

PEACE CONSTITUTION FOR SRI LANKA

By

S. S. Bala

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SRI LANKA.

AIMS

1. Preserve integrity of the nation.
2. Give power to the people.
3. Stop armed conflict.

THIS BOOKLET IS WRITTEN WITH MALICE
TOWARDS NONE
AND WITH GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP TO ALL

"EXTRACT FROM PRESIDENT WIJETUNGA'S SPEECH AT THE
SLFI COLOMBO"

(Daily News Jan. 24, 1994)

Devolution is not a theoretical concept to be pursued for its own sake. It is very much a matter of practical politics and is something of general applicability valid in any country. It is almost a universal belief that functions of government are best performed at a point which is closest to the people, subject to considerations of practicality. This is the idea behind the popular slogan of "taking the administration to the doorsteps of the people". The mechanics of achieving this objective vary.

How do we also ensure that, in the long run, the process of democratisation goes right down the line? That is to say, how do we ensure that the devolved units, say the Provinces, will enable the towns and villages, to manage those affairs of theirs, which are best left to themselves?

INTRODUCTION

Principally, tinkering with the present constitution is not going to work in spite of all the efforts by Prof. G.L. Peiris and the Constitutional Reform Committee. A radical change is necessary. Participatory Decentralised Government, more or less based on the U.S. Constitution, with even more far reaching citizen's rights is the only way. It needs to be a Socialist, Democratic Liberal Decentralised Government.

Enclosed is a diagram or plan of a proposed constitution for the Government. The idea, or a somewhat similar one, if accepted would take about five years for introduction from grass roots upwards working with the present constitution in tandem.

The principal features are :-

1. We have worked hard to get The Executive Presidency and we should not lose it. His actions, however, need to be ratifiable by The Chief of the Legislative House and the Chief Justice whose appointment should be completely independent of the President who would be elected by the whole country as at present.
2. Each Ward, County and State would look after their affairs. This would obviate the need for peace talks etc., with "Tigers" and other groups. This could be achieved by withdrawing troops allowing the G.A.'s to introduce "Self Government" in the "wards"

in the first year, the County the second year and so on. The new constitution could be introduced to the whole country or to the North East in the first instance.

3. All Heads of Departments would be appointed by the President obviating the need for so many Hon. Ministers of Central and Provincial Governments.
4. Ex-patriots should be able to take part in elections and help with running embassies.
5. Undergraduates, JVP, TULF, Tigers and others would act more responsibly if they were given responsibility for their own patch, i.e. ward, county etc.

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APPENDIX

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

SOCIAL CONTRACT

When Jean Jacques Rousseau started writing his Social Contract, he realised there probably were a thousand ways of gathering men together and that though there might be a multitude of aggregations which exist, not even two had been formed in the same way.

Rousseau saw clearly the necessity of popular consent, continuous expression and active agreement periodically renewed. This could be done only in small numbers. He admired the City States of Ancient Greece and thought the Nation States of Europe should be split up into federative leagues of independent City States.

Synopsis

People in Matara are not interested in how people in Valvettithurai conduct their lives and vice versa. Nor are people in Anuradhapura interested in how people in Batticaloa live. Similarly, people living in Nuwara Eliya would not be terribly interested in how people live in Kelaniya or Panadura.

People living in small communities made up of Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims or whether they are Sinhalese, Tamils, Malays, Burghers or whatever live in harmony.

Let everybody to a great extent live as they please in their own places and develop their own livelihood, industries and culture.

Let the local Vithane, Headman or Chairman of Panchayat be the person who runs the show locally and form the executive unit of Government. For this to be effective, the constituents to this unit should not be more than a thousand people. This would essentially make it possible for everyone of the constituents to know the chairman/woman personally and vice versa, so that local election promises could be more effectively carried out, monitored and local consultations can take place at a drop of a hat, probably at a street corner, tea shop or lounge.

It is quite well known that thousands of the well educated and talented people in addition to the thousands of refugees have emigrated. They populate various parts of the world and most have

done very well indeed. Most of them to my knowledge are desirous, particularly as they get older of coming back or would like to invest and be philanthropic in developing their place of origin. If this local unit of government as stated above is small enough and directly accessible and if people knew where their cash is going and what it is doing, more will be forthcoming. The industries and particularly tourism would boom.

Sri Lankans and foreign well wishers in other countries would become constituents as well in units of a thousand people each, pay their dues, nominate people for High Commissions and Ambassadors, so that there will be a smoother relationship between Sri Lankans, expatriates and the host countries. This would form an effective line of communication and a very good cost cutting exercise.

As shown in the chart, page 6 a hundred of such chairmen would form a County Council and select a Chairman. Ten of the Chairmen and their constituents would form a state (one million people) and elect a governor. The Chairmen themselves would collectively form the legislative assembly of the county. The President, as at present would be elected by the whole country.

It is about time we gave peace a priority. It needs to be developed from everywhere rather than be imposed from the top. No amount of repression, martial or emergency law is going to satisfy local needs and aspirations. Tensions are bound to boil over.

Schools, hospitals, transport, police and other services needs to meet local requirements and can be effective only if they are locally managed.

Election of M.P.'s by thousands of people whom they never see again until the next election is of no use. Let it not be said that the MP's did not try to do their jobs. However, the pressures of time are such that physically, it is impossible to meet or satisfy the needs of thousands of people.

Such a change needs to be introduced gradually so that transition can take place smoothly probably over a period of 5 years allowing a year for each stratum to get established. Parts of the new constitution would work in tandem with the old.

The idea that two nations can exist is possible but quite improbable.

If politicians are selected by large masses of people individuals have no direct contact with the people whom they elect. Intermediaries appear with back-handers and bribes etc. The elected need to be "powerful" to maintain themselves in power. They become stronger and try and elbow each other out. Ultimately one or two become very powerful. Sometimes they become supremely powerful, answerable to no-one. "Absolute power corrupts absolutely".

Ghandi intended India to be a village-based democracy with cottage industry etc, flourishing. Obviously big and heavy industries are necessary and should be the collective responsibility of the people and those of a special ability such as Scientists and Industrialists. Collective is the operative word. Collected power from the people.

Central power is the antithesis of Democracy. Even federalism is in doubt if the centre can take over power arbitrarily.

The base of the legislature should be the local village or district Chairperson elected by not more than a thousand people. It should be reiterated that it is essential that every individual should know whom he is electing, not some nebulous character who disappears the moment election is over and does not appear until the next election.

This requires radical thinking, revolutionary ideas and a President who thinks of the people rather than his own power and how to fight off all challengers.

Recently the British Government were so happy that Indonesia had ordered 10 jet fighters. This meant more money and security for the workers. However, they did not stop to think what these jets are for. They will be used by the Autocratic government to shoot their own people.

We need to break away from aids from the capitalist countries which perpetuates greater dependence on them. It is similar to "AIDS" the disease which weakens the defence mechanisms of the body.

There are sufficient numbers of our own expatriates industrialists, financiers and philanthropists who would like to come back or do something for their birth place and home land.

Emigration is not altogether bad for Sri Lanka. The refugees both Sinhalese and Tamils do quite well and send a fair amount of wealth back.

It is really the top scientists and philanthropists who in despair do not do anything for the mother country because they feel that whatever they do it would be a waste.

They would like their efforts to go to the real people and not get tied up in red tape misdirected and made ineffectual. The central patronage and favouritism also encourages the appointment of unsuitable relations etc for posts they cannot handle and hence make life difficult for the "real workers"

Some people come to power with good intentions. JR would have loved to have been known as the president who brought peace to Sri Lanka. Although his intentions were good he knew the type of people he was dealing with. He tried cajoling and bribing with luxuries such as pajaros and jeeps etc, to no avail.

Local understanding of the people has been so thwarted that the only slogan that hits home is "Elect us and we will be more effective in destroying the Tamils, our greatest enemy." Once elected they realise it is an impossible goal.

Everybody who lives in Sri Lanka is or should be equal citizens able to live and direct their lives as they please in their local community. Central power or federalism under authoritarian governments are not going to help.

If the President who is also the Commander-in-Chief is serious enough and means business in bringing about peace, he should withdraw all military and all paramilitary organisations from their fighting duties, release all the refugees and political internees and ask the GA's and AGA's to organise units of a thousand people forming a village, town or district and get them to elect a Chairmen to look after their affairs. We need to bypass the fruitless negotiations by the particularly powerful people who would not only like to

maintain their power bases but would like to extend their sphere of influence.

We need to privatise or peoplise everything in sight including Telephone, Railways, T.V. and The Press.

This might be thought of as too simplistic a view. Running a country is like running a family business. You need to let go the reins a bit and delegate to get the maximum out of people. Of course one needs to balance the books as well.

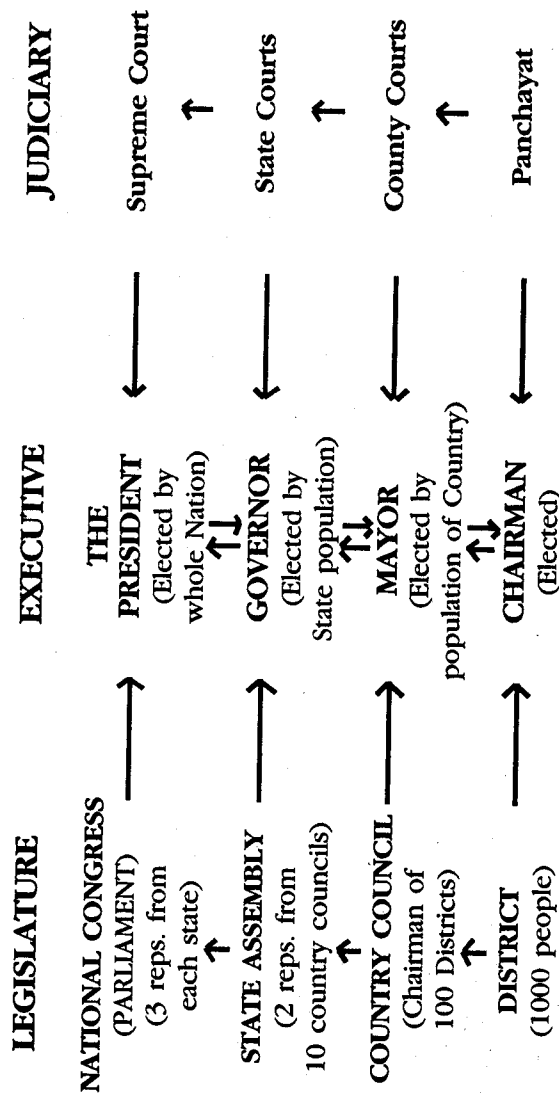
Three representatives from each of the state councils or assembly would form the national parliament. With such a small body effective government will be possible without the dramatics and behind the scenes activities that go on in parliament.

That which we cannot win by fighting (war and force) we can win by showing kindness. We ought to try peace for a change.

Sri Lanka could have been a prosperous and prestigious country if there had been peace. It is never too late to change.

NEW CONSTITUTION

(American Style)



EDUCATION, INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, TV, RADIO, ETC. TO BE CONTROLLED LOCALLY

CONSTITUTION

(as shown in the chart)

CHAIRMAN AND DISTRICT

Each thousand people elect a chairman and Panchayat to look after their affairs.

MAYOR AND COUNTY

A hundred of the chairmen and the population they represent will form a County and the chairmen would meet as a County Council. The whole population of the county would elect a mayor who would be the executive.

GOVERNOR AND STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Ten of the Counties will form a State with two representatives from each County Council coming together to form the State Legislative Assembly. Independently the whole of the state population would elect a Governor who would be the executive.

PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT

There will probably be fifteen states. Three members from each of the State Assemblies would form the National Parliament. A President would be elected by the whole population of the Country who will be the executive, as in the United States.

This type of constitution will have the local people looking after their affairs and will be more conducive to peace and cohesion of the nation. Each district and state can pass its own laws. All affairs within the states and districts will be controlled by state and district legislation, and encourage local industry, commerce etc, including local TV, radio stations and public transport etc.

Judiciary will obviously be completely independent.

DEDICATION

The author would like to dedicate this work to the following:-

1. President JR Jayawardene. He is probably the greatest statesman Sri Lanka has produced. He 'liberalised' Sri Lanka, with free enterprise, free trade, freedom of travel etc. He literally moved Sri Lanka into the twentieth century. When elected Prime Minister in 1977, he started with a clean sheet and with all good intentions. He repealed emergency law, saying that, if it was in the cupboard somewhere he might be tempted to use it. However, his autocratic ways and the unsportsmanlike attitude of the parliamentarians made him not only bring back the emergency regulations, but introduce the Prevention of Terrorism Act as well.

By this time, the Tamils had been let down so many times that they would not co-operate, hence the Sixth Amendment. The situation in the south got completely out of hand so that he had to get I P K F in to hold at least the north at bay.

In spite of all this, the author feels he did more for the country than anybody else. Not the least of it was to bring Gary Sobers in and put Sri Lanka on the cricketing map of the world. He handed over power without being defeated and still draws great crowds when he speaks and he is in great demand for

engagements. He would dearly love to have been known as the person who brought peace to Sri Lanka.

2. President DB Wijetunga, the quietly efficient one. In life one must have a fair share of luck to be successful. President DB Wijetunga seems to have had more than his fair share of it. He was appointed a 'temporary Prime Minister' to keep out the contenders Athulathmuthali and Dissanayake. Now he is President and has managed to 'bag' Anura. Let's hope he does not become autocratic but gives power to the people and brings peace to Sri Lanka. From the track record of the previous incumbents, it might be too much to hope for. His powers are such that if he is fair enough and effective enough he could bring about peace almost single handed.
3. Professor G L Peiris, who probably knows more about Constitutional Law than anybody else in the world. Probably he could extol the virtues of participatory government as opposed to autocratic government. Benevolent dictatorship is probably not too bad, but a self benefitting autocratic government is not ideal.

So far the present President seems to be quite benevolent. Let's hope he keeps it up. Professor Peiris is probably the ablest public speaker the author has come across. Let us hope he can 'guide' the powers that matter towards a peace constitution.

4. S Thondaman. A great politician if there ever was one. He has achieved more for his people than anybody, and also much for Sri Lanka in trade and tourism. As a Cabinet Minister he seems to talk a lot of sense and seems to have a balanced view on most topics.
5. Nath Amarakone. An engineer by profession with a most initiative mind. He organised the A.S.T.W., O.P.A., Sanathana Foundation, National Amity Movement National Interact Movement etc. etc. He is uniting in his work for fairness etc. Unfortunately in our world such good works are not justly rewarded.

Historical Notes

Earliest history of Sri Lanka shows these separate settlements:-

at: Tambapanni	on	Malwattuoya
Upatissagama	on	Mahaweliganga
in Ruhuna	on	Walaweganga

with Mahagama as Seat of Southern Capital.

Later there was:-

Udarata
Ruhunurata
Kelany Rata
Raja Rata

and probably:

Yal Rata.

Also at various times the whole country was united with capitals at :-

Anuradha Pura
Polonnaruwa
Sigiriya
Dambadeniya
Kurunegala
and Kandy.

In 1926 SWRD Bandaranaike wrote that different parts of Sri Lanka over thousands of years had had their own cultures, languages and showed no signs of combining.

Hence, he advocated a federal form of government on the lines of the USA and Switzerland.

In 1956 he introduced the Sinhala Only policy and the turmoil that has ensued.

The Case for a Grass Roots Constitution

This book is written with the aim of producing a Constitution that would defuse the situation in Sri Lanka without anybody losing any real ground.

In a true democracy, the least is as important as the greatest. The citizens transfer sovereignty to State so that the latter would serve their interests. Ideally, such a situation should be subject to continual monitoring and agreement. This will be possible only if the unit of government could be brought down to about a thousand people. Such a unit of a thousand people could be called a district who could elect a Vithane or Chairman who would be the executive and could be consulted at any time.

A hundred of such districts would elect a person to a Pradeshya Sabha Council. The whole of the area covered by a hundred districts will form a County or Pradeshya and elect a mayor by popular vote. He would be the Executive. Ten of such counties would elect two members each to form a State Council. The whole area covered by the ten counties will be a State. The whole State would elect a Governor by popular vote and he will be the executive. The states could be federated or unfederated as was the case in Malaysia.

Each of the states will elect three members to Parliament. The whole of the country by popular vote would elect a President.

All the councils will be legislative bodies responsible for making the laws.

The executives will be responsible for all appointments of government servants in their own areas.

All the Vithanes within each county will meet with the Mayor each month to apprise him of their activities within their own districts.

Whatever happens within a district is the responsibility of the Vithane. All supra district activity within the county will be the responsibility of the Mayor.

Similarly, all the mayors within a state would meet with the Governor once a month to apprise him of all activities within each of the counties. All activities which cover more than each of the counties will be the responsibility of the Governor.

All the Governors would meet the President once a month for counselling and advice.

The Executive President would be responsible for the government. As in the USA, he would appoint departmental heads or ministers. Ideally, there should be no more than ten departmental heads in:-

- Finance
- Industry
- Health and Social Services
- Education
- Home Affairs
- Trade
- Justice
- Tourism
- Agriculture
- Foreign Affairs.

This type of Constitution will allow people to live in harmony in their own areas using their own language, tradition, customs, culture etc.

If it is approved, it would need to be introduced each stratum at a time and would probably take about five years to be fully implemented.

If we do anything hastily, we are bound to regret it later.

The President would stay in position to see the change through and see PEACE established.

In a true democracy, maintaining peace is a juggling act. There would be a multitude of opinions, powers sectional interests etc. and a constant debate. This in fact would be a good thing to sharpen our minds, ability and industry in and among the districts and states. This could lead only to progress.

Electing more local executives will create greater responsibility as they will be in constant touch with the electors.

No negotiation would be necessary as the GAs and AGAs could be asked to organise the local elections. It is true that in the initial years the local dissident groups will gain power, but they will have to work hard to maintain the trust of the people. Eventually, it will be all for the good of the country.

Anything would be better than losing Rs 25,000 million a year and even more important would be the thousands of lives saved.

At present the number of State Ministers, Provincial Ministers in addition to the Governors, GAs, AGAs down to Mayors and DROs makes the government unwieldy. Responsibilities are so divided as to make it difficult to find out who is responsible for what. It creates a great deal of frustration for people carrying out the duties and those unable to reach the people to have something done.

In a true Prajathanthraya everybody should have a rightful place including the Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna, Jathika Chinthayana, the Buddhist clergy, the Privenas, the Universities (students and staff) EROS, TELOS, EPRLF, OPA, GMOA, PLOTE, the Champions of Ayurvedha and holistic medicine and Manthras and Sasthraya. The more, the merrier!

Seriously, everybody should have their say. They should have their peer groups, i.e. like the Boys' & Girls' Movements, like the Scouts, Girl Guides, Boys' Brigades etc. elect leaders such as patrol leaders and troop leaders and captains and so on and keep, say a 1:10 ratio. Thus they can express their views in a controlled fashion, present themselves as individuals at the various elections and gain respectability.

The ranting and raving that goes on at the moment and the counter reactions and suppression does not help anybody.

It is considered that there is peace in the south, but at what cost. At least 7,000 of the JVP had been killed, but it would have been many thousands more. They all had their right to live and express their opinions. If these had been presented properly and had been received and reacted upon satisfactorily in the early stages, such bloodshed could have been avoided.

Whenever the clergy had gained an upper hand, this is followed by distrust and misgivings even under Dutugememunu. His son refused to accept the crown. The reasons are well known.

All the pacts with the Tamils have been broken leading to the Tiger uprising. Now they have nothing to lose. It is claimed that they claim one third of the land and two-thirds of the coastline but would anybody stop to think that this would comprise about one tenth of the fertile or useful productive land?

Too much emotion and not rational thinking seems to sway opinions and measures, causing unfortunate reactions. Peer groups discussing things in a rational way and presenting themselves at the electorates would help create an atmosphere of responsibility. The executive President could weigh up the pros and cons and discuss with the elected governors and carry out his duties for the benefit of the country and not the party, and not subject himself to haranguing of the pressure groups.

Plus Factors of New Constitution

If this Constitution is accepted:-

1. The Sinhala nation will lose nothing, but gain greater regionalisation.
2. Not only the Tamils but also the Sinhalese in various parts of the country and the other groups would gain a great deal of autonomy.
3. This will lead to greater responsibility for their actions and make them more accountable.
4. The billions in rupees and thousands of people saved from the conflict would be put to greater use in developing this country.

We have done not so bad so far

In spite of all our problems, we are still a Liberal Democratic Socialist Republic - with relatively trouble-free elections. In that respect we are much better than, e.g. Myanmar.

The Rule of Law is respected. The judiciary system and its independence is a great boon apart from a few lapses. Justices Fernando and others have acquitted themselves quite well in Indo-China. BASL seems to be quite effective in pointing out various excesses.

By some financial wizardry, we are still afloat, but probably only just.

Our people abroad are respected a great deal in their various jobs in the UNO, WHO, FAO, universities and other professional institutes.

So we should be glad we are doing reasonably well, but there is always room for improvement.

A THRIVING SRI LANKA

AIRPORTS

Cessation of trouble would increase tourism and much greater use of KATUNAYAKE would ensure another international airport at PALALY - this would increase revenue vastly.

PORTS

At the moment the port in Colombo is congested. There are queues developing and some people have indicated they might boycott Colombo. Other ports, and particularly Trinco, could be developed with a fast railway link to Colombo. Of course, other ports such as Galle, Matara, Batticaloa, KKS, Point Pedro, Valvettithurai etc. can develop within their own means.

MOTORWAYS

We need better motorways. To start with, a motorway from Katunayake to Galle needs to be built. In fact, Galle Road itself could be developed into a motorway with one exit each for Kollupitiya, Bambalapitiya, Wellawatte, Dehiwala, Moratuwa, Kalutara, Panadura, Matara and Galle with blocking of all side roads. Obviously at each junction there should be a fly-over.

The billions that go to funding the war could be diverted to such development.

RAILWAYS

We probably have one of the best public transport systems integrating SLTB buses with privately-owned buses and vans.

Similarly, the railways could be privatised in sections, i.e.

1. Rolling Stock.
2. Stations.
3. Track Maintenance.

ROLLING STOCK

Like buses and vans, the railway coaches would be bought and maintained by private individuals and be motorised. Like the bus, each coach will have a conductor who will issue tickets and collect fares. The owners would pay for the use of the tracks either on a TRIP basis or a monthly or annual fee which would permit them a certain number of trips for the period.

Bigger entrepreneurs would run entire trains maintaining their own locomotives, yards etc.

Standards of coaches could vary from basic to luxury and the ticket prices could vary accordingly. Standards and safety could be maintained by a Railway Board.

STATIONS

Stations could be sold off to entrepreneurs who would develop such sites into combined hotels, rest sites, restaurants, shopping complexes etc.

TRACKS

Tracks would be maintained by a separate company and a charge would be levied for their use. Initially this part would need heavy subsidy by parliamentary allocations, which could be reduced annually as use of the tracks increased.

Education

1. Formal
2. Informal
3. Socialisation

It is essential that everybody should feel responsible for themselves and their actions. This needs to be inculcated at a very young age.

At the moment there is too much emphasis on formal education. Schools are becoming cram shops and children are bombarded with academic subjects at school and have to battle with homework and private tuition. The latter particularly takes away leisure time and children lose their childhood altogether.

A greater emphasis needs to be given to extra-curricular activities such as sports and indoor games, and also music, drama etc.

Ideally schooling, i.e. learning the three 'Rs' for ages 4 to 9 should be only for about three hours a day. Three hours could be spent on extra-curricular activities. Children tend to absorb quite a lot of learning informally. They should be able to visit their parents' work places and learn the value of work, gain respect for their parents - at ages 9 to 16 four hours a day would be sufficient

Socialisation is the process by which people are taught the values and behaviour expected of them in society

Universities, in selecting students, ought to give credit for all-round activities.

50% for Academic Prowess i.e. 10% each for the four subjects plus 10% for a general knowledge paper.

30% for extra curricular activities i.e. in sports, societies such Red Cross, St. Johns Ambulance, Scouts & other movements.

20% Head Master's Report on the suitability of the candidate i.e. for studies and how they would fit in society.

After admission Peer Groups should be established to Monitor and Guide others.

OUR PEOPLE ABROAD

As our President, DB WIJEYATUNGA, has said, there should be no attempt to try to stop the brain drain.

In fact, we should encourage people to go abroad so that they could bring back not only more knowledge on new developments about manufacturing processes etc., but also wealth and awareness of the world as such.

We can also reap benefits from our friends abroad in another way. Australia, Great Britain and USA allow their citizens abroad to take part in their elections. WITH ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS by paying 1% of the GNP of their resident countries, they could enrol on the electoral role. My feeling would be that at least 50% of our embassy staff could be elected from our residents abroad. This would not only save on our expenditure, but also bring in further income and give satisfaction to our people abroad of actively serving the mother country in a tangible sort of way.

With local understanding, they would be able to help with commerce and trade, i.e. reversed colonial policy in some ways.

They could help exports, particularly of foodstuffs which they import not only for their consumption, but to supply friends and colleagues.

They could help tourism to develop further.

They contributed Rs. 800 million to the budget in 1990.

OUR UNWINNABLE WAR

This is not essentially due to lack of dedicated officers commanding the forces or the soldiers. It is just that there are numerous practical problems which make their task impossible.

1. The arms manufacturers and traders rely on creating unrest throughout the world. That is how they can push their stocks. In fact, people like Kashoggi and others supply 'FREE' arms to guerrilla groups. This pushes governments into the necessity of buying arms at exorbitant prices (to pay for the middle men etc.) to fight the guerrilla groups.
2. If there is a government victory, this is usually followed by sympathy for the guerrilla groups and money pours in to help them.
3. If there is a victory for 'The Boys', this is followed by jubilation among the Tamils throughout the world and more money pours in to help them.
4. There are various groups with a vested interest in continuing the war.

Therefore the Forces are in a no-win situation.

Why after all are we fighting our own people?

Why not allow the people to live as they please in their own areas?

PROBLEM SOLVING AND LATERAL THINKING

1. DAVID & GOLIATH

When most people heard of or saw Goliath they thought what a giant he was. David, however, thought that Goliath was so huge, how could he possibly miss him? Hence, David was able to slay the giant Goliath with a stone from his sling.

(Source: The Bible)

2. Saro's father had borrowed too much money and could not repay. The money-lender wished to marry Saro although she did not like him. The money-lender and her father came to an agreement.

The money-lender would put two pebbles, a white and a black, in a bag. Saro would have to pick up one. If she picked a white one, she would not have to marry him and the debt would be cleared. If she picked the black pebble, she would have to marry him.

There were black and white pebbles on the beach. When the money-lender bent down to pick up the pebbles, Saro noticed that he had picked up two black pebbles and put them in the bag. Of course, she could not call him a liar and create a rumpus.

How did she get over the problem?

She picked one of the pebbles and as her hand reached out of the bag, she 'accidentally' dropped it.

She then said "Oh, I am sorry. But it's alright, look in the bag. If a black remains, I must have picked up the white."

Thus she and her father were relieved of their obligations.

(Source: Dr de Bono)

3. If you have an infected foot, you should provide sufficient blood supply, nutrients and medication to get it better, not apply a tourniquet (Sanstions) and make it worse.

Of course, if the infection is bad enough, it would be better to amputate the foot.

There is no point in suffering long with an infected foot as the infection might spread and weaken the whole body.

RESTRICTIVE JOURNALISM

Trying to restrict the activities of journalists is totally unproductive. It tends to undo the very thing it is supposed to do: that is to preserve the good name of the Government.

Rumours and counter rumours fly around. "Did you hear ?" is the standard opening remark followed by all kinds of imaginative stories.

Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis spoke on 29 July 1983, and went on to give his own version of the story about what happened in July 1983. As the Minister of Information and Broadcasting he asked us to trust the Papers !!!

TDSA Dissanayake says, "I did meet a few Sri Lankans who claimed that victory over the LTTE is around the corner.... Never in the history of our Island Sri Lanka so few lied to so may for so long!"

As far as this Author is concerned nothing good is gained by restrictive Journalism. Such Action leads people to think that the Government has something to hide and if they need to hide it cannot be good.

FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid does not generally help us. We end up having to buy the donors rejects. The following reprint would be sufficient to exemplify the point.

"The rich countries of the West and Japan transferred to the developing countries a total of 25.5 billion dollars in 1975. Of this amount, 12 billion took the form of private investment for profit's sake, 4 billion in loans, and the balance of 9.5 billion as development aid. Of this amount, however, only 6 billion was placed at the complete disposal of the receiver countries, unconditionally.

In order to be able to compensate for the increased import prices of oil, food and industrial goods, together with the price drop in raw materials, the developing countries have been forced to take up huge commercial loans amounting to a total of 19.5 billion dollars. In this way their debt burden has increased to an unprecedented level, from 38 billion dollars in 1965 to 138 billion in 1975. A further doubling of this amount is expected by 1980. In order to pay interest and installments on these loans, the developing countries will pay more together, in some cases considerably more, to the rich countries than they receive in the form of assistance.

A final piece of information, reported by Robert McNamara, director of the World Bank, at the opening of UNCTAD III, about the often asserted, positive development: the developing countries today have 100 million more illiterates than they had 20 years ago. We can agree that what we have done to date has *not* contributed to solving the greatest problem ever faced by mankind".

From "The Future in our Hands"

WHO CAN DO IT

**ONLY ONE PERON IS NECESSARY TO POINT
SRI LANKA IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.
IT COULD BE OUR PRESENT PRESIDENT
OR ONE OF HIS SUCCESSORS.**

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The most dangerous and technologically advanced weapons are on sale to any buyer with the right money - dictator, terrorist, black marketeer alike. International conventions are blatantly disregarded by arms manufacturers.
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About Adnan Kashoggi, and gives a unique insight into the world's most secretive and dangerous industry.

A FEW STATISTICS

1990

Rs 17,600 m.	Defence Budget
\$ 472.5 m	Trade Deficit
\$ 296 m.	Deficit of current account balance of payments
Rs. 22,968m.	Budget Deficit

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

	\$
Sri Lanka	470
UK	13,329
India	283
Pakistan	360
Malaysia	1,870
Australia	14,458
USA	13,451
Japan	19,464
Germany	16,200
Bangladesh	172
France	7,179
Norway	13,790
Brunei	20,000
Myanmar	210

Defence Budget for 1993 Rs. 25,000 m. i.e. 25% of National Budget.

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by Nandasena Ratnapala

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessing of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. *Section 2.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall be Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the

Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof,¹ for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the Second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and the third class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgement in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honour, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgement and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.¹

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgement require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting to and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States: and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rule and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the Credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States.

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; - And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying

into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Office thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.¹

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by an Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely

necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Product of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an Equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President, but in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall

consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.¹

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Vote; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:- "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States".

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective

Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Offices, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Cases of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all of the Officer of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for the Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority; - to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; - to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; - to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; - to Controversies between two or more States; - between a State and Citizens of another State;¹ - Between Citizens of different States; - between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury, and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.¹

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so constructed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union of Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislature of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses

in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution of Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same. Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States Present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names.

Go. Washington
Presid't and deputy from Virginia

Delaware
Geo: Read
John Dickinson
Jaco: Broom
Gunning Bedford jun
Richard Bassett

New York
Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey
Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson

Maryland
James McHenry
Danl Carroll
Dan: of St. Thos Jenifer

South Carolina
J. Rutledge
Charles Pinckney
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia
William Few
Abr Baldwin

Virginia
John Blair
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina
Wm Blount
Hu Williamson
Richd Dobbs Spaight

Pennsylvania
B. Franklin

Jona: Dayton

New Hampshire
John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut
Wm. Saml Johnson
Roger Sherman
Robt. Morris

Thos. Fitzsimmons
James Wilson
Thomas Mifflin
Geo. Clymer
Jared Ingersoll
Gouv. Morris

Attest:
William Jackson, Secret

AMENDMENTS¹

Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and the cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have the compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.

Amendment VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IV

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Amendment XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign States.

Amendment XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; The person having

the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. - The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Amendment XIII'

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV'

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without the due process of law; nor

deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial Officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid or insurrection of rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV¹

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII³

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election of term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII¹

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation in intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX²

The right of Citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XX³

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice

President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI'

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII'

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from

the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII'

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States; but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV²

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for the President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV'

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take the office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Repre-

sentatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within 48 hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within 21 days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within 21 days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI'

Section 1. The Right to Citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Proposed Amendment XXVII'

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

About the Author

"The author, a reputed surgeon, suggests a practicable Constitutional change for Sri Lanka that can bring about "Grass Roots" Government, make citizens more responsible for their actions and solve the ethnic problem at the same time.

The author takes for his "inspiration" many factors, as the book reveals, but also Rousseau's dictum that when smaller numbers are being governed, they are themselves able to participate more personally, more meaningfully and significantly in the governing process, thereby making the government itself more effective and result-oriented to benefit eventually the country at large and its population as a whole.

Educational changes are suggested that would create responsible students and avoid unrest at under-graduate level.

The trouble is, will the people at the centre be able to put the long term future of the country before themselves?"

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