

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 4

10th March 1984

# 'Prima Donna' mints money in Sri Lanka!

Seven years ago, Prima Limited of Singapore was permitted to establish itself in Trincomalee despite protests by concerned citizens of this country.

Today, Prima, which is the largest flour miller in Singapore, is the only miller in Sri Lanka. The Company boasts of significant contributions to its profitability from its investments in Sri Lanka.

The success of its operations in Sri Lanka also renders the Company attractive for medium and long-term investment. Prima prospers as Sri Lanka bleeds.

The success story of Prima and its operations in Sri Lanka was featured in the Singapore Monitor of 25th February 1984. We publish excerpts from the report on Prima, for the benefit of our readers and the country's leaders.

"PRIMA LTD., currently the largest flour-miller in Singapore, is an attractive investment for medium to long-term. It is cash rich, un-gearred and strong in reserves. Its sizeable investment portfolio is estimated to be more than \$ .30 million at current market prices. A consistently high dividend payout is also assured for the investors who, at current prices, will enjoy a reasonably attractive dividend yield of 4 per cent.

"For financial year 1983, we estimate a group pre-tax profit of \$ .30 m, the bulk coming from investment income and Prima Ceylon. For 1984 and 1985 a further increase to \$ .33 million and \$ .37.5 million, respectively, in pre-tax profits is expected, based on additional contributions

from the Ceylon Grain Elevators and Lorong How Sun project. At current prices, prospective net profit/equity ratio is a very attractive 9 X for 1983 and 8X for 1984.

"We recommend the purchase of Prima Ltd. stocks for its appeal as an attractive medium to long-term investment.

"In a move to diversify and widen its earnings base further, Prima Ltd recently undertook the following:

"(i) 40 per cent equity participation in Ceylon Grain Elevators Ltd., whose principle activities include granary, feed-milling, trading and animal husbandry operations in Sri Lanka. With generous tax-free concessions and full Government support, it is in a leading position to benefit from a growing animal husbandry industry with increasing development of Sri Lanka. From 1985 onwards this venture is expected to contribute significantly to the group's profitability when it commences production in September/October 1984....

"The bulk of the profits will continue to be derived from investment income. Contributions for the Sri Lankan operations are also significant, given the favourable terms and conditions under which Prima is operating. Contributions from property development will give an added boost to earnings in 1985, although this source is not recurrent.

"With the closure of the only other Sri Lanka Government-owned flour mill in September 1982, Prima Ceylon has taken over the entire flour-milling operations of the country as a result of which both turnover and profits for 1983 are expected to be much better than 1982. Since the end of 1982, Prima Ceylon has been operating at 70 per cent to 100 per cent capacity as it provides millings for the whole country's flour requirements. This is 40 per cent more than that of 1982, when 450,000 tonnes of flour per year were produced.

"Demand for flour is likely to remain strong as rising rice prices have made flour an attractively cheaper staple food substitute. From 1983, contribution from Prima Ceylon is expected to increase with expansion of flour milling capacity to \$ .11m.

"Contributions from Ceylon Grain Elevators can also be expected in the last quarter of 1984, when it commences operations. It will have a feed-milling capacity of 30 tonnes per hour and will be catering mainly to the domestic market. Demand for grains in the long-term is expected to increase with general economic development and higher living standards in Sri Lanka. We believe Ceylon Grain Elevators will be a significant contri-

butor to the group's future earnings when it runs to full milling capacity of 175,000 tonnes of feed per year within the next 5 years.

"Prima enjoys strong financials. It is cash-rich (with \$ .87.4m in fixed deposits and cash and current ratio of 5.06) and almost debt-free, with strong reserves totalling \$ .11m against a paid-up capital of \$ .30m as of December 1982....

"The investment in Prima Ceylon, which costs \$ .13.9m for equity participation, recorded a profit of \$ .6m in 1982. This gives a profit/equity ratio of over two

times indicating that the investment is under-valued...

"To widen its earnings base and reduce the dependence of flour millings activities, recent diversification into agriculture-related activities and property diversification has been undertaken. In particular, the maturing Ceylon Grain Elevators and Lorong How Sun condominium project are expected to provide a substantial stream of income for Prima after 1984."

(See also P. 12. for reference to Prima in Parliament)

## CENSORED

All news and views appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW have been subjected to censorship by the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. D. Nesiah, 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."

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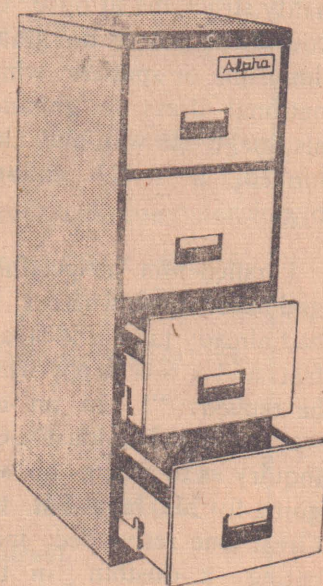


TABLE.

Pre-Tax Profits.

Profit Centre	1983		1984		1985	
	\$m.	%	\$m.	%	\$m.	%
Prima Singapore	4	13	4	12	4	11
Investment Income	15	50	16	49	17	46
Prima Ceylon	11	37	11	33	11	29
Super Pte Ltd.	—	—	1	3	3.5	9
Ceylon Grain Elevator	—	—	1	3	2	5
	30	100	33	100	37.5	100



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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GAMINI NAVARATNE

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# A MOMENT WITH DIOGENES

Two days ago there was a surprise announcement that Diogenes was to appear on television last night when the Master was seen and heard by many who would never had met him on the streets or on the Galle Face Green. The powerful ones, the elite, the old rich, the new rich, the upstarts the contractors, the clerical hierarchy, the society butterflies, the flatterers, the flunkies, the trouble-shooters, the tongue-twisters, the turncoats, the butchers, the lawyers, the doctors, the hoteliers and the very, very important people had all gathered round their TVs to see a street philosopher make a fool of himself on the screen. Diogenes, however, rose to the occasion. He came on the TV at 8.30 p. m. last night. He was less slovenly dressed than usual. He wore a slightly oversized khaki bush-shirt loaned to him by a friend and a pair of Bata slippers which was presented to him by a young enterprising sales representative for advertisement purposes.

Good evening, listeners', piped a pleasant and melo-

dious female voice "we, now have great pleasure in presenting to you Diogenes, our street philosopher. We apologise to our listeners that we are unable to present to you, your favourite pop singer this evening as he has been detained by the Customs at the Airport on a charge of smuggling heroin into Sri Lanka. Diogenes commenced his speech absolutely relaxed and unruffled, as though he was to the manner born. His personality was terrific and he kept his audience spell-bound. His personality, by far, excelled that of the highest in the land.

"Dear friends", he said, "I did not know that I was to be a stop-gap for your favourite pop singer. Anyway, I am glad to enter your drawing rooms. This by no means satisfies me. I must enter your hearts, yes, right into your hearts. Let us get together. Let us think together. Take stock of yourselves. Think how quickly and how rich you have become these seven years and how progressively the people and the country have become poorer despite the skill and industry of the people and the rich natural resources of our land.

"There is a crisis, or rather a complete breakdown of civilisation notwithstanding our culture and traditions, our religious and our literacy rate. Why is there so much bloodshed in the home of the Dharma? Why is there poverty in the midst of Nature's bounty? Why are we one of the poorest countries with more than half our people living below starvation level? How is it that you have become rich as never before while the people have become poor as never before? We have more cars than cattle in this country? No doubt you will become richer and richer and the people will become poorer and poorer.

Do you think you are doing the right thing by your children? You are making them good for nothing. They will revolt against you. They will despise you. They will find you out. They will lose faith in their religions when they find that religions have meant nothing to you but a pretence to deceive the people. Do not flaunt your piety to your children. They know you are hypocrites. Preserve the religions for your children. Do not destroy them by your pretensions and hypocrisy. Do not make religion a mockery and a vehicle to achieve power.

"What does the Dhamma teach you? Do you practise it? What does the Vedanta philosophy teach you? Do you practise it? Do you understand and practise the message of Christ or the Message of the Prophet?

What is the example you set your children? They will have no use for all the wealth you acquire for them. They will find their happiness in drugs. You are heaping the curses of the people on them.

"You society butterflies, who flit about round men of position and power, what do you give society in return for the good things you enjoy?

"The free-market policies are keeping you happy. You have never had it so good. You run about in posh limousines which have been bought and maintained by the State. They have not cost you a cent from your dowry or your husband's earnings if he had any at any time.

"Think of the words of the Master: 'Take a lesson from the bee. It culls only that much which it needs for its sustenance without damaging the flowers'. You damage society by your acquisitiveness. You haven't that wisdom of the Bee.

"You are not thinking even of your children when you damage society. Do you think you can deceive people by advertising your piety in front of temples? Do you think you are Royalty when you travel in limousines? You look like living corpses in a hearse. You are objects of ridicule. Whom are you trying to impress—not the people? you are competing with the stupid idle rich who are eternal parasites in our society.

"When the country and the people are in rack and ruin, without peace, law and order, when the people are suffering with the high cost of living, when children are dying of malnutrition, when our country and the future generations have been mortgaged to foreigners, when we have taken huge loans, how can you say your children are going to be happy, in this country?

"Even if the people are able to control their hunger, you are unable to control your greed and ambitions. Our rupee has been devalued, our people have been devalued, our prestige has been destroyed, our labour has been devalued, and our values have been lost.

"What have you all been doing? Who can save this country? Who can unify the people? Who has destroyed the country? What can save the country? Only repentance, truth and honesty.

(Continued on Page 12)

## Breakfast with Diogenes

One morning last week, sometime after daybreak, I was making my accustomed way towards 'Saraswathie Lodge' for my breakfast. I was surprised to encounter the great philosopher, Diogenes, my good old friend and Master, walking towards me on the pavement. I had not met him for many years since we used to break bread together at 'Lion House' in happier times, and "tire the sun with talking down the sky". He was clad in rather shabby clothes, his straggly beard unkempt, and the few white hairs around his noble brow blowing about in the fresh breeze from the sea. But his piercing eyes, serene visage, and confident personality struck me at once. Of course, he needed no grand limousine or spotless white national dress to enhance his image. He was, and also looked, a MAN among pygmies.

I hailed him respectfully and asked him whether he had already taken his breakfast, and I was happy when he replied: "I am on my way to take breakfast". On inquiry as to where he was going for his breakfast the Great One responded, indicating a dustbin in the vicinity: "I take my breakfast usually from that dustbin".

I expressed surprise and invited him to join me for breakfast at 'Saraswathie Lodge'. The Master accepted my invitation, remarking: "This is most unusual for me and I hope the meal will not upset my stomach. Anyway, it gives me pleasure to meet you after so long."

At table I remarked: "Master, this place was also damaged in July last year and it was re-opened only a few weeks ago". Whereat Diogenes exclaimed: "It is a shame that the mob picked on eating places within the poor man's reach while sparing the hotels where the rich men feast. But I am happy the dustbins were spared in those days, and I had a choice of dustbins on different streets".

I ordered some vaddais and coffee for both of us. Diogenes, abstemious as always, ate like a bird, picking delicately at his food. "Since I mostly lunch and dine at dustbins I have had to learn to be discriminating in my tastes, and fastidious in my appetite," he said, "it is a strenuous discipline, and assists in strengthening the critical faculty in times like this when most of us appear to live only to eat."

"Master", I timidly inquired, "Why is it that when there is so much talk of development and seeming

prosperity in the last many years, the numbers of poverty-stricken and powerless people have increased, hunger, malnutrition and unemployment are on the rise, and our cities have become unendurable except for a privileged minority?"

Diogenes heaved a long sigh before he answered: "The problem of food has many dimensions, and I have no time to tell you of them all. But I shall leave these few thoughts on hunger for you to think about. There is enough food for us all. Those who have money eat, those who have no money go hungry. A pinched stomach or a protein-starved child result from an insufficient income, not a shortage of food. The development you speak of has only fattened the rich and mesmerised the poor with loaded shopwindows. It is a development which seeks to create unlimited desires and not to satisfy the basic needs of the many. It maximises the needs of a small minority in our land while the minimum needs of the majority are ignored. In this situation, there over-consumption at the top and near-starvation at the bottom.

"What is worse, those who actually grow our food no longer have control over

(Continued on page 12)



# The Great Betrayal

"Be careful", my Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim and even Burgher friends in Colombo said when they heard that I was heading North to accept an editorial assignment, even though temporarily.

Be careful of what or whom, they were unable—or unwilling? — to specify.

After all, Sri Lanka is still a unitary state and the Constitution assures that a citizen could live and work in any part of the island.

"Be careful", my friends in Jaffna said when they met me.

They, too, were unable—or unwilling? — to say from which quarter any danger could come.

But if everyone of us tries to be careful, that is, play safe, then no one will be safe.

Sad to say, it is the intellectual community in Sri Lanka that is trying to play very, very safe, unlike in most other countries, including the

Soviet Union, when they are in the vanguard of the struggle to preserve the basic human and fundamental rights of their people.

Perhaps, the pummeling Prof. Ediriweera Saratchandra received two years ago from a mob of United National Party supporters has cowed our intellectuals.

Or is it the grant, or the promise, of office that has made most of our intellectuals act like the three wise monkeys, who saw no evil, heard no evil and spoke no evil?

In Jaffna especially, I find

the intellectual atmosphere right now quite stifling.

There is some excuse, after the harrowing experiences of July 1983. But that is history. There is a future to be made and lived. Especially there are the children to think of. In such a situation, it is more than disheartening to find not only the Northern political leaders—since July last year most of the Tamil United Libera-

tion Front Leaders have been abroad for most of the time!—but also the intellectual leaders wrapping themselves up in the "play safe" cocoon.

After seven years of UNP rule, our country is in a sad state in most respects, from the state of our roads to the state of our economy.

In Jaffna, especially, the situation is very tricky.

The persons who should

give the lead to the people, both in the South and the North, that is, the intellectuals, have taken a backseat.

But can we allow the politicians alone to rule—and even ruin—our lives and the lives of generations to come?

Decisions affecting the life of the entire nation are taken by politicians in cloistered chambers, decisions many of which have proved to be wrong or unwise, decisions some of which have even had to be revised or reversed.

And yet many of our intellectuals are unwilling to at least write a letter to the newspapers pointing out the follies of our politicians!

The people get the Government they deserve, it has been said. We have got the Government we deserved!

The blame for it must be laid squarely at the feet of our intellectual community.

I repeat, if everyone tries to play safe, no, one—yes, no one—will be safe in the end.

## The Buddhist Monks have their say

The following are the views of the Supreme Sanga Council of Sri Lanka on "Causes of Terrorism."

First of all we must admit that during the past few years terrorist activities prevailed in various parts of Sri Lanka and that the dark clouds of violence still loom large over the country. We strongly condemn any form of violence not only in the North and the East but in any place as well.

Our stand is that communal or political rights of citizens ought to be won

### APOLOGY TO READERS

My profuse apologies to our readers in general and to the Rev. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and our contributor, Mr. T. Subramaniam in particular for the mix-up in the last issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

It appears that more than the journalists' pet, the Printer's Devil, had been at work while I was away in Colombo!

Matter meant to be published on page 10 under the headline "Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's affidavit" had somehow crept into the article on page 3 written by Mr. Subramaniam while a continuation of his article appeared under the wrong headline.

Sorry, again.

—Editor.

solely by peaceful and democratic means.

We understand that terrorist activities rampant in the North and in the East constitute a challenge to the Government of this country which is a Unitary State. It is obvious that those who engage themselves in such activities are misguided youths in the North and the East.

The acts of violence incite hostile feelings between the Sinhala and Tamil communities and greatly impede the economic development of the country.

If violence is resorted to with the aim of rectifying any injustices and regaining any lost rights, such matters should be examined impartially and sympathetically.

If there is discrimination against any community and if any community has any grievances, steps should be taken to remedy them.

'The Solution'

We wish to put forward the following to prevent terrorism from breaking out in the future;

(i) The solution of the problem of the stateless Indians without delay. This solution is presented by the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha (Buddhist clergy) Con-

ferring citizenship on those who are willing to reside in Sri Lanka.

(ii) Providing land to the squatters in state land. Settling the landless in the state lands should be done in proportion the population of various provinces.

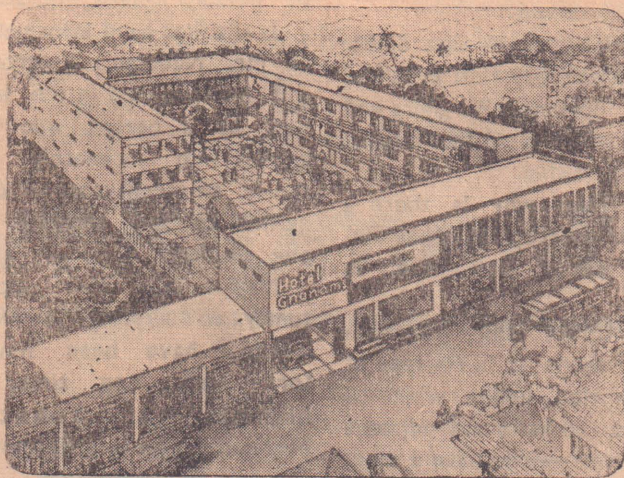
(iii) Strengthening of security measures along the coasts and territorial waters especially where there are frequent acts of violence.

(iv) If there are foreign powers or organisations which support the terrorist, they should be looked into and steps should be taken at both national and international levels to check such activities.

(v) Establishing military rule under the guidance of a sober-minded and efficient army Chief in the areas where terrorist activities are rampant until such activities are wiped out.

(vi) Formation of an intelligence service unit under the Ministry of Defence in order to gather the necessary data which would help to eliminate terrorist movements.

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# Thesawalamai and Racial Harmony

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW,

On 11th December 1983 the Weekend carried an article by Arjuna Udawatta on the above subject.

I addressed the annexed contribution in reply, but it never appeared in print. Therefore, could you kindly publish it in your columns?

Surely, Sir, in a democracy the free Press should endeavour to present both sides of the case?

Wishing the Saturday Review long life!

N. Deva Rajan

Arasady Road,  
Jaffna.

Arjuna Udawatta in the Weekend of 11th December concedes that the laws of Thesawalamai prevail in North Ceylon for several centuries and are customary. These laws are born out of experience. While some of them have been repealed and a few others are obsolete and ineffective, those that remain have withstood the passage of time.

Arjuna Udawatta's main grouse about Thesawalamai laws is best answered by the following, which I quote from a report published recently by The Committee for Rational Development whose members include Sinhalese, Tamils, Burghers and Muslims of different political persuasions.

Q: Is it true that Sinhalese cannot buy land in Jaffna?

A: Muslims, Burghers and Sinhalese have in fact bought land in Jaffna.

Q: Then why is there a popular perception that Sinhalese cannot buy land in Jaffna?

A: Under the Thesawalamai, there is a concept of pre-emption under which co-owners, co-heirs and adjacent landowners—who have a mortgage over property located in the Northern Province have the first option of purchase. It is not racial exclusion but an exclusion peculiar to the nature of an agricultural community. Today, in fact, the owner only need give notice before selling in the open market.

Q: Why are there so few Sinhalese settled in the Northern Province in recent years?

A: Migratory patterns in Sri Lanka have pushed members of all communities who wish to better their prospects into the cities, such as Colombo and its vicinity. Besides, land in Jaffna is relatively infertile and would not have attracted migrants interested in an agricultural livelihood. It could be argued that the paucity of Sinhalese settlers in the Northern Province exists for the same reason why there is perhaps

a paucity of Tamil settlers in Hambantota...."

Only a very, very low percentage of Jaffna properties are co-owned or under mortgage. Only such properties are subject to pre-emption. Every other land for sale, surely, would go to the highest bidder? We have the English Law, Kandyan Law, Muslim Law, Thesawalamai, etc.

By singling out Thesawalamai for abolition, one cannot hope to achieve ETHNIC AMITY. It will be a matter of rubbing chillies to an already festering sore!

## BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

I must thank you for publishing the birthday tribute to Mr. S. Nadesan, Q. C., by the acting Editor of the Daily News, Mr. George Mason. You have mentioned in your note that this article was published in the Provincial edition of the Daily News but had been pulled out from the other editions.

I cannot see, after reading the tribute, any reason why it should have been pulled out from the other editions.

There was nothing in it to create any dissension among the citizens of our country or to incite any person or persons against the State!

Is the first-hand information of Mr. Nadesan's generosity and his prowess in the legal field by a person who had known him intimately for nearly nineteen years so dangerous to the security of our country?

May I take this opportunity to express a wish which I have been having for a very long time? A biography of Senator Nadesan, as he is still known, should be published. His biography would be a part of the recent political and legal history of our country. Will some person or body undertake this useful task?

Arul

Colombo - 13

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

Sir,

Please publish this letter in your esteemed journal.

The establishment of a permanent Labour Tribunal at Jaffna was a great relief to a large number of workers in the North. The bulk of the workers in the North constitute employees of one - man own establishments. Organised labour in large establishments negotiating for themselves with their employers is a phenomenon almost in Jaffna due to the lack of any large scale industry. In this

situation a permanent Labour Tribunal giving relief to workers is greatly welcomed by all.

In fact during the two years of existence in the North it can be said that Labour Tribunal has given relief to a large number of workers who but for it might have got nothing in spite of the law.

However, it is sad to say that the only category of workers in substantial numbers in the North who are employees of Government backed Corporations are not always the recipients of this benefit due to the bad labour practices indulged in by these Corporations.

The Northern Region Transport Board for example is a corporation in the North where substantial number of workers are employed. It has been found at least in five cases that the Northern Region Transport Board appealed to the Court of Appeal against the Labour Tribunal Order reinstating dismissed workers in employment with back wages. There is nothing wrong with that but the Northern Region Transport Board after appealing against these Orders have re-employed the workers but without back wages.

## LETTERS

It is to be noted that these workers are without earnings. An Appeal necessarily involves delay, and long periods of unemployment without earnings drive these workers to the brink of starvation. It is in these circumstances that the workers accept re-employment without back wages even though the Labour Tribunal Order is in their favour. If the Northern Region Transport Board felt that their case was right as the appeal indicate they should never offer re-employment. The fact they do so after preferring an appeal clearly indicates that they are bent on making use of the plight of the workers who cannot stand the strain of long periods of unemployment. To say that least this is bad labour practice.

The Hon. Minister of Labour who is charged with the function of implementing the Industrial Disputes Act must ensure through his Ministerial colleagues that the full implementation of the Industrial Disputes Act are not thwarted

by circuitous and immoral activities of other Government or Government backed establishments.

The following are cases the Northern Region Transport Board appealed against orders for reinstatement with back wages and later re-employed the workers without back wages: 20/1/94/80- S. Theivendran, 95/80- S. Ganesalingam, 96/80- E. Sivapathalingam, 97/80, K. Uru-thirasundaram and 98/80- S. Mahalingam.

Bad labour practice must first stop in the Government sector because the Government is looked upon as a model employer.

S. Vijayananthan,

District Secretary,  
Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions,

Hospital Road, Jaffna.

## GOOD WISHES

Editor,  
Saturday Review,

Dear Mr. Navaratne,

I am happy to see that the Saturday Review has resumed publication.

Please accept my hearty congratulations and good wishes. With warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

S. Venkat Narayan

Senior Editor, India Today,  
New Delhi.

## JUST ANOTHER MARXIST PAPER!

The SATURDAY REVIEW claims to be an unbiased and fair newspaper dedicated to fight for justice and democracy. However, it would be very obvious to anyone who has read a copy of it that it is nothing more than just another marxist paper. Its articles are nothing more than an anti-government and anti-Western propaganda.

If Sri Lanka, under the rule of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is a dictatorship, as your paper always claims, then your paper would never have been allowed to be published at all.

The fact that you will not publish this letter shows how hypocritical your claims are.

W. R. Kelaart

Colombo - 3

## SOME HOME TRUTHS

The heavy rains, now being experienced, have exposed the woeful inadequacy of the storm-water drainage system in Jaffna's urban areas.

Come to think of it, there is no drainage system whatever to carry away the storm water floods. It would appear that whatever drains that exist to-day are legacies of the accursed colonial era. Perhaps, the engineers in the Local Government and the Water Supply and Drainage Board in Jaffna would condescend to explain to the people of Jaffna the truth or otherwise of this position.

The inadequate drainage system is further complicated by indiscriminate and unplanned buildings and land use patterns. The upshot of all this is stagnant floods, heavily damaged roads and hazards to the health of the people. Do the authorities concerned have any plans for an urban drainage system? If so, will they bare them to the people?

The problem of floods is only one among the many mundane travails. The threat of contamination of our ground water reserves by chemical fertilisers has never been publicised nor has any plan of action to deal with such an eventuality ever been explained to the people. The pollution emanating from the plethora of septic tanks—each one of which is said to be built at the minimum safe distance from one's own well but at dangerous proximity to the neighbour's well—deserves the concern of the authorities in Jaffna and its people.

On top of these sub-surface predicaments one is confronted by the egregious blunder of some authorities who permit and/or order the felling of trees for the sale of timber in some instances or to pull an overhead electric cable in others. Anyone except an ignoramus will know how trees in the peninsula were cherished in the past, how censuses of trees were periodically taken and how jealously they were protected and preserved. If our authorities cannot organise the growing of trees, the least that they could do is to refrain from destroying the trees planted by our forefathers. Alternatives (like underground cables, etc.) should be worked out. If inevitable, for every tree uprooted at least two new trees should be planted in the vicinity. This is the minimum that can (Continued on page 10)



# 'National Question

By the national question in Sri Lanka, we refer to the problem of the national minorities. Sri Lanka has many national minorities such as the Tamils, the Muslims, the Burghers, Malays etc. Of these the Tamils form the principal minority consisting of nearly 18.2 percent of the total population of 14.85 millions. This is according to the Census of population completed in 1981.

The Tamils themselves are sub divided into Two groups the Sri Lankan Tamils (12.6 percent) and the Indian Tamils (5.6 percent) The Sri Lankan Tamils are those indigenous Tamils who claim to have co-existed with the Sinhalese from ancient times. We shall not here go into the controversy as to who were the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka because it has no relevance to the present discussion. The Sri Lankan Tamils seem to have occupied the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka before the European invasions. Since the British conquest of Sri Lanka in 1815 and the consequent unification of the country under British rule as well as the beginning of the plantation economy, a large number of these Tamils, numbering nearly half, have today migrated to the south in search of employment — either in government service, the professions or Trade and business or the plantations. They today live among the Sinhalese as interspersed minority.

On the other hand, the Indian Tamils are composed mainly of the plantation workers of Indian Tamil origin, brought during the last century by the British colonialists to slave in their plantations, first to cut down the forests and, then, to prepare and work the plantations of, first, coffee and, then Tea and Rubber. Along with them came the usual accompaniment of traders and business men. Apart from a fair section of the traders who lived and carried on their business in Colombo, the rest of the Indian Tamils live in the up-country among the Sinhalese. But in the case of the plantation workers, they are isolated from the Sinhalese by being segregated inside the plantations.

While there was never any question about the Sri Lankan Tamils being the citizens of this country, such was not the case with the Indian Tamils. Under colonial rule, everyone—Sinhalese and Tamil were British citizens. But even then the Indian Tamils were barred from voting at the village committee elections. When the question of

citizenship had to be decided after British citizenship ceased in 1948, D. S. Senanayake brought forward the notorious Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Acts of 1948. These acts virtually deprived the overwhelming sections of Indian Tamils of their citizenship and consequently the right to vote. This was accomplished by the simple tactic of imposing harsh conditions for citizenship of Sri Lanka which most Indian Tamils could not fulfill. This anti Indian attitude of Senanayake was not only because of national prejudice but also because he understood from the interest of the capitalist class that the greater part

of the Indian Tamils were workers and would oppose him and his party from their class interests. It was proved true by the first Parliamentary elections in 1947 when these workers not only elected 7 members to parliament from their own organisation, the Ceylon Indian Congress who remained in the anti-UNP opposition in parliament but also helped in the election of left anti UNP candidates in at least 14 electorates.

I mention these facts at the very beginning in order to demonstrate the difference in the problems faced by these different sections of the Tamils. Although there

the development of capitalism. Therefore it is sheer nonsense to talk of Sinhalese or Tamils being a nation during ancient times, as is now claimed in order to promote chauvinistic aims. Such a thing as a nation did not exist during ancient times. For example, the leaders of the Chera (Kerala), Chola, Pandyan or the Sinhalese were feudal princes who belonged to the same dynasty and were often related to each other. The wars and disputes between these princes were not those between country and country or nation and nation. There were, like the Hundred years War between the French and English feudal

nobles, inter-feudal wars and not national wars.

Thus it was the epoch of developing capitalism that the first national states were formed in western Europe in countries like Britain, France, Germany, Italy etc. Things were a little different in Eastern Europe. While the nations of the west developed in independent states, multinational states consisting of several nationalities came into existence in the East. Examples were: Austria-Hungary and Russia. One reason for this was that feudalism had not yet been eliminated and that capitalism was only weakly developed. Another reason was fear of foreign

such a development in Europe was the Irish struggle for independence from Britain. Inside Tsarist Russia and Austria-Hungary, the various nationalities that inhabited these multinational states, like the Poles, Czechs, the Croats, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Ukrainians, the Georgians / the Armenians began struggling against national oppression and for independence as separate states.

But it has been proved by history that just as the colonial countries ruled by imperialism cannot achieve their independence and separate statehood without the over-

throw of imperialism, the multi-national bourgeois states cannot resolve their problems of national minorities while preserving private property and class inequality. Every attempt only further aggravated the national conflicts.

J. V. Stalin who wrote the famous article on Marxism and the National question in 1913 is a recognised authority on this question. Lenin praised this article highly and, in writing to Maxim Gorky in February 1913, he said, "we have a wonderful Georgian here who has sat down to write a big article for Prosveshcheniye (enlighten-

gress of the Bolshevik Party" which was held on March 8-16, 1921, "It scarcely needs proof that under the rule of capital, with private ownership of the means of production and existence of classes, equal rights for nations cannot be guaranteed; that as long as the struggle for the possession of the means of production goes on, there can be no equal rights for nations, just as there can be no cooperation between the labouring masses of the different nations. History tells us that the only way to abolish national inequality, the only way to establish a regime of fraternal cooperation between the labouring masses of the oppressed and non-oppressed nations, is to abolish capitalism and establish the Soviet system".

In the same report he has also said, "Where as private property and capital inevitably disunite people, forment national strife and intensify national oppression, collective property and labour just as inevitably unite people, strike at the root of national strife and abolish national oppression. The existence of capitalism without national oppression is just as inconceivable as the existence of socialism without the liberation of the oppressed nations without national freedom. Chauvinism and national strife are inevitable, unavoidable, so long as the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie in general, full of nationalist prejudice follows the bourgeoisie; on the contrary na-

# of Sri Lanka has no parallel'

are other minorities as stated above, I am only dealing with the problem of the Tamil minority. It must also be stated at the very beginning that the national problem of Sri Lanka has no parallel in any part of the world of which I know. But before I go into these questions I wish to deal with some general problems.

A nation has been described by J.V. Stalin in his famous article "Marxism and the National question" as "a nation is a historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory economic life, and psychological make up manifested in a common culture."

Nation states came into existence only after the elimination of feudalism and

invasions e.g. by the Turks and Mongols. The independent national states of Western Europe later developed into imperialisms which conquered and occupied colonies all over the world, especially in Asia, Africa and South America. In the East, Russia became in the words of Lenin, a prison house of nations. The same was true of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

ment) after collecting all the Austrian and other material" Learning that it was proposed to print the article with the reservation that it was for discussion only. Lenin vigorously objected and wrote; "of course, we are absolutely against this. It is a very good article, the question is a burning issue, and we shall not yield one jot of principle to the Bundist

tional peace and national freedom can be regarded as ensured if the peasantry follows the proletariat i.e. if the proletarian dictatorship is ensured. Hence, the victory of the Soviets and establishment of the proletarian dictatorship are fundamental conditions for abolishing national oppression, establishing national equality and guaranteeing the rights of national minorities.

In his report to the 7th congress of the Bolshevik Party in April, 1917, Stalin defined the views of the party on the national question in terms of following propositions:

- (a) Recognition of the right of nations to Secession;
- (b) Regional autonomy for

(Continued on page 8)

by N. Sanmugathasan

The colonial countries conquered by Western imperialist powers developed struggles for national independence against the various imperialisms. The only example of

scum". (Archives of the Marx Engels - Lenin Institute)

Stalin has said in his report on "the immediate tasks of Party on the national question to the 10th. con-



# Assimilationist Ambitions of Sinhalese Nationalism

Latterly, however, it had been drawn into the vortex of communal politics and the Tamils saw in it a slow penetration of an alien Sinhalese people into their traditional home-lands. It has undoubtedly had this effect. Over the past twenty-five years, overwhelmingly Tamil districts, such as Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Batticaloa, have recorded drastic increases in the Sinhalese content of the population, enabling the creation of new electorates with majority Sinhalese representation in traditionally Tamil areas.

The practical advantages of this division of the island into two ethno-linguistic areas was poignantly demonstrated in the communal riots of 1958. The safest and most peaceful areas were those with unmixed populations, while the place of the worst excesses were those racially mixed cities like Colombo and the newly colonised lands of north-central and eastern Sri Lanka. A massive shift of population, almost like an exchange of hostages and prisoners in a regular war, took place, with each racial group gratefully returning to the bosom of its own patrimony. This is a phenomenon that contrasts with the Chinese and Indian problem in Malaysia.

With a far better population ratio (40%) and 10% respectively of the total population, the Chinese and Indians are unable to take a firm stand for language and other ethnic rights against the Malays, largely because they do not hold a part of the country where they can establish their own cultural institutions. The Tamils of Sri Lanka demonstrated in the course of their agitation over the years 1956-1964 that whatever the language Act throughout the country, this writ cannot be enforced in their parts. The belated recognition of Tamil as a regional language is as much a result of the consciousness of this practical difficulty as an attempt at political appeasement.

## Latest tactic

The most recent tactic of the Government is to try and penetrate the very heartland of the Tamil country by utilising fissions in Tamil society. The caste system came readily to hand and some minority depressed caste leaders among Hindus offered themselves as agents and supporters of the Sinhalese. A movement is on foot to

convert them to Buddhism, educate them in Sinhalese, and thus draw them a way from the main-stream Tamil life.

These attempts are similar to what happened among the untouchables in India, where they had a longer history, with no lasting or substantial success. In Sri Lanka, the Tamils will be very vulnerable if this is even marginally successful, for it will break up the Tamil identity that may well bring in a general process of assimilation. Already a numerically small minority, their further fragmentation will reduce whatever political leverage they have and, more important, break up the territorial solidarity they have so far enjoyed in the northern third of the island.

This is another example of the assimilationist ambitions of Sinhalese nationalism, an aim attempted also with the Tamils in the plantations where efforts were made to abolish Tamil schools and educate them in Sinhalese. This was a disastrous failure because the plantation Tamils, being recent immigrants, were deeply attached to their language, culture and social and religious institutions and were even more distinct culturally from the Sinhalese making assimilation a well-nigh impossible task.

Tamil ethnic nationalism has, thus, developed as a phenomenon to be taken into account in Ceylonese politics and national integration. It has two sources of fertilisation and enrichment. It is founded on the one hand in the undisputed antiquity of the Tamil cultural tradition which has always been a source of pride to Tamils even when they have migrated for centuries from their South Indian homeland. The extant artifacts of the cultural achievements of history are constantly paraded before the public eye, in a scarcely concealed feeling of membership of a superior culture. This is an attitude all Dravidian people have cultivated because of the necessity to defend the integrity and autonomy of their culture in the face of Indo-Aryan claims of the Aryanisation of all India.

## Ancient Home

A second source of Ceylon Tamil nationalism is the emphatic assertion of Sri Lanka as a legitimate and ancient home of the Tamils and of Tamil institutions. Nothing

annoys the Tamils of Sri Lanka more than the argument, used by Sinhalese to placate Tamil opinion, that their culture and language are preserved adequately and are flourishing in South India and there was, therefore no need to make a special provision in Sri Lanka.

The Tamils react to this by emphasising their separateness from India, the longevity of the Tamil tradition in Sri Lanka and by asserting, with dubious historical arguments, their contemporaneity with Sinhalese settlements in Sri Lanka. Much to the annoyance of the Sinhalese, they claim a Tamil origin to many elements of tradition and contemporary Sinhalese culture and exaggerate some established facts concerning the influence exerted by the Tamils on the development of Sinhalese language and institutions.

Further excerpts from chapter XIV of the book entitled "Nationalism on Sri Lanka and the Tamils". This particular chapter is by Dr. Arasaratnam, Professor of History, University of New England, Arundale, Australia.

There is thus a dualism in current Tamil attitudes, one facet of which encourages the identity with Tamils across the Palk Straits, the other emphasising the naturalisation of the Tamils in the island and demanding equality with the Sinhalese as co-settlers and co-founders of its civilisation.

A conscious and deliberate policy of assimilation generally brings about an opposite reaction. From 1956 there has taken place a drawing together of ranks among all segments of Tamil society. Politically this led to the ascendancy of the Federal Party from the general elections of 1956, since when it has emerged as the most popular representative of Tamil opinion. It sought a solution to the problem of the resurgence of Sinhala nationalism in altering the constitution from a unitary to a federal structure. The Tamil areas would form a state in the federation and would then have considerable autonomy. The centre would have power over a given list of subjects and all residuary authority would accrue to the states.

In their submission to the Steering Committee of the

Constituent Assembly that sat in 1971-72, they presented their proposals for a model constitution. Needless to say, this was rejected by the Committee and the Federal Party together with other Tamil representatives boycotted the formal inauguration of the Republic of Sri Lanka in May 1972.

## Cultural Revivalism

Even more significant than the political movement is the cultural revivalism and the steps towards economic re-orientation. Culturally, when the status of the language was threatened by the Official Language Act and by subsequent legislation, there was an upsurge of emotion that united all classes of the population. The lead was taken in this by the English-educated intelligentsia which continues to direct the cultural and the political movement.

was also the significant influence of the more dynamic cultural revival in South India. Jaffna and Batticaloa emerged during these years as the cultural capitals of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The cultural links with Tamil Nadu in South India were significant. They were not pronounced before the 1950's because of the insularity of the Ceylon Tamils and the concern with English education and acquisition of learning in that language. Indeed there was a conscious effort to cut themselves away from South India, a factor that hindered co-operation with the recently migrated Tamils in the plantations. The forging of cultural links with Tamil Nadu strengthened the roots of Tamil culture in Sri Lanka. It also had the effect of further exciting the latent fears of the Sinhalese.

## Growing Link

The Tamil cultural revival contributed more than anything else to forging unity on the basis of a language-cultural unit. Thus we find a Hindu majority working hand-in-hand with a Muslim and Christian minority. These minority groups, particularly Christians, are most vociferous in identifying with Tamil linguistic nationalism and have provided organisational leadership and vocal propagandist talent.

It is on this basis that a growing link is forged with the Tamils in the plantations of central Sri Lanka, between whom and the Tamils of the north and east there has been a long history of isolation and even suspicion. The plantation Tamils, who have no direct interests in the official language controversy, have begun to support the others on this and other issues. And the Tamils of the north and east, who had collaborated in the deprivation of citizenship of the plantation Tamils, have now taken up their case for citizenship and political rights.

(To be Continued)

Within the Tamil regions there has been a resurgence of cultural and linguistic activity. The change in the medium of education from English to Tamil went a great way to help in this development. Then there was the irresistible impact of the Sinhalese cultural renaissance, which benefitted immensely by state subvention. There



In the last issue we dealt with the importance of the preliminary objection raised on behalf of the Attorney General that the Executive or the Administrative acts of the President cannot be questioned or scrutinised by the Supreme Court. We also expressed the hope that the Supreme Court had made a firm decision on this issue so that this objection will never be raised again. It militates against the concept of the Rule of Law, it destroys the spirit of a Republican Constitution, it emasculates the highest judiciary and threatens the dignities, rights and liberties of a Republican citizen.

Mr. Nadesan has made his invaluable contribution to our Republican Constitution, to the Judiciary and to the citizen of the Democratic and Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. The Supreme Court has a crucial and a compelling role to play in the evolution of our Republic and for the greater understanding of the essential philosophy behind our Constitution. Our Constitution is entrusted to the Judiciary and to no other for the growth of that Republic Spirit and for its interpretation, as the steadfast guardian of the liberties and rights of the citizen.

We deal now with the opinion of the Attorney General "an off-the-cuff opinion" as Mr. Nadesan put it, a bona fide opinion expressed to a bona fide request by the President as to whether the judges were within the time limit of one month for him to administer the oath. The Attorney-General's view was, as we had already stated, that on the midnight of 7th September 1983 the judges had ceased to hold office and he was prepared, on a

# The Hornets' Nest on Hulftsdorp Hill - 4

liberal interpretation, to extend it to the midnight of 8th September but 9th never and not at all. It was Mr. Nadesan's submission that the President, and the Attorney-General, despite all their bona fides could not have held Court, so to speak, and ex parte arrive at a decision that the Judges of the Superior Courts had ceased to hold office on the midnight of 7th September. It is regrettable that there was a communication gap between the President and the Chief Justice.

At that stage, it was the unanimous view of the judges that the last day was 9th September, which was "within one month" of 8th August, on which day the 6th Amendment was certified by the Speaker. This conflict of views was argued at length and it is unfortunate that only four of our nine judges expressed their views on this ques-

tion while the other five thought it was not necessary to express any views on this matter. As seven of them had arrived at a decision that the anti-separatist oath had been taken before each other on 4th September 1983, and that oath was duly taken, and it was not necessary in effect to take it all over again, though they did take the oath before the President on 15th September on fresh letters of appointment.

Normally, the writer would not have involved himself in a digital exercise on this question. But since Mr. Nadesan's argument has not found a place in the judgment, he proposes to set it down here for future guidance. The Act says "Within a month" of the Act being certified by the Speaker. This was 8th August. "A month" in terms of our Interpretation Ordinance means a calendar month,

that is to say, corresponding date of the following month. The question is, therefore, which are the corresponding dates? Do we count from 8th August and say that the other terminal corresponding date is 8th September or do we count from 9th August and say that the other terminal corresponding date is 9th September.

Under Section 14A of the Interpretation Ordinance, for the purpose of excluding the first day in any period of time, it shall be deemed to be sufficient to use the word "from". The Courts have held the words "of" and "after" have the same effect as the word "from" which means that in all cases where the Act says within one month "from" or within one month "of" and within one month "after" the first day must be excluded.

It was submitted that when our law is clear on this point it was unneces-

sary to go to the English Courts which were interpreting the common laws of England. It was Mr. Nadesan's submission that in the state of our law, since the Act came into operation on 8th August, the first day must be excluded and that means that the corresponding dates must be 9th September.

This digital exercise reminds the writer how a Divisional Bench of five judges in South Africa, after much agitation and study of authorities held that a workman who had fractured his spine was out of time and out of the Workmen's Compensation Tribunal since he had not filed his application within three months of his sustaining his serious injury. He had been injured on 1st January and had filed his application on April Fool's Day, which was held to be out of time. There were contrary views on the computation of time both in England, and South Africa and the learned judges took a view which unfortunately deprived a crippled workman of his compensation! The writer will conclude this instalment with the words of a very distinguished and learned judge:

*"How can the law be an ASS  
If the judges be wise?  
How can the judges be wise  
If the Law be an ASS?"*

**- CIVIS**

## Book Review

In the spiritual pursuit of yoga, the role of the asanas and pranayama is to purify the body and render it suitable for the inner awakening.

When you go to a gymnasium for body-building exercises you are instructed to stand in front of a mirror while you handle dumb bells or lift weights. In this way you are able to watch your muscles being flexed with each movement and keep thinking about it. The mental concentration enables the body to direct the flow of extra blood to these muscles and speeds up the process of body building.

In the yogic process also, the contribution of this mental concentration is very essential. Mirrors are not required here because the stretching and counter-balan-

## TO EACH HIS ASANA

*"HEAL YOURSELF WITH YOGA" BY E.R.RAM KUMAR (TARAPOREVALA, BOMBAY. RS. 47)*

cing are inner functions and are not visible. Hence the need for understanding the subtle internal process which helps to tone up your vital organs and metabolic functions.

So far, many books have been published on how to perform each asana correctly. Many books describe the good effects of the asanas. There is also a proliferation of yoga classes and teachers. Yet, there are only a few books or teachers, who are able to understand and interpret the medical significance of each ailment and then explain how each asana brings a healing touch and relief to the suffering.

One such seeker is E. R. Ram Kumar, who has in

his book, described the nature of each ailment in detail. His treatment of ailments, however, is through a number of yoga asanas, mudras and pranayama. What is more, his language and his choice of words are closer to the practice of modern medicine and diagnostic symptoms.

Wherever it is necessary to use yoga jargon, it is properly explained. It is this aspect of the book that may help doctors to recommend yoga therapy in addition to medicines, in order to assist the process of healing. For those who are undergoing yoga therapy, the detailed explanations of the diseases as well as the inner effects of yoga practices may

help them improve their mental concentration - which is so essential to effective treatment.

A lifetime of work is too short for working out details of yoga therapy based on personal experience. The author has succeeded in this area by being able to explain some hereditary, chronic ailments. The book deals with about sixteen important asanas along with a few mudras and pranayama techniques.

The author has stated in the preface that he is "not

a peddler of spiritualism". This is quite obvious from the content of the book. Yet, if you see his picture in the lotus posture and combine it with the fact that his royalty for the book is being earmarked for charity, you may conclude that he is well on his way to the spiritual quest.

In the spiritual pursuit of yoga, the role of the asanas and pranayama is to purify the body and render it suitable for the inner, divine awakening. This by itself is an achievement.

This book provides interesting material for the yoga therapist as well as the serious seeker. A book on yoga which is quite different from the rug-of-the-mill books which try to combine physical culture with spiritual jargon.

(COURTESY: THE TIMES OF INDIA.)



# 'National Question of Sri Lanka...'

(Continued from page 5)

nations remaining within the given state;

(c) Special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities; (d) A single, indivisible proletarian collective, a single Party for the proletarians of all nationalities of the given state.

The principal of recognition of the right of nations to secession follows from the recognition of the rights of nations for self determination. The latter right would be meaningless without the earlier one. But it does not follow that every nation that exercises the right of self determination should necessarily also exercise the right to secede.

This is how Stalin has framed the issue: "It would be impermissible to confuse the question of the right of nations freely to secede with the question of whether a nation must necessarily secede at any given moment. This latter question must be settled quite separately by the party of the proletariat in each particular case, according to the circumstances. When we recognise the right of oppressed peoples to secede, the right to decide their political destiny, we do not thereby settle the question whether particular nations should secede from the Russian state at the given moment. I may recognise the right of a nation to secede, but that does not mean that I oblige it to do so. A people has the right to secede, but it may or may not exercise that right, according to the circumstances. Thus we are at liberty to agitate for or against secession in accordance with the interests of the proletariat, of the proletarian revolution.

Lenin expressed the same sentiment when he said that the right to divorce does not mean that all couples are obliged to divorce. It depended on the circumstances. For instance, at the time of the first world war, the right of India or Egypt to secede from the British Empire was a correct progressive slogan. But after the October Revolution, the right of the nationalities on the border regions of Russia to secede from the Russian Federation was an incorrect and reactionary demand. The first demand weakens imperialism whereas the second one helps it.

Stalin expressed the point in this way: "The demand for the secession of the border regions from Russia as the form of relations between the centre and border regions must be rejected not only because it runs counter to the very formulation of the question of establishing a union between the centre and the border regions, but primarily because it runs fundamentally counter to the interests of the mass of the people in both the centre and the border regions. Apart from the fact that the secession of the border regions would undermine revolutionary might of Central Russia, which is stimulating the movements for emancipation in the West and the East, the seceded border regions themselves would inevitably fall into the bondage of international imperialism.

He goes on to say, "And the interest of the masses render the demand for the secession of the border regions at the present stage of the revolution a profoundly counter revolutionary one". On the other hand, he says, "At the present time, however, when the liberation movement is flaring up in the colonies, that is for us a revolutionary slogan."

Stalin has pointed out that Leninism has broadened the conception of self determination, interpreting it as the right of the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states.

He, therefore, stressed "the necessity for the proletariat of the dominant nations to support—resolutely and absolutely to support—the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples". He points out that "the interests of the proletarian movement in developed countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies call for the union of these two forms of the revolutionary movement into a common front against the common enemy, against imperialism." The formation of such a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nation renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed people against the imperialists of its. "Own country", for "no nation

can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Engels).

He quotes Lenin as saying; "The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in their advocating and upholding freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social Democrat of an oppressing nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand, even if the chance of secession being possible and 'feasible' before the introduction of socialism be only one in a thousand...

"On the other hand, a Social Democrat belonging to a small nation must emphasise in his agitation the second word of our general formula: "voluntary union of nations. He may without violating his duties as an internationalist be in favour of either the political independence of his nation or its inclusion in a neighbouring state X, Y, Z, etc. But in all cases he must fight against small nation narrow-mindedness, isolationism and aloofness, he must fight for the recognition of the whole and the general, for the subordination of the interests of the particular to the interests of the general."

But Stalin has said: "This does not mean, of course that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every individual concrete case. It means support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and prevent it. Cases occur when the national movement in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interests of the proletarian movement. In such cases, support is, of course, entirely out of the question. The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question; it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, subordinate to the whole, and must be considered from the point of view of the whole."

(To be continued)

# Tamil Nationalism

By a  
Staff  
Writer

Tamil nationalism is a fact of life in the political evolution of Sri Lanka. It cannot be whisked away or expurgated by military measures.

Some home-truths about minority nationalisms illustrated by Mr. S. Nadesan Q. C., in October 1955 in a series of four articles published by the *Ceylon Daily News*, ring as true today as they did three decades ago.

1. "If in a multi-national State, the principle of majority rule is made applicable to questions involving the rights of national minorities, the minorities will be denied their ordinary human rights of self-expression and self-determination and will be subject to the tyranny of an impersonal majority". The most cherished rights of minorities are the right to use their language, develop their culture and regulate their economic and social life.

2. "The problem of language is closely bound up with human feelings and sentiments. It is very easy to rouse the people into taking a step in the wrong direction". True to the prognosis, the majority community was roused, or rather it roused itself since 1956, to the call of a communal slogan, to deny the language rights of national minorities. Since then there have been two nations, segregated in schools with mutual hatred instilled in all walks of public life especially via the media and now separated by a virtual apartheid in universities through violence. All attempts here so far to undo one jot or tittle of the national bifurcation of 1956 by legal and Constitutional means have proved futile. Continued Nadesan in the 1955 series of articles;

3. (We find that countries which had to deal with only two languages like Finland, Belgium, South Africa, Canada and Ireland have adopted both languages as official languages.) Countries which have a multiplicity of languages, like Indonesia, India, the U.S.S.R. and Switzerland have in the interest of national unity either three or more languages as official languages or when they were too many, they have preserved their national unity by adopting federal structures of na-

tional governments which guaranteed the languages the culture and the regional autonomy of all minorities. He proceeds to state that where such compromises and social contacts were not voluntarily forged in a spirit of live and let live, as in the case of Australia, Hungary, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the intractable power of national minorities broke them up, (Balkanised them), into small separate States. The minorities' treaties imposed by the Allied Powers after the world war could not hold them together.

4. (As the Tamil-speaking minorities cannot be suppressed or ignored) he said, (one has to consider other methods of solving the problem). There are only two known methods (one is the method of bilinguism and other that of federalism). The former alternative is no longer available. All the ad hoc pre-election pacts and the various legislative enactments since 1958 are dead letters, in the face of dominant Sinhala nationalism. In the meantime Tamil nationalisation has been spurred and prodded by many other circumstances, frequent communal holocausts, inequality of rights and opportunities in regard to employment, regional development, higher education, land settlement, economic and cultural development, so much so that Tamil nationalism is in confrontation with Sinhalese nationalism.

Empires break up because Emperors give too little, too late what began as a minority grievances in 1956 has by neglect has grown into a national crisis. After denying Tamil language rights, the logical alternative of a plea for a federal structure of political power was ridiculed and misrepresented as a partition cry by politicians and especially the mass media to an otherwise reasonable and highly cultured Sinhalese people of the immediate post independence generation cry. Therefore the main national minorities came to be increasingly regarded by them as a thorn in their flesh. The idea of sharing power gradually became anathema. So did their concept of a social contract among all nationalities in the

(Continued on page 9)



# Regional Administration

(Continued from last week)

Unemployment in the region, which is the result of its underdevelopment, was identified in the previous articles as the most pressing problem, and the question was posed, what are the feasible strategies of rapid development of production, consumption, investment and employment in the region?

As regards production, the principal constraint is the market. In a market economy, production is primarily oriented to exchange in the market and the first principle, as stated by all economists from Adam Smith down is that production is determined by the market and not vice versa, subject of course to the possibility that markets could be manipulated once production has commenced. Market research is then the first step in the production process.

What then are the markets which are politically secure and accessible or could be penetrated by commodities which are and could be produced in the region? They are (1) the market within the region itself, which is too small a base to stimulate economic growth and (2) foreign markets which have not erected impenetrable tariff and non-tariff barriers, namely the Commonwealth, the United States of America, the European Economic Community, West Asia, Eastern Europe, South Asia, South East Asia, and to a lesser extent because of severe competition, Japan and the Pacific region comprising Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, Hongkong and China.

## Tamil Nationalism

(Continued from page 8)

Constitution-making process which is historically and politically the only sure foundation of a national-state. Ultimately the only determinant of power became the policies of members and the only solution of minorities as of other problems is perceived to be mass-power and military solution.

Even now, hopefully it is not too late to return to the path of conventional political wisdom and to accommodate the political reality of Tamil nationalism within a federal structure of a United Sri Lanka instead of determining minority nationalism rights by a referendum or other form of majority rule, as urged by Mr. S. Nadesan in 1955.

The region's traditional market, Sri Lanka itself, for agricultural produce and cottage industry's products is fast becoming out of bounds due to (a) political insecurity and inaccessibility, (b) unrestricted imports and (c) increasing production of the same commodities in other districts.

The region has therefore few options other than to look outward to foreign markets, although export trade is vulnerable to external shocks like protectionism, recession, competition, unequal exchange, falling terms of trade

development of light industries. The type of heavy industry suited to a surplus-labour region is the labour intensive type like ship-building, but passenger and cargo transport by sea is an industry severely hit by recession. However, ship-building for deep-sea fishing and mining of the ocean-bed hold out bright prospects. The northern and eastern sea board are favourably situated for the exploitation of the resources of the ocean.

Capital and technology for the establishment of such industries are no problem in

as:

1) modern transportation, power-supply and water resources within the region.

2) the emergence of a high-level entrepreneurial class to pioneer the initial industrial thrust and develop the capability to attract and collaborate with foreign investors,

3) the development of local capital to match foreign capital,

4) the development of manpower to suit the demands of industrial development and

5) the establishment of an export processing zone

needs of the region are manpower resources at all stages of scientific and technological education. The examples of South Korea and Taiwan are worth emulating where the great bulk of educational resources, over 50 per cent of the education budget, are channelled into technical education and training programmes.

by S. R.  
**Asirwatham**

The share of science and technology in the educational budget of Sri Lanka and of the region is about 10 per cent which is the main cause of educational waste, the break-neck rat-race of students for university education, their frustration when university admissions are curtailed and their psychological paranoia and eventual resort to militant anti-state activity.

There is no dearth of high level entrepreneurs in the region. Their capabilities are being wasted after their industries in Colombo were destroyed in July 1983. Nor is there a dearth of capital or technology, for it is well within the competence of expatriates to provide both.

What is lacking is a regional administration which can create the investment climate, provide the econ-

## Essential for

and instability in the longer term. The alternative of an inward-looking economy is even worse because the scope for growth in a small local market is severely restricted. The economy of the region is stagnant because of this parochial strategy.

Given these constraints, what are the primary commodities, manufactures and services, which could be exported? On a static view of the markets mentioned, the potential exports could be identified from the Customs Returns or more easily from the Central Bank's Economic Reviews which are put out annually. They are, for example, garments, handloom

a world which is burdened with excessive capital stock and monetary capital, excessive installed capacities for steel and other metal production and a technology which is too advanced for traditional industry.

Prospective investors are scouting the third world for investment opportunities because the marginal efficiency of capital in the traditional industries of developed countries is declining and rates of profits are falling. The electronics industry, energy industry and ocean bed mining industry are the industries of tomorrow. A developing country should boldly plunge into modern industry

which could provide the initial attraction to foreign investors.

Foreign investors are attracted not by prospects and promises of infrastructure development but by what is already on the ground even if it be only its rudimentary beginnings. The authorities concerned, central or regional, should make a start and give the initial impetus. A large pool of skilled, semi-skilled and educated unskilled manpower at competitive wage rates usually provide the prime attraction.

The educational and training system of the region will therefore have to change radically with the changed econ-

## Rapid Development

textiles, batiks, manufactured or semi-manufactured rubber and leather products, paper board, umbrellas, mats, baskets, arecanut, betel leaf, etc.

The first three items, namely garments, handloom textiles and batiks, have the greatest export potential because the industrialised countries have either given Sri Lanka generous quotas or waived quota restrictions to the least developed countries of the third world.

Rubber and leather semi-manufactures also have good export prospects but the manufacture of finished products would need foreign collaboration in technology and investment capital.

The other manufactures and primary products are within the technical and financial competence of local entrepreneurs to produce and export. Heavy industry is a necessary base for rapid economic growth, quite apart from its potential for stimulating the deve-

and should not be cramped by traditional industries or intermediate technologies. Other heavy and labour-intensive industries suited to the region are railway carriage building for export, ship-repair and ship-breaking. The problem is to create the most favourable investment climate compared to what other third world countries could offer.

The foreign investment climate as regards constitutional guarantees of capital repatriation and profit remittance, liberal fiscal policies, tax concessions, low tariffs, import liberalisation, expatriate facilities, insurance, banking, capital and money markets, shipping, aviation and other economic infrastructures and institutional supports created by the Central Government are indeed superb and they are probably unsurpassed in South Asia.

Regional development calls for supplementary infrastructures and institutions, such

omic circumstances. The demand for academic education and the liberal arts at the university level was a feature of education suited to a by gone era. The development

omic and social infrastructures and co-ordinate the investment production and marketing activities of entrepreneurs and investors in the region.

## Human Rights Case Before UN

A resolution was submitted to the UN Human Rights Sub-Committee by India, Yugoslavia and Cyprus urging that an immediate solution be found to the national question in Sri Lanka.

Delegates from several other countries spoke in support of the resolution.

India's former minister of state Mr. S. Bandh submitted the resolution.

Mr. V.N. Navaratnam, former M.P. for Chavakacheri, S.Chandrasekaran, Mr.N.Xavier, attorney-at-law were present in Geneva in connection with the conference.



## Sports

by Victor Kiruparaj

## Rain Proves

## A Spoiler

Persistent rain, very unusual during this month when fiery Pheobus should blaze a golden trail over the Jaffna sky, proved to be a 'dampener', in the inter-schools cricket matches played last weekend.

Though play was restricted to a few hours play due to the inclement weather, Jaffna Central taking on Hartley at Point Pedro, drew the game in a rather low-scoring affair.

Jaffna Central, batting on a rain-soaked pitch, could but muster 116 of which skipper V. Sutharshanan top scored with an elegant 38. Others who entered double figures were S. Jeykumar 17, A. Rajasekar 16, C. Manojkumar 13 and P. Raviraj 13.

Bowling: S. Kathirchelvan 3 for 22, N. Mailvaganam 1 for 13, B. Nandakumar 3 for 29 and R. Shantharan 3 for 24 shared the spoils for Hartley.

Hartley in reply fared worse to collect 93, S. Sutharshanan being top scorer with 28. Others who contributed their mite were P. Nareshkumar 19 and A. Richard 13.

Bowling P. Raviraj 5 for 26, and Sutharshanan 3 for 34.

Jaffna Central going in a second time registered 57 for 4 wickets at close. Sutharshanan top scored again with a quick 25.

## MATCH DRAW

The Kokuvil Hindu - Jaffna match played on wednesday last week ended in a draw

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when persistent rain curtailed the hours of play.

Jaffna Central (1st Innings) 175 for 7 wickets.

P. Raviraj 45, V. Sutharshanan 27, A. F. Gratian 25, K. Karunraj 16 and C. Manojkumar 11, Terry Mahan Ganeshalingam 10, A. Rajasekar 24.

Mathitharan 2 for 51, S. Vijayanathan 1 for 15, S. Sasitharan 1 for 18.

Kokuvil Hindu (1st Innings) 100 for 7 wickets.

Ketheeswaran 28, Vijayanathan 21, Satheeskumar 21.

Bowling: V. Sutharshanan 6 for 38, T. Raviraj 1 for 27, J. C. C. (2nd Innings) 1 for no loss.

## BAD LIGHT

Not a ball was bowled on second day of the Johnian Patrician annual encounter, dampening the enthusiasm of the cricket fans here. In the two hours of play on the first day.

St. John's taking strike first, struggled on to 74 for 5 wickets. Nishanthan had made 30 and consistent bat V. Muraleedaran had collected an unbeaten 25 when bad light caused an early closure.

## RAIN PREVENTED FURTHER PLAY

The Kokuvil Hindu-Skanda varodaya match, too, ended on a disgusting note when heavy rains on the second day prevented any further play. Nevertheless Kokuvil Hindu registered 175 for 5 on the first day. S. Sasitharan wielded the willow with gay abandon hit up 64. S. Satheeskumar and Vijayanathan were both unbeaten on 33 and 42 respectively.

## JAFFNA COLLEGE BEAT BY AN INNING

Jaffna College beat Manipay Hindu by an Innings.

Jaffna College (1st Innings) 189 for 5 declared K. Sankar 57 N. O. Jeyaseelan 3 for 71.

Manipay Hindu (1st Innings) 52.

S. Paramalingam 7 for 22. Manipay Hindu (2nd Innings) 101.

S. Paramalingam 3 for 26.

## Saturday Review Mentioned in house

In Parliament on 7th March, Mr. Sarath Muthettuwagama, M.P. for Kalawana asked why of all the newspapers in Sri Lanka, censorship was being applied only to the Saturday Review.

Was it because the newspaper came from the North? He asked.

He said the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW was a Sinhalese.

## LETTERS

(Continued from page 4)

be expected of our authorities. If they fail in this, well, they would qualify for the wrath of God.

Contracts, especially building contracts, are always a touchy subject. But people cannot be blamed when they see for themselves the pathetic progress in works that has been the feature of most buildings, including the University and other public buildings, not to mention the architectural abortions that some of them personify. People are entitled to question whether the terms of contracts relating to these buildings are devoid of the usual penalty clauses which are normally effective enough to force the contractor to conform to the time-schedules. Or have the penalty provisions been pushed into cold storage? Or is there a paucity of funds? The people ought to be informed by the authorities concerned.

The alleged stoppage of construction work on the Cement Corporation Harbour at Kankesanurai is another matter which deserves public comment and a possible explanation by the authorities.

The above home truths might sound humdrum in the charged staccato atmosphere of contemporary Jaffna. For fifty years the people of Jaffna have been fed on political rhetoric. The people today hear no rhetoric, they hear something else. But the civilian authorities, whoever is left of them, have a duty to work for the long-term interests and needs of the land and its people.

R. Mano Mohan.  
Jaffna.

## 'Military Tactics no Answer'

(Extract from DON BOSCO'S MADONNA, November 1983, published by the Don Bosco Institution, Bombay.)

What is terrorism?

We would say it is a method of political struggle that uses terror to punish, confuse and destroy enemies and opposition.

We distinguish two classes of terrorism; the first is used by those "at the top" to retain and re-inforce their power; the second is used by those "at the bottom" to seize power and we read about this everyday.

But the objectives are different; in some places terrorism is used to obtain nationalistic claims; in other places there are racial claims; still others mix their claims with religion; in Latin America, there is a strong "liberation" motive; in other countries there are terrorists with bleak ideological reasons.

Much of the present terrorism is a movement to bring down the bourgeoisie (called imperialists), the government or state that protects them, and the multinational companies that support them.

The Holy Father invites us to pray so that justice prevails over the violence of terrorism. Governments must have the means to meet the situation, but within the framework of a deeply human ethics, hopefully without recourse to martial law, military tactics or the death penalty.

The remedy must go deeper still; this phenomenon is a profound dissatisfaction for most young people. Their reasons should be carefully studied. They will not be satisfied with orders from on high. It will be necessary to use responsible educational means in schools and universities, paying special attention to the influence of the mass media. It will be necessary to take seriously the political, economical, and social injustices and renew many institutions criticised for good reasons.

## PEOPLE

Mr. I. T. Sampanthan a well known trade unionist is in the intensive care unit at the General Hospital, Jaffna, after a heart attack.

## MY ENLIGHTENMENT

by

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# THE PAINFUL DEPARTURE FROM SRI LANKA

(Continued from last issue)

As soon as one is informed that his application is accepted and a passport is issued, a "quit notice" is sent to him by the Sri Lanka Government. He is permitted to stay for a period extending from six months to one year during which period he must settle his provident fund account, gratuity and other benefits and arrange for the transfer of assets to India and also make travel preparations. Overstaying in the earlier years meant arrest and forcible deportation to India. There had been considerable delays in the settlement of gratuity and provident fund and the workers have been put to considerable hardships. His Excellency Thomas Abraham former Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, has mentioned that the High Commission had to take up many such cases with the Sri Lanka Government for speedy settlement of all dues. The Estimates Committee has also pointed out that Indians awaiting repatriation are often held up in Sri Lanka because of delays in payment of their provident fund, gratuity, etc.

"Even in a world where there has been so much else to hit the headlines, it is surprising that the Agreements, which heralded the largest organised

worker migration of the 20th century, have gone so largely unnoticed."

The irony of the situation can be understood from the fact that in Tamilnadu today these hapless people are generally referred to as "Sri Lankan Tamils", a position which they never got in Sri Lanka even after many years of residence in that island.

The process of repatriation had been exceedingly slow. It was expected to commence in 1965, but the Sri Lanka 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 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". As soon as one is informed that his application is accepted and a passport is issued, a "quit notice" is sent to him by the Sri Lankan Government. He is permitted to stay for a period extending from six months to one year during which period he must settle his provident fund account, gratuity and other benefits and arrange for the transfer of assets to India and also make travel preparations. Overstaying in the earlier years meant arrest and forcible deportation to India. There had been considerable delays in the settlement of gratuity

patriates are driven from pillar to post and languish in different parts of Tamilnadu.

Rehabilitation is planned on a family basis. As soon as the passport is obtained, the repatriates are required to apply to the Indian High Commission for a family card. The family card is the most important document in the process of rehabilitation. It gives details of the family, the type of occupation to which they are assigned, amount of grants and loans to which they are entitled, their place of employment in India, etc. Unfortunately, the illiterate and ignorant repatriates do not realise that their fate in India would be determined by the entries in the family card. The repatriates, accustomed to a sheltered and insular life in the plantations, are in-

the Scheduled Castes or Backward Classes. In Tamilnadu, people belonging to S. C./B. C. are entitled to a large number of benefits. In many cases, the repatriates are deprived of these benefits because the family card does not contain this vital information.

(To be continued)

By **V. Suryanarayanan**

and provident fund and the workers have been put to considerable hardships. Mr. Thomas Abraham, former Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, has mentioned that the High Commission had to take up many such cases with the Sri Lanka Government for speedy settlement of all dues. The Estimates Committee has also pointed out that Indians awaiting repatriation are often held up in Sri Lanka because of delays in payment of their provident fund gratuity, etc.

Immediately after the signing of the Sirimavo-Sastri Pact, the Indian High Commission launched a publicity campaign among the Indian Tamils. Attractive, illustrated booklets in English and Tamil were widely distributed in the plantations which held forth the promise of a secure and decent life in India. The rehabilitation assistance mentioned in the booklets included (A) Employment in Government-sponsored tea, rubber and cinchona plantations and state farm corporations; (B) Preferential employment in factories, sugar mills, spinning mills and transport corporations; (C) Settlement in land colonies and allotment of land for cultivations; (D) Loans for the purchase of cultivable land; (E) Business loans for self-employment; (F) Financial aid for housing; (G) Educational facilities for children and (H) Customs and travel concessions. But these hopes were soon shattered. Most of the grandiose schemes failed due to bureaucratic bungling and red-tapism. For the repatriates it was a bitter home-coming. Unwanted in Sri Lanka and unwelcome in India, the re-

capable of judging which among the repatriation schemes would best suit them. Nor has the Indian High Commission started any meaningful counselling regarding the facilities available in India. With neither the knowledge nor proper guidance, the repatriates fall an easy prey to the touts and come to grief when they come to India. It must also be mentioned in this connection that the family card makes no mention of the caste/community to which the repatriates belong. Most of the repatriates are from the lower rungs of the Hindu society and belong either to

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# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## THE SUN IS UP TO IT AGAIN!

The Sun, published by Independent Newspapers Ltd., has done us a big disservice by publishing a news item in its issue of 28th

February 1984 without placing it in its proper context.

After the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW by the Jayewardene Government on 1st July 1983, using Emergency powers, we have been repeatedly challenging the order issued by the Competent Authority, Mr Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State, in the Supreme Court under the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court, in its wisdom, dismissed our first and second applications for leave to proceed with our petitions. But the third and fourth applications for leave to proceed have been allowed, as reported in the SATURDAY REVIEW on 25th February.

This order was made on 20th February—before the order on the second application was delivered, as the Court had reserved its order in the earlier case.

It is to this order that the SUN gave Page 1 publicity on 28th February, under the headline "SATURDAY REVIEW CASE — PETITIONERS REFUSED LEAVE TO PROCEED".

But the SUN did not give the same publicity to the order on the third and fourth applications (which were taken up for hearing together)—and which was favourable to us. Why?

The SUN cannot plead ignorance, because its reporter visited the Court while proceedings were on.

The upshot was that many of our readers began to wonder whether the SATURDAY REVIEW had been allowed to resume publication at all or whether it had been closed again!

Earlier, the SUN reported that the ban on the SATURDAY REVIEW had been lifted but did not say that it was under certain stiff conditions.

I regret to state that the newspaper I helped to found as its first Chief Sub-Editor in 1964 and with which I was associated later on as a freelance writer has fallen from its former high professional standards.

— EDITOR.

## MILITARY RULE IN JAFFNA?

Co-ordinating officer is to be appointed for the Jaffna district to look after not only the security aspects but the civilian administration as well.

Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne is tipped for the post. The civilian administration will function under him.

At the same time, the

Government Agent, Mr. D. Nesiah is to be replaced by Mr. Camilus Fernando, the Government Agent of Trincomalee. (SUN, 3rd March.)

## PRIMA : QUERY IN HOUSE

In Parliament on 28th March 1983, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Sri Lanka Freedom Party MP for Attanagala, asked the following question from the Minister of Food and Co-operatives!

(a) Is he aware that after the Prima Flour Mill was set up flour produced there was given over to the Food Commissioner.

(b) Will he state separately the quantity of flour so purchased each month.

(c) Is he aware that after the production of flour was commissioned at the Prima Flour Mill the Food Commissioner has imported flour for consumption?

(d) Will he state separately the quantity of flour imported in each month, its value and the country from which the flour was imported during the relevant period?

(e) Will he state the reason why flour had to be imported after flour production began at Prima Flour Mill?

Mr. M. Vincent Perera, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs: I table the answer, on behalf of the Minister of Food and Co-operatives.

Answer tabled: (a) Yes. (b) Wheat flour is not purchased from the Prima Flour Mill. Wheat grain is imported and supplied to the Prima Mill for milling into

	1980 (M.T)	1981 (M.T)	1982 (M.T)	1983 (M.T)
January	...	19,615	23,215	41,693
February	...	16,310	28,529	39,293
March	...	28,146	34,734	...
April	...	10,895	29,911	...
May	...	25,096	33,534	...
June	...	19,355	24,800	...
July	...	33,683	33,041	...
August	...	33,453	31,177	...
September	...	35,849	35,831	...
October	...	30,791	25,115	...
November	29,878	36,341	29,109	...
December	20,261	34,341	43,207	...

(c) Yes. Only one cargo of wheat flour was imported by the Food Commissioner after the mill was commissioned.

(d) (i) 5,000 metric tons imported in March 1983. (ii) Total C & F value US \$ 1,355,310.00. (iii) Country of origin Singapore.

(e) This cargo of flour was imported to avert a possible shortage that could have arisen in stocks of wheat flour, due to the delay in the arrival of two wheat shipments.

Mr. Lakshman Jayakody: Will he give an assurance that he would table in this House, through the proper Ministry, the contract that we have between the Prima Flour Mills organization

and the Government of Sri Lanka whereby they gave a definite undertaking that we will not run short of flour?

Mr. M. Vincent Perera: I will bring it to the notice of the Minister concerned.

## Breakfast ...

(Continued From Page 2)

what they wish to produce or even over the fruit of their toil. They are also required to serve the tables of the rich in this country and abroad. You will see that the primary object of food, therefore, is no longer the feeding of hungry people, but of securing a profitable return on an investment. The alleviation of hunger cannot be left in the hands of the rich, who have only

known gluttony, avarice and a full stomach. They, who have never known a day's hunger, must be schooled in the ways of hunger. They must also learn what it is to survive by dependence on dustbins. There are enough dustbins in the five-star democracy".

And with this the Master rose and disappeared into the bustling crowd in the morning sunshine, leaving me marvelling at this embodiment of plain living and high thinking.

H. A. I. G.

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