

RESEARCH PAPER - SRI LANKA WOES & IS HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF?

This Research Paper is based on a 2024, 50th Anniversary of Dr. A.M.A. Azeez Memorial Oration

The Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez, the Muslim Tamil Leader of Ceylon, and its Present Significance

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Hi

Pray that you are keeping well

Firstly, I share with you **The Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez and its present significance**

Secondly may I assure you that the Research Paper somewhat reflects the current situation in Sri Lanka and the world at large

Thirdly in my opinion this research paper also clearly highlights why Sri Lanka to this day, still keeps going backwards in relation to other Asian Countries

Fourthly may I admit my bias that AMA Azeez was my college Principle at Zahira College Colombo during my high school in the period 1952 to 1956. I owe him my sincere gratitude for the personal reference he gave me to enable me to join The Royal Air Force in UK as a cadet, as I felt I had no future in Sri Lanka under the Sinhala Act.

Fifthly may I assure you that this research paper is not about AMA Azeez but the Legislation he enacted as Senator Azeez before he sacrificed his career to be the principle of Zahira College.

Sixthly the topic of Prof. Sornarajah relates to the Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez and its Present Significance. He chose this subject as he has been an international lawyer, both as an academic and a practitioner for over half a century.

WHAT PROMPTED THIS RESEARCH PAPER?

- 1 The world is in chaos and history is repeating itself
- 2 The period 1870 to 1945 saw two wars. The Current Period has several wars, and the narrative of blaming minorities is almost the same
- 3 In this current period the world is transporting less fortunate human beings by plane to prisons across borders as they did before use trains
- 4 The world is again witnessing genocide through starvation and bombings instead of the holocaust and we are powerless to do anything

- 5 Father Ranjit (Colombo) quoted recently: Quote “Congratulations on getting the life of your dear companion, EVE, to the Amazon platform. Her life is thought provoking and very apt in the current context of a world of blood, tears, death, and destruction. Contemporary actions of world leaders including genocide, ethnic cleansing, starvation being used as a weapon of war, murder of especially women and children etc. Actions prompted by greed for land or dominance. This is the Weltanschauung (a German word meaning philosophy a comprehensive view or personal philosophy of human life and the universe) of the leaders (allies) of the nations at war”
- 6 Yousuf Galely (Colombo) Recently commented Quote ” Whole world is in turmoil, and no one knows where we are heading.”,

WHAT IS THE BACKGROUND CHARACTER OF SENATOR AZEEZ?

1. Senator Azeez was born in Vannarpannai, a suburb of Jaffna, on 4th October 1911. His early education was at the Jaffna Muhammadiyah Mixed School in Jaffna where he learnt to read the Holy Quran and at the Vaidyeshwara Vidyalayam run by the Rama Krishna Mission
2. From its inception, the life of Senator Azeez was rooted in the values and traditions of Islam and Tamil Saivism as practised in Jaffna.
3. It has been said that while at the Jaffna Hindu College, the young Azeez won the prize for Hinduism but the prize was not awarded him because he was not a Hindu. It is a sad story of discrimination that Jaffna Muslims were to experience later
4. Senator Azeez was often apologetic that he was not a lawyer but his understanding of the law and the impact that it would have on society surpassed that of many of his colleagues.
5. It is necessary to go these beginnings to understand the philosophy that guided Senate Azeez in making laws while he was a member of the Senate of Ceylon.
6. He resigned from the Civil Service to take up the position as Principal of Zahira College. It was a sacrifice of what could have been a career of power and prestige

THE LAW AS FORETOLD BY AMA AZEEZ IN RELATION TO SRI LANKA TODAY

1. One of the great flaws of modern democracy is that power to make laws has been hijacked by incompetent persons who have used populist means to win elections.
2. This had begun in the time when Senator Azeez was a parliamentarian. Ever since his days, there has been a slide into authoritarianism and a dismantling of democracy by processes which Senator Azeez had tried hard to stem.

3. I select some areas on which he spoke to illustrate his views and their validity in the context of modern times.
4. These areas concern capital punishment, bribery and the ethno-religious issue that has befuddled Sri Lanka and hindered its social and economic life and the powers used during emergency rule which are the source of the Anti-Terrorism laws of modern times.
5. Finally I apologise that this research paper is somewhat inconclusive and long due to my inability to edit without loss of context.

IMPACT ON LAWS AS MENTIONED IN THE ORATION PAPER

1. Capital punishment - He characterized as “a primitive form of punishment. Humanity has been moving towards the abolition of capital punishment”.

- I. He supported total abolition of such punishment. Indeed, since he spoke, the abolition of capital punishment has progressed impressively. When Senator Azeez spoke, he referred to 36 countries as having abolished it but the World Coalition against Capital Punishment states that by 2023, 112 countries have abolished the death penalty for all crimes and 23 countries had suspended execution of those sentenced to such punishment.*
- II. In Sri Lanka, the penalty exists but there is a moratorium on executions.*
- III. Senator Azeez believed that the taking of life as a form of punishment was an inhumane act.*
- IV. It is mentioned that pardoned Duminda Silva who was found guilty of killing a fellow politician in cold blood and Sunil Ratnayake who was found guilty of committing the Mirusuvil massacre of eight Tamil civilians.*
- V. Both were given the capital sentences. Gotabaya Rajapakse pardoned both using a wide power of review of presidential powers in this case.*

2. Bribery - On one interesting speech by Senator Azeez involves the introduction of a bill on the prosecution of bribery.

- i. It is a demonstration of how squeamish a subject the prosecution of bribery was in 1954 long before it became a major cause of the rot that ate deep into the political and economic structure of the country.*

- ii. *An argument against it put forward by some senators was that it violated the human rights of potential suspects.*
- iii. *It is strange to read the speech of Senator Azeez on the Bribery Bill today when bribery has led our country to economic ruin because he was speaking against the characterization of the Bribery Bill as against fundamental rights.*
- iv. *There was no momentum towards the creation of strong institutions against the practice of bribery.*
- v. *Senator Azeez had said in his speech : “ in a young democracy like ours, it is very essential that all possible steps should be taken against bribery and accusations of bribery”. That warning was not heeded.*
- vi. *Bribery was to consume the economy of the country in time to come.*
- vii. *The institution of strong enforcement machinery to prevent bribery, as suggested by Senator Azeez, and meaningful prosecution of those who took bribes may have prevented the problem. Instead, a soft view had been taken.*
- viii. *As the IMF pointed out, wide-spread corruption has been the cause of the economic crisis in Sri Lanka.*
- ix. *Politicians and public servants have been stealing the wealth and the resources of this country.*
- x. *There has been no accountability. There is a Bribery Commission and adequate laws on bribery.*
- xi. *But, prosecutions of bribery seldom occur. Though the public knows who committed bribery, there is no effort to prosecute the persons involved because they hold power in the state.*
- xii. *Where proceeds of bribery are taken out of the country, simple procedures exist for the recovery of such money with hardly any cost to the state. The World Bank 10. Speeches, p. 37. M. Sornarajah 15 runs a programme for the tracing and recovery of assets stolen by leaders of states.*
- xiii.

3. Presidential pardons were widely misused during the presidential regimes of Maithripala Sirisena and Gothabaya Rajapakse

- I. *It follows that the pardons given by Sirisena to Atte Gnanasara Thero, the rabble rouser and the convicted murderer, Shramantha Jayamaha,*

are reviewable pardons not only for the lack of proper procedure but on the lack of reasonable grounds for such a pardon. These pardons had political or mercenary reasons and are clearly not maintainable in terms of the law

4. The ethnic and religious strife *that afflicts Sri LANKA as a country and has been the root cause of our misfortunes over the years.*

- I. For seventy-five years since independence, no issue has taken up the energies of those who rule us as this issue which has been the means to the acquisition of power by the leaders of the majority Sinhala ethnic group in Sri Lanka.*
- II. Senator Azeez was senator at a difficult time when the leaders of the Sinhalese majority found an easy path to power through the stoking of ethnic passions.*
- III. First through the making of Sinhala the only official language of Ceylon*
- IV. and later through the making of Buddhism the state religion.*
- V. In the guise of ringing in the age of the common man, the chauvinist leaders of the newly named Sri Lanka (Lucky or Blessed Lanka) through administration in Sinhalese, the governance of the country was entrusted to the incompetent. Legislators, some of them barely literate, began the making of laws.*
- VI. administrators were appointed through bribery or as a reward for political service*

5. Official Languages Bill (1956) *Senator Azeez characterised it as the “shortest Bill ever introduced but fraught with the gravest of consequences*

- I. Consequences that will outlast the present generation”. How accurate those words have turned out to be.*
- II. The effects of the Bill outlasted his generation and will outlast several future generations to come.*
- III. The problems it generated will remain unsettled for a long time and until it is settled, our country will be in turmoil.*
- IV. We, today, note the wisdom of his view for the Sinhalese poor, the “common man” the Sinhala chauvinists spoke of, educated only in Sinhala, were unable to secure higher types of employment in areas of modern technology or join the professions in a meaningful way. While*

their chauvinist leaders sent their children to be educated in the West,
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- V. *The children of the poor were kept in the delusion of racial superiority educated in a fashion that denied them access to education in the new technologies.*
- VI. *Senator Azeez prefaced his speech on the Official Language Bill by stating that he was a democratic socialist who had the interests of the common man in mind.*
- VII. *It was a canard of the Bandaranaike government of that time to say that it was introducing the age of the common man. Its policies sent the country cartwheeling into a steep decline under the smokescreen of communalism and racial hatred that enabled the rising new classes among the Sinhalese to capture and keep power through the stoking of racial and religious passions.*
- VIII. *Through seven decades of descent into tyranny, this island has not had any other political or economic concern other than the scotching of the interests of the ethnic and religious minorities, a course that Senator Azeez had warned against.*
- IX. *Senator Azeez Speech on Official Language Bill, 3rd July 1956. Senate Speeches p.96. Senator Nadesan has pointed out that Senator Azeez was “one of the radicals of that period” when he as a member of the Jaffna Youth Congress and that they were together in the struggle against British Imperialism though Senator Azeez had “strayed” into the UNP later.*
- X. *Senate Speeches, p.46. M. Sornarajah 17 made are premised on the view that the Muslim community in Sri Lanka would be the most affected by the language change that was being made in 1956.*
- XI. *In a long speech he made, Senator Azeez quoted from a Prize Day Report at Zahira College; he pointed out that the Muslim in Ceylon had to know four languages to fulfil his obligations fully, they being Tamil, Arabic, Sinhalese and English.*
- XII. *The Muslim of Malay origins would want to learn Malay as well. He portrayed the Muslim community as specially disadvantaged by the Bill He characterised the Official Languages Bill (1956) as the “shortest Bill ever introduced but fraught with the gravest of consequences...consequences that will outlast the present generation”.*

- XIII. *How accurate those words have turned out to be.*
- XIV. *The effects of the Bill outlasted his generation and will outlast several future generations to come.*
- XV. *The problems it generated will remain unsettled for a long time and until it is settled, our country will be in turmoil.*
- XVI. *We, today, note the wisdom of his view for the Sinhalese poor, the “common man” the Sinhala chauvinists spoke of, educated only in Sinhala, were unable to secure higher types of employment in areas of modern technology or join the professions in a meaningful way. While their chauvinist leaders sent their children to be educated in the West, the children of the poor were kept in the delusion of racial superiority educated in a fashion that denied them access to education in the new technologies.*
- XVII. *As much as the Sinhala Only Bill led to the alienation of the Tamils, it also began a fragmentation of the Muslims. The Southern Muslim could take to Sinhala Only more easily as he lived among the Sinhalese. I do not say so because Muslim women at that time preferred to speak in Tamil. I speak of experience with the families of my Muslim friends of my youth. Their mothers spoke to me in perfect Tamil. My Muslim friends spoke to their mothers in Tamil.*
- XVIII. *The elite Muslim was comfortable with English and for him, it was a class issue that English should be kept. This was not so for the Muslims of the Eastern Province who lived among Tamils and earned their living through agriculture rather than trade and business like his Southern counterpart. The Muslims of the Eastern Province produced great Tamil poets and literary figures of Tamil language.*
- XIX. *He stressed the need to reject the suggestion that was coming to be made that the Sinhalese race alone constituted the Ceylonese nation.*
- XX. *This is an idea that is now entrenched in the Sinhala mind but it had its genesis a long time ago with the Sinhala Only Bill affirming that position.*
- XXI. *Senator Azeez asserted that like the Tamils and the Burghers, the Muslim community forms an integral part of the Ceylonese nation.*
- XXII. *Earlier, the Senator had pointed out that democracy was not the rule of the majority but the rule of the people. Sadly, in Ceylon (now, Sri Lanka) democracy was lost due to populist politics and a rule by the majority had set in after the Sinhala Only Bill.*

- XXIII. *The decline in the governance and the economic climate of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) began from those times when division of the Ceylonese nation into ethnic groups came to be legislated through the Sinhala Only Act. It is worth repeating that Senator Azeez predicted that the effects of the short Bill would outlast his generation. It will outlast the present generation and beyond.*
- XXIV. *It is worth repeating that Senator Azeez predicted that the effects of the short Bill would outlast his generation. It will outlast the present generation and beyond.*
- XXV. *Another issue speeches on the Sinhala Only Bill highlight is insufficient constitutional protection of the minorities.*
- XXVI. *Senate Azeez pointed out that Article 29 of the Soulbury Constitution which had required that any statute affecting minorities must be passed by a two-third majority afforded scant protection to the minorities.*
- XXVII. *Senator Azeez declared that this provision lacked any force in providing protection to the minorities in the context of populist minority politics that had emerged since the advent of Bandaranaike and his promise of Sinhala Only in twenty-four hours.*
- XXVIII. *He said that it was “no longer the Magna Carta” on minority rights it was intended to be. The Sri Lankan courts had upheld legislation disregarding minority rights enacted by the Sinhala majority governments on the ground that they were passed by a two-third majority*

6. Federalism and Autonomy vs cessation

- I. *The Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez of parliament on the ground that they belonged to a party that advocated secession contrary to the Constitution and the law.*
- II. *The provision in the constitution of the party read: “The objective of this party is to establish political, economic and cultural liberation among Tamil speaking people by way of forming autonomous Tamil Government and autonomous Muslim Government as part of United Federal Sri Lanka in accordance with the principles of self-determination. Note: There will be a full guarantee in regard to religion, language rights and fundamental rights.*
- III. *It was the claim on the basis of which the LTTE fought a thirty-year war for secession. Now, discussion of external self-determination which*

justifies secession is prohibited in Sri Lanka by the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution. The Amendment makes it a criminal offence to advocate secession.

- IV. *The objective of this party is to establish political, economic and cultural liberation among Tamil speaking people by way of forming autonomous Tamil Government and autonomous Muslim Government as part of United Federal Sri Lanka in accordance with the principles of self-determination. Note: There will be a full guarantee in regard to religion, language rights and fundamental rights for the minorities residing in the States which will be connected.”*

7. Minority Dilemma of Muslims and Tamils in Sri Lanka

- I. *Senator Azeez anticipated the fact that the Muslim community could not have uniform interests because of the fact that one third of the community lived in the Northern and Eastern Provinces among a Tamil majority and two third lived among the Sinhalese.*
- II. *The Sinhala Only Bill brought out the divisions between them. While the Muslims living in the South took a pragmatic view on the Bill, the view of the Muslims in the North and East was different.*
- III. *There was a progressive development of the identity of the Muslims of the Eastern Province whose experience and living conditions had become different.*
- IV *Senator Azeez anticipated the fact that the Muslim community could not have uniform interests because of the fact that one third of the community lived in the Northern and Eastern Provinces among a Tamil majority and two third lived among the Sinhalese.*

8. Noise Pollution

- I. *This case involving the use of the fundamental rights provisions is the Noise Pollution Case, (Ashik v Bandula)²⁰ resulting from the refusal to issue police permits for the use of loudspeakers by the Kapuwatte Mohideen Jumma Mosque in Muslim prayers.*
- II. *The mosque is within the Weligama police area. The Police had issued an order against it.*
- III. *It is an interesting case in the context of the fact that it was the noise of drumming that led to the anti-Muslim riots in 1815. Interestingly the officer who was in charge of the Weligama police station happened to be a Muslim.*

- IV. *One of the principal complainants was another mosque in the area, Jamiul Rahman Mosque. It was more an intra-religious conflict than an inter-religious conflict. Essentially, the Kappuwatte Mosque supported Sufi principles²¹ while the Jamiul Rahman Mosque practised austere forms of Islam found in the Middle East.*
- V. *Despite diversity among Muslims on religious, geographical, and other grounds, Sri Lankan law has treated all Muslims as belonging to a single community. This comes down from British times, when the dictum stirred up a hornet's nest among the Buddhist priests who converted the case into one directed at them preventing the use of loudspeakers when pirith is chanted.*
- VI. *The Buddhists took offence to the judgment's characterization of Sri Lanka as a secular state. It clearly was not as Buddhism had been given "the foremost place"²³ in the Constitution.*
- VII. *The later events arising from the arrest of Pannaloka Thero for using loudspeakers to chant pirith outside the time limits caused a furore and made the Noise Pollution Case a medium for attacks on Muslims.*

9. Economic Effects

- I. *Another factor that Senator Azeez addressed. that involves the economic effects of the Sinhala Only Bill.*
- II. *It is a matter of particular significance to the Muslim community which constitutes a spearhead of trade and commerce in Sri Lanka. It would dent the efforts of the community if its language rights are affected or if it is made a target of hatred and opprobrium because of its religion.*
- III. *The targeting of Muslim businesses has become common after the rise of Sinhala Buddhist organizations like the Bodu Bala Sena and Sinhala Ravaya. Senator Azeez made the point about the economic impact as follows: And this question of giving due recognition is not only a matter of purely cultural and religious interest but also a matter of economic interest for the reason that I have stated, namely, if you solve this question the chances of establishing democratic socialism in this country are much brighter; otherwise, those efforts are bound to be retarded."*
- IV. *He was kind. The efforts were not just retarded. The Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinist has destroyed those efforts completely, taking the country into utter economic ruin. If one looks back at the politics since independence.*

10. Sri Lanka Foreign Debts Problems

- I. *As years passed, the economy became depleted by constant and unchecked corruption. Though the corrupt were identified in the press, no action was taken because the offenders were politicians wielding power.*
- II. *So, the Avant Garde frauds, the Central Bank fraud and a series of other corrupt incidents went unpunished though the depletion of the national funds they caused was huge.*
- III. *It is now estimated that the poverty gap has grown with the bottom half hitting poverty lines whereas much of the wealth in Sri Lanka is in the hands of just ten percent of the people.*
- IV. *Democratic socialism that Senator Azeez espoused has become a distant dream. In terms of the law, the debts that were incurred by the state were potentially unlawful debts from which liability could not flow.*
- V. *Debts given to states to construct projects of no public utility, like the Lotus Tower, the Mattala Airport and the Nelun Pokuna are trophy projects celebrating the greatness of individual politicians.*
- VI. *There is also the odious debt doctrine which brands debts secured to promote a tyrant's interest and not that of the people, are considered lacking in validity and are characterised as odious debts which need not be repaid or serviced.*
- VII. *That a debt should be taken as such and be serviced once it is taken. We know that the IMF has given a loan to Sri Lanka. When such loans are given, the IMF seeks the adoption of austerity measures. These measures will significantly undermine the social safety networks that protect the poor.*
- VIII. *The poor has been driven to the bottom prior to the adoption of these measures. Their adoption, like the increase in VAT will affect the poor even more. Social tensions will rise. The prescriptions of the IMF, whether they work or not, are largely economic. The IMF seeks the elimination of corruption which is a reform again that is largely economic in character. Being an economic institution and in keeping with the times, the IMF sees the economic decline in Sri Lanka in purely economic terms and does not see or want to see is designed to see the fact that the malaise in Sri Lanka in the period since independence has been due to the preoccupation with ethno-religious politics in Sri Lanka*

11. The Public Security Ordinance is preserved in the modern law by Article 155 of the Constitution.

- I. *Sadly, riots continued against the Tamils, a civil war took place, then, riots and hostility towards the Muslims took place. Sri Lankan politics has not been one*

about economic development; it has been one about creating the other and keeping the other under subjugation.

- II. First the Tamils and then the Muslims had to be subjugated to Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony.*
- III. The Public Security Act was an instrument that was used. But, sadly, eventually, it was the Sinhala-Buddhist who now suffers the economic decline that the strife has brought about.*
- IV. If Senator Azeez identified the 1958 riots as “setting back progress by several years” what of the several riots thereafter, the bitter civil war, the unleashing of terror on the Muslims by organizations like the Bodu Bala Sena and Sinhala Ravaya which were supported by powerful Sinhala politicians, the eventual accumulation of power by the army and the voluntary acceptance by Sri Lanka of the status of a poor country, taking the begging bowl to other states and financial institutions.*
- V. Later, extensive powers were created in the Government when faced with labour unrest and the rise of violent protests by Tamil youth.*
- VI. The Prevention of Terrorism Act (1979) gave wide powers of detention of suspects for prolonged periods without sufficient judicial protection.*
- VII. The same tensions that Senator Azeez spoke about arises in connection with this legislation. While it may be necessary for the executive to have wide powers to deal with violence of organized groups, there is the need to ensure that such powers are not used to violate the rights of the citizen and that it is not used by the government to quell dissent by those opposed to its policies*

12. External Interference

- I. Senator Azeez’s speech on the motion to establish a commission on external interference made in May 1954 was an example of his erudition and the expertise on the subject of the proposer of the motion, Senator Nadesan. It is a remarkable example of the quality of the debates in Parliament of that time. It is also an indication of the extent of the possible external interference in the country which has reached much greater proportions in the present day.*
- II. The fear at that was infusion of communism. The suggestion was that a commission should be appointed to curb such possible interference.*
- III. Senator Azeez opposed such a move. His view was that such a commission may have such wide powers that it could ask innocent citizens to appear before it. He cited the instance of McCarthyism in the United States as an instance of such a*

thwarting of individual rights by a commission. Yet, he was conscious of the need to save the country from external interference.

- IV. The extent of such interference has increased immensely from the time this debate took place.*
- V. The Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez playing field of the very big powers of the world and the politicians have played significant roles in bartering away the rights of the people of the island to different foreign players. The adoption of a truly non-aligned policy is no longer possible as the present economic crisis requires extensive economic assistance from outside the country. It is inevitable that Sri Lanka will be the theatre of politics for rival powers*

13. In Summary

- I. He often defined democracy not as the rule of the majority but as the rule of peoples, meaning a plurality of peoples who inhabit this island. We never had democracy in this island in the sense in which Senator Azeez used the term.*
- II. We have had a dictatorship of the majority which has trampled the rights of the minorities. Democracy that prevails now “among a large number of political leader is a rabble rousing device. If that is the kind of democracy that is going to be adopted, I say in all humility that the Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez I do not favour that form of democracy”.*
- III. He said that on 28th October 1958 during the first communal strife directed at the Tamils when as he pointed out, without seeking to ease tensions, the politicians were rousing the people, to further violence. Sadly, that situation has persisted since the time the speech was made.*
- IV. What has prevailed in Sri Lanka is not democracy but the politics of hatred, with the leaders of the majority community vying for power by showing that they were the true leaders of the majority who could more effectively bash up the Tamil and Muslim minorities and keep them subdued for ever. In the context of such politics.*
- V. Sri Lanka is condemned to remain in poverty that paradoxically hits the Sinhala majority the most.*
- VI. The Law in the Speeches of Senator Azeez when built with monies obtained by way of loans, the issue is whether the loan agreements are valid. They must clearly be ultra vires as no state officer could have signed such a loan when it was clear that it lacked any public interest. These debts are therefore invalid.*
- VII. There is also the odious debt doctrine which brands debts secured to promote a tyrant’s interest and not that of the people, are considered lacking in validity and*

are characterised as odious debts which need not be repaid or serviced. Sri Lanka has not tried out these legal methods to avoid its liability to pay back these usurious debts. It has adopted the general policy prescription of the IMF that a debt should be taken as such and be serviced once it is taken.

- VIII. Senator Azeez pointed out that the comparison is not apposite. The history and political culture as well as the institutional structure with a high regard for an independent judiciary make England very different. Minor infringements of civil liberties will not be tolerated by civic society in that country.*
- IX. Senator Azeez pointed out that the situation was different in this country. It is imperative that in the context in which the legislation has operated and given its history of oppression, there is a need to ensure that there is a sufficient balance between the power to prevent terrorism and the civil liberties of citizens.*
- X. Lanka is condemned to remain in poverty that paradoxically hits Lanka*
- XI. Conclusion For a lawyer, reading the speeches of Senator Azeez provides an insight into the care with which he approached his task as a law maker.*
- XII. It is a sad commentary on the political affairs of our country that it is difficult to find someone who matched his analysis and foresight on matters he dealt with. The deep learning he committed himself to as a young man, his religious understanding of moral issues of his days born from Islam and Hinduism and his experience as an administrator in public service guided his approach to the problems he faced as a legislator. In Tamil, the perfection of a man and a woman are enshrined in the concept of a perfection possessed by a person called a *rh*d;Nwhd;.*

PS If you are interested in receiving a copy of the full oration article by Prof M. Sornarajah I will be hap

I welcome your comment on this research paper

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