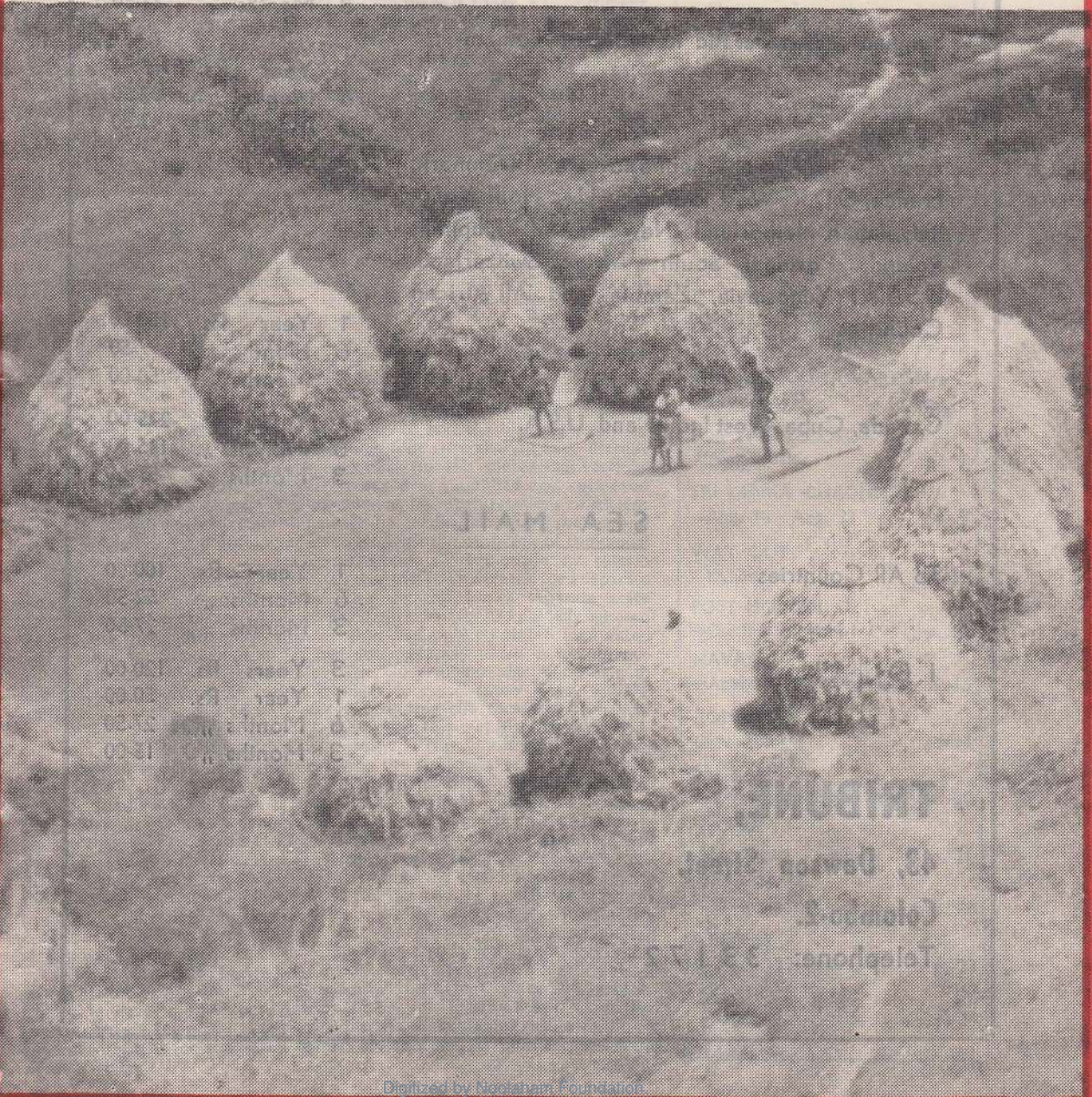


# TRIBUNE





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# Letter From The Editor

THE NIGHTMARE IS OVER, but memories are still fresh. It was not a nightmare in a dream but in the hard realities of modern Sri Lanka. Recollections of the ten days of horror will rankle in the minds and hearts of victims for a long time to come. One fact that has surprised many people, especially foreigners, is that everything took place in less than ten days, and also that like the fizz in the soda bottle everything seems to have fizzled out in next to no time. The one question on everybody's lips is whether it can happen all over again within a short time or whether it will lie dormant for another 20 years. There is no doubt that it can happen again, anytime, unless the causes that led to such violence are eliminated through a political settlement. But even if nothing happens for sometime and communal violence is not stirred up immediately again, nothing can be the same after this. Political strategies, policies and decisions must take into consideration the impact of what some people now call EXODUS 77. Many have forgotten EMERGENCY '58, but unlike in 1958 there is today a Government anxious and willing to find a way out of the long-time Sinhala-Tamil impasse on the basis of constitutional rights—in fact, anything reasonable, short of Eelam. Nobody expects the TULF to swallow its demand for Eelam simply because of the ten days of communal violence and Amirthalingam has wisely not done so. But many people, from all communities, interested in the welfare of the country, had hoped that Amirthalingam would, at least for a time, maintain a discreet Chelvanayakian silence, or put off discussing the question of Eelam to a future date (even if pressed by newsmen). Instead of doing this, Amirthalingam at a press conference on Thursday, September 1, to make known the outcome of his interview with the Prime Minister regarding the rehabilitation of the refugees and other welfare matters, sought refuge in Kautliyan casuistry by telling journalists that EXODUS 77 had only strengthened the case for Eelam. It is true that he did not dwell overlong on Eelam, but he did not know how to out-manoeuvre pressmen anxious to find out what the communal bashing had done to the logic of the TULF. Like a lawyer walking the tight rope in a tricky case before an insistent Bench firing questions to probe the TULF mind, Amirthalingam resorted to what he probably regarded as clever circumlocution: ".....the two weeks' clashes had strengthened their case for the preservation of their territory's integrity and the homeland of the Tamils. If not the entire community would have to live as refugees." (*Daily Mirror*, 2/9/77). Amirthalingam, to absolve the TULF of any responsibility (even a little), for triggering the communal holocaust, tried to cast the blame entirely on the political opponents of the Government (out to embarrass and disrupt the government) and the Government itself (for the role certain sections of the police had played). Amirthalingam's over-simplified and cock-eyed view of current developments is as lopsided as his interpretations of ancient history and, with supreme childish naivete he made it out that the demand for a separate state had nothing at all to do with the outbreak of communal violence. He said ".....deliberate attempts were made by certain interested parties to give the impression that the TULF demand for a separate state led to the present troubles. The demand for a separate state was made first about two and half years ago and the party had publicly agitated for it since then. After the election they had publicly stated (reiterated the demand for Eelam) but so far had not made any move in furtherance of this pledge given to the people. The Government should be able to find the forces behind the recent troubles....." (*Daily News*, 2/9/77). And, ".....that the pattern of events during the recent disturbances and the way it had been organised indicate that this was planned and politically motivated to embarrass the government. The Tamils have been used as pawns in the power struggle between the Government and its political opponents....." (*Daily Mirror*, 2/9/77). Only fanatic TULF adherents and the Tamils whose vision is still blurred by TULF blinkers will accept this naive analysis of the current situation. Does Amirthalingam seriously believe that only after the TULF gives written notice that something "was going to be done" in furtherance of the object of establishing a separate state that trouble should start? If the TULF is to have any credibility—even among the Tamils—it must know what impact the demand for a separate state has had on the Sinhalese mind. Realities must be recognised to formulate credible pronouncements and work out appropriate strategies. One can start a war by misplaced rhetoric. But, one starts a war only when one is ready for it, otherwise it will be a massacre, whatever one's legal rights or moral justification. The TULF must know the extent of its own responsibility, however indirect and vicarious it may be, for the recent communal conflagration. Such realisation will mark the beginning of new political wisdom essential for the TULF to play its role in the political life of the country today.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## • TULF • UNP

Colombo, September 5,

This column is being written a little earlier than usual in order to update our printing schedules so that our outstation despatches are made early enough for the copies to reach all our readers by the weekend. We do not know whether we will succeed in this exercise immediately, but we hope that in a short time we will. There are so many difficulties in the way of ensuring satisfactory and expeditious distribution on an all-island basis and that is why we have advanced our deadline by a few days. This is likely to make our comments a little back-dated but in the long run this will not mean any substantial difference to our regular readers. Our coverage (and mainly our comments) have much more than day-to-day spot-news validity and we do not therefore think that the advancing of our printing schedules will adversely affect the usefulness of our paper.

The NSA will meet again tomorrow, Tuesday September 6. Everybody is looking forward to the sixty-four million rupee question of the day; what will the TULF say or do? Will it make it possible for the Government to offer an olive branch to the Tamils with some kind of package deal—either unilaterally or through a Round Table Conference—to make a political settlement possible? Lasting solutions will take a long time to come; but every step forward to defuse the communal tension and bring about areas of agreement will go a long way towards ending the present unhappy state of affairs.

Though the violence has been brought under control, tension and jitteriness continue to prevail. This state of affairs is revealed by the statement issued by the TULF leader Amirthalingam in all the Sunday papers, 4/9/77, and which was published under the heading A CANARD.

*In a statement issued, Mr. Amirthalingam, states "It has been brought to my notice that there is widespread rumour circulating in Colombo and certain other*

*places that the TULF is contemplating some action for September 6. This is an absolutely unfounded canard and I wish to deny it most emphatically. Our entire attention at the moment is directed towards the rehabilitation of the refugees who are languishing in the camps of the country. There is no time to think about other matters immediately."*

Interested parties (and designing persons) had started a whisper campaign towards the end of last week that the TULF was planning to start another stunt (satyagraha for Eelam) on September 6 when the NSA met, and the TULF leader did well to make the statement he did on September 4. After the infantile exhibitionism of melodramatic political immaturity in moving the Amendment to the Government's Policy Statement demanding that Eelam be conceded (only because Jaffna voters and a lesser number of Tamils in the North and East had voted for the TULF), the public expect the worst from the TULF. Amirthalingam's September 4th statement has allayed apprehensions to a small extent, but such statements alone are not enough to restore normalcy in the political climate of the country.

The concluding sentence in the above statement by Amirthalingam represents the first indication of the strategic retreat which the TULF must necessarily undertake to survive—even to fight for Eelam another day. Strategic retreats can be effected without loss of face if done with grace and before the situation deteriorates further to the detriment of the TULF and this is happening every day, as we shall presently see. Amirthalingam stressed that "our (TULF) entire attention" was directed towards rehabilitating the refugees and that "there is not time to think about other matters immediately." This is a "climb down" which is being forced on him—and it is very different from a well-planned strategic political retreat. This is the first time he has said that he will not talk of Eelam. He has taken the first step towards putting Eelam into temporary cold storage.

If he had, at his press conference on September 1, stated that Eelam was being put into cold storage until

the question of the refugees was settled, or better still, if he had said that in view of several government pronouncements and the removal of standardisation, the TULF would "lay by" Eelam "sine die" until TULF policies are reviewed in the light of new developments, Amirthalingam would have shown statesmanship and the first signs of political maturity. Instead, after making a great deal of noise about what he was doing with the PM about the refugees—he was shunted to Minister Premadasa who is in charge of the rehabilitation of the refugees—he indulged in customary TULF bombast about Eelam and how EXODUS 1977 was a further justification for Eelam (insensitive to the fact that many Tamils from the North-East and the rest of the country, (and who were so far "neutral" about Eelam) were now totally opposed to it as the result of the recent developments.

The Amirthalingam Press Conference on September 1 was intended for propaganda and not as a contribution towards a political settlement; the talk about what the TULF was doing for the refugees was for local consumption of a large number of Tamils and the bragging about Eelam was for foreign consumption and for the benefit of a few Tamil extremists, all of them not young—and all this without the least consideration to winning friends and allies among the Sinhalese or even neutralising the extremists among the Sinhalese. TULF political strategies and pronouncements have become rigid fixations only to win the votes of Tamils (suffering from discrimination and worse especially in the last seven years) and they have become suicidal time bombs ready to blow up and cause setbacks to the Tamils and the country as a whole for generations to come.

The TULF has concentrated so much on getting foreign sympathy and support that it never considered the impact of some of the statements TULF leaders and politicians made to the foreign press. Most knowledgeable people have stopped taking serious notice of what appears in the DMK press in



Tamil Nadu because the Indian Press as a whole has not succumbed to the underground and under-current propaganda by TULF elements that Eelam would get help in the form of arms and otherwise from India. But papers in the West and elsewhere, mistaking the TULF for a genuine national liberation movement with a military wing (because one Tamil politician and three Tamil police constables had been murdered and a number of others shot at) have taken its propaganda about foreign assistance far too seriously. And TULF elements have also deluded themselves into the belief that headlines and bloodcurdling stories of foreign assistance to the TULF would make the Sinhala governments concede Eelam.

Reports can be cited from innumerable foreign papers about this tall talk indulged in by the TULF. To take just one example in the ASIAWEEK of July 8, Amirthalingam after asserting that Eelam was viable because it produced the bulk of the island's chillies, onions, tobacco, and also goodly quantities of rice and grapes, went on to say: "...any group that is fighting for liberation will naturally seek assistance wherever it is available, and the Tamils of Sri Lanka will not hesitate to ask for such assistance." While expressing the hope that Tamil Eelam could be created peacefully, Amirthalingam declared that 'other means would be adopted if bloodless methods proved fruitless'....."

The Asiaweek report went on: "Just what he meant by that was anyone's guess, but it didn't sound much like a laughing matter to neutral observers in Colombo. 'If Mr. Amirthalingam had been standing on a public platform in the South instead of before a group of newsmen, no kerosene and matches would have been needed to start a fire,' one worried official in Colombo told Asiaweek's Chief Correspondent for Sri Lanka, T. M. K. Samat....."

In the light of what has taken place, the Asiaweek comment was prophetic.

Time after time, Amirthalingam had told pressmen and at meetings that his exhortation to the Sinhalese was "please leave us alone...let us rule ourselves...you look after your position..." And now, after this dictum, people (including many Tamils who had believed in Eelam

before) have begun to ask the question why Amirthalingam was hanging around a Sinhala Prime Minister to provide relief to the refugees and to rehabilitate them in their former places in the South. Others want to know how Amirthalingam could expect the Sinhalese to buy onions and chillies from the North in a state of war—these are products which could be imported from many places in the world today. Amirthalingam now boasts that he has over 30,000 refugees on his hands, and he why does not say to the Sinhala government "leave us alone...we can look after them...you look after your business....."

At his press conference of September 1, Amirthalingam had a glorious opportunity to beat a strategic retreat in a graceful manner and to save face whilst maintaining Tamil self respect. But he did not. He missed the bus. This has happened many times before to the FP and the Tamil politicians in the modern era—by unrealistically asking for too much and refusing settlements which would have taken the position of the minorities further towards a lasting settlement—and it has happened again.

Even before this September 1 press conference, (the government seemed to be aware of what Amirthalingam would say), the Government had started a counter-attack to de-stabilise the TULF, and the TULF continues to play into the hands of the Government. Tamils in Colombo and other parts of Ceylon, (bar Jaffna), have been encouraged to issue statements that they were not for Eelam and that they believed in a United Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

But, more than this, the Government took a calculated risk in utilising the presence of two Soviet trade union representatives to start a furore about "Russian interference" in favour of the TULF and the Tamils who wanted Eelam. We have published elsewhere all the relevant press reports for the record; and, it will be seen that a rather thin story was used to spread blazing headlines in the Daily Mirror on Saturday, September 3. The Daily News displayed the same story in a sober and restrained manner (incidentally the Daily News coverage of factual news has improved considerably in recent weeks), whilst the Sun took the opportunity to

have a big bash at the KGB. The Sunday papers followed with the news that the two Russians were being "deported" for interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. The CWC, the Soviet Embassy and the TULF issued statements that there had been no such interference. Every paper reported that the Soviet trade unionists were to be deported on the Aeroflot flight out of Colombo on Monday, September 5.

But the two Russians, who had hit the headlines in a big way, were not deported. Thondaman and Sellasamy of the CWC interviewed the Prime Minister on Monday morning and had assured him that the two Russian trade unionists had come on their invitation and that there had been no contact with the TULF on this occasion. On this assurance, the PM rescinded the earlier order for deportation and permitted the two Russians to stay up to the time they had originally arranged to go September 8.

This episode is an indication of the style of government J. R. Jayawardene will pursue. By utilising the presence of the two Soviet trade unionists in the way it was done, the Government has issued a firm warning to all foreign countries, which may have sympathies with the Tamils, not to "interfere". The big stick and the heavy-handed propaganda in sections of the press about the KGB is a clear warning to big and small powers that Jayawardene's government would be firm about sympathy, however slight, shown to the TULF. (What is ironic is that both the TULF leadership and the CWC leadership have always been pro-west inclined and their recent contacts with the USSR have been more accidental than otherwise, but the game of politics produces many strange situations).

There is no doubt that all foreign countries have taken due notice about this warning. Tribune is aware that some countries which had considered rushing help to the refugees will now begin to act only after reviewing the position with the Government and after ensuring that their "assistance" will not be misunderstood. There is also no doubt that the TULF will hereafter stand isolated from many foreign countries which would have extended help and assistance to a discriminated minority (not to set



up Eelam but to help the Tamils).

The Russian trade unionists' episode has also strengthened and extended the wedge that has existed between the FP sections of the TULF and the CWC sections of the TULF after the Vaddukkoddai resolution on Eelam. Even if Thondaman and others still make formal proclamations of TULF unity, the communal violence has shattered this unity. Thondaman had started to disengage himself from the TULF when he set himself as the sole representative of the CWC in the new NSA and not as part of the Eelam-shouting TULF. Now he will disengage himself still more whilst making pious statements about allegiance to the concept of "unity" among the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. Moreover, Thondaman has, in fact, to disengage himself completely from the TULF if he is to rehabilitate himself as the leader of the Tamils of Indian origin in the plantations.

What then is the position of the TULF?

The formal and uneasy unity of the Tamils achieved in 1972, on the basis of the six points' demand (which brought the CWC into it), has been knocked into smithereens. With the Vaddukkoddai Resolution about Eelam in 1974, the CWC became a world apart but was persuaded to stay on with the argument that Eelam will be in cold storage until a distant future but would be presently used only as a bargaining lever. This bluff has now been called.

The "unity" achieved in 1972, is no more: we see a sorry spectacle today. For one thing the 17 TULF members of the NSA each have their own individualistic ideas about Eelam and each speaks in a different voice—only they use the slogan and the formula about Eelam as a smokescreen to cover their differences. One has only to speak to the different MPs of the TULF to know what a Babel of Voices they constitute. One does not know when they will begin to openly betray such differences. It is to be hoped that in their desire to sustain "unity" they will not resort to chauvinist and extremist rhetoric and slogan-mongering. Many times in history, in different countries, organisations like the TULF have broken up in disarray causing untold damage to themselves by indulging in irresponsible talk. For the TULF to sur-

vive this crisis, an "agonising reappraisal" is essential to change its style of work.

This crisis in the TULF is demonstrated by the fact that the different and separate sections of the Tamils of Ceylon (which the TULF had sought to unite in 1972) have begun to fall apart. Many Tamils in Colombo and outside the North and East have begun to openly disassociate themselves from the TULF, it will not be long before the Vanni Tamils openly stress their differences with the Jaffna-Tamil led TULF. And the same will take place in regard to the Mannar, Batticaloa and Trincomalee Tamils. This is the natural consequence of the attempt to prematurely force the acceptance of Eelam. A political party moves an Amendment in Parliament, demanding a separate state only when it is ready for the war of liberation with all the logistics for such struggle worked out in every detail. The amendment the TULF moved when the NSA began to function on August 18 was for the domestic consumption of its own supporters and to bargain with the Sinhalese by asking for "too much so that less could be got." With an inflammatory slogan like separatism, the TULF has now learnt that it cannot play with fire.

Coupled with this Amendment, the meeting held at Ramakrishna Mission Hall to "signal" Tamil awakening was a TULF invitation to the Sinhalese to start a war. One does not go into enemy territory to proclaim a war unless one is ready for it. The TULF and the Tamil community, as presently constituted and placed are not prepared for war, certainly not for an aggressive war essential for "liberation". The Tamil community is not even prepared for resistance against communal fury, (and such resistance should have been organised no sooner slogan-shouting about Eelam had begun). The less said about the meeting at the Ramakrishna Mission Hall the better, but it should be a warning that melodrama and rhetoric are not realistic politics.

TULF leaders and those connected to them should take great care to avoid stupid and foolish talk about firearms from other countries to wage the war for Eelam. In such talk—even at meetings

—the names of certain countries and organisations have been mentioned. The result will be that hereafter even the contact TULF elements have maintained with some of these countries for cultural and educational reasons will be greatly curtailed and restricted by such foreign governments so far as Ceylon Tamil students are concerned. In the second world war, the British Government's most repeated slogan was CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES. The TULF leaders are now confronted with the position CARELESS TALK LOSES FRIENDS.

The TULF loose talk about foreign assistance (and about the number of Tamil students and emigres in certain foreign countries who will get military training) and about the arms they can get if they want has provided the Government with an excellent opportunity to have a blast at the Soviets. Sections of the local press threw in the KGB for good measure. Except for an official order by the Controller of Immigration and Emigration cancelling the visas, the Government issued no official statement. But with inspired leaks and blood-thirsty press reports, there was terrific build up which seems to have cowed the TULF.

But the Government was willing to talk to the CWC, and on the assurances of the CWC, the Prime Minister instructed the Controller to rescind his earlier order and allow the two Russians to depart on the date scheduled earlier. Everything ended on an "all's well that ends well" basis and this will also help JR to have a new rapport with the Soviet Union on his own terms and on a new basis. In any case, it is surprising how a Big Power like the Soviet Union had permitted two of its Trade Unionists to visit Sri Lanka at a sensitive time like the present and tread paths where even angels should fear to move.

In the meantime, the *furor* about the interference of the Russians and the alleged KGB antecedents of some one who had visited Sri Lanka in May provides an excellent backdrop for the visit of the Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel,



## Government's Dilemma

to western countries and the USA to attend the World Bank and IMF meetings. Whilst it is true that the Western countries are no longer impressed by anti-communism, many developing countries still think that a touch of anti-communism will go a long way towards securing sympathy from the Western bankers. But the J. R. Jayewardene Government is mature enough to know that anti-commie gimmicks do not any longer pay dividends and that what foreign investors want in a country is stability. The post-election violence and the communal holocaust thereafter has undoubtedly shaken the confidence of the foreign investor in regard to stability in Sri Lanka. No amount of anti-red stunts can restore confidence in foreign investors. Only normalcy and stability can. (The military ruler of Thailand has staged the biggest anti-communist campaign ever and has been inviting—almost every week—foreign investment but little or nothing has been forthcoming. On the other hand foreign investors seem anxious to invest in Vietnam because of the stability prevailing in that country and because there is confidence that the Vietnam government will maintain its part of the bargain).

Sri Lanka has for many years based its foreign policies on inflicting occasional pricks directed at different big and important powers to sustain its much-awarded nonalignment. Mrs. Bandaranaike was an adept in this game; in the first phase after assuming power in 1970, she had "whacks" at the US and the CIA not merely to impress the socialist bloc countries but also to keep its left partners and supporters at home happy—in a bid to show that the SLFP was going the socialist way. Later on, the Sirimavo government gave the Soviet's a few diplomatic shocks to make the Peking Government feel that it had a good anti-revisionist friend in Sri Lanka. However, in the last two years of the Sirimavo government, Western countries were willing to assist Sri Lanka, but unfortunately the Government was unable to make the fullest use of the assistance and investment because of inherent corruption and inefficiency in its structure and constitution. The UNP Government has been unfortunate to start with setbacks to internal stability: the post-election

violence and soon afterwards the turbulence associated with EXODUS 1977. It has therefore become very important for the J. R. Jayewardene Government to restore normalcy and ensure stability if it is to get foreign investors to pour money into Sri Lanka even into the Export Processing Zone (known as the Free Zone). And this stability can come about, in the present context, only by resolving the communal problem. The Prime Minister has emphasised several times in recent days, that he will forge national unity whatever the consequences.

The first and perhaps the only important foreign policy statement made by the Government is on the Israeli settlement on the West Bank of the Jordan. The *Daily Mirror*, 31/8/77, reported:

*The Government was disturbed over the proposal to set up three new Jewish States on the West Bank of Jordan. It had sounded the non-Aligned nations and it was likely a Conference of Foreign Ministers would be held in New York on September 27. This was said by Mr. A. C. S. Hameed Minister of Foreign Affairs at a Press Conference yesterday.*

*He said that the establishment of these three new Jewish states could change the geographic and economic features and the character of a country. This was a flagrant violation of all international standards of social justice. Such a proposal made it difficult to find solutions to the problems in the Middle East. "It is interpreted". Mr. Hameed said, "as a silent and subtle annexation of a country and the Government is disturbed and alarmed at such manoeuvres."*

*He said the Government would take the initiative in requesting other countries to take action to halt this move as it would make the search for a solution difficult. Three countries, Bangladesh, Syria and Egypt had already asked Sri Lanka to summon a meeting of the Non-Aligned countries.*

*Replying to a question Mr. Hameed said it would not be correct to spell out the lines of action of the Non-Aligned group on this matter, but he would do so at another conference he would summon, before he left for New York.*

The new Government is therefore following the policy pursued by the earlier government of insisting that Israel should withdraw from occupied territories. The coming meeting of the Ministerial Bureau of the Non-aligned Meeting will be the first to be presided over by the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka and great interest is being evinced in all quarters to see how the UNP Government will fare in the nonaligned parley.

The Minister of Finance also leaves this week for Europe and Washington. He will meet the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium countries and also attend meetings of the World Bank and the IMF. In the context of the turmoil in Sri Lanka it will be interesting to see what response he will get from potential foreign investors. Already, he has shown that he was taking all the necessary steps to clear the decks for a serious attempt to rehabilitate the economy which had been devastated by Felix Bandaranaike's printing of currency notes to meet deficits and provide cash to all and sundry—in just 18 months the last Government had increased the money supply by nearly 65 to 70 percent without any kind of cover of goods or services. In addition to this, Felix Bandaranaike had also revalued the rupee upwards by 20% making the value of the Sri Lanka Rupee (SLR) more unrealistic than it was. The new Government has untied the SLR from the pound and has let it float around a basket of worthwhile foreign hard currencies—in the hope that the SLR will find its true level and thereby offset the ill effects of the revaluation to some extent. This is a good invisible way of effecting the very necessary devaluation of the SLR. In addition, the Government has increased the lending rate of the Central Bank to the Commercial Banks and has also offered staggering rates of interest to depositors in the National Savings Bank especially on fixed deposits for six, twelve and eighteen months. The objective of this exercise is to bring in as much of the extra money supply in circulation into savings. How far this exercise will succeed is yet to be seen.

The Government has many dilemmas to resolve at the same time, and the two most important are



the communal problem and the question of activating development. In both cases it is a question of rehabilitation of refugees and the currency—both pre-requisites for national unity as well as a dynamic economic growth.

## TOPICAL

## Sir Senerat Gunawardena And Buddhist Intolerance

by James T. Rutnam

More in sorrow than in anger I am compelled to refer to the disappointing role that one of our most senior public figures, and indeed one who would have been undoubtedly installed in, and adorned, the Presidential Chair in this country, had he only been born among the fortunate elect, the so-called Goigama Sinhalese Buddhists, had assumed recently. I speak of R. S. S. Gunawardena. On 1 September he led a delegation to the Prime Minister of (what they called themselves as) "The All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress."

The names of the members of the delegation were given in the morning newspapers of 2 September. It included the Reverend Madihe Pannasiha Thera, the militant monk who wants an Army of Occupation stationed in the two Tamil-speaking Provinces to enforce State plantation of Sinhalese people in these areas, a course of action that would eventually produce only Sinhalese as Members to our State Assembly. Some of the other members too have well-known reputations in the field of Sinhalese-Tamil relations. Some of them hate the Tamils as Hitler hated the Jews. I sincerely trust that they will not suffer the fate that overtook Hitler.

In the issue of the *Tribune* of 27 August, "one of the oldest life members" of the Congress and "one-time Organising Secretary for Religious Activities at the Gothatuwa Vagrants Home", C. E. J. Alles of Dehiwela, had expressed the fears he had entertained that this "Congress" would some day "display its true colours as a militant body." And so he had now discovered.

These individuals of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress want Sri Lanka to be called "The Buddhist Republic of Sri Lanka." What a time to propose this, even if one was prepared to consider it! Amidst the plundered homes, amidst the carnage, amidst the torn corpses, amidst the raped women, amidst the loot, arson and murder, amidst the inhuman butchery, the enormity of which awaits the publication of a "Yellow Book of the Holocaust", come these several men and one woman describing themselves as Buddhists demanding that the name of this presently benighted country be changed to "The Buddhist Republic of Sri Lanka." Are we wanting at this shameful moment publicly to identify all these un-buddhistic horrors and atrocities to a Buddhist State? This All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress had not changed its own name as yet, for fear I suppose of trespassing over the rights of its rival which calls itself The Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress. The President of this all-Ceylon Buddhist Congress is still a belted knight of a Christian Order of Chivalry. When he wears his regalia, he flaunts the true Christian cross. What a confounding mess!

Why not publish the fact that Sri Lanka is the only Buddhist country

where its hierarchy and its institutions observe the abominable Caste system? Even the late Anagarika Dharmapala could not have received higher ordination in Sri Lanka in the Siyam Nikaya according to the strict tenets of this Order. So why go to announce and spread the gospel abroad when there is so much to be done in Sri Lanka? Could we not remove this lust for Tamil or Muslim blood that has periodically sullied the name of our country in 1915, 1958 and now in 1977?

This is the best time to bring about a Reformation of some disagreeable Buddhist practices in Sri Lanka. The Maha Nayaka Theras of Malwatta and Asgiriya have already stood up for basic principles of Buddhism in the present conflict. This was never done before. There is hope that they will be amenable to changes in the constitution of their own Order. I sincerely trust that R. S. S. Gunawardena will lead his depleting flock to undertake a mission of loving kindness and compassion among all people in this country, a truly Buddhist objective.

I have known R.S.S. for over fifty years, from the time he was a School Master at Ananda College and I a Law Student holding the

## COVER

### THE DILEMMA

The post-election violence and the communal upheaval thereafter will affect the forthcoming Maha sowing in a big way. In addition, the Government is already saddled with the problem of not having enough storage to take in all the paddy that was produced last Maha and also what has been produced this Yala. But more than the storage space problem, the real difficulties will stem from the poor Maha that must be anticipated. The disruption caused by the displacement of key personnel in all paddy producing areas will adversely affect the forthcoming Maha crop. Whether all the displaced persons will be able to get back to their stations and start functioning as they should is yet to be seen, but it will not be easy to restore the *status quo ante* immediately. The Government must, therefore, be ready to import rice as buffer stocks, before the end of the year, in case the next Maha crop does not come up to scratch. The picture on the cover shows peasant farmers ready for the threshing with their stacks round the threshing floor. It is only when scenes like this become the normal pattern of life in all paddy producing areas that one can say that Sri Lanka is on the way to self-sufficiency and prosperity. The Government is today faced with several dilemmas and one of the most serious is how soon they will succeed in bringing the 1200 or more engineers, doctors and accountants back to their posts from the Jaffna peninsula where they have taken refuge from communal violence. Without these doctors many hospitals will not be able to function immediately, without the engineers the Irrigation Department cannot move forward fast enough and without the accountants the government's accounting systems will take a great deal of coaxing to start working again.



office of "Prime Minister" of the "Law College House of Commons" in 1927. That was the year when Bandaranaike accompanied by Gunawardena visited our "House of Commons". The year before Gunawardena and I were in opposite camps, he supporting Bandaranaike and I supporting Goonardena in the Colombo Municipal Council Election for the Maradana Ward. We had since become very close friends. Only the other day on 25 August we met the Prime Minister together, along with the good Father Balasuriya. Gunawardena was a Liberal then. He was the champion of all the lost and losing (though deserving) causes in this country during the last fifty years, and had nevertheless scored spectacular victories against formidable opposition, from the radalayas especially.

I was shocked and ashamed to see him leading a jehad against the Tamils, and for that matter against all other minorities in this country by wrongly assuming that Sri Lanka is a land of only the Sinhalese Buddhists. This is not so. He believes in myths. No lion, even an Indian lion, could ever have begotten a human forbear of a race. Even the visit of the Buddha to Sri Lanka has been challenged by no less a Sinhalese authority than Senarat Paranavitana. Why go to history? Why go to the Mahawamsa, a mixture of fact and fiction? Why go to doubt that there was once a Tamil Kingdom in North Ceylon? Why speak only of Sinhale? Why go to Sivasithamparam or E. L. Senanayake or Kariawasam for our history or ethnology? Let us leave it to scholars, who are generally divided in these matters. Let us turn to the grim reality of today. This is the challenge.

What is refreshing in the present scene is the attitude of the Prime Minister and his band of 138 members. They want to bring Peace and Contentment to the country especially among the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. Like the great Asoka in India they want to build this State on the true principles of the Dhamma, the Rule of Righteousness, the Rule of Equality and Justice. Professor O. H. de A. Wijesekera had clearly described the true concept of the Dhamma in Buddhism in an article in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 5 August. It is worth reproducing in the *Tribune*. It is the best rejoinder to racists, religious

fanatics and chauvinists wherever they come from, even when they come under the auspices of a misguided Buddhist monk.

I am sorry R.S.S. is reported in the *Sun* of 2 September as having said in support of his deplorable stand for a "Buddhist State of Sri Lanka", that "Christians enjoyed the same position in European society. So was Hinduism in India and Nepal." This is a lie. Was he ignorant or was it a crude attempt to fool the Prime Minister? *India is secular. This is loudly and proudly proclaimed, and is a beacon to all nations. Learn a lesson even from the meanest. The proposed Eelam too is for a Sovereign, Secular and Socialist State.*

FOR THE RECORD

### About Two Russians Is Russia Behind Present Disturbances?

The activities of two Russian trade unionists—Vladimir Ignatov and Konstantin Touzikov who visited Sri Lanka from May 23 this year to June 6 were brought to the notice of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs in the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government. Soon after their departure from Sri Lanka the Ministry directed the Ambassador for Sri Lanka in the USSR that these two Russians should not be issued with visas to enter Sri Lanka again without reference to the Minister of Defence.

However, on August 29 this year one of them, Konstantin Touzikov arrived in Sri Lanka with another Russian on the invitation of the Ceylon Workers' Congress. During the previous visit they had met several members of the TULF in Jaffna and Colombo and addressed meetings in Jaffna. During the latest visit too, Konstantin Touzikov was visiting members of the CWC and was showing a keen interest in the TULF activities in Sri Lanka. He had promised to give all possible assistance to their trade unions and to do propaganda about their grievances and problems, as they had realised that they were suffering at the hands of the Sinhalese.

—*Ceylon Daily News*,  
3-9-77.

### CWC Secretary On The Two Russian TU Men

The General Secretary of the CWC, Mr. M. S. Sellasamy, referring to the news item in the *CDN* of September 3 about two Russian trade unionists says that it is a canard to allege that the two Russian trade unionists had offered assistance to the TULF. The following is the full text of Mr. Sellasamy's statement.

"We read with considerable consternation and shock the news item in your journal of today (3rd September) under the caption 'Russian behind communal disturbances'. By innuendo and insinuation the story tries to make out that the two Russian trade unionists who are the guests of the Ceylon Workers Congress, were to an extent behind these disturbances and that by virtue of their being invited by the CWC the organisation was also culpable.

"While we must categorically refute these allegations, as ones without any foundation or an iota of truth and as mischievous, we must make it clear that the invitation to the All Union Central Committee of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union was extended by the CWC, some time ago as a reciprocal measure for the numerous invitations extended to our organisation by the AUCTC of the Soviet Union. It is also a calculated canard to allege that these trade unionists have offered assistance to the TULF or that they appreciated the problems of the Tamil people.

"Of the two visitors who are now in Sri Lanka, Mr. Konstantin Touzikov, is an official of the AUCCTU who had visited Sri Lanka a number of times accompanying various trade union delegations at different times Mr. Enver Kapba, who is the Secretary of the Georgian Republican Trade Union Council is visiting the country for the first time. During their stay here they visited Nuwara Eliya and Kandy. They had also met other prominent trade unionists such as Mr. J. A. K. Perera and Mr. Herbert Wickremasinghe of the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation controlled by the SLFP. Before their departure they were scheduled to meet Mr. A. Aziz of the DWC and Mr. M. G. Mendis of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions.



"Our organisation has been entirely in charge of the arrangements for the visit of these two Russian trade unionists and we must deny that they ever met any official of the TULF and held talks with them. As trade unionists they were only interested in the problems of the plantation workers in so far as the industry was concerned and never discussed their political problems.

"From the similarity of the content, phraseology and the heading of the reports appearing in the Ceylon Daily News and the Daily Mirror it is more than apparent that the story is an 'inspired leak' calculated to mislead the public and create an erroneous impression that the CWC was collaborating with the Russian trade unionists in causing the disturbances, in order to draw a red herring and thus divert the minds of the people from the true facts.

"It is pertinent and would also be interesting to note that the two Russian trade unionists did not arrive in the country until after the dust of the disturbances had settled. They arrived in Sri Lanka only on the 29th of August.

"Since the news report may create the erroneous impression in the minds of the public as to the purpose of the visit of the Russian trade unionists and the role of their hosts, the CWC, we shall be grateful if this statement is accorded the same prominence just as the news items under review."

#### Note by the Editor:

We are glad to have the CWC General Secretary's confirmation that the two Russians now to be expelled, were as trade unionists themselves, the guests of the CWC, itself a component of the TULF. We may add that while accepting this confirmation on that point, we do not feel impelled to accept the certificate of good conduct he advances on their behalf. Does Mr. Sellasamy contest the statement that, on the last occasion, after Messrs. Vladimir Ignator and Konstantin Touzikov visited Sri Lanka, in May/June this year, the former Government issued instructions that the visas if these two persons were not to be renewed without reference to the Ministry of Defence.

Does Mr. Sellasamy deny that one of the CWC's guests on this occasion is the selfsame Mr. Konstantin Touzikov who visited Sri Lanka earlier? That he was one of the two persons

whose visas came under the SLFP Government's special ruling referred to above? Issues of national interest are above party politics. We can understand the CWC's embarrassment, though we have not, in fact imputed culpability to it. But there is no reason to believe that either the previous Government or the present one should act without sufficient intelligence of responsibility in a matter affecting the Security of the State.

—Ceylon Daily News,  
5-9-77.

## USSR Embassy Writes

The following is the statement of the Information Department of the USSR Embassy in Sri Lanka.

"In connection with the publication in a number of newspapers of distorted information concerning the stay of the Soviet Trade Union delegation in Sri Lanka, the Information Department of the USSR Embassy is authorized to state the following:

"Some reports, containing accusations against the members of the Soviet Trade Union delegation of interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka are of a completely farfetched character and present in a distorted way the friendly contacts and ties between our states and peoples.

"The only aim of these publications is to mislead the public opinion of the country with which the Soviet Union is maintaining friendly relations and is developing allround fruitful co-operation. For more than twenty years the USSR and Sri Lanka have been building their relations on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, which is a firm principle of Soviet foreign policy.

"The USSR Embassy in Sri Lanka rejects the published fabrications and expresses its regrets for the publication of the distorted information concerning friendly Soviet-Sri Lanka contacts. The USSR Embassy is sure that such attacks will not be able to harm the further development of friendly and healthy relations between the Soviet Union and Sri Lanka."

—Ceylon Daily News,  
6/9/77

## Russians Given Time To Leave

The government has agreed to extend the visas of the two Russian Trade Unionists, Mr. K. Touzikov and Mr. E. Kapba till September 8th. A press release issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs states: "Mr. S. Thondaman and Mr. M. S. Sellasamy saw the Prime Minister regarding the action taken by the Department of Immigration to restrict the visas of Mr. K. Touzikov and Mr. E. Kapba. Mr. Thondaman said that both of them had been booked to leave Sri Lanka by the Aeroflot flight on September 8. He also assured the Prime Minister that they have not had, and will not have, any discussions with the TULF on this occasion.

In the circumstances, the Prime Minister agreed to their visas being extended till 8th September".

—Ceylon Daily News,  
6/9/77

## Amirthalingam Is Surprised

Mr. A. Amirthalingam Leader of the Opposition, in a Press release said yesterday that he was surprised at the newspaper reports that the two Russian trade unionists who had been asked to leave the country had some connection or contacts with the TULF. Mr. Amirthalingam said:—

"I wish to deny most emphatically that the TULF had any connection with them. In fact it was from this news report that I learnt for the first time that these two gentlemen were in this country at all.

"Already, wild rumours are being circulated and this report will also incite the Sinhalese people further against the Tamils. It is my duty as Secretary General of the TULF to place on record our refutation of this false allegation which is worded in such a way as to suggest more than what appears on the face of it."

—Ceylon Daily News,  
6/9/77



## Aug. 18 — Aug. 23

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD  
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS  
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 18:** A bill to amend the Republican Constitution will be presented in the NSA within three months, informed sources said yesterday; it is understood that a Select Committee will be appointed to consider amendments to the Constitution. The armed forces who were called in to help the police maintain law and order in Jaffna yesterday, are now patrolling the streets of the Northern Capital. The Cabinet yesterday decided that statues of the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake should be erected in the premises of the NSA. The election of members for the Pottuvil seat in the NSA will be held on September 12. The PM has requested all Cabinet Ministers to submit concrete proposals for a crash program for development in every sphere of Government activity during the next six months. The PM told the Working Committee of the UNP yesterday that action will be taken against officials in Ministries, Government Departments and State Corporations if they did not co-operate with the government. Should the intake of students to the University's two medical faculties at Colombo and Peradeniya be increased next year, is a question receiving the attention of the Health Department authorities in view of the prevailing shortage of doctors to man the island's Health Services. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands will seek Cabinet approval to vest the state-owned plantations in the coconut triangle of Kalutara, Kurunegala, and Chilaw in the National Livestock Board, as he claimed that they were ideally suited for dairy farming. The government yesterday abolished the present system of standardisation of marks in regard to entry to the University subject to proposals to be considered later whereby children from under-developed areas would be given special facilities to enable entry to the university. The Ministry of Defence announced last night that a curfew had been imposed in the Anuradhapura and Kurunegala Districts from 8 p.m. last night till 5 a.m. this morning—CDN. Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, MP for Nallur said yesterday that the incidents in Jaffna were not communal though certain mischief-makers were attempting to capitalise on the situation. All trains to the North were cancelled by the Railway yesterday; this is in view of incidents where groups of people had waylaid trains in forests and robbed certain passengers of their belongings. A new scheme to protect the rights of those engaged in the film industry has been formulated by the State Film Corporation. A crash programme to improve the water services in the Mt. Lavinia, Moratuwa and Panadura areas immediately has been initiated by the Minister of Local Government. Mr.

Nissanka Wijeyawardene was yesterday appointed Chairman of the Bank of Ceylon by the Minister of Finance—CDM. Nine High Court Judges were nominated by the Chief Justice yesterday to hear the election petitions filed against 10 MP's. The UNP's Working Committee decided yesterday that the maintenance of a 'continuous dialogue' with its members, supporters and the public in general, throughout Sri Lanka, would be one of its principal tasks for the post election period. The Chairman of the CTB, Mr. A. R. P. Wijeyasekera, was yesterday removed from office; Mr. V. I. Jayasooriya has been appointed to succeed him as Chairman—SU. All night mail trains were cancelled last night except for the Badulla night mail. Many shops in the Anuradhapura town were broken and damaged and things looted yesterday. All rail services to the North and East have been suspended due to the prevailing situation—DP. The TULF leaders have requested the PM to transfer with immediate effect all the high ups in the police service in Jaffna. The train from KKS to Colombo was attacked and property looted at Anuradhapura—VK. The National Security Council meets this morning to review the island-wide security operation situation following the outbreak of violence in parts of the Anuradhapura and Kurunegala districts; the situation in Jaffna was under control, official sources said with the deployment of troops and Naval personnel; some soldiers were airlifted to Jaffna yesterday to supplement troops already posted there while the Police moved re-inforcements to Anuradhapura. The Chief Justice will be afforded a farewell today when a ceremonial sitting of the Supreme Court is held—CO. The National Youth Council has appointed 22,000 youths to 22 districts throughout the island at a pay of Rs. 5/- per day to help improve various fields—DW. The victory of the UNP at the general Election 1977 is only a temporary victory; it is important for the Left to learn from mistakes to win next time; in any case over 20 lakhs voted against the UNP — ATH.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 19:** The PM and the leader of the Opposition said yesterday that the incidents that occurred in Jaffna in the past few days did not stem from communal issues; the PM who addressed the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday morning said that the incidents that occurred in Jaffna had no communal or political basis but were due to other reasons; the PM later told the NSA during the adjournment debate on the recent outbreak of violence that a commission of inquiry would be appointed to probe into it. The Police yesterday warned the public against rumour mongers and hardened criminals who attempted to create incidents, in shops and boutiques; police also said a number of arrests had been made of such persons; the police were also carrying out combing out operations for unlicensed firearms and explosives. It has been decided to appoint a select committee to examine the suitability of candidates for High Posts. An amendment to the Constitution under which the powers vested in the PM would be transferred to an executive president is likely to be tabled in the NSA on Monday, informed sources said yesterday. Four more districts were placed under curfew yesterday evening as the Government took firmer security measures to control sporadic incidents of violence. Cultural bureaucracy, which has been centred around the big cities, will be taken to the village under a new re-orientation plan formulated by the Minister of Cultural Affairs. The Minister of



Justice yesterday named seven of an eight member special committee on legal reforms. Dr. W. Howard Wriggins who has been appointed by the Government of the USA as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Sri Lanka presented his letters of credence to the President of the Republic of Sri Lanka—CDN. The PM speaking to the NSA yesterday appealed to the TULF leaders and all MP's not to state anything that would inflame communal feelings but help bring the disturbing situation in many parts of the country under control. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam moving an early adjournment of the NSA yesterday said that the situation in Jaffna had been brought about by negligence of the Jaffna Police personnel. The PM made a detailed statement at a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday morning regarding the reported outbreak of violence in a few areas in the country after an incident that had taken place in Jaffna recently; he said that every step had been taken by the Government to maintain law and order and that the situation was well under control. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake MP for Medawachchiya met the PM in the NSA yesterday morning and requested him to impose a whole-day curfew in Anuradhapura. An amendment to the Excise Ordinance was passed empowering the Minister to deal directly with GA's on excise matters, particularly in relation to the registering and cancelling of licenses—CDM. The Government will appoint a commission to probe the causes that had to the recent events in the Jaffna Peninsula and elsewhere, the PM told the NSA last night. The PM told the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday that the unemployment problem could not be solved merely by appointing people to jobs in a haphazard manner; he said that the solution to the problem could only come through a planned development programme to which the Government had given priority. Fourteen people have died so far in incidents arising from last Tuesday's trouble in Jaffna, the PM informed the NSA last night. Detailed instructions regarding the channelled consultation scheme for doctors have been laid down by the Health Ministry—SU.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 20:** The government yesterday appointed Armed Services and Police personnel as district co-ordinating officers in a swift move to re-establish law and order in certain parts of the country following clashes in Jaffna Peninsula last week; the co-ordinating officers were also empowered to order the arrest of any person who seemed intent on acts of violence aimed at creating further disturbances; the Government was acting under Chapter Three of the Public Security Act. University Teachers of the Jaffna Campus have said it was evident that various groups of individuals were deliberately inciting people to loot, violence, arson and murder by spreading false and malicious rumours regarding incidents purported to have taken place in the North, especially to the Jaffna Campus Sinhalese students; the campus was closed on the 17 and students together with members of staff had been were transported by special bus and reached Anuradhapura safely and thence proceeded to various destinations. Food and Co-operatives Minister told the NSA yesterday that the former government had given jobs to about 8,000 persons in departments under his ministry, but the files relating to these appointments had been removed. The PM requested the MP's to go to their respective electorates soon after yesterday's NSA meeting was over and help the officials in main-

tain law and order. Rumours are being spread by designing individuals that Buddhist temples in Jaffna and Nagadeepa have been damaged and that Sinhalese residents including students have been killed or seriously harmed; these rumours are absolutely false said a Defence Ministry communique issued last night. The CGR suspended all night mail trains yesterday. The Federation of University Teachers yesterday strongly deplored the eruption of violence in the past few days; it also appealed to all University and school teachers to act responsibly and help promote peace and harmony; the Federation also appealed to students and other youths to similarly act in a responsible manner. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands will shortly set up a special panel comprising senior professional men, to inquire into and report on over 5,000 outstanding claims for compensation by persons whose lands have been acquired by the last Government under the Land Reform Act. Mr. N. Wimalasena has been appointed Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in the UK—CDN. Reports that the government proposed to do away with the Co-operative Societies were not correct, Mr. S. B. Herath, Food and Co-operatives Minister told the NSA yesterday; he said that what the government wanted to do was to eliminate corruption and other malpractices in co-operative societies; the consumer could buy his ration goods either at the co-operative or the authorised dealer at whichever point he wished. Bus loads of Tamil evacuees from Anuradhapura are arriving in Jaffna since the early hours of the morning; they are being received by the GA, Jaffna and other officers of the Jaffna Kachcheri. The Director of Public Prosecutions and the Solicitor General were yesterday sent on compulsory leave.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 21:** An islandwide curfew effective till 4 a.m. on Monday became effective at 5 p.m. yesterday; a government announcement at 2 p.m. yesterday said that the Police and the armed services have been given special instructions to take any action against law breakers. The military and police co-ordinating officers appointed to the various districts took up posts yesterday and an intensive security operation devised to contain the violence in parts of the country since last week's outbreak in Jaffna has become effective. The thrust of Sri Lanka's new economic policies will be conveyed to some of the important aid group countries and to international investment banking and financial groups by the Finance Minister who is undertaking an extensive tour abroad early next month—SO. It was revealed on the Wimalachandra Commission report on the University of Sri Lanka, out of their stipend the students have been utilising a certain portion for arms; this report was recently submitted to the President—RR.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 22:** The PM, in a message to the Police and Armed Services said that he had given instructions to the IGP and the Service Commanders that all Police and Service Personnel should take the firmest action under the Law to deal promptly and effectively with any cases of arson, looting and similar acts of violence. The situation over the whole island had shown a vast improvement after the imposition of the all-island curfew, police reported yesterday. The PM called at a number of city police stations and toured parts of the city like Slave Island, Pettah and Maradana appealing to the people to keep the peace. Leaders of all religions have appealed to the people to refrain from violence and to maintain peace and goodwill.



Inciters and violaters of the law were firmly dealt with by the police in several parts of the island, a spokesman for the police said last night; one was injured and four persons were arrested. Train and bus services will be back to normal today, according to a railway source. Colombo's General Hospital claimed under the emergency situation 'an excellent service' was maintained and the service was round the clock. Consumers were yesterday assured by a spokesman of the Food and Co-operatives Ministry, that there would be no shortage in the issue of food items from co-operatives if the curfew was lifted this morning. The Diyawadane Nilame has said that the Kandy Esala Perahera will continue without any change. Armoured cars, trucks and jeeps, mobile riot squads and motor cycles rolled along the island's roads, streets and lanes, throughout the day and night. The PM toured various parts of Colombo and the outskirts yesterday and last Saturday evening supervising security arrangements and ensuring that everything possible was done to ensure the safety of citizens and their property. The island-wide curfew clamped down from last Saturday evening till 4 a.m. today had the desired effect of curbing incidents of violence. Certain prominent defeated candidates of the SLFP in the Kandy district were yesterday placed under house arrest; among others is a prominent supporter of the Dudley Peramuna in Kandy. Tamil student hostellers from the Katubedde Campus have been brought to the Saraswathy Hall Bambalapitiya owing to closure of the campus; meanwhile several Tamil people from various parts of the island have been brought to Jaffna including 1500 from Anuradhapura—CDM.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 23:** Over 500 law breakers were reported arrested by the Police and the Armed Force in one of the biggest security operations ever mounted in the country; four persons, including a former high Army official and a well known medical practitioner in the hill country and a former top politician in the Central Province have been placed under house arrest; a radical left politician and a former Corporation Chairman among others have been placed under surveillance. The PM yesterday assured the Leader of the Opposition that police and armed services patrols would be intensified to bring the rush of lawlessness to an end; he also said that attacks on shops and houses occurring during curfew hours would be stopped. The Ministry of Food and Co-operatives has taken all necessary steps to ensure the smooth distribution of food items throughout the country. The Ministry of Textiles has drawn up a scheme to enhance the production of handloom and synthetic textiles and also to get rid of present difficulties that have stood in the way of optimum production. The Speaker has sought the assistance of his predecessor in office to trace documents relating to allegations of bribery against several MP's in the former regime. The present state of affairs in the country had nothing to do with the TULF demand for a separate state said the 3rd member for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya, Mr. S. Thondaman in the NSA yesterday; he said that during the last few days opponents of the government have achieved a gruesome victory; they had got people killed and they had also brought to a halt whatever the present government had achieved during the past one month. A proposal to set up Television in Sri Lanka is actively being considered by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; The suburban train service will operate as usual today; but long distance passenger trains will be curtailed if the curfew continues, a

spokesman for the Railway said last night. Speedy action has been taken by the Commissioner of Marketing to deploy a fleet of vehicles to the districts for the purchase of vegetables and other consumer items. The Government announced that the island-wide curfew which was lifted at 4 a.m. yesterday would be re-imposed from 8 p.m. last night till 4 a.m. this morning; this decision will be taken after the National Security Council studied the situation reports radioed to Colombo by the Co-ordinating officers of the island's 22 districts—CDN. The police and armed services claimed that they had controlled and reduced the incidents of violence during the 35-hour period of the curfew during the weekend. Mr. E. L. Senanayake has instructed the army and the police to deal sternly with looters, rumour mongers and those who incite and instigate other acts of violence; he was speaking at a conference attended by Ministers, Deputy Ministers and MP's of the Kandy District; meanwhile over 100 were taken into custody for alleged offences of looting and several others placed under house arrest; thousands of Tamil refugees were being housed in schools and the government was providing them with food. The PM told a delegation of the TULF that the situation in the country was returning to normal and he did not think it necessary to take extraordinary measures. The Nayaka Thero of the Nagadipa Vihara has denied rumors which have been spread that damage has been done to his temple or any other temples in Jaffna. The Army Commander, Lt. Gen. Sepala Attygalle, last night said the situation in the country was well under control; he said that the operations of the security units were hampered to a great extent by people panicking; last afternoon there were some incidents of mischief and damage to property in the Fort, Pettah, Maradana and Dematagoda areas; the police were quick on the scene and dispersed the crowds that collected. Over 50 taxmen raided the Dasa Group of establishments simultaneously last week for alleged under declaration of assets. Mr. R. Premadasa is making plans to create a new Colombo, and he had discussions with the 47 co-ordinating officers he had appointed to administer the 47 wards of the Colombo Municipality—CDM. As reports from the provinces indicate that the country is fast returning to normal, the government yesterday settled down to the task of appointing a Commission of Enquiry to probe last week's incidents in Jaffna and the subsequent spate of violence in many areas. Over 1200 refugees now held in a transit camp in Kaluwella, Galle are likely to be evacuated to Jaffna by ship. Over 150 refugees were yesterday taken under heavy armed escort to Jaffna by the Yal Devi train which resumed operations after a break of four days. A large number of persons have been taken into custody for security reasons and for alleged acts of violence in Kandy during the past few days; among those taken into custody were Mr. A. G. Fernando, ex-MP for Wategama, Mr. S. B. Dolapilla, former Special Commissioner, Kandy and G. F. Dayananda, SLFP candidate for Harispattuwa. The Police have taken into custody for questioning Mr. H. M. Navaratne, former Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Lands for security reasons.



INTEGRATION OR EELAM?

# A National Crisis

by R. Kahawita

Twenty years ago, there was an exodus to the North and to the East by air, sea and land. It was a heart-rending episode. Murder, pillage, looting and destruction of property were the order of the day. Proclamation of an emergency curfew, prohibition of assemblies etc. did not bring quick relief to the country and the people. It took its own course until the perpetrators of these crimes thought that they had enough of the carnage.

I still remember the harrowing scene of a mother weeping over the bodies of her two children who were shot dead point blank at Maha Oya—what was the crime these two innocents had committed? They were born to Tamil parents.

When I recreate this scene in my memory I cannot conceive, how we Sinhala, who boast of a civilization a culture and a religion 2500 years old, can degenerate into such beastiality. What has become of the human side of the animal man? The thousands of icons at every street corner, under every Bo-tree, and the many temples, churches, kovils and mosques do not seem to have changed our animal instincts one bit.

If I had forgotten what happened twenty years ago, the happenings of the last two weeks have recreated in brutal reality the same scenes and the naked realisation that the Sinhala People have not moved forward culturally one bit since those occurred acts of carnage twenty years ago. We changed many institutions, adopted new ideologies, took new colours, followed new roads in search of a better society, but we have not deviated one bit from the animal instincts in man. So we see for a second time in twenty years an exodus by sea, air and land. Why? Because like the two babes of Maha Oya, some of us were born Tamils.

Twenty years ago, it was the beginning of a Bandaranaike regime, today it is the end

of a Bandaranaike regime. In between the twenty years our politics and politicians have allowed the communal cancer to boil over with periodical eruptions until today the solution seems to be Eelam, when it should be integration and national unity; not the type of integration highlighted in a wedding ceremony by the Sun newspaper with the two topmost VIPs participating in the ceremonies.

But universal integration, politically, socially and culturally, must save the situation through bold and courageous statesmanship by the J. R. administration in a Policy Statement. The statement should declare Sinhala, Tamil and English as official languages. Study of Sinhala and Tamil in elementary education compulsory, integration at school level by abolishing double stream schools, ability to work in both Sinhala and Tamil a compulsory requirement of enter into all state employment and semi State employment; employment by competition and merit. Colonization open to all communities, freedom and security to move anywhere in Sri Lanka and make a home anywhere in Sri Lanka irrespective of community, creed, or caste. These basic rights of the minorities shall be guaranteed in the proposed new Constitution. This declaration must be made now and steps taken to implement them.

In the midst of the present crisis an appeal has gone out from Religious leaders, Buddhists Congress and eminent citizens for communal harmony, peace and inter-community understanding. Why did we have to wait till a calamity overtook us to appeal for peace? I have been pleading for over two years, for these same groups to spearhead a movement to bring equality in law, employment opportunity and a settlement of the Sinhala-Tamil issues.

Appeals to the people over the radio will not bear results. The appeal must be directed to the Government to work out a solution to this national problem

without delay. The Government with its present strength in the NSA is in a position to solve the problem to the satisfaction of all. These eminent men, religious leaders, denominational Congresses all who went on the air over the crisis should form a permanent Committee to educate the masses and persuade them to accept all communities as brothers and sisters belonging to one human community. They must send out their emissaries to the trouble spots to reconcile the communities.

While this is being done get the Government to move in finding a solution. We should not treat the issue involved like the occasional floods in Kelani, get busy till the floods subside and relax thereafter. The work of bringing communal harmony must be taken to the villages, local Government offices, State offices, private sector establishments, wherever two or three are gathered together for work, for living, for worship and travel.

As (was to be) expected, the politicians of the earlier regimes have kept out of the scene. This is a good omen, keep them out, but to keep them out permanently, educating the masses to build up communal harmony and understanding is necessary. Confer with the Government to settle the issues and embody the solutions in the proposed new Constitution. This should be the lasting memorial to the present leadership and the burden of the respected citizens who appealed over the Radio for communal harmony. This should be the exhortation today, tomorrow and thereafter.

How did the 1977 trouble start?

According to statements in the NSA a few irresponsible Policemen in civilian attire at a carnival in Jaffna demanded free entry to and entertainment at the carnival. Refusal to accede to this set off the fuse and the rest was rumour and the festering enmity between the two communities for twenty years caused by State Policies on language, standardization of University entrance, unreasonable application of "Reasonable use of Tamil" by a bureaucracy bent on undermining an administration, segregation and attempts to dilute the political strength of Tamils. These gave rise to the demand for Eelam as the political stand of the Tamil



## End Communal Confrontation

United Liberation Front leadership—Eelam! Let us examine what it would mean to the Tamils, Sinhala, and unity of Sri Lanka.

In this connection I cannot refrain from mentioning an article carried by the Sun newspaper a few days ago on the "Tamil Problem" by Prof. Jayasuriya. The article, apart from being incorrect factually, was contrary to the declared Policy of the Government. It concluded by asking the Tamils to go to Tamilnad, or that they be pushed out into the Palk Straits. This article drew several protests in letters to the Editor, which is really a gauge of the quality of the article. No further comment is necessary though the article and writer deserve condemnation. I cannot understand why the Sun Editor sullied its leader page with such communal biased articles—a subject not in tune with the Policies of the present Government.

The tally, at the time of writing, stands at 50 deaths, innumerable number wounded, 3,000 arrests, an unassessed damage to property, and undisclosed numbers moved out to the North and East by sea, air and land. This is the toll of communal riots sparked off by the action of a couple of irresponsible Police officers at a fund raising carnival, and rumour-mongering thereafter. But all this could not have happened unless there were other forces goading the 20 year old wounds. Whatever the efforts made to cover up that what has happened was not politically inspired, to me all evil discredited emanates from politicians who still want to be popular and get to the top as leaders and saviours of their people at all costs. They arouse the lower instincts of the masses who soon can be led into bestiality and thereafter—the rule of jungle prevails; arson, looting and the massacre of the innocents are the results.

The United National Party in its manifesto has spelled out in no uncertain terms the problem of the Tamil-speaking people and offered to find a permanent solution to four points that, we as Sinhala feel, are disabilities of the Tamil-speaking people. The UNP went even a step further by contesting several traditionally Tamil-speaking electorates. However the Tamil United Liberation Front forged ahead with the idea of Separate

State—Eelam—"to be free from the tyranny of the Sinhala masses" and worked against the UNP in those constituencies where the UNP fielded candidates.

**The TULF has won 17 seats. This is history now and they form the Opposition in the NSA with their declared goal of Eelam, they will not have any interest whatsoever in the rest of the country. Once they achieve independence, and even during the period of gaining independence they will not be interested in what happens, or what policies are debated and decided upon, they will have to work out their own constitution, administration etc. with Trincomalee as the Capital as already decided by the TULF leader Mr. Amirthalingam. So their presence in the NSA is of no consequence to us Sinhalese, to debate and discuss major issues in the NSA. UNP's other opponents, the Bandaranaike family and her five supporters will have to do this. But this will not be a democratic Parliament in action. This is the problem of the Sinhala, and their other Problem as stated in the UNP Manifesto, unity of the country.**

The UNP victory at the elections can be described as fantastic. Now with this steam roller majority in the NSA, the TULF tune must be changed to one of reconciliation with above policy statement of the UNP and work out a practical and permanent solution. The TULF must take the UNP leadership into their confidence and trust that the leadership will settle the problems with equity and justice. For we are one people, one country. If the TULF leadership is not prepared to change the tune and insist on playing the same tune Eelam, we Sinhala cannot help it—it will be a case of taking the donkey to water, but cannot make it drink if it is obstinate.

In a situation like this, where we have come to a dead end, what is the solution? Suppose we accept Eelam and these would be the terms and conditions to create a new independent state of Eelam, based on Tamil language and community. There shall be a plebiscite to decide (a) Separate Tamil Eelam—

Independent and Sovereign or (b) Integrate with Sri Lanka as one unified state and people. The answers are yes or no.

If the majority vote for (a), then these are the conditions:

(i) Within one year all Tamil-speaking people must sell up all their immovable assets in Sri Lanka as they would be aliens and under the present laws, aliens cannot own or hold immovable property;

(ii) All Tamil-speaking people who wish to remain in Sri Lanka shall obtain TRP not exceeding one year. All TRP holders shall be debarred from employment except on special employment vouchers;

(iii) The Tamil-speaking people shall cease to be citizens of Sri Lanka. Within one year all Tamil-speaking people shall be repatriated to Eelam.

**National Assets:** Railway—A proportionate quantum of assets will be transferred to Eelam, the value to be debited to the citizens of Eelam. Similar industrial undertakings—cement, chemical, Harbours, Public Works, Irrigation works, and other capital works to be paid for proportionately and debited to the assets of the nationals, a proportionate share of the public debt will have to be paid to Sri Lanka. These are some of the issues to be settled and written into an agreement between Eelam and Sri Lanka, before a line can be drawn separating the "two sovereign nations". Agreement and the exodus of Tamil-speaking people to Eelam must be completed first so as to avoid the type of carnage this country experienced in the creation of Pakistan and India, Pakistan and Bangladesh later on.

*This is the general picture the Sinhala people and the Tamil-speaking people will be faced with if we pursue the idea of a separate state and Eelam. Even on the face of it, without going into details, the whole idea is unimaginative, impractical and in one word—stupid.*

What is the alternative? The Sinhala people have given a clear mandate to the leadership, to solve the problems facing the Tamil-speaking people. The offer is there now to negotiate and finalise the



outstanding issues. It is up to 17 TULF members of the NSA now to go back to their electorates and preach reconciliation to their voters and tell them how impracticable the idea of a separate state is. That it was an extremist idea evolved when there was no foreseeable solution to their problems before the July 21st elections. The results of the elections have changed the picture completely and the time has come to change the stand taken by the TULF for a separate state.

**With the demand for a separate state the TULF as the Opposition in the NSA has no meaning in Parliamentary democracy. Their position is no more nor less than the position of IRA of Ireland. Is the TULF going to start a war of sorts of their own like the Irish? This has not worked so far. Then isn't it prudent to give it up and negotiate a settlement?**

The Sinhala cannot go round to the TULF electorates and explain to the voters why they should give up this idea of an Eelam. If the voters trusted the UNP they would not have hung on to the idea of a separate state. It was the TULF leadership that started the idea and painted a rosy picture of an Eelam to their voters. In a separation, the issues are clear and when breaking away the Sinhala cannot be generous to the Tamil-speaking people because the Tamils are forcing themselves out, when the Sinhala are prepared to integrate and be equals in the possession of the country.

This is a great responsibility that the TULF leadership must bear and work out the integration offered by the UNP leadership. Notwithstanding the unruly elements, that are causing some concern to the UNP leadership, the UNP leadership is magnanimous enough to see a lasting solution to the Problems of the Tamil-speaking people in equity and justice. We can trust the sincerity because since independence this is the first time a Political party, in its manifesto, has admitted the disabilities and offered to work out a solution.

**In my own humble way I plead with the TULF leadership to go back to the electorates and explain to the voter that integration is the only**

**solution and that Eelam is suicidal, and that the scene is set to establish a unified nation free from communal or sectoral divisions. On the part of the Sinhala, and the Tamils outside the North and East, they have given a free hand to the UNP leadership to work out a lasting solution to the problem as stated by the UNP.**

Communal Harmony, amity and inter-communal understanding cannot be built up by law, repressive punishments of anti-social elements or by force. First of all a climate must be created within the communities to understand, tolerate and be good neighbours to each other on all occasions by education, propaganda and appealing to the inner sensitivities of the human aspects of man—if there is any such feeling among us today. This cannot be done by a Government nor is it the function of a Government. While a Government can give all the encouragement for social action to build up inter-communal harmony; it is the duty, obligation and religious duty of the individual and groups of individuals to foster such harmony, springing from his soul and religious convictions.

It is true, due to our educational policies during the last three decades, the religious, moral and the social side of man have been deliberately destroyed. Until the present administration realises this, and it has admitted in its principles and policies, and set in motion administrative machinery to achieve this; it behoves all religious leaders, eminent men in the professions, business entrepreneurs, teachers, educators, Congresses, organisations, business guilds etc. to organise the communities to establish goodwill towards one's neighbour. This cannot be done orbiting around the city and declaring in assembly halls, functions and meetings, that all must be good citizens and men of goodwill. The trouble spots are not only in the urban areas, they are much more in the rural areas. The rural population need to be educated in communal harmony and understanding. They are the easy prey to rumour mongering and communal incitement. The message must be taken to them.

To get to this level of society, from now onwards, an order, a request must go to all churches,

temples, kovils, mosques and assemblies to preach, explain and build up belief in communal harmony at every religious meeting, service, ministrations and such other religious functions for a few minutes as often as possible. This must be the obligation of all religious and lay preachers from the humblest and remotest "mission centre" up to the highest cathedrals of all religions. This should be a special feature, not only during the present troubled period, but for all time till complete communal harmony and understanding is achieved. Sunday to Sunday, Poya to Poya, Friday to Friday, feast to feast, this must be the theme to be observed and preached. This is not difficult. It is now the burden, and duty of all religions which have found a fertile soil in Sri Lanka, to establish its message to mankind, to carry the message of humanism to man, from the humblest and the remotest corners of Sri Lanka to the highest and to the highest Assemblies.

It is strange that the mass media such as the Broadcasting Service has not been used for this so far. There should be a ten-minute sermon in Sinhala, Tamil and English each to be delivered over the SLBC every day by all the religious denominations. If radio time is not available, ask the Minister for 30 minutes a day for this and I am sure the present Minister for Broadcasting and Information will grant that free. To find time the SLBC can cut into the "Pop Scene" and make the time available. This should be a new National feature under the New Administration. This will be a change for the better from what we have suffered over the radio for seven years and now.

### NEXT WEEK

- TOWARDS AN ALL-PARTY ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE
- IMPERATIVES IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY
- MYTH ABOUT RACE
- WHERE'S THE LEFT?



## UNITED LEFT FRONT

## Post-Mortem On July Elections

The statement which has been approved by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the People's Democratic Party stated:—

A number of factors have combined to cause the defeat that the ULF experienced in the 1977 general elections. First of all, it entered the political scene far too late for the voters to regard it as a serious contender for power. The ULF was formed only a few days before Nomination Day. It had, therefore, insufficient time to make its aims and programme known. Long before the ULF was formed, vast numbers of voters had already made up their minds to turn out the existing Government and were waiting for the opportunity to use their votes to do so.

The voters were unable to dissociate the parties of the ULF from the hardships, harassments and injustices they had experienced during the past period. Although the ULF conducted a vigorous and wide-ranging election campaign it was mainly able to focus mass attention on the futility of a political "thattu maru" system where political power is exchanged periodically between the SLFP and the UNP, and on the need for a socialist-oriented restructuring of Sri Lanka's political and economic system if the problems of her people are to be solved. The reason why people were opposed to Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government was the widespread and often intense sufferings they had to undergo as a result of unprecedented high prices and shortages of goods that are the basic essentials of life. Restrictions on the import of these goods (dedicated either by unavailability of foreign exchange or the need to promote local production or both) made some of these difficulties of supply chronic.

When the severe world shortage of these goods, due to the deep crisis of the world capitalist system and other reasons coincided with a succession of bad local harvests between 1972 and 1974, the sufferings of the people were compounded beyond the point of tolerance.

It was, indeed, at this time that the swing of mass opinion away from the government and towards the UNP as the only alternative then existent began to gather momentum. However, the disillusion of the masses in a Government they had voted into power with more than 2/3rd majority in 1970 cannot be explained solely in terms of economic forces that could not be foreseen or controlled. Mistakes and wrong policies of the government for some of which the parties of the ULF cannot disclaim responsibility, also contributed to the difficulties the people underwent. An inefficient and often corrupt system of distribution, which took little note of the difficulties of consumers made the shortage of goods even more intolerable.

A grand sharing of patronage, into which the parties of the ULF also allowed themselves to be drawn, based employment in government departments and corporations on political favouritism more than any thing else. This in turn led to ordinary administrative decisions being turned into a means of gaining political support or personal advantage, and thus opened the door to various forms of opportunism and corruption.

The failure of the parties of the ULF to dissociate themselves clearly from this system of political patronage considerably contributed to their defeat. The internal problems that confronted the SLFP-LSSP-CP United Front Government and eventually overwhelmed it, derived in no small measure from the very vastness of the electoral victory that brought it to power.

The SLFP alone had 91 members in a Parliament of 151. From the start some of its Right-wing leaders did not shrink from demanding that with such a majority the SLFP should abandon its alliance with the Left parties and set up a 'pure' SLFP-Government. This became the main aim for which the SLFP Rightwing leadership worked over the whole period.

The very size of the 1970 electoral victory also contributed to the illusion apparently entertained by Mrs. Bandaranaike, the leader of the SLFP, that the United Front's electoral victory was primarily her personal triumph and that

the voters had merely acknowledged some divine right to a new version of dynastic rule. From the government's very inception, Mrs. Bandaranaike set out to establish her personal control over the state machinery, resting her authority publicly on the bureaucracy, police and armed services and cutting herself off from the masses except on ceremonial occasions.

In such circumstances, it was not difficult for the right-wing in the SLFP to advance its aims. A palace clique of avaricious mudalalis, kinsmen, and assorted opportunists and adventurers surrounded Mrs. Bandaranaike, consolidated their hold on the SLFP, established their supremacy over even the Cabinet in the decision-making process, and set to work to slow down and stop the Government's radical programme, as well as to isolate the Left and force it out of the Government thus breaking the United Front they all detested.

The massive vote for the UNP and its unprecedented electoral victory is not so much an expression of confidence in its policies and programme as a damning indictment of the political leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike and her performance as Prime Minister. The many important changes that were accomplished after May 1970 were submerged in the minds of the voters by the misdeeds they witnessed and the hardships they endured during her regime.

The fact that, even under such adverse circumstances, over 22 lakhs of people were prepared to cast their votes against the UNP stands to their credit. In the final stages of the election campaigns many of these voters were ready in a desperate bid to keep the UNP out, even to condone the misdeeds of the Bandaranaike leadership and switch their votes to the SLFP which they saw as the only other party capable of forming a government. But however valiant their effort it came too late.

Today the UNP with a near-monopoly of seats in Parliament, exercises a virtual dictatorship. But it has no need to exercise these dictatorial powers as long as it can continue to get the people to believe that it can provide quick and substantial relief for their accumulated problems.



But it will not be possible for the UNP Government to retain that confidence for long. For it is neither capable nor seriously interested in solving the very problems which it used so demagogically in order to win power.

Indeed, the Presidential Speech to Parliament of 4th August 1977, which merely reproduces the UNP's Election Manifesto, is deliberately vague about when and how the UNP intends to honour the extravagant promises it made, especially in the field of relief for the common man.

At the same time, the UNP Government shows no lack of speed in trying to put through those parts of its policy that seek to subvert the democratic process and to help the foreign and local vested interests.

Its proposed constitutional amendments seek to bolster the sagging power of the capitalist class by subordinating Parliament to President with authoritarian powers.

Beginning with Katunayake, it is ready to hand over enclaves of Sri Lanka's territory to foreign capitalists on the pretext that this will help industrial expansion and employment. Its announced changes in the trade union structure are designed to smash the present democratic and militant trade union movement and to replace it with a government controlled one, which will serve the UNP and Big Business.

The ULF will expose and resist all these and other retrograde measures that the UNP government plans to take. It will defend the gains that the people have made through years of struggle. It will solidarise with all efforts of the masses to extract from the UNP government the relief that they were promised. It will do nothing to impede or delay any genuine measures of relief. Just as the masses in the Sinhala-majority areas have, as it were, contracted with the UNP, as a major political agency for the delivery of urgently needed goods, the Tamil masses have contracted with the TULF for prompt delivery of their rights as the principal national minority in the country.

Although the UNP government is being called upon to make this delivery possible, its previous record on this matter and its evasiveness about its specific intentions in

this regard do not inspire confidence.

While it will join the people in all their struggle, the ULF will not fail in its duty to caution them against facile optimism and to place before them its own solutions to their problems.

The half a million voters who, despite the massive popular swing to the UNP, voted for the candidates of the ULF are a strong base for its efforts. They are evidence, that despite its electoral setback, the Left is a powerful fighting force which can rally around it all progressive sections of the people.

The greater part of the nearly 18 lakhs who voted for SLFP candidates also represent a mass force which refused to be swept off their feet or bow before the pro-UNP tide that surged through their towns and vilages. The ULF considers that these forces also have an important role to play in the struggles ahead.

It will now be up to them to decide whether under the present right-wing leadership of the SLFP headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike (a leadership that not only substituted narrow personal and family power for the interests of the masses but also destroyed the United Front and led the progressive forces, including the SLFP itself, to disaster) can generate the confidence needed to re-unify the progressive forces and give them hope and leadership for a better future.

The United Left Front will seek to win mass support for its own programme, as set out in its Election Manifesto. It will seek to strengthen the United Left Front, to rectify shortcomings on the basis of self-criticism and to win the support of other socialist-minded radical and democratic forces on the basis of its programme and work.

The United Left Front is confident that the masses will, out of their own experience in the coming period, recognise that their problems can only be solved along the lines suggested by it and that they will rally around the programme and banners of the ULF.

## ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

### "Navasilu"

—first issue of the journal  
of the English Association  
of Sri Lanka—

"Navasilu" is the first issue of the journal of the English Association of Sri Lanka. It contains one research article (on English education in Colonial times) four pieces of literary criticism (including reviews of poetry books published here) three prize-winning short stories, and several poems, a tribute to George Keyt, and a bibliographical note on the English Theatre in Sri Lanka. The editorial makes out that this is the official journal of the English Association, which hopes to redefine the role of English besides providing forum for those who write in English here.

The choice of a Sinhala name for the journal is said to emphasize the Association's view that English in Sri Lanka is "ancillary to the main currents of National experience expressing themselves through Sinhala and Tamil." I sincerely believe that to make this no doubt sincere gesture more than nominal the magazine should have one whole section to deal with these main currents of national experience etc. Perhaps in the light of recent displays of misdirected critical muscle, there is an understandable hesitation about Sinhala (and Tamil) critics writing in English about our literature and art: English critical writing surely cannot replace or be a substitute for writing in Swabasha. Yet couldn't English be a genuinely useful second or third medium catering to a readership that might not be limited to this country? A journal such as this could act as a vehicle of transmission of considered information and also help get our creative writing in Sinhala and Tamil known abroad. This is as necessary as translating from French, German, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Hindi, Japanese, Chinese etc.

The lively radical trends in local critical thought that find abundant expression in Sinhala for instance deserve encouragement. I think it is essential however to include critical discussions by authors whose work reaches the



Sinhala (and Tamil) public directly, and is first tested with such a public. This would help avoid the farce, nay menace of giving a forum to the English only critics who remain ignorant of vital areas of our literary and oral culture, and yet have the gumption to pass sweeping judgements on the impossibility of doing this and that in Sinhala (or Tamil).

Moreover to properly re-interpret the role of English in Sri Lanka, English Literature has to be seen in perspective against the literature of the rest of the world. A useful section could therefore be devoted in "Navasilu" to selective translations from other foreign work into English. I don't recommend such parasitic feeding on other foreign literatures via English as might serve to further promote the cultural hegemony of English. There is however a very great danger of inbreeding in English and infeeding on English, which I for one have pointed out and campaigned against from nearly ten years ago.

Of the stuff that has been included in "Navasilu", the piece I like most is Saratchandra Wickremasuriya's "Strangers in their own land"—a historical survey of radical protest against English education in colonial Ceylon, a most illuminating article for those people who stupidly believe that radical criticism of the English establishment is the creation of a select coterie manifesting itself in the last two or three years. What is most exemplary about Wickremasuriya's piece is that it is a dispassionate documentation of often intelligent and telling criticism of English education, with a remarkable respect for facts—at a far remove from the perversely personal, bitterly prejudiced, gossipy, and even factually erroneous stuff that has come up recently in the name of radical criticism, spoiling the effect of some really valuable ideas and suggestions that have been made at the same time. However the self-critical implications of the Wickremasuriya essay for the English House, should be truly extended and brought up to date.

I like the other two critical studies too, for their relevance: D. C. R. A. Gunatillaka's piece on "The Tempest", and Yasmine Rahuman's on an English novel based on Ceylon in Colonial times—Crowther's "Knight Errant". DCRA

places "The Tempest" thoughtfully and with a topical and scholarly rightness, against the backdrop of imperialism and developing countries. This theme relating to Shakespeare—our very contemporary needs fuller exposition. I'd like some discussion of the used language itself as a colonising agent and the implications of Prospero's magic as controlling myth or ideology! Yasmine Rahuman's piece is sound and is richly supported with quotes: I can't quarrel with her within-the-frame judgement here. What the article lacks however is perspective; the Crowther theme suffers in isolation. The plight of the English-educated social climber—the movement from country to city—touch a heap of familiar chords, in Sinhala writing for instance.

Moreover all fiction in English pales before Woolf's great work "The Village in the Jungle" and though this a far cry from the "Knight Errant" no ultimate judgements could be made on the quality of English creative writing based on life here without placing it against Woolf's great achievement.

Crowther works within chosen limits—within the class frame he can cope with. The bane of recent English fiction in Sri Lanka is that it does not. Nandadasa Kodagoda's "Bandu, Son of Babun", is the First prize winner at the British Council Short Story Competition and is included in this journal. It does a tight-rope walk at synthesising modern scientific belief and traditional "(Superstitious") wisdom in a village setting, and survives by virtue of its delicacy and tact. But the achievement is precarious. The "synthesis" seems to be dependent on sheer coincidence, and even the generally unaffected language could occasionally be betrayed into "kanjifying" in such a humble setting. School's prize-winner Chanis Fernando handles a social situation that the writer seems just able to cope with in "The Ayah". There is however only one short story in the Navasilu selection that shows real brilliance and power—R. B. Weerakoon's "Masked God" (the 2nd prize-winner at the British Council Competition); It lacks the reserve, the discipline of the other two stories, it goes for excess of effect in its over-eager experimental way, is repetitious. Yet it is the most serious study of a human

condition presented in this journal, and attempts at exploring the capitalist concepts of morality, truth, justice, the cannibalistic mystery of power as it erodes brainwashes, and reduces a condemned estate labourer to a complete Vegetable that would believe and accept anything. This a better, a more effective indictment of the system, its more insidious workings, than platform rhetoric could manage. Obviously it would be even more valuable in Sinhala or Tamil. For the English story in contemporary Sri Lanka, it marks a distinct departure from nostalgic romantic excursions into the life of the poor and the humble; at long last a grip on realities.

There are many of us who feel that while we have every right to express ourselves in English prose and indulge in arrant nonsense, too, other users of English have little right to express themselves in verse. Once upon a time a poor practitioner of the difficult art myself I find that I'm often guilty of the same intolerance. Yet I don't think I'm wrong in saying that English poets in Sri Lanka are threatened with greater abstraction and alienation than prose-writers because verse happens to be the medium of a much smaller minority of people writing for a much smaller minority of readers. In the circumstances, the consistency of our regular poets represented in "Navasilu"—Patrick Fernando, Gamiini Seneviratne, Peter Scharen (Scharengvivel) Ashley Halpe, Lakdasa Wickremasinghe—looks like an act of literary courage. Joined more recently by Anne Ranasinghe, Basil Fernando and so on, our English poets show that they write as compulsively as of course our critics in prose, often with much less vanity and sometimes with greater skill and assurance. Anyone reading Patrick Fernando—doyen among our poets—is sure to get the skill and assurance. His poem in "Navasilu" "Father and Son"—Wordsworthian, movingly personal, and of course narrow by choice—is typical, but there as elsewhere it is hardly smug. Gamiini Seneviratne is easily another poet who had made his persistent mark, and made it well, in the register of personal relationships: his poetry ("25 Poems") is reviewed here by Halpe.

I referred to the alienation caused by writing in English itself.



Lakdasa Wickremasinghe is a poet who is not only at home in a whole environment but has also absorbed it into the fibre of his poetry. He is a paradox, because he is also the most verbally gifted of our English writers—one of our English poetic "naturals". He is also able to give the medium as it is used here an unexpected strength, by imparting the full vigour of his personality. I understand Lakdasa's work—his inward-looking world—less rationally than that of our other English poets. "The Cobra" is the simplest of the three poems (one of which is an ambivalent yet private tribute to Justin Deraniyagala "His eyes—two jakstones—turn to cinders in the fireplace" in "The Cockerel") included here.

*"Your great hood was like a flag  
hung up there  
in the village.*

*Endlessly the people came to  
Weragoda  
watched (your eyes like braziers)  
standing somewhat afar.*

*but it was only my woman  
Dunkiriniya,  
the very lamp of my heart,  
that died."*

Lakdasa's range is too limitingly personal to make his creative activity fully worthwhile: for an English poet in Sri Lanka this could be nearly suicidal. Lakdasa writes in Sinhala too and I hope the possibility of contact with a wider public would induce greater range; such masculine poets are rare in any language.

Writing in an alien tongue we tend to waste words and overload effects even more. Surrealistic excess is impressive but bewildering. George Keyt's poems (included as part of an editorial tribute to his 75 years) shows precisely this; and as the editor points out, his poems need the definition which his painting has achieved. Even the most sophisticated of poets betray the above weakness: "Chattering to the sloppails of infected gore" is a line occurring in one of Kuruvila's two poems ("word over all"; "The Letter") featured in "Navasilu". Literalism is another failing. A poet may be unsure about being understood, tries to stretch and explain what he already has implied, symbolised or compressed: Punyakanthi Wijenaike's only poem "Self-possession"

shows this weakness. As reviewer, Kuruvila makes the pertinent remarks about how our poets grew under the Eliot-Auden shadow. Fortunately at least Eliot seems to be left behind nowadays, and one source of incomprehension seems to be gone.

Of the poets reviewed by Kuruvila, Peter Scharen presents I agree an interesting study. If Lakdasa is perfectly at home in this country—in the larger environment of this country Peter has one feels the right to "celebrate the scenes of our village". Even escapism sounds healthy and positive in his hands.

the village

*"...the hill-top is a white excitement  
with all the village people  
what does the white goat want  
in the empty field?"*

(from "Southern Village")

Kuruvila rightly devotes much attention to Peter's more outward reaching poems with their live interest and in the initial issues of our times. The note struck is too flatly deliberate as if the poet has willed himself to react:

*"In the Renaissance of my life  
the cries of the damned crowded  
my ears*

*the curses of the damned*

*poisoned my mouth,*

*the arms of the damned*

*demolished my verse*

*the guilt of two generations hit  
like the plague*

*And boarded up the town*

*In the Renaissance of my life."*

So it is I feel in "September 73" (the dead Neruda, Allende, Auden) or in

*"Isaac Babel, Solzhenitsyn*

*(to name a few)*

*Mandelstham Daniel Sinyavsky—*

*You have stepped in the grey river  
of words*

*which tore your severed feet away,  
injured you were, your blood  
poured darkly from your mouths,  
poured darkly into your song  
which, somehow, breaks into  
laughter in the sun"—*

a kind of over-reaction, awkward. Nonetheless I like Scharen and hate to pull out bits and pieces like this—Perhaps I'm even more unfair by other writers, trying to damn them on the demonstration of a single line!

Basil Fernando who tries to do similar things is a very different poet; and I don't think the trouble with him is his "idealistic propagandist fervour" as Kuruvila puts it. I believe that it will be precisely this that might help him to realise himself in his poetry; it will help him I think to overcome the atrophying isolation that the English poet—nay the individualistic writer by and large—is faced with. The danger of isolation is clearly there in D. M. de Silva's "New Year in the University". Wittily and intelligently observant of student and authority, it retreats into non-committal ironies that put me off. The dangers of being an English Honours gentleman at Peradeniya! On the other hand Patrick Jayasuriya sees too much relevance and meaning in his "Third World at Batticaloa", just as Anne Ranasinghe who has made so much out of her tragic trauma, turning out poems of force and feeling, cannot help but force it out at times, as in "Sinhala New Year 1975". This search for significance leads many a poet to the kind of embarrassingly selfconscious or overlarge utterance like.

*"In the Renaissance of my life"  
(Scharen)*

*"There are oceans in me" etc.  
(Seneviratne)*

and "contemplate the melancholy swirl of a wasted life" (Tileke).

I think Ashley Halpe's "The Dream" is an important essay in this respect, as it reflects the struggle of the ego-centric poet involved in his narrow "pietics" and expressing himself in an alien language, who encounters something really big and vital outside himself, that challenges his isolation. The encounter here is with the insurgents. Halpe is admirably honest: after the dream is over (and he calls it frankly a dream) he says

*"I am glad for each small  
familiar thing"—*

glad of home, family, his small universe. An honest personal core. When the poet shows how his conscience is penetrated by "silent arbiters camping in his skull", is I think a loss of effect. The self-consciousness that one feels coming lightly at the beginning—in "Professor ambling for his health" has become more pointed and uneasy. It is as if he is unable to cope with the disturbing ex-



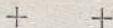
perience, and the quality of his poetry is too brittle to hold it as his description of the dream itself shows. Fortunately, the poet, too is aware of this and says he has

“...tried to understand, but only in my own fashion”  
admitting at the same time  
“I have learned nothing”.

The difficulty revealed in this poem is not confined to the English poet in Sri Lanka, it is a hazard, the difficulty of 99 per cent of our intellectuals, of our intelligentsia, whatever language they may choose to express themselves in; in the face of such disturbing experiences...

I conclude my remarks on “Navasilu” with a reference to a brief but quite useful note on English drama in Sri Lanka by Tissa Jayatileka. Tissa simplified the position by talking of society becoming “more Sinhala-oriented” to account for the wearing away of interest from the English theatre. It is more right to talk of developments in the theatre against the background of bilingualism (Sinhala or Tamil—and English) or biculturalism, an eminent product of which was in many ways the post-56 urban Sinhala theatre led by Dr. Sarachandra; and also to place the English theatre in the polite tradition of English speaking in Sri Lanka, which got entrusted in Sri Lanka after the (official) sweeping in of Swabasha. (Witness the frenzied outcrop of elocution schools since 56). Tissa’s is, after all, a cursory note, but he raised serious questions relevant to the study not only of present-day literary and artistic activity in English but also to the very role of English in Sri Lanka—which after all “Navasilu” seeks to define, if not to redefine.

Gamini Haththotuwegama



THE PROBLEM OF AGEING

Romanian Gerontology

—major advances in treatment—

While man's life is limited in terms of time, while senescence is a natural stage, the dramatic process of the diminishing and even withering

away of intellectual faculties of physical and psychic aging is no fatality, but a pathological phenomenon that can be prevented, slowed down and possibly hindered.

This is the viewpoint the Romanian school of gerontology sets out from in its research work and therapy whose results justify hopes in prolonged active life of man, and even in prolonged life generally.

Taking into account that more than four million old people live in Romania today, that life-span is increasing and mortality decreasing, the social effects implied by this new branch of medicine are all the more important.

Gerontology-science dealing with the ensemble of medical, social and experimental problems related to body ageing—has, rich traditions in Romania. At the turn of this century, the great scientist Gheorghe Marinescu (1863-1938), founder of the Romanian school of neurology, investigated and explained the changes occurring with advancing age in the nervous cell. The active position characteristic of Romanian research in this field was asserted for the first time in the fifties by Academician C. I. Parhon in his work *Biology of Ages* where he formulated the theory of the reversibility of ageing.

*The attitude of the medical world has radically changed since, and above the scientific controversies and different schools of thought—the efforts of scientists to fight premature ageing of the human organism, to maintain the individual in the active social circuit as long as possible, are asserting themselves to a growing extent.*

The conclusions and experience of the Romanian school of gerontology over its more than twenty-year-old activity enjoy today broad recognition. The old Bucharest Geriatrics Institute—the first of its kind in the world—grew last year into the National Gerontology and Geriatrics Institute, whose director and promoter, the well known scientist Prof. Dr. Ana Aslan, has been elected member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and honorary member of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

Closely combining fundamental research, scientific experiment and rigorously verified therapy,

the Institute has three clinical sections and a sanatorium section where patients needing long-term treatment are hospitalized.

Two scientific research sections streamlined to the Romanian gerontologists' main lines of preoccupations are functioning under the Institute: the biology section, where the ageing processes at cellular and molecular level are studied, and whose synthesis laboratories experiment and finalize new medicines and treatment methods and the social gerontology section where multidisciplinary research work is carried out. Physicians, sociologists, psychologists, economists and demographers investigate problems of ageing per groups of population, the role of the factors of physical and social environment in ageing, the occupational activity of the aged, as also problems related to their social reintegration, etc.

This complex scientific and practical activity will be ensured still more favourable conditions of development through the building of a modern Gerontology Institute that is to be started next year. Besides a clinical section with 500 beds, it will also have large research units. Moreover, the Ministry of Health will considerably augment the number of the existing geriatrics centres in the different countries, setting up specialist consulting rooms in the main poli-clinics in Bucharest and in all county poli-clinics. For the first time in the world, a network of gerontological medical assistance will be made available to the whole population.

On the other hand, an important action initiated in recent years will be carried on by the setting up in the near future of gerontological dispensary services in works, starting with the big ones, for employees of over 40, intended to prevent and fight premature ageing phenomena in the conditions brought forth by industrial labour. In the perspective of such extended activity, specialist courses are functioning at the Bucharest institute of Gerontology, attended by physicians from all Romania's countries. The Institute also brings out gerontology bulletins and prepares the first Romanian Treatise of Gerontology.

As it is well known all over the world, the treatment applied by the Romanian gerontologists with



excellent results is mainly based on Gerovital H4 and the more recent product ASLAVITAL. Medicines with bio-trophic effects on the entire neuro-endocrine mechanism, they tonically act on the organism as a whole. At the same time, Gerovital yields good results in overall osteo-articular pathology, and ASLAVITAL in fighting sequels of cardiovascular accidents, affections of the nervous system, or atherosclerosis.

**The Romanian school of gerontology lays special stress on ageing prophylaxis, on the principle of intervention before aggravation or chronicity of pathological processes set in, fighting the negative consequences of metabolic transformations for the human organism, as a rule upward of 40.**

Particularly interesting are the studies per groups of population conducted by the section of social gerontology; their conclusions are bound to provide the groundwork for concrete, wholesome measures in connection with the physical and social factors, environment pollution included, which contribute to the ageing process.

The methodology tested by the Romanian specialists for establishing the biological age of the population is nowadays being applied by researchers in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR, whose activity is co-ordinated by the pertinent sections of the Bucharest Institute.

Active participants in the international events and meetings in the domain, members and founding members of prestigious international bodies, among which the UN expert Commission for problems of social gerontology policy, the Romanian scientists broadly co-operate with their colleagues abroad, consistently militating for a unitary concept in this new field of research and therapeutics.

As an illustration of the prestige enjoyed by the Romanian researchers of social gerontology in the international scientific world, the chapters devoted to this domain in the first, recently appeared treatises of gerontology—Italian Treatise of Gerontology and Geriatrics and the International Specialized Treatise in four languages (with the first volume brought out)—are, authorised by a repre-

sentative of the Romanian school of gerontology Dr. Alexandru Cluca, Scientific Assistant Director of the Bucharest Institute.

The prestige of the Romanian school of gerontology is also mirrored by the large number of requests sent in to the Institute from all over the world, either for scientific co-operation or for treatment prescribed by the Romanian specialists.

In 1973, more than 10,000 patients from abroad were treated in the geriatric sanatoria and centres of Romania—Otopeni, Bangov, Eforie, Baile Felix, etc. 16,000 patients are expected this year from many countries of Europe, North America, Latin America and Australia. The number of requests, however, is far bigger.

The Romanian Institute of Gerontology has also recently concluded the first co-operation contracts with institutions abroad for the setting up of sanatoria, in Italy and Switzerland, where Romanian specialists will carry out activity, and the treatment based on the Asian method will be applied.

Alongside of the increasing life expectancy, the problems of socio-medical assistance to the population assume dimensions, and the efforts of scientists to prolong the active participation in social life afford to an ever larger category of people a new *raison d'être*.

\* \* \*

#### FOR THE RECORD

## Sri Lanka: Trouble In Tamil Land

—From Newsweek,

August 8, 1977—

When he confronted Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike at the polls last month, Junius Richard Jayawardene walked away with the premiership of Sri Lanka—and a whopping 139 seats in the island's 168 man legislature. Yet despite that mandate, Jayawardene is in for some turbulent political sailing. Charging discrimination at the hands of the majority Sinhalese, Sri Lanka's 3 million Tamils are demanding complete independence from the Colombo government. With seventeen seats their Tamil United

Liberation Front (TULF) is the largest opposition group in the new Parliament and it plans to make plenty of trouble for Jayawardene. From Sri Lanka, Newsweek's Barry Came reports on the Tamils' truculence:

On the outskirts of Jaffna, an ancient outpost of Sri Lanka's Tamil culture, a new bronze statue has just been erected. It depicts a defiant youth, his clenched fists outstretched and dangling a broken length of chain. The statue honours one Sivakumaran, a 17 year old Tamil lad who committed suicide with a dose of cyanide last year while under Sinhalese police detention for subversion.

Sivakumaran's emergence as a folk hero testifies to the vehemence of Tamil feeling. Though rivalry between the Tamils and Sinhalese is centuries old, mistreatment by the Bandaranaike regime has raised Tamil resentment to a new pitch. Today, Sri Lanka faces the danger of an ethnic clash that could divide the island nation in two.

As the Tamils see it, their secessionist campaign is a last ditch effort to stave off cultural annihilation at the hands of Sri Lanka's 10 million Sinhalese. Under British colonial rule (when the island was known as Ceylon), the Tamils were the hard-working, educated group who held key posts in the military, police and business communities.

**LAVISH FUNDS:** After independence, the Sinhalese began to demand their share of the island's political and economic pie. But Mrs. Bandaranaike went even further. In 1972, she enshrined Sinhalese in the constitution as the formal working language in colleges and government, a move that all but wiped out Tamil chances for higher education and economic success. Lavish funds were also made available for Sinhalese migrants who would agree to "colonize" traditional Tamil areas.

Tamil leaders are outspoken in their outrage. "We have become second-class citizens in our own country," declares M. Sivasithamparam, one of the TULF leaders recently elected to Parliament. And the Tamils have no faith that Jayawardene will put things right. As a result, the TULF is preparing for a unilateral declaration of inde-



pendence. The Party has already picked the port city of Trincomalee as the prospective capital of Tamil Ealam, the historic Tamil name for Sri Lanka. TULF members will soon meet there to hammer out their post-election strategy and to draft a constitution for an independent Tamil state.

The TULF plans to begin its independence crusade with civil disobedience. "We are attached to a program of nonviolent agitation, but I envisage a stage sooner or later when we are going to have to fight it out," says TULF general secretary A. Amirthalingam. "I expect most of us will be brought to trial, even hanged." Those are strong words and TULF leaders plainly hope it won't come to that. By choosing Trincomalee, one of the world's finest natural harbors, as their capital, the Tamils appear to believe that they can interest foreign powers—namely the US and USSR—in their cause. "He who controls Trincomalee controls the Indian Ocean," Napoleon once remarked. Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev, please take note.

A gifted people of South Indian Dravidian stock, the Tamils are black-skinned and often looked down upon by the lighter coloured Sinhalese. Their language is thought to be the oldest spoken tongue now in use in the world; it dates back, virtually unchanged 2,500 years.

REVIEW

● Sri Lanka

● China

by Jayantha Somasundaram

For the most part of our history the vast mass of our people have been excluded from the political arena. The Colebrooke Cameron reforms which provided a comprehensive and centralised system of government for the entire Island for perhaps the first time, drew only on the Ceylonese elite, accepting them as national representatives. The same high caste aristocracy that had held power under the Sinhala and Tamil monarchies provided the Legislative Councillors.

The Crewe—Mac Callum reforms of 1912 introduced elected Ceylonese representatives onto the Legislative Council, but on a restricted

franchise where only the educated or property owners had the vote. The Ceylon National Congress, whose leaders were the Legislative Councillors, was not a mass movement. Stubbs called them "a decent lot of people but by no means intelligent and with absolutely no backbone." S. C. Obeyesekera was regarded by the British as "a silly old ass," and A. J. R. de Soysa as one who "can't put two words together and is therefore likely to give no trouble."

Understandably the leaders of the Congress, our tame aristocracy, including S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, opposed the granting of universal franchise which finally arrived in 1931.

A. E. Goonesinghe of the Labour Party was the sole advocate of Universal Franchise, the prerequisite for mass participation in politics. The strikes that Goonesinghe organised in the twenties were the beginning of urban mass activity. The LSSP in the thirties took politics in the national languages to the provinces of plantations, organised strikes on the estates and later came up with the general strike of 1947. But mass expression on a national scale was first witnessed during the fifty-three Hartal. This shocked the Dudley Senanayake Administration to its foundation and indicated to Bandaranaike the strength and power of the mass movement, which he was to use to win the fifty-six polls.

The early granting of the franchise led to prematurely high expectations. The welfare state was in the making by the end of the war and state intervention in the economic process to provide employment and protect living standards became irreversibly accepted after fifty-six.

Performances could not match expectations. Five popular governments, elected with clear mandates, failed to deliver the goods, beginning with Dudley Senanayake in fifty-two when the UNP obtained its first majority. Incumbent popular governments of both the left and right were driven out of power each time, as the masses found them unable to meet their basic economic needs, of employment and stable prices.

By 1970 a new generation had come into the political arena. The

vote-at-eighteen gave them political power, education had created even higher expectations. They gave Mrs. Bandaranaike and her United Front a massive mandate. Notwithstanding the good intentions of its leaders, the volume of reform legislation and the efforts of her government, neither employment or inflation abated. Within ten months disappointed youth attempted to remove the government by violence. They failed.

Six weeks ago over a million new voters, those who cannot remember having lived under a UNP government, accepted as an alternative to violence, the promises of J. R. Jayewardene, to bring down prices whilst providing employment. His landslide victory is the culmination of the increasing articulation of the masses, who are clear and precise about the right they want fulfilled.

J. R. Jayewardene has intentionally or otherwise been swept to power by the tiger that is this younger generation. They both believe in, and expect early, solutions to their problems.

The crucial question is this: Can the UNP take courageous steps to help their young supporters? The UNP that we knew in the past was constrained by the interests of the rich who manipulated it. With the exception of the pampered SLFP mudalalis, the rest of the bourgeoisie threw its weight behind the UNP during the last election. One would be facile to imagine that they did this out of love for J. R. Jayewardene. One would be even more naive to expect them not to make every effort to enrich themselves with no thought for the large mass of UNP supporters. Will J. R. Jayewardene be able to stand up to the influence and pressure of these interests?

If he is unable to do so, it is hard to find the mass movement that brought him to power keeping him there indefinitely. Their problems need immediate drastic solutions. They are desperate in a very real sense.

The enthusiasm and determination of the mass movement has already been attested to in the violence that followed the election. The tiger is loose, it means business. And J. R. Jayewardene has the tiger by the tail.



**FROM ITS INCEPTION THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY** carried within it two streams of thought. On the one hand there was the example of the Soviet Union and the tendency to transplant the elitist bureaucratic structure that had already emerged there under Stalin. The docility that Confucianism bred helped prepare the way for this. Thus China after the revolution of forty-nine contained a prominent conservative wing headed by Liu Shao-chi.

The struggle against the conservative bureaucratic model, was necessitated by the very nature of the Chinese Revolution. In the Soviet Union, capital had been generated by repressing the peasantry and extracting a surplus from them. This led to the totalitarian state that grew under Stalin. But in China, a state that repressed the peasantry could hardly survive. Thus the concept of rapid industrialisation at the expense of the peasantry ceased to be a viable course for the Chinese Revolution.

Instead, industrialisation had to be subordinated to the needs of the vast majority of the population—the peasantry. Technology had to be modified to meet the needs of an agrarian society. And capital had to be generated through higher productivity in the countryside itself. Though time consuming, this was the only rational and humane way that the Chinese Revolutionary could progress.

Instead of repressing and alienating the peasantry, as in the Soviet Union, China saw the possibility of a solid worker-peasant alliance.

In 1962, Mao Tse-tung in breaking with the Soviet Union, seemed to confirm that China would traverse her own course, rejecting the Soviet model. But so great was the bureaucratic tendency that a constant battle had to be waged against it. Thus the Cultural Revolution.

Here we had young people, coming out on Mao's side, vowing to tear down the bureaucracy. The backward nature of Chinese Society, the Soviet party model that had been adopted, and the early emergence of a bureaucracy in China, made the Cultural Revolution a bitter struggle.

The economic and technological development of China created new elite groups. Administrators, mana-

gers, technicians and specialists moved into privileged positions. They seek not only to protect and enhance their privileges but to hand them down to their children.

The class struggle in China is therefore directed not at the old discredited ruling classes, but at a new post-revolution strata who in one sense are vital for the functioning of Chinese society. But rather than seeing them as a necessary evil, the radicals in China see them as an incipient ruling class who have to be controlled.

Now, in the post-Mao period, we see the re-emergence of the conservative element. Last month the Communist Party of China held the third plenary session of its tenth central committee. This session rehabilitated unreservedly Teng Hsiao-ping and endorsed the rule of Hua Kuo-feng.

Will China slip back into the apathetic past, allowing a party elite to gain a stranglehold grip on life? No doubt post-Mao China could witness far reaching changes that could transform the course of Chinese Revolution.

## CANADA

### Principles Of The Federal Government's Official Language Policy

FROM THE "CANADA WEEKLY", AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION ISSUED FROM OTTAWA, CANADA, VOL. V. NO. 27 DATED 6 JULY 1977.

The Federal Government published a review of the two official languages in Canada, English and French, under the title "A National Understanding—the Official Languages of Canada." This was tabled in the Canadian House of Commons on 27 June 1977. It sets out the following principles which the Government hopes "will be accepted by all Canadians and by the Provincial Governments as the statement safeguarding the fundamental linguistic duality of Canada within the framework of its cultural diversity."

- (1) Every citizen in his or her private capacity has the right to speak any language.
- (2) The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada and have equality of status.
- (3) The English and French languages are a fundamental expression of the Canadian heritage, and public policies, federal and provincial, should provide assurance that this linguistic heritage will be preserved and developed so that, in particular, where official language minority groups exist in Canada, they will be assisted and encouraged by public authorities to retain and preserve their language.
- (4) Subject to circumstances which may make a deferment of application necessary, Canadians have a right to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, and the necessary facilities should be provided wherever numbers warrant.
- (5) Knowledge of the two official languages of Canada, by those Canadians who may choose to learn them, is desirable as a personal and national asset so that members of the two official language groups may be able to communicate with each other, understand and cherish each other's diverse ways of life, and serve as a natural link between the two linguistic communities.
- (6) Canadians should be able to communicate with, and to obtain service from, the federal institutions of government in the official language of their choice and arrangements should be made to this effect wherever there is sufficient demand for it.
- (7) Subject to the previous principle, Canadians of the two official language groups should have equitable opportunities for employment and a career in the federal institutions of government and to carry out their work in the official language of their choice.



LETTERS

● Tamil Problem

Sir,

I read the Part 2 of the Tamil Problem, a point of view expressed by Prof. F. R. Jayasuriya. In the Sun paper of 12.8.77. I read it because of the photographs of Sir Ponnambalam Arumachalam and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan heading the article. They were too intellectual giants who dominated every scene in "Ancient Ceylon". I use the words "Ancient Ceylon" because it is difficult to reconcile with what is said in the article without relegating these two stalwarts of freedom fighters to the limbo of forgotten history. I read the article to learn about these two "Ceylonese patriots", but I was disappointed and I am glad I missed the "Tamil Problem-I" of Professor Jayasuriya.

The contention is that the Tamil populations in Burma, Malaysia, Durban, Fiji and so forth have returned to "Tamilnadu". To correct this, some of the Tamil populations of these territories also have gone to UK and some Commonwealth countries. Why did UK admit them as their citizens? Because they held British Passports and Britain had a moral and international obligation to honour and uphold that document. A passport is what establishes one's nationality. The Tamils who left those countries did not form the indigenous population. They went in search of a better life, like the thousands of Ceylonese who are now earning a good living, until such time, thinkers like Prof. Jayasuriya, in those countries, visualize a conquering force being built up by those temporary emigrants and start a local campaign to throw them to the sea.

The Tamils, Prof. Jayasuriya speaks in his article, are the indentured labour that was taken to those countries, almost by force to work in the plantations. This transaction in human beings was a little "more elegant" than the slaves traded to America. These slaves, today are a very effective political force in the States as evidenced in Carter winning the Presidential race.

In Sri Lanka we have a Tamil speaking community who are as indigenous to the country as the Sinhala indigenous because of the antiquity of their settlement in Ceylon. I am no historian but there are references to Tamil invasions of Sri Lanka at the beginning of the Christian era. And the Sinhala reached the shores of Sri Lanka about 400 years earlier. Ever since that dim past Sinhala and Tamil have been in Ceylon and ended up by a Tamil king handing over Sri Lanka to the British. What separates India and Sri Lanka is just a 15 miles wide channel and it is unimaginable that the Tamils did not cross this span of water to explore what was beyond Rameswaram, a temple to commemorate the epic of Rama and Sita. With such a legendary past, the Tamils of what is now called Tamilnad must have been the first settlers in the North. To find out who came first, like the egg and the chicken is neither here nor there. The historical fact is there is a Tamil population in the North and East who claim these areas as their traditional homeland. We have accepted this by incorporating the triple colour flag of the Tamils into the Sinhala rampant Lion flag. This has been further strengthened by including two physical areas as Tamil speaking territories in the present constitution. This is a fact which cannot be erased however learnedly one attempts to change historical facts.

The Tamil problem is in these two areas and not with the Tamil labour in the plantations some of whom are stateless because many generations of their ancestors laboured to make Sri Lanka prosperous, and with the few who were given citizenships without any qualifications or reservations in granting the rights of a Ceylon citizen are in the central districts. They were not made 2nd class citizens.

What I cannot accept in Prof. Jayasuriya's thesis is his generalisation that all Tamils came to Ceylon as plantation workers. He makes no reference to what is now accepted as Ceylon Tamils in contrast to Indian Tamils—the group covered by Prof. Jayasuriya. Just to brush aside the problem by saying Tamilnad is more prosperous than Sri Lanka, therefore the Tamils must get out is an admis-

sion of the ignorance of the Problem. Such people should keep silent however learned they may be.

R. Kahawita

286, R. A. de Mel Mawatha,  
Colombo 7.  
12th August, 1977

● Thinakaran

Sir,

I happened to buy a copy of your esteemed journal *Tribune* of August 6, 1977, read the entire thing and got my money's worth.

When I was going through the column "Sri Lanka Chronicle July 16-July 25" which consisted of a diary of events in Sri Lanka and the world compiled from Daily Newspapers published in Colombo I was shocked to see the name of *Thinakaran*, a leading Tamil daily publishing by the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., being left out.

I think you inadvertently left out *Thinakaran* and hope you will correct it in your next edition. I hope that you will agree with me that *Thinakaran*, the second best Tamil daily, in Sri Lanka definitely deserves a place in this column.

Please convey my hearty congratulation to Mr. Jayantha Somasunderam for his article on Lake House.

The paragraph "what is most baffling...no provision is being made for them" is hundred percent correct since I have enough proof regarding this.

Thinakaran Reader

Colombo.  
8.8.77

—The *Thinakaran* is today only a carbon copy of the *Daily News*. When it stops being this, we shall certainly include *Thinakaran* in the *Sri Lanka Chronicle* list—Ed.



# Confidentially

- Law And Order
- General Attygalle

IS IT NOT A FACT that there is universal agreement that the Armed Services have really saved the situation that stemmed from the recent outbreak of communal violence, especially at a time when the Police Force, for some reasons yet to be known, had been temporarily reduced to helplessness verging on paralysis? That it is true that in pockets and in particular areas the Police did the work with acceptance and succeeded in maintaining law and order but there were whole areas where they left much to be desired? That it is not proposed in this column to enter into a post-mortem of the Police Force not only because it is a sensitive area of national security at the moment but also because *Tribune* is not aware of all the facts relevant to the matter? That it has, however, become an imperative and urgent need for the country that the Police Force is re-vitalised, re-organised and re-structured so that its members once again become the guardians of law and order they once were? That a tremendous responsibility has now fallen on the Government to undertake the reorganisation of the Police Force and rehabilitate it in the confidence of all sections of the people? That experience and history has shown that this cannot be achieved by political witch-hunting, personal vendettas and other crude administrative expedients? That in the process a few surgical operations may become necessary but these must be done expeditiously with tact and finesse? That it may even become necessary to have large sections of the Force, especially from among those recruited in more recent times, re-trained in regard to their duties, functions and obligations? That one of the factors that has corroded police ethos is the sentiment wrongly fostered by some politicians that the Police (and even the Armed Services) were only appendages of the party in power? That whilst this proposition may be true of one-party systems of government, it is contrary to all the basic essentials of pluralistic parliamentary

democracy in a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-caste and multi-linguistic society? That one big test of the UNP government's capacity to rule and govern this country (with its 139 strength in the NSA) is how it will re-organise and re-vitalise the Police Force without generating serious disruptive disasters in the process? That the difficulties of the Government, in this matter, have been increased by the post-election violence and the communal holocaust after that? That furthermore this re-organisation of the Police Force has to be effected in the midst of the one of the greatest political crisis the country has ever known?

IS IT NOT THEREFORE all the more admirable that the Armed Services have risen to the occasion to save the country from anarchy and worse? That though the Air Force and Navy are comparatively small units they have done yeoman service in the areas where they were deployed? That in addition to the areas where these units were stationed, two officers of the Air Force and Navy were posted as Co-ordinating Authorities? That apart from one civilian and one or two Police Officers as Co-ordinating Authorities, the rest of the Co-ordinating Authorities (in the 22 districts) were Army Officers? That in the recent outbreak of communal violence there were a few districts of great sensitivity and difficulty and there is no doubt that but for the tactful and firm handling by the Co-ordinating Authorities, the violence would have escalated and spread to many other areas? That when the history of communal violence of 1977 (EXODUS 1977) is written a whole chapter must be devoted to the work done by the Army and the Co-ordinating Authority in Vavuniya? That there are also other areas where good work was done but it will take time and effort (on our part) to find out how the situation was contained without Emergency Rule and without unnecessary shooting? That even a cursory survey of all that has taken place so far on the basis of information available to *Tribune*, one thing stands out very clearly? That the man of the hour is General Sepala Attygalle? That *Tribune* has in the past been critical of the General for the way many things were done in the last seven years? That we did not persist in these criticisms because we sensed that there were

political factors which had inhibited the work of the Army High Command? That it is to the credit of the Army Command that it did not let the paralysis and partisanship which had begun to undermine police authority, integrity and discipline to creep into the army in a big way? That whatever (mental) reservations and doubts we had entertained about General Attygalle and his Army they all disappeared within a short time after the outbreak of the recent violence? That there is no doubt that he worked round the clock to bring the situation under control especially at a time when violence was erupting in the most unexpected places? That he flew out to all the hot spots alone or in the company of other officials and parliamentarians in a bid to defuse the situation and contain the violence? That contrary to the expectations of many, some of them very knowledgeable, General Attygalle "came out tops" in a manner that has surprised everybody? That one outcome of the way he handled the situation is the desire among all who are aware of the brink to which this country had been pushed is that General Attygalle should be kept "in uniform" to serve this country for sometime more—until at least present confrontations are ended and the country enters a period of stability and normalcy? That this will be a difficult operation because the utilisation of his services should not create a block in the normal processes of promotion and up-grading of officers? That it would not be difficult for the Government to devise a way to ensure that General Attygalle is utilised to ensure internal national security in the immediate future? That under his leadership his units have shown that they are capable of maintaining law and order without being influenced by considerations of race, language, religion or caste? That if he and the men of his ilk in the Army are enabled to do a job without petty political interference there is no doubt that within a short time they will be able to build the kind of Army that Sri Lanka needs to maintain national security together with a re-vitalised and re-juvenated Police Force which has the primary function in this matter? That a great deal of thinking and re-thinking has to be done in order to create security forces which act in a united way at a time of national crisis?



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- OF OPPORTUNITIES in education and employment on merit.
- IN ADMINISTRATION, with regional or district autonomy
- BEFORE THE LAW, with civil rights, rule of law, and an independent judiciary.

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