except in the case of an election petition against him or in the cases relating to his functional duties which he may have assigned himself as he lawfully might, no action or proceeding can be instituted against the president during the tenure of his office in any court of law.

It will be seen that this is an immunity he enjoys personally while he holds office. In other words till he vacates office, such actions and causes of action are kept in the cold storage without being prescribed. When he vacates office actions can be instituted or proceedings continued. He just cannot be taken to court.

By no logical or reasonable interpretation can this personal immunity be extended to mean that his executive or administrative acts cannot be examined and questioned in a court of law. If such act involves a constitutional issue, it will be the Supreme Court only that can deal with the matter.

# The Hornets' Nest on Hulftsdorp Hill - 3

Of course the President will not be the party against whom the action will be instituted, it will be instituted against the Attorney-General and the appropriate authority through whom the President had carried out his orders. It is unfortunate that there has been no proper appreciation of a Republican Constitution by the Deputy Solicitor General, not to speak of the rule of law,

to place the President and his acts above the law and the Constitution.

At one stage Justice Rodrigo intervened in the course of the argument and told Mr. S. Nadesan Q. C., that he could not make any adverse observations about the President. Mr. Nadesan stated, however, that he had every right to do so, when it was relevant to an executive or administrative

act of the President which was being questioned and examined by the court.

In the ultimate judgment of the Supreme Court, although all the nine judges delivered separate judgments, we have not had the advantage of a detailed specific judgment on this important constitutional issue, as there were many other issues to be decided upon.

Justice Sharvananda, however, has dealt with this issue at the conclusion of his judgment on the other issues. He has focussed this specific issue and observed "if the Deputy Solicitor General's contention was accepted, the rule of law will be wanting in its completeness".

He further stated, "Article 35 of the Constitution provides only for the personal immunity of the President during the tenure of his office from proceedings in any court. The President cannot be summoned to court to justify his action. But this is a far cry from saying that the President's act cannot be examined by a court of law".

We hope that this very important constitutional issue so vigorously and valiantly argued by Mr. Nadesan has been answered by the Supreme Court firmly enough to settle this question for ever and it has been laid to rest never to be raised again.

Every citizen of this country expects to be governed by the laws and not by men. The citizen looks to the Supreme Court to stand always as the steadfast guardian of the People's liberties.

**-CIVIS**

## Dr. Johnson and the Ministry of Truth

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

It is certainly a fillip, in these strait-jacketed times, to welcome the resurrection of the SATURDAY REVIEW. It is difficult to keep a good newspaper down for long, competent authorities, censorship and guidelines notwithstanding. The right to know and to be informed is the inseparable counterpart of the basic freedoms of expression and publication in a democracy, if that democracy wishes to be taken seriously in the eyes of its own citizens as well as the outside world.

State propaganda, however elaborately conceived, expertly manufactured, and brilliantly and expensively executed, can only deceive and flatter for a time; the truth known to a minority becomes the possession of the majority sooner or later. In the long run, censorship in a democracy is an affront to the intelligence of its society. In his day, Prof. Paranavithana was gifted with a singular faculty of

deciphering inter-linear inscriptions. Today, an entire population has learned to read between the lines.

One evening last week we chanced to be reading Dr. Johnson (an universal panacea for the best or worst of times) and came upon a passage from his "Observations on the Present State of Affairs," which is, to put it mildly, to the point. Written in 1756 it has lost none of its force in another country more than two centuries later. Here it is:

"The time is now come in which every Englishman expects to be informed of the national affairs; and in which he has the right to have that expectation gratified. For whatever may be urged by Ministers, or those whom vanity or interest makes the followers of Ministers, concerning the necessity of confidence in our governors, and the presumption of prying with profane eyes into the recesses of policy, it is evident that this reverence can be claimed only by counsels yet unexecuted, and projects suspended in delibera-

### LETTERS

tion. But when a design has ended in miscarriage or success, when every eye and every ear is witness to general discontent or general satisfaction it is then a proper time to disentangle confusion and illustrate obscurity; to show by what causes every event was produced, and in what effects it is likely to terminate; to lay down with distinct particularity what rumour always handles in general exclamation, or perplexes by indigested narratives; to show whence happiness or calamity is derived, and honestly to lay before the people what inquiry can gather of the past, and conjecture can estimate of the future."

H. A. I. Goonetilleke  
Nawinna.

### POMPOUS TALK

The Editor,  
Saturday Review  
Sir,

What is this loud, pompous and preposterous talk about raising the rank of the Leader of the Opposition to that of a Cabinet Minister?

According to the well-established conventions of the British Constitution, on which our Constitution is substantially modelled, the Opposition is Her Majesty's Opposition

and the Leader of the Opposition is looked upon as the alternative Prime Minister, with his shadow cabinet. In the political arena, the Leader of the Opposition is a key and important figure, enjoying a status much above that of a cabinet member, with an extra-allowance, a well-equipped office with the necessary employees to attend to official matters, apart from the other privileges which are his due.

Now, does the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka propose to devalue his office, as it has been consistently devaluing everything, including the rupee, and push him down the ladder to the position of a Minister? Surely, Sir, absurdity has reached a point of no return.

V. Mahalingam

Nelliady,  
Karaveddi.

### GREAT LIARS

The Editor,  
Saturday Review

Dear Sir,

Congratulations to you and thank God for taking the iron hand (or the elephant's boot) off the small but powerful Saturday Review newspaper. I used the word 'small' as it's only a week-end paper.

I request you to publish it daily, as soon as possible. Publish it daily under the name Jaffna Mail or The Jaffna Post or The Times of Jaffna. Let the week-end edition be the Saturday Review and probably take a holiday on Sunday. The popularity of the newspaper had increased among the few peace-loving Sinhalese after its closure recently, as well as others.

Please be good enough to publish the following part (at least) in a valuable space:

"The State Minister has said that the recent riots were created by the K.G.B. If he is saying without any evidence, I wish to say that, this is not the work of the K. G. B. but it's the work of the C. I. A. Sri Lanka Government was always having second thoughts about the oil tank farm leasing and close relations with the U.S. Because of the riots now Government intends to have a very close friendship with a close friend. That's why J. R. has been invited to the U. S. by the President of America amidst his tight schedule in this election year, giving great importance to his visit."

A Tamilian  
Colombo

# SOUTH AFRICA

## How long can it last?

There is a lot of discussion whether the current constitutional changes in South Africa are window-dressing or striptease, that is, whether they are designed to erect a deceptive "multiracial" front to conceal the nature of the apartheid system, or whether they reveal the naked truth that vicious capitalist oppression knows only one apartheid—between the rich and the poor—and it is capable of using or discarding such incidentals as racism just as far as that serves its purpose. But one thing is certain; there is a change of a sort, and it only occurred at all because the apartheid system we have seen up to now has reached a crisis.

The apartheid state has been facing a new kind of resistance from the oppressed black majority since the riots in Soweto, near Johannesburg, in 1976. These started as a school strike, turned into a series of violent confrontations, some of them more like massacres of mainly school children by the police, and resulted in the deaths of some 2000 youngsters. These tragic weeks showed that there was a new spirit abroad in South Africa: children as young as 8 years old were prepared to continue marching in peaceful protest day after day against armed and murderous police, in protest against the inhumanities that their parents had learned to live with.

### Beginning of the end

Thousands more children who survived these experiences fled into exile, to train to fight the war to the end, till enslaved South Africa becomes free Azania, or to gain the education and skills that were denied them at home. Commentators at the time said this was the beginning of the end, but none dared to suggest how long the end would take. Apartheid could be a terrible long time a-dying.

The new spirit among the blacks has led to a slow guerilla war in South Africa, with a bomb explosion in a major city at least once a week, but the new awareness shows itself in other ways: in the Black Consciousness movement started by Steve Biko, and even in the Inkatha movement led by the government-recognised leader

of the Zulu "homeland", Gatsha Buthelezi.

Some of the guerilla fighters regard Buthelezi with suspicion, but others accept that there are many tactics that can serve their end; Buthelezi may serve a purpose by playing the system as far as he can, but he does not have the sense to refuse "independence" for the territory the South African government wants to restrict his people to.

The experience of the so-called independent Bantustans shows that he is right: Transkei, Bophutswana, Venda and Ciskei are just dumping grounds for blacks who are not needed as wage slaves in the white cities; they do not have the resources to provide for a living for these people, and most of their "governments" are more oppressive than the white central government.

### Other problems

The policy of setting up the Bantustans was designed to reduce the pressure for change in South Africa as a whole. It does seem to be working, but the South African government is unsure whether to modify it or not. They have other problems. The attempt to give the "Coloured" and "Asian" (i.e. Indian) populations a recognised place in the system with some sort of elected representation has only produced a wave of protest that shows these people do not want to be second class citizens in a set up designed to relegate the native African people to third or fourth class status.

The Coloureds and Indians increasingly prefer to be known as "black", expressing the solidarity of all the oppressed against a government that wants to divide those who are more oppressed from those who are less so. But now even whites have become more vocal opponents of the regime, and have become victims of its brutality. The death of the trade unionist, Neil Aggett in prison last year showed that whites are not immune from nasty "accidents" while in police custody.

Now, as the military pressures increase, the room for even moderate dissent among the whites becomes more limited. All must be conscripted into the apartheid

armed forces, though it is hard to see what external threat justifies the size and aggressiveness of the South African army, navy and air force. True, the dream of South African strategists ten years ago, of a "South Atlantic Treaty Organisation", binding together Portugal, its colonies of Angola and Mozambique, white minority ruled Rhodesia, South Africa and the military dictatorships of Brazil and Argentina has faded away. Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have achieved independence after guerilla war, and although their governments abhor the policies of apartheid, they are not

in October and nothing has been heard of him since.

So apartheid is under pressure, but the leaders of South Africa have been preparing every possible defence for a long time. With the economic help of the Western powers and Japan, they have built up their industrial base, and even while emphasising the strategic importance of both their geographical position and their mineral wealth to the West, they have prepared themselves against the chance of a Western boycott.

South Africa has no oil, so plants have been built to produce oil from coal,

Israel and Taiwan since the sixties has given South Africa a self-sufficient arms industry, including bacteriological and nuclear weapons. (South Africa has its own deposits of uranium).

Now it is rumoured that the USA intends to offer South Africa some Cruise missiles, filling the one gap in its armoury that local industry cannot supply: a means of delivering atom bombs to any target in Africa south of Sahara. They did not use any of their most powerful weapons to defend client states that they judged expendable, such as Portuguese Mozambique or Ian Smith's Rhodesia, but when their own backs are to the wall they will use them.

Already their state is a military dictatorship in fact, where white votes, let alone Indian or Coloured ones, count for nothing and "national security" is all. Such states are always doomed, but South Africa's death struggle promises to be long drawn out and possibly devastating for much of Africa.

by **Brian Macgarry**

strong enough to overthrow it even if they combined with other independent African States.

### Futile attempt

South Africa's internal sense of insecurity still leads it to strive to destabilise its neighbours in a futile attempt to weaken armed resistance inside its own borders. South African troops have kept up a constant war on Angolan territory since that country's independence in 1975, are fighting an increasingly vicious war to maintain their occupation of Namibia, and have launched raids into Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and Lesotho. Maintaining this level of military activity requires compulsory conscription of all white males, and this compulsion has increased the numbers of whites who either leave the country or stay and resist conscription on grounds of conscience.

The Christian Churches have been led to express support for this conscientious objection, although the government makes almost no allowance for it. The Catholic Archbishop Hurley, Chairman of the Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) has declared that a war in defence of apartheid is an unjust war and Christians should not fight in it. The Secretary of the SACBC, Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, was arrested without charge late

of which they have plenty: now, from the production of these plants and judicious importing, South Africa has 3 years supply of oil stockpiled. Overt military and intelligence cooperation with

## Political Solution Urgent

"...There is however, a major impediment to the on-going talks and that is the continuing acts of terrorism in the North and East. Killing of civilians and the holding up of banks, sometimes in broad daylight, continue unabated. This is certainly not a climate which encourages a solution to the problem. The anarchist youth movement in the North, which is fond of parroting ill-digested Marxist theory, long ago placed themselves outside the law and today it looks as if they have abdicated their responsibility by their own people as well. This is the only interpretation one can place on the continuing acts of violence, which can only aggravate Sinhala feelings, and the spate of bank robberies, which can only pauperise their own people.

However, these very acts of defiance only serve to underline the absolute urgency of finding a solution. The immediate reflex action is

to be angered by this continuing defiance of the law but those who can see beyond immediate emotion will acknowledge that these acts only underscore more forcibly the need for a solution.

As the President has repeatedly stressed, mass scale decimation of Hitlerite "Final Solutions" cannot solve the problem. The issue is a root political and the solution has necessarily to be political.

The All-Party Conference has been adjourned for next month and on the last day of the conference spokesman Minister Lalith Athulathmudali had said that the parameters of the discussion had been now worked out and the process of negotiations had begun.

In this context the President's call for courage, wisdom and patience gains even more relevance. The country needs these qualities from its leaders today more than ever before..."

(The Island, 25th February)



The people of Sri Lanka are faced with many menaces, but we are unable to comment on most of them because of the strict censorship rules.

Mercifully however, these rules do not apply to one of the biggest menaces which is sucking the life-blood of the people, irrespective of whether they be Sinhalese, Tamil, Moor, Burgher or Veddah.

As some people frequently say at the end of "Letters to the Editor", "it is high time that the authorities took some action to check this menace!"

To find out what this menace is, please read on.

Perhaps the most promising news item to appear last year was that five South Asian nations were to pool their financial and technical resources to wage a novel, four-pronged attack on the biggest menace in the region—the mosquito. The news was intended to announce the first Action Programme of SACEP, the fledgling 10-nation called the South Asian Co-operative Environment Programme for which Sri Lanka had generously offered to provide best facilities and, since our generosity know no bounds, also its first Director.

Musing about generosity, it occurred to me that we Sri Lankans are not afraid to give till it hurts, but only because it usually starts to hurt by tomorrow at the earliest and we have become masters at the art of living for today. The musing turned into a daydream... and there was SACEP's big chief himself giving me an "exclusive" interview which went something like this...

**Baygon:** Tell me, sir, do you recall reading last year that SACEP was in dire financial trouble and having to scrape the bottom of the barrel?

**Director:** A most distorted view, I must say. Truth is that, unlike similar international bodies, SACEP on principle keeps all its financial resources at the bottom of the barrel, so that's where you'll find us scraping all the time. You'll understand now why I am so allergic to scribes... like viruses, no defence whatever against them and their wild imaginations. Still, I told myself when I was picked for this post, "Look here, Leslie, SACEP needs the Press even if you don't," and with that I began pretending the Press didn't and, believe you me, it didn't.

**B:** It is generally believed, sir, that you were chosen as SACEP's first Director because of your reputation as a veritable whiz kid. Does that worry you?

**D:** The truth never worries me.

**B:** Talk is that you actually do the impossible and that you were once a serious contender for the Finance portfolio after you produced as much as a million out of nowhere.

**D:** A lovely thought but, as usual, a trifle exaggerated. Yes, yes, I produced a million all right, but it really came from the Water Resources Board of which I also happened to be Chairman at the time. So, if you'll pardon the expression, the money flowed like you-know-what. Of course, many people were upset by the ease with which I accomplished the task but then, that's what a good administrator is for, don't you think? It was simply a question of whether so much money should lie idly in the Board's bank account or be used to promote, protect and enhance the environment. Parting with a million is not easy, I admit, but I felt I

had a duty to make the best use of all scarce resources, not just water. The correctness of my position was brought home to me when I found that I, as Director of SACEP, was fully in agreement with what I, as Chairman of the Water Resources Board, had done.

**B:** Why, those good-for-nothing bounders, what are they grousing about?

**D:** Oh, a few kinny-minnies, really.

**B:** Kinny what sir?

**D:** Just a favourite of mine meaning trivialities. The flak has mostly been about the money being spent by Sri Lanka on SACEP... little things like capital outlay of half a million for setting up the Secretariat, and a trivial recurrent expenditure of Rs. 830,000 plus 5,000 American dollars in foreign currency, adding up to a little over a million a year.

**B:** Is that all? Considering the honour of SACEP's presence here, that's a bagatelle!

**D:** Quite true, so I refuse to be deterred by the dogs barking. But can you imagine them making a song and dance over the official residence for Director of SACEP costing an annual rental of Rs. 240,000. Just how

low can one get? **B:** As low as Rs. 20,000 a month, I can see, and what can one get for 20,000 these days, except perhaps a posh three-room hovel in the exclusive suburb of Mattakuliya with all modern conveniences, including water on tap by the roadside? You'll have to resign yourself, of course, to sharing even your mosquitoes with the entire neighbourhood. What worries me, though, is how the Director can hold his own when, is the line of duty, he has to socialise with his equals in the UN office here the UNDP, IMF, the World Bank and, especially, UNEP, or the United Nations Environment Programme, to give its full name... this is the painful bit, but I'm afraid it'll have to be the Oberoi's Velvet Room for cocktails.

**B:** Really, sir?

**D:** Not surprising if this puzzles you, but it is only those of us who have been long enough in the environmental racket, as our critics love calling it, who can understand, even appreciate, the apparent paradox—which is that we simply cannot survive without a degree of pollution. Indeed, the lesson is proving useful in our very first Action Programme on the mosquito....

**B:** Don't tell me, let me guess... SACEP won't resort to the 'final solution' but let the mosquitoes go on biting us?

**D:** Sounds terrible, the way you say it. But, you see,

ing blood only because she requires the protein to mature her eggs... becomes a little Dracula only once she mated...

**B:** Boy, this is getting sexier by the second. And sadistic, too. Tell me more, more!

**D:** Once mated she gives all males the brush-off. Off the record, it must be pretty frustrating for a male mosquito—just when he thinks he has got something going, he is told to buzz off!

**B:** If SACEP's research will help bring about a more lasting, meaningful relationship between male and female mosquitoes, it will certainly be worth spending all the money we haven't got.

**D:** Actually our work is on how best to stop the females biting—short of killing them, that is. They are the blood-thirsty ones, so why kill the males? SACEP also believes that it is better to cure than to kill.

**B:** But of course, I forgot you were a Doctor. Hippocratic Oath and all that...

**D:** Right now we want to teach the mosquitoes to exercise their will power—you know, practise self-control...

**B:** And stop biting us?

**D:** Man, are you dumb! Guess again.

**B:** Sure isn't my lucky day. So why concentrate on the female?

**D:** We don't. If either side practices abstinence, we achieve our objective, which is to reduce the biting. You get the formula: No Sex, No Bite—as simple as that. But SACEP's critical manpower shortages in its Secretariat, and equally severe horsepower shortages in its garage, make our job an almost futile one, and all our good work goes down the drain. Ah, well! I must be going...

**B:** A most depressing picture. But I'm confident that SACEP will ultimately make Sri Lanka an environmental paradise for both its people and its mosquitoes. Before you go, sir, is there any one piece of advice you would like to give people as coming from SACEP?

**D:** Yes. It's better to be safe than sorry. So be like me and get yourself a mosquito net.

#### NEWSFLASH

**COLOMBO, February 30**—The South Asian Co-operative Environment Programme (SACEP) Secretariat here today officially denied as baseless the claim that its Director had appeared to anyone in a daydream and discussed details of SACEP's first Action Programme on the mosquito. The communique added: "In any event, premature disclosure of SACEP strategy can only prove counterproductive, for it does no more than mosquitoes to our way of thinking." (LANKA POOH-POOH NEWS).

## SACEP - or Survival is the name of the Game

### by Baygon

**D:** You make too much of it. All kinny-minnies, really when one accepts an assignment such as this for king and country, so to speak. So let's talk about what SACEP is doing for the people—after all, it's their money, when you come right down to it.

**B:** Yes, where were we...? You were saying its not true that SACEP's coffers have not been polluted by filthy lucre...

**D:** Our headache is not financial pollution, but the lack of it. Our first year saw a disappointingly low

SACEP's approach to the mosquito differs radically from those of other agencies that have tackled the problem before. For one thing, we bear no ill will towards the mosquito. Suppose, just suppose, we kill all the mosquitoes, what then? Sure, people will stop dying of malaria, but I ask you, will they stop dying? We must remember that we all have to go sometime. One cannot kill mosquitoes indiscriminately and ignore the ecological balance in nature. If God didn't want us to die of malaria, He wouldn't have given us mosquitoes, I always say.

**B:** How do you mean, indiscriminately? Even to be selective how do you make out the good from the bad moskles?

**D:** Sex, of course.

**B:** Good heavens, sir! True, they don't have any clothes on, but can you really tell a male from a female mosquito with the naked eye?

**D:** Yes, if you know what you're looking for, ha, ha, ha! but jokes apart, I was referring to what we euphemistically call "making love". Do you happen to know the sex-life of these little kinny-minnies?

**B:** Heavens, no but the way they hover about my room every night, I bet they know all about mine.

**D:** The females, they're the ones that bite, did you know that?

**B:** Even among mosquitoes, huh?

**D:** The female starts suck-

# Wake up, you journalists!

Mr. S. Nadesan Q. C., has been waging a valiant, albeit lone, battle for Press freedom through the courts in the past several months. But the Press as a whole seems to be disinterested — probably because the issue arose out of the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW by the Jayewardene Government by the use of Emergency powers.

At times, there were more judges on the bench than reporters at the Press table!

Except when the question of the independence of Judiciary itself was being canvassed (see "The Hornets' Nest on Hultsdorp Hill" on page 7), almost all Colombo based "National" newspapers have studiously ignored the proceedings in the courts relating to the several applications filed under the fundamental rights, provisions of the Constitution, which stipulates, among other things, that "Every citizen is entitled to the freedom of speech and expression, including publication."

If Sri Lanka is to preserve what little Press freedom that is left, then journalists should unite to resist any further erosion of that freedom by executive or legislative action.

For, as Mr. J. R. Jayewardene once said: "The Freedom of the Press is the essence of liberty and this is the source of all other liberties. If this Freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid"

★ ★ ★  
For the information of readers as well as some Colombo-based journalists who think no end of their own publications, the SATURDAY REVIEW sales figures are higher than those of three so-called "national dailies".

If allowed by the authorities to continue publication, we are confident we could surpass the sales of two other "national dailies" very soon.

## The Media Scene

### Proud Record

The Jaffna-based Tamil national daily, the Eelanadu, commemorated its silver jubilee on 11th February.

Founded by Mr. K. C. Thangarajah, former Chairman of the National Parer Corporation, it has been in continuous publication for the past 25 years—except for five days after the June 1981 "Invasion" of Jaffna by "goondas" from outside the peninsula who set fire to the office.

(This was the occasion when the Jaffna Public Library was also burnt.)

The Eelanadu has arisen out of the ashes to continue its role as the main medium of news and views to the Tamil reading public of Jaffna.

In this role, it has displayed a vigorous independence, quite unlike some Colombo-based Tamil newspapers.

On the occasion of the anniversary, the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, in a message of greetings stated: "the proprietors of this newspaper must be commended for the courage with which they faced many difficulties to keep this enterprise alive."

SATURDAY REVIEW congratulates Eelanadu on its achievement and it wishes it all success and long life.

### To Solve...

(Continued from page 4)

try and the people. After election the newly elected parliament can convert itself into a constituent assembly and draft a new constitution under which all irrespective of race, religion, caste or creed, can live happily.

Artificially constructed escapist explanations and theories cannot deceive the world. Even a fool can understand that there cannot be a lasting economic improvement, if the peaceful course of affairs is continually interrupted by internal struggles. The atmosphere of the new assembly should be one of trust and compromise among the members. Decision should be reached by consensus.

In 1970 and 1977, when new constitutions were drafted, the members representing the Tamil people did not participate in constitution-making. Those constitutions were not sovereign because a section of the people had no share in the making of it.

If before the dissolution of Parliament the major parties or the South can meet at a conference and indicate an outline of changes they propose to solve the Tamil problem, the representatives of the Tamil people will participate in the constitution-making. A constitution made with near consensus will last for long time. To have consensus, the civic rights of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranayake should be restored and the ban on all political parties should be lifted.

Having witnessed the calamities, the catastrophe, the carnage and the cataclysm of the past 30 years, I have

entured to place before the readers these suggestions and scheme in all humility and in a mood of prayer, so that these ideas may at least make responsible citizens think deeply on the present tragic situation of a divided nation.

### Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's Affidavit

He further says: "In the Commonwealth countries it was not an arbitrary choice but a last resort, a grudging compromise, made necessary by the need to accommodate concurrent pressures for unity and for regional autonomy. Where social diversities were so deep seated, federal institutions with inherent complexities were considered the necessary price for the achievement of the benefit of political integration — the only possible compromises".

Distinction is made between federation formed by "aggregation" and "devolution" the former is one where hitherto separate ones come together; in the latter, unitary political systems are transformed into federations by the surrender of authority to provincial administration in order to accommodate conflicting loyalties.

It may seem strange to many that the first Sri Lankan leader to advocate federation was the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake. In a speech at a meeting held at Trimmer Hall, Jaffna, presided over by Dr. Issac Thambayah in 1926, Mr. Bandaranayake said that a centralised form of Government assumed a homogeneous whole. He knew no part of the world where a Government was carried on under such conflicting circumstances as would be experienced in Ceylon. In Ceylon (Sri Lanka) each province should have complete autonomy. A thousand and one objections could be raised against the system but when the objections were dissipated, he was convinced that some form of federal government would be the only solution. These views of his appeared in the Ceylon Morning Leader of July 17th 1926. The tragedy of it was that when he was in power he could not do or was not allowed to do what he wanted to do to solve the problem.

(Continued from last week)

#### State Policy

This redefinition of nationalism strengthened by a Sinhalese electoral pre-ponderance enabling its enthronement as state policy, produced predictable reactions among the strongest minority. The Tamil community in Sri Lanka has elements equally susceptible to mobilisation and manipulation by traditionalist and parochial appeals. It has embryonic elements for the whipping up of nationalism. It had an authentic memory of shared historical experience.

Even from the evidence of the Sinhalese chronicles, Tamil connections with the island were almost as old as the early Sinhalese settlements. Tamil rulers had usurped power periodically and ruled the island and pockets of Tamil settlements made their appearance from the early cen-

## Ethnic Nationalism

turies of the Christian era. The Tamil language-culture unit has distinctive characteristics and continuity in cultural elements which were firmly implanted in Sri Lanka over centuries. Perhaps the most powerful identifying factor was the fact of independent political power that the Tamils were able to wield in north and northeast Sri Lanka from the thirteenth century till its deprivation at the hands of the Portuguese in 1621.

During these years, the Tamils of Sri Lanka acquired their single most treasured possession a territorial home land which thus served to underline their attribute of

nationality and distinctiveness from, and non-assimilability by, the Sinhalese. This is further underlined by the fact that other old Tamil settlements in the western seaboard and the north-central districts been assimilated by the Sinhalese. The Northern and Eastern Provinces remained areas of overwhelming Tamil concentration. The possession of independent political power and of a clear demarcated geographic area are the twin props of Tamil identity which enable them to put up a plausible resile resistance to the advance of Sinhalese nationalism over the last two decades.

Predictably, the aims of Sinhalese hegemony has been to break down this geographic barrier. For many centuries the frontier between Sinhalese and Tamil territories had been a no-man's land of jungle and malarial swamps. In the twentieth century, and more rapidly after independence, a policy of jungle clearing, irrigation and systematic colonisation was followed. Before the rise of inter-communal tensions, this was looked upon as national agricultural policy, intended to draw the population away from the dense concentrations of the west and south-west.

(To be Continued)

## SPORTS

## CRICKET ENCOUNTERS IN JAFFNA

by Victor Kiruparaj

The Jaffna Central—St. Patrick's Cricket encounter, played last week-end despite fluctuating fortunes, petered out into a tame draw. The highlights, however, were two unbeaten centuries by the rival skippers, Patrician B. A. Ariyaratnam (133) and Centralite V. Sutharshanan (129). St. Patrick's collected 226, to which Central replied with 176 for 6.

The Patricians who were sent in to bat first were in a precarious position when they lost their first five wickets for just 45. They plodded on to a laborious 122 for 8 wickets at close of play on the first day, taking a little over 200 minutes to do so.

Continuing their overnight score of 122 for 8, the Patricians lost their 9th wicket at 149. When everything appeared over, the Patrician last pair, skipper Ariyaratnam and the last man raced past the double century mark to hoist a formidable 226 when the latter fell a victim.

Jaffna Central in reply fared disastrously when they lost their first five wickets for a beggarly 19. When everything pointed out to an early debacle and a follow on, Centralite skipper V. Sutharshanan and fresher, Terry Mahan, put their heads down and in a 150 minute struggle took the score up steadily to a grand 128, putting on a 109-run partnership for the sixth wicket in the process. When Terry Mahan was ruled L. B. W. he had collected a valuable 19 runs in a 150 minute period. As soon as V. Sutharshanan raced past his century mark, ten minutes before close of play, he threw caution to the winds and delighted the crowd with two consecutive boundaries and a sixer in one over followed by another scoring sixer the next over. At close, Jaffna Central were 176 for 6 with Sutharshanan credited with a captain's unbeaten knock of 129.

Among Central's bowlers, K. V. Sutharshanan (3 for 66), T. Raviraj (3 for 49), and C. Manojkumar (2 for 11) impressed. For the Patricians, B. Kingsley (3 for 41), and K. Thomas (2 for 35) were the pick of the lot.

## 3—WICKET WIN

A second innings debacle caused by Muraleedaran who claimed seven scalps saw St. John's not only dismiss Hartley for a lowly 76 but also helped them to drive home the advantage and score an easy three-wicket win over the Point Pedro school.

Hartely, taking strike first, collected a laborious 118 in three hours, skipper D. Nareskumar being top scorer with an elegant 53.

St. John's, in reply, hoisted 158. Skipper P. Thirukumar top scored with 59.

Going in a second time with a deficit of 40 runs to clear, Hartleyites collapsed for 76. Muraleedaran caused the rot with 7 personal scalps for 15 runs.

Set to make 27 for a win, the Johnians made the required runs for the loss of 3 wickets.

The main scores were:

**Hartely—1st Innings 118.**

P. Nareskumar 53, S. Kathirselvan 19, R. Shan-

tharam 13, B. Nandakumar 10.

**Bowling:**

P. Thirukumar 3 for 27, T. S. Bartlett 3 for 27, Y. Muraleedaran 2 for 22 and Sumenthiran 2 for 13.

**Hartely—2nd Innings 76.**

A. Richards 29, B. Nandakumar 15, P. Nareskumar 11.

**Bowling:**

Y. Muraleedaran 7 for 15, Sumenthiran 2 for 27.

**St. John's—1st Innings 158.**

P. Thirukumar 59, K. Chandrasekar 14, A. George 27, T. S. Bartlett 25.

**Bowling:**

N. Mailvaganam 3 for 50,

R. Shantharam 2 for 55 and B. Nanthakumar 3 for 33.

**St. John's—2nd Innings 27 for 3.**

Y. Muraleedaran 16 N. O. Ketheeswaran 2 for 14.

## BIG HITTING

Time deprived old Centralites S. C. from an outright win over Kokuvil Hindu in a match played recently. Hectic hitting by both the schoolboys and the club saw them register tall first innings scores sharing 16 sixers between them.

The main scores were:

**Kokuvil Hindu—1st Innings 148.**

S. Rajamohan 65, Nandakumar 20, S. Selvakumar 21, S. Santheeskumar 43

**Bowling:**

R. Umasuthan 4 for 14 and K. Thomas 3 for 17

**Kokuvil Hindu—2nd Innings 44.**

Ketheskumar 16, K. Thomas 5 for 17 and R. Umasuthan 3 for 19.

**Old Centralites—1st Innings 220.**

Singham 74, Baheerathan 22, S. Rubaraj 26, S. Sathivel 14, Ranjit 12.

**Bowling:**

S. Nandakumar 5 for 41 and Athyuthan 3 for 26.

Time deprived Jaffna Hindu of a win in their annual match against Jaffna College which ended in a draw.

Jaffna Hindu registered 164. Jaffna College, who were shot out for 66 in the first essay, were staggering at 72 for 5 at close in their second essay.

(Continued from last issue)

## Is it a crime to be a Tamil?

The younger generation of innumerable Indian families in Sri Lanka do know precious little of India, except perhaps the names of the villages from which their ancestors originally came. According to all canons of justice and fair play, they should have become Sri Lankan citizens entitled to all rights and privileges of citizenship. On the contrary, to the ruling elites in Colombo and New Delhi, they represented an agonising and embarrassing set of statistics; to the estate management docile, cheap labour to be exploited to the hilt; to Jaffna Tamils a group readily available for communal propaganda and to the fanatics among the Sinhalese the easiest and defenceless victims in times of communal conflict. To quote Thondaman again:

"This community was decitizenised, disenfranchised and reduced to the category of wage slaves, the spurned hewers of wood and drawers of water in independent Sri Lanka; they were reduced to a position far inferior than that which they endured under the British Raj."

The plight of the plantation workers is rendered worse by the fact that the basic human right, namely protection of life, limb and property has not been assured to them. The communal carnage which took place in 1972, 1977, 1981 and 1983 clearly demonstrated the vulnerability of the people living in the plantation areas and their utter helplessness against the lumpen sections

of Sinhalese marauders. The police and the army stood muted and paralysed and did not take any action against the offenders. It has shaken the confidence of the people in the custodians of law and order and has created a psychological climate of fear and insecurity. Their natural initial reaction was to flee to India or to run away to the northern districts with substantial Tamil majorities or to the east to work as landless labourers for rapacious landlords. The agony and anguish of the Tamil plantation worker comes out vividly in the writings of the Tamil poet, R. R. Sivalingam:

The Tamils in Sri Lanka are in anguish. We are searching ourselves. Is it a crime to be a Tamil in this country? Our convictions have all been shattered. Generations of effort to build a base of life have all been shattered to smithereens in a matter of a few hours. How long! Oh! How long will it take for us to feel as brothers and sons of the soil?

The most damning indictment against the Srimavo-Sastri pact is the fact that though it lapsed on October 31, 1981 it has not fulfilled its lofty objectives. Even after the passage of eighteen years, the problem of stateless Indians still remains unresolved. The destinies of half a million people of Indian origin is still hanging in the balance. As per the two agreements, a total number of 6,00,000 are to be repatriated to India from Sri Lanka. Taking into con-

sideration their natural increase, the final figure may be in the region of 7,50,000. From the very beginning, it was apparent that the majority of the people of Indian origin were reluctant to leave the shores of Sri Lanka. Though Sri Lanka had earmarked only 4,00,000 for Sri Lankan citizenship, the number of applications was as high as 6,25,000. There was a shortfall in the applications for Indian citizenship. Only 4,00,000 applied during the prescribed period, though the number to be repatriated was 6,00,000. Subsequently another 87,000, whose applications for Sri Lanka citizenship were rejected, also

pact meant not repatriation but expatriation and in some cases even deportation. As Fr. Paul Caspersz puts it:

The process of repatriation had been exceedingly slow. It was expected to commence in 1965, but the Sri Lankan government introduced the enabling legislation only in 1967. As a result, the repatriation commenced only in 1968 and moved slowly through the 1970's. The whole exercise was callous, brutal and dehumanising. No principle was enunciated either for the granting of citizenship or for being subjected to repatriation.

By V. Suryanarayanan

applied for Indian citizenship making a total of 4,87,000. The statistics clearly reveal the wide gap between the wishes of the people concerned and the arbitrary decision of the two governments. According to the Estimates Committee Report to the Parliament, as on January 31, 1980, 2,56,299 eligible persons were repatriated to India, while 1,46,442 eligible persons were granted Sri Lanka citizenship. According to the Policy Note prepared by the Tamil Nadu Government, up to the end of February 1981, 86,805 families consisting of 3,52,748 persons were repatriated to India.

As many perceptive commentators on Sri Lanka have pointed out, to the vast majority of the plantation workers the Srimavo-Sastri

The Agreement merely played around with numbers. As Roy Muthaya points out the iniquitous nature of the Agreement was clearly demonstrated by the fact that A becoming a citizen of Sri Lanka was conditional on B leaving the shores of Sri Lanka. Both A and B may be of identical status or B may have better claims for Sri Lankan citizenship than A or what is still worse A and B may be members of the same family, but B must go for A to become a citizen of the country. According to the law of the land, those who opt for Indian citizenship or are denied Sri Lankan citizenship had to apply to the Indian High Commission with documentary evidence to prove that they are "stateless".

(To be continued)

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

### EMERGENCY EXTENDED

Parliament passed the motion to extend the Emergency on Thursday, 23rd February.

The voting was 129 for and 8 against. The SLFP, CP and MEP voted against the motion.

Moving the extension of the Emergency on behalf of the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, Mr. Vincent Perera said the question had been raised more than once in the House why the Emergency should cover the whole Island, when the acts of violence are confined to the North and the East. From the records of events tabled it was evident that 34 incidents of armed robberies and violence have occurred in other parts of the country as well.

The Minister referred to highway robberies from the Districts of Puttalam, Colombo, Matale, Amparai, Badulla, Polonnaruwa, Gampaha and Kandy; gang robberies from the Districts of Kegalle, Colombo, Anuradhapura, Wellawaya, Kalutara, Puttalam, Galle and Gampaha; and two cases of murder and robbery from Colombo and Nuwara Eliya.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike (Leader of the Opposition,

SLFP) said the emergency should be confined to the North and East. The Opposition was wondering whether there was any point in continuing the Emergency as the Government armed with all the powers had not been able to control events in the North and East.

Mr. Lakshman Jayakody (SLFP-Attanagalle) said the Government had not yet analysed the criminal activities in the country and told them who the miscreants were, whether they were all Tamil terrorists or whether there were ordinary gangsters among them. That was one of his grouses against the National Security Council. It had not given them yet an analysis of the crime wave in the country.

Mr. Sarath Muttetuwagama (CP-Kalawana) said that it was clear that unnatural things were happening. For instance, there were floods without any rains. Peaceful elephants had run amok only to be quietened by a Podi Hamuduruwa and directed to a police station.

Mr. Muttetuwagama charged the Government with extending the Emergency because it had no confidence in the services. There were

Allegations of violation of Human Rights by the Police are under investigation by the Attorney-General, Mr. Siva Pasupathy.

anti-terrorist laws which were adequate to deal with terrorism and the extension of the emergency would only pave the way for a dictatorship. The Government had lost confidence in the Army so much that he heard that at the recent Independence Day celebrations at Kalutara, the bolts were taken off the rifles of the soldiers before the march past.

He went on to say that the state of the government was like the state of our roads. When it got off one pit, it fell into another pit. The Government seemed to be using the Emergency for a very dangerous journey. They were living in the shadows of a military government.

He then referred to a news story and said that the greatest danger to Sri Lanka today came from the USA which was drawing closer to the country. Quite recently Mr. Shaffer had come here. Some Congressional visitors had made an evaluation of the country which, he said, was an act of interference. The fact was this Government was mortgaging the country to America. It was now getting even English teachers from the USA.

## AG Lashes Out At Police

The Attorney-General said that there were instances where the Police have taken persons suspected of having committed other offences which do not come within the purview of the Emergency Regulations being detained for long periods in police custody.

Citing some cases, he pointed out that even a person caught smuggling could be detained for ninety days by the Police saying he was suspected of having links with terrorists.

Mr. Pasupathy expressed the view that it was known that certain police officers took relatives of wanted men into custody as hostages. Police procedures were not followed in certain police stations, he said. Although there was a register known as the Lock-up Register, entries were not made in certain cases. So that even when a complaint was made to higher authorities, it was possible for the Police to deny that the suspect in question has been taken into custody.

In the present situation, the Attorney-General has suggested that a special unit consisting of officers from outside the area in which alleged human rights violations had been committed should be set up to inquire into complaints by aggrieved parties. The CID, too, could be co-opted to such a unit so that impartial investigations could be made.

A former State Counsel, Mr. Daya Perera, said that

the police were guilty of unjustified arrests, unfair interrogation, illegal detention and other abuses. He said the term "police" had in modern life acquired sinister significance, for who did not know and shudder at what was termed "police state"?

Their functions were, in theory, quite simple. Upon a complaint, information or suspicion, they were statutorily empowered to investigate, take into custody the alleged offender and produce him before court so that he could be dealt with according to the law. The practice of this exercise had, however, been riddled with transgressions of the law and violations of basic human rights, he said. (SUN, 16th February).

**As a forum for free comment and expression of opinion, the columns of the SATURDAY REVIEW will be open to any point of view within the limits of law and reason and—for the present—the censorship rules.**

**Please keep your contributions as short as possible.**

**If the return of unused material is desired, please enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope.**

## BOMB BLAST AT GURUNAGAR



A bomb blast round about 5 a. m. on Friday, 24th February reduced one of the buildings which earlier housed the Gurunagar Army Camp to rubble (left). The other buildings (right) are occupied by refugees. A few hours earlier on the same day there was a shoot-out at the Pannai causeway between the Police and a group of youths trying to make a get-away after robbing the Bank of Ceylon branch at Velanai. One youth, tentatively identified as Gnanakumar of Pungudutivu, was shot dead in the exchange of fire.

(Pix by Deva)

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