

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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25th JULY : D - DAY?

How shall we at the SATURDAY REVIEW react to the proposed one-day ahimsa (non-violent) Satyagraha campaign in the Northern and Eastern Provinces planned for 25th July by the Tamil United Liberation Front.

Welcome it? Condemn it? Ignore it altogether?

To welcome it would be to incur the wrath of the Competent Authority appointed under the Emergency Regulations, who might accuse us once again "of inciting and encouraging persons to mutiny and civil commotion" and all the rest.

In truth, even otherwise, we cannot fully endorse the TULF's call at this stage in view of Sri Lanka's volatile political climate.

If we condemn it, we would be accused by large sections of the Tamil people of going against one of the cardinal tenets on which the SATURDAY REVIEW was founded, namely, the championing of their legitimate rights as citizens of Sri Lanka.

If we ignore it, then we would be ignoring one of the most significant steps taken by the TULF since 1977 to make the United National Party Government led by President Jayewardene relent and redress the grievances of the Tamil people.

Was it not the UNP itself which acknowledged in its 1977 election manifesto that the Tamil people had grievances relating to education, employment, colonisation and the use of their language?

The UNP was the first Sinhala party to accept this position. That for seven years thereafter it forgot all about the pledge to provide relief through an all-party conference is at the base of

the present national crisis which has become so internationalised now by the unwanted and unwarranted ravings and rantings of some people that any early and peaceful settlement has been made so much more difficult.

The TULF has announced that the Satyagraha is a protest over the violence perpetrated against the Tamil people in the South, especially the killing of large numbers of them, beginning on 25th July 1983.

It will also be a protest at the failure of the Jayewardene Government to find a solution so far to the National Question.

THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE EDITORIAL (ON THE ROLE OF THE MILITANT YOUTH) HAS BEEN DISALLOWED BY THE CENSOR.

Beyond drawing fresh international attention to and sympathy and support for the plight of the Tamils of Sri Lanka—this is obviously one of the TULF's objectives—what will the Satyagraha achieve?

Critics and cynics might say that the TULF leaders are making a desperate attempt to rehabilitate themselves politically—after having deserted the Tamil people at the hour of their greatest need.

If the late rationalist leader Dr. Abraham Kovoor were alive, he might have said that the TULF leaders and their dwindling supporters could do better by spending the day planting trees in what they regard as the "traditional homelands" of the Tamil people, which are threatened with desertifica-

tion than by sitting down at various places in the Northern and Eastern provinces and contemplating their respective navels—and their political future.

This is not to treat the Satyagraha call lightly. It is a very serious thing because it could have consequences far beyond what the originators plan or hope for.

Satyagraha was used effectively in India against the British, but it almost always ended up in violence, so much so that Mahatma Gandhi called off one campaign.

As Jawaharlal Nehru has recorded in his "Discovery of India", after the first satyagraha call by the National Congress in 1940, realising the excitement prevailing in the country at the time and the possibility of young men taking to violence, its Working Committee reminded the people of the basic policy of non-violence and warned against any breach of it.

In Sri Lanka, satyagraha was used effectively by the UNP against Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's regime but it led to the development of what Mr. Jayewardene himself described as the "infamous Attanagalla doctrine"

The Federal Party, precursor of the TULF, tried out this weapon for the first time in 1956—with very unfortunate consequences.

We have said all this not to dissuade the TULF from going ahead with its planned protest.

But we should like to remind the TULF leaders that the bulk of the Sinhalese people bear no ill-will towards the Tamil people. In fact, the fund of goodwill is far greater than they imagine.

Is it not more prudent to attempt to exploit this fund

of goodwill through direct communication with the Sinhalese people, with the assistance of liberal Sinhalese leaders (who are not necessarily politicians), than give an opportunity to the chauvinists among the Sinhalese (who are mostly leading figures in the ruling UNP) by indulging in an exercise that could be counter-productive?

The Tamil people have undergone enough suffering especially after 1977, that to put them in jeopardy again would be unpardonable.

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This is a special censorship that applies only to the SATURDAY REVIEW of all newspapers in Sri Lanka.

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

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A MOMENT

WITH DIOGENES

"Why are our newspapers being censored? Why is Press Freedom being curtailed? Surely our citizens should know the Truth, the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth?" exclaimed a reporter to Diogenes on the Galle Face Green.

"Enough of these legal journalistic, pious platitudes. You chaps are trouble-makers. You are grumblers and want to keep our people grumbling. There is no Truth except The 4 Noble Truths. Everything else is false. It is Maya, it is illusion. It is unreal. The 4 Noble Truths deal with the Nature of Life being Sorrow, the nature of everything being Transitory and Impermanent. The cause of suffering being Desire and the Path of Deliverance being the 8 fold path. What is the other Truth on earth which you want the People to know - in a Dharmishta 5 Star Democracy? "God is Truth" said Mahatma Gandhi. "There is no Truth except the Realisation of the True Self" said Swami Ramakrishna - and

now, you miserable little fellow, you want the people to know the Whole Truth and nothing but the Truth. What other Truth can there be but the 4 Noble Truths and the philosophy that everything we see is unreal. You fellows are like crows. You want to uncover the dirt bins and pick up little bits of garbage and serve them to the Public as the Truth. You Press chaps are a menace and should not be tolerated in a Dharmishta Society. You are after dirt, you do not want the 4 Noble Truths. You want to pass something else as the Truth. My dear fellow, there is no other Truth. But for the strict censorship, you will litter this country with dirt and filth".

"Master, what have you got to say to the Rising Cost of Living and State Consumerism? Abject poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, national debts, lack of a protein diet for our children on one side and on the other side the Mercedes Benzes, the banquets, the pomp and pageantry, the vulgar ostentation of the elite, the corruption and the squandering of the National Wealth?"

"Don't be surprised with the seeming misery on one side and the seeming happiness on the other side. Both sides are impermanent. On one side there is the good Karma in store, and on the other side there is bad Karma in store. Have compassion for those who appear to be happy. I pity them and their Progeny. Do not be disturbed. This has been the Nature of Life, this is the Nature of Life and this will be the Nature of Life."

"Master what is your view of the National Development performance in our country?"

"Well, how can there be Development of a country? Sri Lanka will never be developed in that sense. Man will suffer whether his country is developed, developing or undeveloped. Our leaders know that development is an internal process. They know that it is in poverty and misery that the real internal development takes place. Look at the Developed Countries of the West. They want to destroy each other. From the day we even talked of development, we are trying to destroy each other. That is why our leaders do not

worry much about Development and the Cost of Living."

"Then why is it that they like to go about in Mercedes cars and are fond of pomp and pageantry?"

"That is for the reason that they believe it is their good Karma to enjoy the so called good things of Life and it is the bad Karma of the people to be without food and without jobs. There is always a cycle in the fortunes and misfortunes of men. They may be without food and jobs in this Birth but they may have all the food and jobs in the next Birth. In Samsara determined by the Law of Karma, what does it matter to have jobs and food?"

Like all things, even jobs and food are impermanent. Even the Mercedes cars are impermanent. Why not have them when you can? Compassion should not be practised only in relation to others. It must be practised even in relation to one's self and his relatives. This is the Law of Life. What can the leaders do, why deny them the Mercedes cars because it is the people's bad Karma to have them as leaders? Our leaders are aware of all this. On the other hand when did our people have good Karma to have good leaders? They have been subjected to forced labour, malaria and malnutrition right through the history of our country. It has always been the good Karma of our leaders to emerge as leaders of our people and almost invariably it has been this Bad Karma of our people to have them as our leaders. In the totality of our philosophies and our history, why are you chaps worried about Mercedes cars? If you believe in all beings to be happy, why don't you allow our leaders and their wives to be temporarily happy with their impermanent Mercedes cars? Why should not a handful of people at least be happy just for the reason of the unhappiness of the Multitude? The Multitude has been unhappy as a rule in our country. They will one day attain Supreme Bliss. From delusion, they are being led to Truth; from darkness they are being led to Light and from death they are being led to immortality. The road to hell is a comfortable journey in a Mercedes, the road to heaven is an uncomfortable journey by foot or in one

of our C.T.B. buses!"

"Master, any comments on your favourite hobby horse the baby elephant?"

"I only know that his foster parents Ronald and Nancy have no time for our little girl. She pines and sighs for her real parents and her home. The mills of the Gods move slowly but surely. We must get her back and to avoid further trouble, this must be done quickly. The sighs of an elephant, the sages say can cause earthquakes, cyclones, floods and hurricanes. A horse, a horse, a whole country and a people for a horse. Withdraw the elephant and present a horse instead. I predict that Reagan himself will return this elephant to us when he knows that it has been a foreign hand that prompted this fatal gift. God save Sri Lanka. God save the United States. Leave me alone now. I don't want to see you chaps and talk on mundane things. Why are you disturbing me on my walk on Galle Face Green?" said Diogenes and ran from the Press Reporter.

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A Little help from the Israelis

"We will get help from the devil if we can." So said President Junius Jayewardene when he was asked not long ago if Israel's secret service, the Mossad, had been invited to help his country cope with a growing threat of terrorism by Tamil separatists. Now an Israeli presence in Sri Lanka has become official: an Israeli Interests section has opened in the U. S. embassy in Colombo, the first time the U. S. has acted in such a capacity.

Although Jayewardene was not saying so outright, a high-ranking member of his government as much as admitted that the new ties were at least in part a cover for Mossad agents. "We need Mossad very badly," he explained. "We

have no intelligence-gathering ability that can catch the terrorists before they strike. The best people are the Israelis and that's going to make a difference."

The opening toward Israel, which is expected to lead to eventual restoration of full diplomatic relations between the two countries, represents a major turnaround in Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Colombo broke relations with Israel in 1970 in order to win more favour and economic aid from Arab nations.

At present, 150,000 Sri Lankans are working in the Gulf states, their hard currency remittances \$275 million last year, are an important factor in the country's economy.

Sri Lanka accords full diplomatic recognition to the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose ambassador has strenuously objected to Colombo's new links with Israel and charged that at least 50 Mossad agents had already arrived to set up a sophisticated intelligence network to combat the Tamil dissidents.

The Government banned all news relating to the

Israeli presence, but Sri Lankan Muslims protesting the action stoned police vehicles, set up roadblocks and attacked two government buses, injuring 29 passengers. Jayewardene believes that the Arab nations will understand his decision.

"These are Marxists we are fighting" a government official said recently in

describing the Tamil rebels. "Bringing in Mossad is not anti-Arab. It's pro-Sri Lanka". The Israelis admit that Sri Lanka, as an official in Jerusalem explains it, "requested our advice - and I stress only our advice - in fighting terror" but insist they will not interfere in the country's internal affairs.

The Israeli connection is only one measure of how seriously Jayewardene takes the separatist problem. Another is the presence in Sri Lanka since January of a group of former Special Air Service soldiers from Britain who have contracted with the government to help it build a paramilitary security force....

("Time" 25th June)

INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES

At Adayar in Madras stands a building, aloof but aesthetically pleasing with the name board - "International Institute of Tamil Studies". Its remote location is apparently no handicap for the hundreds of Tamil lovers who have benefited by the scholastic experience that this Centre has been providing.

In the absence of the Institute's evergreen Director Dr. S. V. Subramaniam, the Superintendent Mr. Veerabaghu briefed me on the background and the objects of this institution.

A blue-print for the establishment of the Institute was presented during the Second International Conference of Tamil Studies held at Madras in January 1968. The man behind the move was Dr. S. M. Katre, the then Director of Deccan College Post graduate Research Institute, Poona. His main aim was to carry out co-ordinated and comprehensive academic research in all aspects of Tamil Studies and allied fields.

This idea was strongly supported by the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. C. N. Annadurai, who thought that the Institute could be best modelled on the lines of the French Academy. The proposal was unanimously accepted by the Conference body and sent to the UNESCO for sponsorship.

When the Third International Conference of Tamil Studies took place in Paris the then acting Director General of UNESCO, Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah gave strong backing to the setting up of the Institute. The same year in 1970 the Institute was founded in Madras. It was resolved that active co-operation of International Scholars involved in Tamilology be sought. Today the Institute provides and promotes a congenial atmosphere for studies in Tamil Research and provides training programmes, organises contact programmes between specialists in Tamilology and organizes collaboration activity among academic, government, international and private organizations.

The well-furnished and equipped reference library contains 26,000 books of which 16,500 are in Tamil, 8391 in English, and the rest in other languages.

Although UNESCO was responsible for the financial care of the Centre in its formative years, the government of Tamil Nadu has since 1976

undertaken to provide an annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs.

Perhaps one of the most attractive features of the Institute is the Language Laboratory which teaches Tamil to Non-Tamils by means of audio-visual equipment. This was a gift from UNESCO, but unfortunately the Institute is doing without the visual equipment which had been lost in transit. This laboratory is used to teach colloquial Tamil to foreign and Indian Non-Tamil students. There is an introduction course of 3 Months, and an Advanced course lasting six months. So far two hundred foreigners and 75 Non-Tamil have benefited.

Apart from this, the institute has initiated two courses of nine month duration to provide Diplomas in Manuscriptology and in translations. Four batches have successfully come out. Since 1983 outstanding students of these courses are provided stipends worth Rs. 200. Manuscriptology includes collections and maintenance of palm leaf scripts, preparation of Index and editing of unpublished manuscripts for printing.

An auto-learning system is also being introduced in recent years with pre-recorded cassettes, explanatory hand books, exercise books, and text books.

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SUN SHOWS UP 'TAMIL TIMES'

"Robert Kennedy will attend Tamil confab in Delhi", screams the headlines. Yes, believe it or not, the Tamil Times, a monthly issue in London which propagates the cause of Eelam, has come out with this astonishing statement that would astound Ripley himself.

The May issue of the Tamil Times carries a news item datelined Delhi, 24th April, which stated; "Arrangements are underway to host an International Conference in New Delhi to express solidarity with the struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. It is being said that prominent world figures, including Yasser Arafat of the PLO, Robert Kennedy and prominent international human rights activists have expressed willingness to participate. A secretariat has been set up in New Delhi supervised by V. Yogeswaran, ex-MP for Jaffna, to prepare for the confab".

But as most people are aware, Robert Kennedy, the younger brother of late President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated in 1968 during the presidential campaign.

From - Sun, 11th July.

'Imitation' Expatriates

Editor,
Saturday Review,

It was interesting to read Mr. S. Sutharsan's concern regarding sewage disposal, the use of chemical fertilisers, the deteriorating ground water quality in Jaffna etc., reference his letter which appeared in the Saturday Review of 5th May 1984 under the caption "JAFFNA'S WATER PROBLEM".

It is heartening to know that many of the expatriate Tamils are concerned about their homeland. On the other hand, there are a few expatriate Tamils who take a 'We don't care' attitude. They take pride in saying that their children cannot read or speak Tamil but only understand a little bit of Tamil. They say that their children do not like rice and curry but only want hamburger and French fried potatoes. They are even ashamed to wear a sarong inside their own house. These Imitation expatriate Tamils want to become more white than the white man himself. They deliberately forget their roots.

There are also Imitation Tamils in Sri Lanka itself. When they went to Colombo or other places down south they bought land and other properties and made various types of investments there even after knowing and experiencing what happened between 1956 and 1977. This is a long time to learn enough lessons. They did not like the north or the east and did not want to buy land and properties or make investments there or were reluctant to even visit these places. But in 1983 they got the putsch which forced them to get out and go back north or east. Some of them did not know from where in the north or east they came from and had to flee to India and later come back to Sri Lanka when things cooled down outwardly.

Now I will come back to the JAFFNA'S WATER PROBLEM. Now the whole world knows about Jaffna's water problem after the unfortunate kidnapping of the American couple, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Allen, who have come to help the Tamils about their water problem. The majority of Tamils do not condone the kidnapping of the Allens. Fortunately they were released unharmed. About 30 years ago or so there was the U. N. P.'s famous 5 year plan. I believe it was the first or the second 5 year plan. It was an excellent plan to bring the Mahaweli ganga water to the heart of the Jaffna penin-

sula through the Iranalmadu tank into the Elephant Pass lagoon and then on to the lagoons in the Jaffna peninsula itself. If I remember correct the feasibility study of this excellent project was done by World Bank experts.

If the scheme had been implemented several thousands and thousands of acres of land would have been reclaimed from the effects of salt water; agriculture would have flourished in the Northern Province and the Tamils would not have cared to go down South and subject themselves to all indignities, degradation and even sacrificing their very own lives. The overt and covert terrorism would not have been there in the North and South. Every Tamil would have had employment and would be contented and happy. Even now it is not too late for the U. N. P. to make amends and in a spirit of goodwill and reconciliation implement this plan on an accelerated scale to bring unity in Sri Lanka.

The Elephant Pass lagoon would have become a gigantic fresh water lake with immense potentials. Different kinds of fresh water fish could be cultivated and there will be abundant fish to eat and export. During the years 1960 to 1964 when I was working at the Sri Lankan Embassy in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) I suggested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Sri Lanka should introduce the famous fresh water fish Pirucu (*Arapaima gigas*). In size it can reach 8 feet or more and can weigh 180 pounds or more. I have eaten this fish and found it very tasty. Its reproducing power is amazing. There is also another member of its family, the Aruana (*Osteoglossum bicirrhosum*) which reaches only about 4 feet in length. I took the trouble of getting a Brazilian friend of mine to translate from Portuguese to English 5 pages of information about these fish and sent them over to the Foreign Ministry in Colombo. Only God knows what happened to my submissions. I only hope our blue-eyed boys at the Foreign Ministry will dig out these long lost information from the archives and pursue this matter with the Minister of Fisheries.

It will be relevant to say that our Tamil fishermen for no fault of theirs are kept virtually as prisoners in their own homeland and are not allowed to go fishing in their own big boats and thus starving the Tamils and depriving the fishermen of their

livelihood and thus fermenting hatred towards the powers that be. Hatred breeds hatred which only makes the Tamils more determined to achieve their goals whatever they may be.

After the 1983 holocaust the Tamil Government officers who went back to work live in great fear not knowing when they will get shot or axed or burnt alive. The same fear exists among the Tamil Mercantile employees and business people who returned. Why hold them on in the Government Service or in the South? Why not allow those who have completed 10 years of service to retire with pension rights and others to resign with gratuity or compensation. The vacancies thus created can be filled by Sinhalese officers.

Taking so many things into consideration and as a Sri Lankan Tamil I must say that a true and genuine Federalism will be the only salva-

good people if not for their exploiting politicians. Magnanimity has to originate from the majority community who are omnipotent and hold all the cards.

V. T. Saravanapavan
Canada.

PROPAGANDA

Editor,
Saturday Review.

Recently, Ven. Walpola Rahula Thero made an address to the nation. His content was really meaningful in this hour of need grim.

But one wonders whether this speech was made in real sympathy towards the Tamils and to safeguard their life and property. It was reported by the B.B.C. Tamil Service that the speech of Ven. Dr. Thero was cyclostyled and distributed to the foreign journalists and reporters in Colombo. This shows that the people concerned had arranged this speech (B.B.C.

true or false, but criticise the attitude of the Sri Lankan authorities compared with that of the Swiss official, who resigned his job as head of the Swiss Refugee Commission.

Another propaganda stunt is the relief measures being announced frequently in the mass media for the July victims. But when we go to the REPIA and other organisations, they ask for police reports, etc. Only a very few persons have made complaints to the police about loss of life and property, as most of us thought that it will not serve any purpose, because some of the law enforcers, too had taken part or aided the goondas in the July riots. Many people fear that they may have to face counteraction by the people concerned if complaints are made.

If the Government, the political parties and the other Sinhala organisations are really sympathetic towards the Tamils they must find a stable solution to the problem and ensure safety for the life and property of the Tamils, regardless of the attitude taken by the so called 'terrorists' in the North and the East, the TULF and even India. Talk that "we are against terrorists, not against the Tamils" is all nothing but propaganda.

Kaytee

Dehiwela.

C. O. L. ALLOWANCE

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Recently, the Government made arrangements to pay Rs. 102 a month as cost of living allowance to married state officers whereas unmarried officers get only half this allowance. It is a discrimination against a section of state officers.

The difference between married and unmarried officers was done away with following the introduction of the last salary increase because the Government does not pay married allowance now.

Earlier, the same sort of living allowance had been paid to state officers irrespective of whether they were married or not.

Most unmarried state officers perform the same official work as married officers and bear the same responsibility.

So why the discrimination?

V. S. Anantha

LETTERS

tion for Sri Lanka although it may not be satisfactory to the Tamils but a sacrificial compromise on the part of the Tamils for the sake of Unity and to avoid bloodshed. Sri Lanka will have to learn from countries like Canada, U. S. A., Yugoslavia, Australia and Switzerland which is smaller than Sri Lanka in area and population with 4 different languages. Sinhalese and Tamils alike do not want Sri Lanka to become another Lebanon. Sri Lanka should become wiser from the trials and errors of other countries. Those who do not want to understand or refuse to understand what Federalism is are a set of dumb, stupid fools who want trouble all the time so that they can fish in troubled waters.

I have lived in Sri Lanka for 20 years and have also lived in different foreign countries for 33 years and still love Sri Lanka and would like to come back and live and die there if there is safety for the lives and properties of the Tamils and if the Tamils are allowed to live there in peace and with honour and dignity as equal partners with the Sinhalese people who are basically

Tamil service said in its news that this was done) only as a propaganda, to show the outside world that the Government and the Sinhala organisations are sympathetic towards the Tamils. It is also to get foreign aid for "development projects" and to gain Sri Lanka's lost reputation.

While the top brass are concerned about the foreign media, the local Press seems to be breathing fire against the Tamils, directly or indirectly. Nobody seems to be taking action against them. (A "special censorship" must be imposed on such newspapers).

Recently, when there was a problem in Switzerland regarding Sri Lankan Tamil refugees (asylum seekers), the Sun newspaper said in its editorial that "all of them are bogus refugees", as if nothing happened or is happening against the Tamils in Sri Lanka. But the Virakesari Tamil daily, in its editorial, on the same day commended the Swiss official who resigned his post for the sake of Sri Lankan refugees/asylum seekers.

Virakesari refused to comment whether the plea of the Sri Lankan Tamils was

(Continued from last week)

Caldwell was not entirely alone in postulating a glorious history for the Tamil language. There were other European missionaries who put forward the Dravidian case. But it was Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar* that summed it up. Already in the lengthy and controversial prefaces to the critical editions of ancient Tamil classics brought out by Tamotharam Pillai-*Virasoliyam* (1895) and *Kolitokai* (1887) we hear echoes of Caldwell's assertions about Dravidian and Tamil. Not only the classical works – both literary and grammatical – but also the medium of those creations had become an object of veneration. The modern linguistic consciousness of the Tamils can be traced to this period. The patron saint of the movement was ironically enough a Christian missionary.

By about 1880s the Tamil elite both in South India and Sri Lanka had become quite enthusiastic about their language, and culture and history. The landmark was of course the publication of a verse play *Manonmuniyam* (1891) by P. Sundaram Pillai (1855–1897) who was professor of philosophy at the Trivancore University College. In that celebrated work he had described Tamil as 'Goddess'. The language had been declared divine and thereby sacrosanct. These events were taking place in south India with the full participation and contribution of Sri Lanka Tamils. An indication of the growing awareness of languages and culture was the commencement of the publication of two journals; *Siddhanta Deepika*. 'The Light of the Truth' (1897–1913), and *The Tamilian Antiquary* (1907–1914). A recent researcher's observation on the two journals clinches the point.

"The two journals cover roughly two decades – the period of the flowering of Tamil Renaissance. This period represents an awakened interest of Tamil scholars in Tamil language and literature benignly guided by the flair and persuasive enthusiasm of the European scholars..... These two journals have done yeoman service in creating in the minds of the Tamils an abiding interest in their Language and Literature, and in infusing a spirit of social confidence with regard to their literary and cultural heritage."

What is pertinent here is the fact that Tamil scholars of Sri Lanka actively participated in the publication of these journals. *The Siddhanta Deepika* was edited by J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (1864–1923) and the *Tamilian Antiquary* was edited by Pandit D. Savariroya Pillai (1854–1923). The former was a District Magis-

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trate and the latter a lecturer at St. Joseph's College, Trichy. A perusal of the pages of the volumes of these journals will demonstrate both the quantity and quality of the contributions by Sri Lankan Tamils: P. Arunachalam, P. Ramanathan, S. W. Coomaraswamy (1875–1936), A. Muthutamby Pillai (1858–1917), V. J. Tamby Pillai, T. Ponnampala Pillai and a few others seem to have been regular contributors to these journals. Arunachalam's translations appeared under the initials P. A. Nallaswami Pillai was an ardent admirer of Navalar and cherished the writing of Sri Lankan Tamil scholars. Pandit Savariroya Pillai was encouraged by two well-placed Tamils from Jaffna who held responsible posts: T. Ponnambala Pillai was Commissioner of Excise in Travancore. His brother T. Chellapah Pillai was the Justice in Travancore. T. P. Masilamani Pillai was the son of the former who also wrote articles in the *Tamilian Antiquary*. On his return to Sri Lanka after his retirement, T. Chellapah Pillai was elected President of the Saiva Paripalana Sabhai.

The case of Pandit Savariroyan brings us to another point. Although the cultural awakening began as a Hindu movement and was predominantly led by Saiva scholars, its character changed over the years. The prestige accorded to Christian missionary scholars, (Caldwell, Percival, Bower, Pope, Ellis) and the endeavours of scholars like Savariroyan brought the Christians into the mainstream. Furthermore, with the shifting of focus from religion to language, the importance hitherto attached to Saivism became less significant. (In fact, the active role played by local Christian scholars both in India and Sri Lanka, from the time of Savariroya Pillai, L.D. Swamikannu Pillai (1865–1925) Fr. S. Gnana Piragasar (1875–1947) Dr. T. Isaac Tambyah (1869–1941) and Rev. Fr. X. S. Thani Nayagam in the cause of Tamil has at times, led to the allegation by some Hindus that the Christians have infiltrated the Tamil cultural movement.)

The events mentioned above had, without doubt, their effect in Sri Lanka. The concern for the Tamil language manifested itself in various ways. A number of societies and associations were formed for its protection and development. As may be expected, Jaffna led the way. As early as 1898 a Tamil Academy was established in Jaffna by the

efforts of T. Kailasapillai (1852–1939) nephew of Arumuga Navalar on whom had fallen the mantle of the great savant. It is interesting to note that Pandi Thurai Thevar (1867–1911) the Zamindar of Palavanantham Ramnad District, founded the Madurai Tamil Sangam in 1901, inspired by the Jaffna Tamil Academy. This trend gathered momentum during the next few decades and a number of associations were formed. (The Colombo Tamil Sangam was formed in 1942).

Conferences and meetings were held to celebrate different aspects of Tamil language and literature, one such meeting was held at the Ridgeway Hall in Jaffna in 1922, presided over by A. Kanagasabai. This was the first major literary conference in Jaffna and to befit the occasion, leading personalities from Madras were invited. Among them were Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar (1871–1947), K. Subramania Pillai (1889–1945) a staunch Tamil revivalist, P. V. Manicka Naicker (1871–1931), a language enthusiast and A. Madaviah (1874–1924)

invited to deliver lectures at the Samajam and also preside over its annual sessions. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai was closely associated with the Samajam.

Sociologically speaking, the linguistic and cultural awakening described above, was essentially that of the middle class Tamils with the upper middle class providing the leadership. The awakening which began in the religious sphere extended to the linguistic and literary fields. Basically it was a form of cultural self assertion in the face of colonial domination. The point is that the cultural consciousness was limited in scope and in effect, designed to buttress the middle – class values and aspirations and also provide that class with the necessary image for leadership. In concrete terms, the cultural activities were confined to a few conspicuous areas: being backward looking in its orientation, the middle class sought to revive and cultivate certain features of Tamil culture that had become part of the established order in the old society. In so

immensely to the resurgence of *Bharata Natyam*, it was perhaps, in the writings of Ananda Coomaraswamy that the dance form found its greatest champion. Two of the earliest monographs of Coomaraswamy were *The Mirror of Gesture* [1917] and *The Dance of Shiva* [1918] both of which have inspired almost all subsequent writers on *Bharata Natyam*. Likewise Carnatic music had been brought from the court and temple to the concert hall and along with the dance form, acclaimed as divine arts. Thus we see that Tamil language, *Bharata Natyam* and Carnatic music were deified and thereby denied the possibility of experimentation and innovation. It goes without saying that considerable affluence was the precondition for the cultivation of these arts and it was the upper classes that could afford them. As a result popular arts suffered and became even more debased and deprived of support. It is therefore not surprising that until the late 1950s and early 1960s there was hardly any significant movement for study-

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the novelist. Sir Waitilingam Duraiswamy presided over the proceedings of the second day. T. A. Thuralappa Pillai (1872–1929) who was the founder of Mahajana College and himself a poet and playwright took an active part in this conference. In the same year the Arya-Dravida Basha Development Society was inaugurated.

The pattern of development seen in the case of the Tamil language was parallel in the case of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. Characterized as the indigenous religious thought of the Tamils, following the early lead given by Navalar in restoring its prestige and strength, numerous associations sprung up in different parts to foster it. Reference has already been made to the Jaffna Saiva Paripalana Sabhai. In South India the Saiva Siddhanta Samajam was founded in 1905. Hitherto the *Muttis* or Saiva monasteries were the sole custodians of Saiva religion and philosophy. But now laymen considered it their bounden duty to preserve them. The Samajam became the association *par excellence* for the propagation of Saiva Siddhanta and several prominent Tamils from Sri Lanka took a leading part in its activities; distinguished Sri Lankans were often

far as language was concerned the zeal for *Sen-Tamil*, 'Cultured Tamil' or 'Classical Tamil' which for all practical purposes was moribund, (although Sir. P. Ramanathan and his son-in-law and political successor S. Natesan created a vogue for speaking in the classical style), was the basis for the founding of societies and the holding of conferences. *Bharata Natyam* and *Carnatic Music* were the two forms that came to be considered the necessary artistic acquisitions for a cultured Tamil girl. Both were extolled as 'Tamilian arts and achievements' and soon became the preoccupation of middle-class Tamils. *Bharata Natyam* in particular had been resuscitated in the early twenties by the efforts of people like Bharatha Iyer, Rukmani Arundale (who founded the Kalakshetra, which has remained the outstanding Dance Academy in Madras) and G. Venkatachalam whose critical essays helped propagate the traditions and ideals of that dance form. During the 18th and 19th centuries, *Bharata Natyam* had become degraded, and called 'nautch dance' performed by courtesans and prostitutes. While scholars and critics from G. Venkatachalam to the late Professor V. Raghavan contributed

ing and cherishing the popular arts or what is often described as 'folk arts'. This lack of interest in folk literature and arts was no doubt a reflection of the intrinsic class bias of the patrons of art and culture. Needless to say the 'ancient and divine arts' were carefully guarded against any political intrusions, especially of any ideas tinged with social reform or change. To put it differently, artistic forms which are periodically revitalised by the absorption of radical ideas and giving expression to them, were kept hermetically sealed by the upper middle-class purely as status symbols and ethnic identity characteristics.

This was the nature of the linguistic and cultural consciousness of the Tamils until the 1950s. The most sensitive Tamil scholars and creative writers like the late A. Periyathambi Pillai (1899–1978), S. Somasundara Pulavar (1878–1953), N. Nallathambipulavar (1896–1951) and Thuralappa Pillai always conceived Sinhala and Tamil as two eyes or two sisters or two companions and sang of a united happy home.

Post-independent political developments began to change this picture. The disfranchi-

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We have not looked at in this brief overview of culture either the vicissitudes of content and form in art, the impact of various strands of Buddhism, as well as the dynamics of the cultural processes at the village level apart from listing out the limited access to culture the peasant had. A popular metaphor used today (I believe it is after Martin Wickremasinghe) to describe the socio-economic as well as the cultural life of the village is the twin symbols of the tank and the dagoba. These in our terms respectively signify at the village level the means of sustenance for the villagers (as well as surplus creation for the non-peasant classes) and the main centre of information and symbol disbursement. We have discussed how at the centre a marriage between those having access to the surplus, namely the feudal court, on the one hand, and religion on the other arose to provide a system of legitimisation of rule. These factors in the centre of administration in the country are also paralleled at the village level. The king and his court who are the ultimate beneficiaries of the surplus have at the village level surplus extractors in the form of officials for tax collecting etc. who hold primacy in secular matters at the village level. The main religious fraternity and its associated body of symbols, images etc. also have their counterpart in the village represented by the local *pansala*. The latter performed the function of transmitting downwards the literature and the thought coming from the central monastic establishment. In this way, specially the monks, perform the useful function of keeping the populace tied to the legitimised *status quo*. It is this local monk who in face to face encounters with the peasant population reads out the Mahavamsa view of society and history ending with the exhortation 'compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious' with naturally pious cries of 'Sadhu from the populace, one may add.

It is the monk who reads from the Saddhamalankaraya and Pujavaliya the relevant passages of giving both to Caesar and Christ again amidst natural cries of 'Sadhu'. The ideological control on the population from centre to periphery seems to be complete. In this light the role of the dagoba and the tank appears in effect as respectively the giver of surplus to those above and the maintainer of law and the given order and not the romanticised function that is purveyed by Martin Wickremasinghe.

Further we have shown the increasing this-wordly economic and social ties between the secular power on the one hand and the religious on the other, at the level of the country's centre in the form of large scale monastic landlordism and the like. A similar parallel process occurs at the village level with very probably the main *dayakas* of the *pansala* being both the king's tax collector and the maintainer of law and order. The connection between the religious centre and the tank at the village level we should note reach back, as we have already indicated, beyond the time of both Buddhism and the Sinhalese, to the pre-Buddhistic megalithic times. Urn burials associated with the Megalithic culture and which had a particular religious significance were always beside the tanks they served.

We have discussed very briefly the class context within which the culture was created, transmitted and ab-

sorbed. However, within the settings of class and the particular requirements of the growing state in Sri Lanka, which determined the broad outlines of the culture, a definite content and form was also transmitted and formed. If we look first at the religion itself, religious thought as well as associated philosophy, psychology etc. were absorbed by this cultural complex. We have drawn attention to the ideological uses of Buddhism but there were also those who really cared for its fundamental goals and truths in the spirit of Buddha's search for truth. There would have thus been many individuals who would have reached the heights of meditative powers and psychological perceptions described in Buddhism. There were personnel motivated by the intrinsic goals set by Buddha and sought to achieve a view of truth by following the Buddha (and other sages in the primary Indian tradition) in a personal renunciation and individual search for truth. These monks would have existed in small groups or sometimes like the later Vanavasin would have banded together. But the basic design that Buddhism in its marriage to state power in Sri Lanka meant that the activities of these individuals were not necessarily the primary goals of Sri Lankan State Buddhism. The institutionalised goals were those

implied in our earlier description.

The formalised state pattern* which religion took also coloured the functioning of so-called non-orthodox traditions. Abhayagiri itself we know was in size as large an edifice as those of the so-called orthodox tradition and Fa-Hsien records the same order of magnitude of monks there as in the case of Mahavihara. In later centuries with the growth of Mahayana in the sub-continent, religious centres of Sri Lanka follow suit at least to some extent reaching even international eminence. Thus the Chinese Emperor sends Amoghavajra to Sri Lanka to collect 500 Tantrayana texts in the 7th century indicative of the wide spread of Mahayana. Later Mahayanist influences continue to have a strong impact on the state religion itself as indicated by the main sculpture complex at Pollannaruwa, namely the Gal Vihara. These accretions in the official theology con-

stone, having a possible religious symbolic meaning (although we must note that this presumed symbolism only exists in the minds of 20th century romantic archaeologists than in the official chronicles or other ancient descriptions). Similarly, guardstones developed into a distinctive Sri Lanka style with a certain floridity about it.

In literature too (all the four languages, Sinhala, Tamil, Pali, Sanskrit, of Sri Lankan literature being of mainland origin) major styles like Mahakavyas are followed as for example in the *Kavisi-lumina*, *Sasadavata*, and *Muv-adavata*. (One of the earliest extant Sinhala works is a translation of Dandin's *Kavyadarsha* one of the major works on Sanskrit poetics). The Sandesa poetry form, although it was probably derived from Sanskrit models like Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, similarly develops into a distinctive genre of its own. But in these works too,

terms by the tank and the dagoba. However, the tank provides the surplus which is extracted by the local official for transmission upwards and the monk at the dagoba provides the ideological justification for the *status quo*, the surplus extracting official being probably the chief *dayaka* of the temple. However, within this cultural-ideological control system serving the surplus extraction towards the centre and keeping the peasant at roughly the same living standard level through virtually 2500 years, real aesthetic experiences occur. The sculptor of stone gets a sense of accomplishment as do the later on-lookers of the finished product get a feeling of *rasa* if their artistic consciousness was sufficiently high. But such high consciousness is again dependent on exposure to the arts and descriptions and discussions about them, which in turn means such aesthetic experiences were limited only to the elite either at the centre or at the village level—although of course significant sections of the masses could have seen such finished artistic products and been overawed by them.

Concluding Note

The above discussion relating to the growth of Sri Lankan culture as almost a necessary adjunct to the growth of a centralised kingdom based on the surplus from irrigated agriculture has not referred to the mechanisms by which this surplus was collected or to the relations of production. This concluding note will briefly refer to these aspects specially in view of the fact that some of the writers on the political economy of early Sri Lanka (such as Murphy 1967) have used concepts, implicit or explicit, such as Wittvogel's 'hydraulic society' and Marx's Asiatic mode of production—which imply a particular social organisation of the production apparatus. However, it should be noted that the arguments relating to the collection of surplus and its use which I have described above can stand without a description of the mechanics by which this is done.

First, the system of land tenure. The king was not the sole owner of land (Siriweera 1972 p. 11-19), although he had ownership rights on waste and jungle lands in addition to the plots of land specifically owned by him. Land was owned by individuals as well as bodies such as the monasteries the king himself at times engaging in

by Dr. Susantha Goonatilaka

sorbed. However, within the settings of class and the particular requirements of the growing state in Sri Lanka, which determined the broad outlines of the culture, a definite content and form was also transmitted and formed. If we look first at the religion itself, religious thought as well as associated philosophy, psychology etc. were absorbed by this cultural complex. We have drawn attention to the ideological uses of Buddhism but there were also those who really cared for its fundamental goals and truths in the spirit of Buddha's search for truth. There would have thus been many individuals who would have reached the heights of meditative powers and psychological perceptions described in Buddhism. There were personnel motivated by the intrinsic goals set by Buddha and sought to achieve a view of truth by following the Buddha (and other sages in the primary Indian tradition) in a personal renunciation and individual search for truth. These monks would have existed in small groups or sometimes like the later Vanavasin would have banded together. But the basic design that Buddhism in its marriage to state power in Sri Lanka meant that the activities of these individuals were not necessarily the primary goals of Sri Lankan State Buddhism. The institutionalised goals were those

continue in the years ahead, although the official ideological organs continue to call this changing body of thought and practice Theravada. Theravada, therefore in effect becomes not the 'original' teaching as is usually implied, but the official sanctioned corpus of the state religion with its ideological implications and connotations.

The styles of painting, sculpture, architecture also changed during the entirety of the traditional period. These styles are largely a product of the cultural contacts within the South Asian region and one can delineate parallels to Sri Lanka art within the region, as for example between the paintings at Sigiriya and Ajanta. Similar parallels are seen in styles of sculpture, literature etc.

These similarities do not imply however a pure diffusionist view of art from the kingdoms of India to Sri Lanka. On the other hand, these kingdoms and ours are to be seen as an interconnected cultural matrix mutually influencing each other. Within this common cultural matrix, Sri Lanka makes also original contributions, as for instance in the characteristic Sri Lankan styles in both the seated as well as the standing Buddhas. The Sri Lankan tradition also fashioned with a possible parallel in South India (at Nagarjunakonda) a unique decorative doorstep, the Moon-

the descriptions and the ideology supports the existing social order. The Indian *Jataka* stories were also translated into Sinhala but although these described sometimes the life of everyday people of India, the underlying social ideology as opposed to an individualised ideology of personal liberation—was that of supporting the existing social order.

We have in the descriptions above given a broad outline of the growth of our traditional culture within a particular socio-economic framework. To summarise these: the twin pillars of the culture, Sinhala Language and Buddhism were introduced at a time of consolidation of state power on an all-island basis with the growth of an adequate surplus, Buddhism, specially, closely allied itself with state power. The cultural artefacts that grew in the country can be demarcated into a culture of the peasant masses and the culture of the overlords. The growth of massive architecture and colossal sculpture is to be explained within the context of this dichotomy and the growth of state power. The cultural artefacts of the masses remained throughout this period at roughly the same level as those of the megalithic period or perhaps marginally higher. At the village level intermediaries exist between the peasant and the organs at the centre exemplified in physical

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private transactions to purchase land (ibid p. 48); the resulting system of tenure involved 'a wide variety of tenurial obligations' (ibid). Specifically these arrangements meant that in early Sri Lanka there was no collective ownership in land which 19th century writers such as Mains (1876) claimed to have existed in South Asian countries (Siriweera p. 23).

The surplus was extracted by the ruling strata the king and his district level governors and associated officials - by two principal means, taxes and service obligations. Taxes were on paddy lands, as well as *chena* (ibid p. 36) whilst there were also taxes on trade (ibid p. 39) as well as on irrigation water (ibid p. 40). The system of tax collection was devolved and decentralised to regional chief (ibid p. 49), the decentralised system being therefore feudal rather than administrative. Taxes could be paid in kind or cash (ibid).

The extracting of surplus by service obligations, was what later came to be known as *rajakariya*, service for the king. Such *corvee* activity bound every layman for service in public works such as the construction of irrigation works, monuments etc. (ibid p. 27). The Mahavamsa description of the building of the Mahathupa in the 2nd century B. C. (Mahavamsa p. 199) indicates how service labour was mobilised for public works. Release of large amounts of labour for such public works meant, as we have noted earlier, that the agricultural system was capable of producing a sufficient surplus to provide for this labour, as well as for the craftsmen and the thousands of monks both of which categories were not directly involved in agricultural production.

Murphy (1957) attempted to fit Sri Lanka's irrigation based socio-economic system to Wittvogel's (1957) concept of 'Oriental Despotism'. Leach (1959) showed that Wittvogel's concepts owe heritage to Marx's Asiatic mode of Production I am repeating here some of Leach's points as it will facilitate our discussion on the Asiatic mode of production.

Wittvogel's concept of 'Oriental Despotism' is based empirically on his observations on classical China and is theoretically dependent on Marx's original ideas. One of Wittvogel's underlying aims in his work was a polemic with the Soviet Union and was an attempt to show that the Soviet Union was an un-Marxian embodiment of re-

pressive social principles found in 'oriental' societies. His view was that 'oriental societies, depended on irrigation systems controlled tightly by an overwhelming bureaucracy, and gave rise consequently to a most oppressive state. In these states based on widespread irrigation systems ('hydraulic societies') the ruling political regime was, because of the tight bureaucracy, despotic rather than feudal. Leach correctly pointed out that in the case of Sri Lanka, although it is a society based on large scale irrigation, there has been no tight administrative control of the system. On the other hand, control has been through a more devolved feudal system based on *raja kariya* (the devolved nature is best illustrated by the ancient records referring to the virtual contradictory expressions of *disave rajakariya* - 'provincial governor's king's work' - Leach p. 17). If then, early Sri Lanka does not fall into the category of an administrative despotism, how does its known characteristics compare with Marx's Asiatic mode of production.

Marx's ideas on Asian society were based largely on his readings on India. To Marx, the Asiatic was one of the four principal modes of production that he discussed Asiatic, Ancient, Feudal and Capitalist. Of this the first, the Oriental had as a basis direct communal property and had not yet formed itself into a class society. The central characteristic of this system was 'the self-sustaining unity of manufacture and agriculture' at the level of the village commune which thus contained all the conditions for reproduction and surplus production within itself. (Hobsbawm 1964 p. 70, 83, 91). These Asiatic systems could also be organised in various different ways, decentralised or centralised, 'more despotic or more democratic'. In this mode, cities, according to Marx, have virtually no place Asian cities occurring only where 'the location is favourable to external trade or where the ruler and his satraps exchange their revenue (surplus produce) for labour, which they expend as a labour fund' (ibid p. 71).

The essential works of communication and control of irrigation systems would be done by 'the despotic government which is poised above the lesser communities, (ibid). To Marx, the 'Asian history is a kind of undifferentiated unity of town and country (the large cities, properly speaking, must be

regarded merely as a princely camp superimposed on the real economic structure) (ibid p. 77).

It is also interesting to note that the classical Marxist formulation of the Asiatic system left it out of the classification of the 'civilization' as Hobsbawm (p. 51) has observed from reading Engels' 'Origin of the Family. Engels includes under the 'three great epochs of civilization', the slave based (ancient) system, the serf based (feudal) system of the Middle Ages and the wage-labour based (capitalist) system but excludes the Asiatic mode as belonging to the pre-history of 'civilization'. Engels further amplifies the nature of this society in *Anti Dühring*: 'the ancient communes where they continued to exist, have for thousands of years formed the basis of the most barbarous forms of state, Oriental Despotism from India to Russia, (quoted in Leach, p. 3.).

How does this brief summary of the characteristics of Asiatic mode agree with the known characteristics of ancient Sri Lanka? First, the system of land tenure; Land was not held as communal property, as we have pointed out earlier, a complex system of tenurial arrangement existing. Land was held communally in the manner depicted by the Asiatic mode generally only by monks, where almost by definition of a monk's community, land had to be held communally (*sangha*) although even here 'private' (*puggalika*) ownership was known (Gunawardena, 1972 p. 72). Communal holding in the monk's community was not a characteristic of the general socio-economic system but an expression of the system of belief of the Buddhist clergy-comparable say in the case of modern capitalist America to the existence of various idealist groups and 'communes' who have property in common, although they exist within a broader privately owned economic system. The system of land tenure and revenue in Sri Lanka characterised itself as a more decentralised system, closer to European feudalism than to the system sketched by Marx.

The city in Sri Lanka (specially Anuradhapura or Polonnaruwa, and, to a lesser extent, provincial ones such as Tissamah, or ports such as Jambukola and Mahatiththa) does not correspond to the 'Asiatic mode'. These cities were not simple 'princely camps, for the ruler and his satrap to exchange their revenue for a labour fund.

Anuradhapura, as its massive ruins as well as written records both Sri Lankan (Mahavamsa) and foreign (for example Fahsien) reveal, was a large city that had grown up organically to fit into the role of political, economic, social and cultural centre for the rest of the country, the only Sri Lanka city that would fit the description of a princely camp being perhaps Sigiriya. There was also a strong differentiation between town (Anuradhapura) and the country on these dimensions of the political, economic, social and the cultural; and consequently town and country was not an undifferentiated unit. The strong social differentiation that existed between the ruling strata (the king and his officials in the city, and regional disavas and their officials in the countryside) and the population also belies the non-emergence of a class society under 'Asian' conditions.

However, at the village level (or more accurately at the level of a collection of villages one could discern a more or less self-sufficient unit with both manufacture (which was largely caste-based) and agriculture meshing into each other, thus to a certain extent agreeing with Marx's depiction of a unity of manufacture and agriculture in the Asian villages. But I find it difficult to see how this differed in a major way from medieval European villages which were also more or less self-sufficient in this manner.

Marx's main concern was with the emergence of capitalism from (European) feudalism and his interests on and knowledge about previous systems at the time Marx was writing over 100 years ago were extremely limited not to mention being often bigoted and tainted with prejudice. ‡ Hobsbawm has also pointed out that at the time of Marx's writing, anthropological knowledge of non-European 'primitive' societies was virtually nonexistent, whilst Marx himself was thin on pre-history and on non-European societies in general although he had a markedly better grasp of the existing knowledge of India and other parts of Asia. The lack of fit of Marx's Asiatic mode of production to the Sri Lankan ancient system has to be seen within this context, Marx's attempts being the application of powerful and insightful tools of analysis to the existing, incomplete and even false data of his time.

If, then, neither Marx's Asiatic mode of production nor Wittvogel's specialised derivative of it, does not fit adequately the known facts on Sri Lanka, how can we describe the mechanics of the early socio-economic formation of Sri Lanka? An attempt is made below in the following summary

The early Sri Lanka system began with the gradual consolidation and centralisation of an irrigation based agricultural system. Although centralised there was also in the final system a high degree of devolvement and autonomy to regional units. The tenure, revenue collection and irrigation repair and maintenance systems were also often decentralised although at times centralised control and mobilisation were resorted to specially in times of war and in the case of really large scale works. The irrigation based agricultural system had social contradictions (in the Marxist sense) with the major contradiction being between a ruling 'class' formed around the king and his regional governors on the one hand and the mass of the peasantry on the other hand. Further, the social mechanisms of the caste system gave rise to a social division of labour at the level of crafts and services allowing other economic activities to be undertaken. As the system grew, there was an increasing cleavage between town and country, as well as potentially between the rulers and the ruled. The tendencies to cleavage and disruption in the system was not prevented by a strong administrative and despotic system but largely by cultural and ideological means. In the early part of this paper we have discussed in detail how this ideological system operated both at the centre (the town) and the countryside, down to the village. We have indicated how ideological factors played a key role in the formation of the centralised system as well as in its later maintenance.

The growth of a centralised state was paralleled by the growth and consolidation of the irrigation system. Although ideological Sri Lankan history in the form of the Mahavamsa gives the impression that a unitary kingdom was established as early as the 3rd century B. C. (or before at the time of Vijaya if we extend the credibility of the Mahavamsa to the legendary period), there is strong evidence from inscriptions that this was in fact not so. Inscriptions referring to regional rulers are found all over the country up to the 1st century B.C. (Hettiarachchi 1972 pp 144, 145) and the existence of regional rulers are also oc-

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sement of about 900,000 Tamils of Indian origin and the constant increase of Sinhalese seats in successive parliamentary elections and other events increased the awareness of the Tamils as a national minority. It is not fortuitous that in 1952, the Tamil Cultural Society was formed in Colombo. Its programme included not only the propagation of the history and culture of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, but also in other parts of the world.

Some aspects of the cultural consciousness at this period merit attention. Although South India continued to be looked upon as the 'mainland', it was nevertheless gradually receding into the background. The past and present history of the Tamils in Sri Lanka was unavoidably becoming increasingly important and experimentally immediate. Whatever common links and bonds there were between the Tamils in Sri Lanka and South India, the two peoples were living under different governments and facing different problems. The dialectal differences too were becoming more evident. Thus for the first time, Sri Lanka Tamils began to manifest a keen interest in this land. No doubt the interest was mostly from the Tamil point of view. Questions such as when and from where did the Tamils come here? Are they autochthonous to the land? What is their relationship to the Sinhala

Cultural and Linguistic...

people? What is their contribution to the culture and civilization of this country? These and other questions protruded to the forefront in ever increasing frequency and intensity. It is true that in the preceding decades Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam (1870-1940), Fr. Gnanapiragasara, A. Muthuthamby, K. Velupillai (1860-1944) and others had shown interest in the history of the Tamils. Their attempts were basically academic in character. But in the fifties, the historical writings were more than academic. There was an urgency and involvement in the quests. Professor K. Kanapathi Pillai (1903-1968) published his historical play *Sankili* (1956) which he prefaced with a 'history of Tamils in Sri Lanka'. This was followed by C. S. Navaratnam's *Tamils and Ceylon* (1958), and K. Navaratnam's *Tamil Element in Ceylon Culture* (1959). Nor was the interest confined to history. K. Navaratnam (1898-1962) who was a devotee of Ananda Coomaraswamy and had popularised some of his books in Tamil, brought out in Tamil the *Development of Arts in Sri Lanka* (1954). This trend continued to grow with the voices becoming more shrill and the tone overtly polemical. Some of the academic writings of this period found an outlet in the journal *Tamil Culture* (1952-1966)

which was being edited by a Sri Lankan Xavier S. Thani Nayagam. It was printed and published in Madras. It carried academic articles like A. J. Wilson's 'Cultural and Language Rights in the Multinational Society' (1953), Thani Nayagam's 'Tamil Culture—its past, its present and its future with special reference to Ceylon' (1955) and also amateurish pieces like W. Balendra's 'Trincomalee Bronzes' (1953) and S. J. Gunasegaram's 'Early Tamil Cultural Influences in South-East Asia' (1957). H. W. Tambiah published his *The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon* (1954) probably responding to the prevalent mood. A recent contribution to the subject is *Tamil Culture in Ceylon* by M. D. Raghavan. Generally speaking, the concept of Tamil culture was given a wider significance and interpretation. C. Sivaratnam's *The Tamils in Early Ceylon* (1964) reflects this tendency. There were also plans for the economic reconstruction and development of Tamil areas and World Tamil Unity. From this period, the Tamil cultural movement becomes overtly political and begins to show up its class character and ideological learning.

It is at this stage that for the first time, the literary and cultural movement touches the traditionally oppressed sections of the Tamil

people who had hitherto been beyond the pale. Both in South India and Sri Lanka, post-independence problems created the conditions for the emergence of a band of writers who came from the traditionally oppressed sections of Tamil society, that is, the lower castes. Many of them were attracted by Marxism and Communist organisations which provided them with a world view and also the confidence to struggle against exploitation and articulate their thoughts and feelings freely. As might be expected, their level of literary education was somewhat low. But they ushered in new experiences and visions into fiction, poetry and drama using hitherto unheard of dialects, idioms and expressions. They were indifferent to 'correct' Tamil itself as taught by school teachers; classical Tamil was of no concern to them. They in fact openly despised it and ridiculed its proponents. To them linguistic restrictions or restraints were akin to social and political oppression and all such barriers had to be broken down. Harrison's general observation in a slightly different context seems applicable here:

Where language differences tend to coincide

with class distinctions, language conflict is apt to coincide accordingly with the lines of social conflict, greatly increasing it. And if the language of the lower classes is spoken by them at a time when they increase in numbers, or when they gain a bigger share in political and economic power in the society, then the language quarrels will be part of a general process of their elevation in the society and of their gradual bid for increasing social power.

The cultural nationalism of the Tamils is today at the cross roads. It has two options before it: to tread the path of cultural isolation and chauvinism or to identify those features that are also common to the majority community and work out a democratic way of life. The choice would appear to be obvious. But to do that would also mean a national struggle by both communities obfuscating the veil of narrow ethnic interests and marching towards a social order in which there will be no exploitation of man by man.

(Reproduced from 'Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka' published by the Social Scientist's Association, 129/6, Nawala Road, Colombo - 5)

Formation of Sri Lanka...

(Continued from page 7)

casionaly corroborated by literary references (ibid). The consolidation of central authority on an all-island basis was apparently successful according to Hettiarachchi (ibid p. 152) who has studied the kinship system of Sri Lanka only at the time of Vasabha (2nd century A.D.) in whose time we should also note that the first large scale irrigation systems were constructed. (ibid p. 156) These facts push one to the conclusion that centralisation was finally consummated only when the irrigation systems reached sufficient dimensions and spread its tentacles to large parts of the country.

However this total consolidation of central control was at least four centuries after it was both historically proclaimed in Anuradhapura (during Devanampiyatissa's time) and the ideological gum in the form of State Buddhism to legitimise the rule was introduced. The percolation of State Buddhism to the peripheries of the island to make this ideological gum reach the various regional

units down to the village level would, we could assume, also have taken a few centuries, which was also the time taken to consolidate centralised rule.

In conclusion we should note that the system of ideological control is a soft system of control in contrast to a despotic and overtly repressive kind. In this it is more reminiscent of how advanced capitalist societies of the late 20th century are held together (ideological and cultural control forming a significant part of the control apparatus) than how early 19th century societies were held together by harsher repressive means.

Footnotes:

* The overpowering effect of the formal religious body of thought tied to state power has apparently had a stultifying effect on intellectuals of originality in this field; It is therefore significant to note that Sri Lanka with its tradition of state patronage of Buddhism (or may be because of it) has not produced a single major thinker of any originality

compared with the mainland names like Nagarjuna, Dinaga etc. Commentators like Buddhaghosa and Dharmapala are not in this category of original thinkers. The only Sri Lanka religious thinker of any originality, Aryadeva, a disciple of Nagarjuna, was nurtured in a foreign clime and is never mentioned in the local literature (with possibly one oblique reference in the Mahavamsa) although biographies of his exist as far away as in Japan and China.

§ Gunawardena (1972 p. 27) has pointed out that Marx and Engels have differed somewhat on their interpretations of Asian society specially on the nature of the 'Asian' state, Engels' interpretation giving the picture of a more repressive system than that of Marx.

‡ The Indian historian Romila Thapar in a lecture to the Social Scientists Association in Sri Lanka in June 1978 drew attention to the fact that although Marx was critical of the existing literature on European systems, he accepted more or less uncritically the existing literature on Asian systems.

DISTRICT CABINET

The following members of the Northern Lions Clubs have been elected to serve as cabinet officials in Lions Clubs International District 306 B Sri Lanka. Regional Consultant: Lion M. J. A. Jayanathan, Deputy District Governor: Lion C. Ambilapalan, Zone Chairmen: Lion K. Muthukumarasamy, Lion Prof. N. Saravanabhavanathan, District Chairman: Lion L. R. Muthiah, Lion P. Delvendran, Lion Dr. S. Naganathan, Lion K. Gunaratnam, Lion E. Wijeratnam, Lion Prof. V. K. Ganesalingam.

SELF-PROMOTION

UNIDO (VIENNA) - Dr. Abd-El Rahman Khane, Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) has announced that, assisted by UNIDO, Caribbean nations are launching new promotional activities aimed at potential investors in the United States and Canada. The six-months-old Caribbean Investment Promotional Service (CIPS) already incorporates official investment promotional offices of Antigua and Barbados, Bahamas, Belize, Dominica and Christopher and Nevis.

GOLDEN WEDDING

Mr. T. Thangarajah and Mrs. G. Thangarajah Manipay Road, Uduvil, Chunnakam celebrated their golden wedding on 7th July.

Mr. Thangarajah, now 75 years old, is an English trained teacher. He was the author of a geography book of Ceylon, which was the first comprehensive book in Tamil for use in the G. C. E. (O/L) and G. C. E. (A/L) classes and Teachers' Colleges. He served a teacher for 43 years.

Mrs. Thangarajah, a Tamil trained teacher, was in service for 38 years.

WEDDING

Marianayagam-Muthiah The marriage of Marcus with Kumudini took place on Wednesday 4th Inst. at OLR Church, Jaffna.

INSTALLATION

Lion S. Atputhananda was installed as the President of the Lions Club of Jaffna (District 306 B Sri Lanka) on Sunday 8th Inst. Chief Guests on the occasion were Past District Governor Lion Dr. Ariam Nalliah and Lionlady Narges.

Pilgrimage to Jaffna-4

Memories are often short. Yet, the fate that befell European Jews forty years ago has not been erased from human memory. It was then that the Nazis planned and executed the systematic extermination of the Jews. Some lived to tell the tale of the death camps, the gas chambers and the crematoriums - Treblinka, Auschwitz. Some, like Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, physician, who assisted in the medical pathology work when Jewish prisoners were dissected for the purpose of "scientific research", have written of those horrors "which were beyond all imagining". Dr. Nyiszli's document of his experiences was introduced thus: "... at a time when the world seethes again with inhumanities, hatreds and doctrines such as apartheid, this is a book which must be read". (At the present time, our little world of Sri Lanka also seethes with inhumanities and hatreds).

The genocide of the Jews was averted although some

much as the Nazis were propelled in their unmitigated racism by the most powerful dictator of that time, Hitler).

Similar tendencies are prevalent in "civilised" societies too, even among the godly! Before that warm human personality radiating Christian humanism, Pope John, stepped into the shoes of the fisherman, the Roman Catholic Church unashamedly adopted variable modes of conduct according to its position of strength or weakness in different places. Cardinal Ottaviani expounded the logic of double standards in this question and answer:

"Sometimes the following criticism is directed against us: You maintain two principles, two different standards of action, according to your own convenience. In a Catholic country you maintain the ideal of the confessional state, on which is laid the duty of protecting Catholic religion and it alone. Where you are in

the devales associated with Buddhism's most sacred shrine in Kandy, the Dalada Maligawa. A distinctive Hindu element parades the streets of Kandy with the Sinhala elephants, in Sri Lanka's grandest tourist attraction, the Esala perahera. Besides, the Tamils share with the Sinhalese one trait of very profound significance in the current crisis. Both communities steadfastly uphold double standards; both freely use two weights and two measures; both speak with two tongues - one when bound, the other when free.

National life is riddled with contradictions, individuals and groups agitating for human rights when bound by the chains of oppression and discrimination, and violating those rights when freed from the chains that bind them. Right and wrong are like alternate switches, their selection being determined by the condition of the operator at any given time. So the Tamils are quick to recognise discrimination inflicted on them by the Sinhalese. Yet, high caste Tamils impose a vicious form of discrimination on the lower castes. The Sinhalese will close their ranks to combat the common "enemy", the Tamils. Among themselves, they nurse degrading caste prejudices. If two separate states were ever to be created in Sri Lanka, one for the Tamils and another for the Sinhalese, in the next round the Islanders may well fight the Mainlanders in the North and the Highlanders will take on the Lowlanders in the South! The Tamils will feel that as Sri Lankan citizens, they have the right and must enjoy the freedom to live and work in any part of Sri Lanka - rightly so. Yet, they will be loath to concede a similar right to Sinhalese in "traditional" Tamil areas. Aspiring youths struggle to gain entrance to the Universities. Those who do are quickly violated by the sadism which is the rag. They will be shocked and outraged. One year later those victims will inflict the same cruelties and the same sadism on the freshers who follow them. The unemployed plead for jobs and the more privileged ones like doctors, engineers, scientists and academics for advanced training abroad. Delivered from the pain of unemployment, those given jobs quickly adjust themselves to their new status - they will shirk their duties. Similarly, trained personnel, stamped with degrees and titles and launched as "professionals" coolly

desert their posts for advantage, ease and comfort elsewhere, or for greener pastures abroad where they can trade their skills. Men who would have been in dire straits without the opportunities afforded by Mother Lanka when delivered from their tormenting frustrations and tribulations quickly price mark their genitals and make their bids in the marriage market, every mating being charged in advance. The Tamils have perfected the application forms for the trade with an array of attributes - A (age), B (beauty), C (caste), D (dowry), etc. The Sinhalese also do business in that market. There has been an outcry about the rape and murder of helpless women. The Tamils have rightly been outraged by the assaults on Tamil womanhood. Yet, the sustained, manipulated outrage imposed on women in the

degrading dowry system is respectabilised - it is sacred ground on which critics should not tread, particularly in the Tamil World.

This is a time for soul searching. If peace is to be restored in our country, if we are to live freed from sorrow, fear, tension and terror, if our limited resources are to be used to provide a fuller life for the many rather than to exterminate a few (called terrorists), double standards have to be abandoned as a way of life. Man must be clothed in his mantle of dignity in our country. Each must recognise himself as his brother's keeper. All must partake of a shared humanity. All, whatever their ethnic, religious or other groupings must contribute to the common good. Otherwise, we will live in the darkness and terror of an unending night.

by Nissanka Seneviratne

six million of them were eliminated, massacred, by the superior race, the Germans. The conscience of mankind was stirred in the aftermath of the second world war. The United Nations came into being "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, ..." The UN became the instrument by which the Western world, in particular, recovering from the trauma of the second world war, attempted to salve its conscience for the unimaginable inhumanities inflicted on European Jews. The UN carved out the state of Israel. In so doing the UN righted one wrong by committing another. So the Palestinian Arabs were dispossessed of their traditional homelands.

Fortunes have changed - of the Jews and Arabs. The Jews, hapless victims of a ruthless system, Nazism, emerged as the exponents of another vicious system, Zionism. The Jews, homeless and persecuted, given a homeland, became the oppressors of the uprooted Arabs and the aggressors in the region as a whole. (True, they are sustained in their unbridled belligerence by the world's most powerful nation, the United States, just as

the minority, you claim the right to toleration, or even to the equality of all religions before the law. That means two weights and two measures; a real inconsistency, which is embarrassing, and from which Catholics, who take account of the present development of civilization, would rather gladly be free". Why yes! Exactly so! Two weights and two measures - one for truth, and the other for error".

The unresolved "national question" is dominated by one crucial factor, language - The Tamil language, the language of the minority community - and the consequences that flow from its relegation to an inferior status in relation to Sinhalese, the language of the majority community. This unfortunate situation has disadvantaged the Tamils, and aggravated in them the pain of discrimination as an ethnic minority. It has roused their passions to "fight for their rights". Divided politicians have united themselves to liberate the Tamils from their oppressors. The Sinhalese language apart, there is much in common between the two communities, Tamil and Sinhalese - they even honour the same gods! Rarely does a Sinhala politician venture on a political journey without seeking the blessings of the Hindu god at Kataragama. The Hindu gods are also venerated in

Desertification...

(Continued from last issue)

They see no difference between innovation and constraint for both are imposed on them from outside and are poorly adapted to their needs. The herdsmen and peasants are not involved in them and do not benefit from them: quite the contrary.

In countries that have large landowners, agrarian reforms appear necessary. Reforms have been carried out in many countries of the Middle East, the Far East and Africa which have adopted non-capitalist or socialist roads to development. Land redistribution is inevitably accompanied by the establishment of state farms or co-operatives, because new means of production can only be adopted if the peasants are brought together, grouped. Experiments in modernization in other countries have sought to involve the peasants without adopting cooperative structures. It must be admitted that, so far, there are few examples of any great success, whatever has been tried.

Aid can and must be given as quickly as possible, to halt famines and combat the most basic symptoms of underdevelopment - disease, malnutrition, illiteracy. This implies the mobilization of stocks of cereals, milk, pharmaceutical products, etc. and their effective distribution to rescue the human capital of the regions

threatened by desertification. Natural desertification will not be conquered by human desertification.

But this public or private aid is limited in space and time and is more akin to charity than to a search for a global solution. Development, a precondition of the fight against desertification, is a more long-term task, for it takes longer to change a society than to plant a tree or build a medical centre or school. To find substitutes for traditional sources of energy, replacing wood with gas electricity or new energy sources, to harness and manage water resources, to free women from their burden of wood and water - these elementary steps in development presuppose, at one and the same time, the provision of costly equipment, an increase in GNP and changes in thinking.

Transformation of the means of production and of economic and social structures takes even longer. It can be achieved only within the framework of a new international order of collaboration and peace. Experience shows that the conception and development of this new order, whatever the urgency, will not happen overnight.

(Courtesy, Development Forum, published by the United Nations)

VIOLENCE & NON - VIOLENCE

The article by 'R and R' and the letter by Mr. N. Sivapalan, both from Singapore, published in the *Saturday Review* of 16th June, should be seriously read by everyone concerned with the ethnic conflicts and confrontations in Sri Lanka. Both deal with the relative merit of the use of violence and non-violence means in the struggle for freedom and justice.

As rightly emphasised by 'R and R', if we fail to learn from history, we will have to pay a heavy price and victory is not necessarily on the side of those who take up arms in the cause of justice. The Jews who fought against the Romans in the first century A. D. with the support of a neighbouring state had to leave Palestine and migrate to different parts of the world, where they were sometimes persecuted. The Red Indians in North America who continued to fight with the technologically superior Whites were suppressed and are now living in reserves, whereas the Indians in Latin America who co-operated with the invaders after the initial defeat are today equals to Europeans settled there.

Fortunately, long before the dropping of atomic bombs, Mahatma Gandhi has shown the way of fighting for freedom and justice by using non-violence, discussions and negotiations. Today the superpowers themselves are compelled to discuss, negotiate or non-violently show their displeasure. In countries like Belgium and Canada, ethnic conflicts have been managed, because very little violence was used, and dissent was mostly expressed non-violently. Today the communication revolution also favours the use of non-violent means. As Arthur Clarke said while inaugurating an international communications seminar recently, today instant communications have a civilising influence on leaders.

As rightly said by 'R and R', the world wide sympathy for the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka in July 1983, was because the Tamils who were attacked did not fight violently against their attackers. The Palestinians, and Ibos in Nigeria, the Christians and Moslems in Lebanon or the Sikhs in Punjab did not gain such worldwide sympathy as all of them used violence. If the violence has erupted after a

submissive with fear and panic.

Let the youths of Sri Lanka, whether they are Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim or Christian, realise that they are born in a new world of nuclear weapons, instant communications and supersonic transport, which has made the whole world a global village. What happens now in any part of the world, if important, would be communicated through-out the world within an hour. The nuclear powers can destroy the world also within an hour. This kind of communications and destructive capacity was limited to a village area only about an hundred years ago. The youth of today are the inheritors of the heritage of all civilisations and cultures in the world. They also have an obligation to preserve and develop the cultures they are born into, without being submerged by dominant cultures, so that the world would continue to have diversities in unity.

But let them not be insular and bound by the past conflicts, perpetrated by the generations of the past, whose knowledge was unfortunately limited and did not

gerous poison for their own ethnic group. No outsider can cause any real harm to any culture.

Among the great leaders of the past generations, let the youth follow only the great leaders like the Buddha, Christ, King Asoka, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King who preached non-violence and universal compassion, and whose examples are relevant for the future world if we wish to avoid universal destruction. The examples of heroic fighters like Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon or Hitler can never be followed in the future world of nuclear weapons.

In Sri Lanka, let the youth follow the leaders who while being deeply concerned about the welfare of their own ethnic group, never hate or preach hatred against any other group and have universal compassion. In the global village of today, no group can be suppressed, submerged or assimilated by any other group unless they willingly accept such subordination. Any group which tries to grossly dominate another group would be universally condemned. Even the powerless Maldives Islands cannot be invaded by the most powerful super-powers, unless someone within invites them.

The powerful trend in the world today is toward freedom, justice equality and non-discrimination, and truth and compassion for all would definitely triumph. Let youth realise the subtle power of truth, universal compassion and non-violence which alone can match the destructive subtle power of the invisible atoms. Truth and non-violence immediately liberates the individual from all hatred, fear, anxiety and greed, and it is only such liberated individuals who can help the liberation of their society.

NP JOURNALISTS PROTEST

The Northern Province Journalists' Association (Vadakkai Pathrikaiyalarkal Sangam) has protested against the proposed amendments to the Press Council Law banning the use of pseudonyms.

This protest was made at a special committee meeting of the Sangam chaired by its president, Mr. S. S. Kuganathan.

Eva Scannis

by

After the use of atomic bombs in 1945, we find during the last four decades all those who rely on violence, whether it is the superpowers, middle powers, small states or terrorist groups, are rarely succeeding in achieving their aims. After the Second World War, it is the defeated powers, Japan and Germany, who are economically doing better than the victorious powers, unlike in the whole past history of mankind. The U. S. was unable to control small Cuba or Vietnam or recently in Lebanon. The Soviet Union has got itself into a mess in Afghanistan. Neither Israel nor the Palestine Liberation Organisation, after decades of fighting, is able to give stable peace to their people. With the advancement in the destructiveness of nuclear weapons it appears that violence in any form has become thoroughly counter productive. If we use violence in realising our aims or resolving our conflicts, we would have no authority in advising the super-powers to refrain from using nuclear weapons in their conflicts and thereby destroy human civilisation.

non-violent demonstration by the Tamils and not after the killing of soldiers, how much more sympathy there would have been for the Tamil cause, even from the Sinhalese?

Let us realise that violence has been counter-productive for Tamils. Even if we sit it out, as suggested by the late Bishop Lakshman Wickremesinghe (according to 'R and R'), the position of the Tamils would improve as the worldwide trend in all countries is towards greater freedom, equality, justice and non-discrimination. But we need not sit and wait as youth is impatient, and as one of the most experienced democracies in the Third World with a high standard of education and relatively high quality of life, we can be pioneers in showing the way to solve ethnic conflicts in a manner which enhances the quality of life of each and every section of our diverse cultural groups. The ethos of the average Tamil is against the use of violence. That is why they have been submissive in most communal violence. But, unfortunately, they have been

have the tremendous benefits of science and technology. Because of their limited technological knowledge, their capacity for destruction was also limited and they had the freedom to indulge in violence. But today violence has to be made taboo by any party.

In highly developed democratic countries, dissent can be expressed non-violently, followed by discussions and negotiations. There governments never suppress violently the expression of non-violent dissent. Satyagraha is the suffering of violence by the opponents without violently opposing. Today instant communications have made such non-violent protest very effective. If suppressed violently, the perpetrators of such violence would be condemned universally.

Let the Sinhalese and Tamil youths be extremely careful of chauvinistic leaders who are the poisonous elements in the universal global village. They are psychologically still living in the bullock-cart stage and neurotically bound by the conflicts of the past. They are the most dan-

CINTA BACK

The CINTA Journal, originally launched as a weekly from Jaffna by the Ceylon Institute for National and Tamil Affairs, but ceased publication after two issues, has now been revived as a bi-monthly, with its head office at 78/1, Ward Place, Colombo 7.

Mr. Underwood Manivasagan is the Hon. Editor, working along with ex-Supreme Court Justice Mr. V. Manicavasagar, President of C. I. N. T. A.

The first copy of the revived issue, dated June-July 1984 (Vol. I, No. 3), contains a number of informative and interesting news items and articles.

The SATURDAY REVIEW wishes The CINTA Journal all success as, in the words of Mr. Manivasagan, Sri Lanka needs more independent publications "to draw attention to events, incidents and situations which were either being overlooked, or deliberately ignored or misinterpreted by the other media".

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PRESS OBSTRUCTED IN MANY WAYS

This is the full text of a press statement issued by the Movement for the Defence of Democratic Rights:

The present government, which came into power, stating that it would strengthen all democratic rights of the people of this country, has instead proceeded to deprive us of most of these rights. Included in the right of freedom of expression are the right to enjoy all facilities to maintain an independent press undisturbed. Publishing news and receiving news are both important facets of this right.

From the day this government came to power, it has obstructed the press in many ways. The restrictions now being placed by law are also violations of the people's rights. By prohibiting the use of pseudonyms, two objectives are achieved. One is the general discouragement of journalists. The other is that in this day and age, by reporting news under one's own name, one forfeits the rights of safety of one's person.

"Criticism, but publish your names", they say, but hidden underneath is the threat, "Expose us and beware!" It is a well-known secret that the state extended its patronage to terrorists who broke up trade unions, meetings, strikes and pickets from the very start. It is clear that these amendments have been made with the express desire to extend state terrorism to the press. What do the newspapers reveal, that is embarrassing to the state? The corruption and underhand activities that are rampant in state corporations and

amongst powerful individuals. At the moment, they are helpless in the face of such exposures. This is because corruption is a fact of life. Yet the state has thought it necessary to intimidate writers not to publish such information. Our movement believes that this is a shoddy attempt to outlaw such exposures of corruption and similar underhand activities which the government does not want to prevent, and a violation of our democratic rights.

There are already many laws which can act against newspapers that do wrong. They are powerful enough to punish the guilty, regard-

less of whether the name of the writer is known or not. In this situation, why force writers to reveal their identities? It is to punish them, not only by means of the law, but by means of outside 'agents'. This is an attempt to use terrorism to intimidate the press.

It is reported that in Argentina, over a hundred journalists 'have disappeared' since 1976. The M.D.D.R. expresses its strong condemnation of and revulsion against this proposed amendment to the press law, which we see as a first step towards creating such a situation here. We call upon the government to halt the passing of such an amendment immediately.

NIRMALA'S CASE

The Minister of State and Cabinet spokesman Mr. Anandathissa de Alwis said at press briefing on Wednesday that the Sri Lanka Government would not make a specific request for the extradition of Mrs. Nirmala Nithyanandan, now in Madras after escaping from the Batticaloa Jail. The Sri Lanka Government considered that the general request for extradition of Sri Lankan "terrorists" from India to the Indian Government still held good.

The Minister, who was answering the Press said that the Cabinet did not discuss the presence of Mrs. Nithyanandan in Madras and the press conference she was reported to have given.

Speaking on terrorism, Mr. de Alwis said the Government was taking extra precautions and staying alert because there was a tendency by terrorist groups to use anniversaries and other such events to stage their attacks.

From The Island, 12th July

Regional Autonomy only Solution

"Regional autonomy is the only solution to the problems facing Sri Lanka" declared Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama M.P. for Kalawana, at the 41st anniversary meeting of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Moscow), held at the Town Hall, Jaffna on Thursday.

Mr. Muttetuwegama said that his party had pressed for this solution at the Round Table Conference.

District Secretary, Mr. Pon. Coomaraswamy presided.

Creedy House, Vembadi Athletic Inter-House Champions

— by Victor S. Kiruparaj

Creedy house, (Greens) a force to be reckoned with and the envy of all the other houses, raced up to a staggering total of 202 points to wrest the House Championships at the Inter-House Athletic meet of Vembadi Girl's High School held recently.

Scowcroft (Blues) were 22 1/2 points behind to take second place. The third place was filled in by Hornby (Reds). Lythe (Purples) lagged far behind with 125 points to finish a poor last.

Though this year's meet was devoid of its usual glamour and gaiety, fun and fanfare, yet it invoked much interest and enthusiasm both among the participants and onlookers. A spirit of camaraderie pervaded the entire athletic arena.

Veteran Sportswoman cum Sports Administrator, Miss Saro Dharmalingam, deserves a special bouquet for the splendid organisation of the meet.

The winners of the main trophies of the Meet are as follows:

Individual Champions
Under 13- Rajanthi Fernando - Creedy House; Runner Up - Jeyanam Chellappah - Hornby House; Tharmini Parameshwaran-Scowcroft; Premi Karalasingham - Scowcroft; Under 15 - Kaushalya Nadesapillai - Creedy House; Runner Up - Vanitha Nadasanihamany - Creedy House; Under 17 - Lalitha Sathianathan - Creedy House; Runner Up - Sutha Karthigesu - Scowcroft; Umarany Kanmany - Hornby; Rathei Arulampalam - Hornby; Under 19 - Mayarami Sampanthapillai - Creedy House; Runner Up - Anushanthi Kandiah - Hornby; Koshala Ponnampalam - Creedy House; Thevasena Muthucumarasamy - Scowcroft; Under 13 - Rajanthi Fernando - Creedy House; For her performance in Long Jump - 12'11" Under 15-Vasanthi Vaithilingam - Hornby; For clearing 4'2" in High Jump. Under 17 - Lalitha Sathianathan - Creedy House; For clearing 4'5 1/2" in High Jump; Under 19 - Mayarani Sampanthapillai - Creedy House; For clearing 4'4" in High Jump: March Past Cup - Hornby & Scowcroft;

Ranking of Houses

1. Creedy House - 202 points
2. Scowcroft House-177 1/2 points;
3. Hornby House-154 1/2 points;
4. Lythe House - 125 points.

Twelve-year old better twenty-seven year old Mark

Twelve - year old Arunprakash Balachandran 'straddled' over the bar at 4'5" in the high jump to better a 27-year old mark at the Inter-House Athletic Meet of Jaffna Central College.

Arunprakash's remarkable effort should earn him the Best Performance Trophy for Field Events in the Under 13 age group. This young and ebullient athlete is certain of lifting the 100 Metres and the Long Jump Events. In the "Long" he is expected to leap over 14 feet and establish another new mark.

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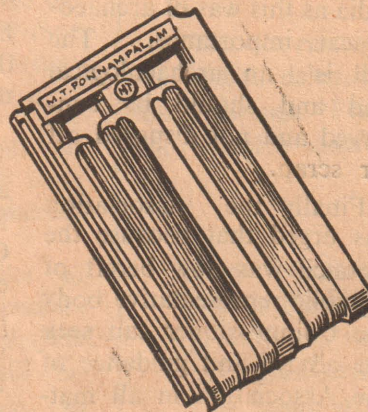
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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Indian Govt's Lankan initiative Lauded

New York 4th July

The government of India was praised for its "restraint" and its initiative in helping to secure a political solution to the problem of minority Tamils in Sri Lanka at an International Tamil convention held in Nanuet near here last week-end.

Despite occasional battle-cries at the convention, the major concern was that the Tamils should not be misled or "fooled" by President Jayewardene's "bluff" or lulled into complacency.

The Speaker of the Tamil Nadu Assembly, Mr. K. Rajaram, recalled the series of talks which the special emissary, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, had held with the Sri Lankan President, leading to the All Party Conference and regretted that the conference had virtually stalemated.

Mr. Rajaram also recounted the steps taken by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, to relieve the hardship caused to Tamils in Sri Lanka and to those who had to flee to Madras.

He noted that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, had been making sincere efforts to promote a political settlement which "we all appreciate and support".

The convention heard quite a few strident speeches suggesting that there was no alternative to struggle for achieving the goals of the Tamils.

"Eelam will not be attained at the negotiating table but only in the battlefield", said Mr. V. Gopalaswamy, DMK MP.

U. S. SUPPORT

Mr. Srithillaiampalam President of the Tamil, Eelam Association of America, informed the convention that Democratic Senators Cranston and Edward

Action should be taken to get this working by even calling for experts from India as this was of archaeological importance. The bell is an archaeological find and should be conserved and not disposed off for scrap.

Finally the Association has urged that because the Council was now bereft of a public representative body the Commissioner can seek the advice and guidance of the Association in all matters affecting the welfare of the ratepayers.

Is Siddha Ayurveda Vaithiam—the traditional medicinal system of the Tamils—an art or a science?

Kennedy had tabled a resolution on 13th June on the eve of President Jayewardene's visit to Washington proposing that President Reagan should urge the Sri Lankan Government to seek "actively and without delay a peaceful, political and negotiated settlement of the issues that divide the Sinhalese and the Tamils".

The resolution noted that the death toll of Tamil civilians continued to rise, fuelling fears of another bloody assault on Sri Lankan Tamil communities.

While introducing the resolution on behalf of Mr. Kennedy and himself, Senator Cranston had warned that if all efforts by all parties were not redoubled for a peaceful solution of the conflict, "I fear we will see a replay of the nightmare of July 1983."

LIKE PLO

In his presidential address Mr. P. Nedumaran, President of Kamaraj Congress, likened the struggle of the Tamils of Sri Lanka to that of the Palestinians and urged all Tamil groups to unite so that, like the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation could get world recognition.

Mr. David Selbourne from Oxford University warned that a "human and political disaster" was in the making in the Indian Ocean. He called for a political settlement and said it was not too late for working it out.

A draft constitution of "The People's Republic of Eelam" was circulated but there was no discussion on the draft.

The convention nominated Mr. P. Nedumaran, Mr. N. Satyendra, Mr. S. C. Chandrasenan, Mr. Satchi Ponnambalam and a representative of Tamil United Liberation Front to the task force for the proposed "Tamil International Magazine (PTI)".

"Sensual life is the road that leads to hell. Divine life is the road to immortality".

—Sri Swami Sivananda—

The University of Jaffna has given us a categorical answer to this intriguing question.

It's an art, not a science.

That's why the Dept. of Siddha Medicine, which was ceremonially inaugurated on Monday, 2nd July, by Vice-Chancellor S. Vithiananthan at the Kailasapathy Auditorium, has been annexed by the Faculty of Arts!

The new Dept. was set up in deference to the long-standing demand of the North Ceylon Siddha Medicine Federation that Siddha Ayurveda Vaithiam be granted University status. They have now won their demand, though perhaps

they didn't bargain for what they have got.

The Faculty of Medicine of the University of Jaffna bluntly refused to have anything to do with the new Dept. So did the Faculty of Science.

Ultimately, the Faculty of Arts—which is perhaps in need of medical aid—had to come to the rescue.

It was both pitiful and funny to hear speakers at the inaugural ceremony—ranging from Tamil scholar Vithiananthan to Sri Lankan historian Indrapala—drawing on all their ingenuity to justify this grotesque decision—the result of a colonial hang-over.

Hatton National Bank Keeps on Growing

In a rich and colourfully printed Annual Report and Accounts 1983 of the Hatton National Bank Ltd., the Chairman Mr. H. L. E. Cooray, claims that the Bank achieved its 14th consecutive year of growth and expansion in the demanding economic environment of 1983.

"I am gratified to state that once again, the profit after tax for 1983, attained the highest level of earnings of the Bank since its inception. There was also satisfactory growth both in our deposits and advances which stood at Rs. 1,993 million and Rs. 1,136 million respectively at the end of December 1983, as

against deposits and advances of Rs. 1,765 million and Rs. 1,048 million respectively at the end of December 1982. The total consolidated assets of the Bank rose from Rs. 1,912 million at the end of December 1982 to Rs. 2,161 million at the end of December 1983 an increase of Rs. 249 million or in percentage terms 13%."

The Chairman anticipates a difficult period during 1984 when the Bank will be called upon to meet demanding challenges but is confident of the Bank's ability to react promptly and positively to changing circumstances as proven in the past.

Second Chamber

Columnist Milinda, writing in the Catholic weekly *The Messenger* of 1st July, noted:

"It was on 3rd June that this column suggested the setting up of a Second Chamber to animate and monitor solutions to national problems. Hence, we welcome President Jayewardene's reported initiative to place this proposal before the All Party Conference. However, it has to be repeatedly emphasised that the spirit and composition of such a structure would be more important than the structure itself.

"If a Second Chamber or Senate is to be a meaningful

corrective measure in setting off the imbalances of our political structures it should be above party politics.

"While opening its doors to grass-roots representation, it should be so composed as to represent the voiceless sectors of our rural masses and not the vociferous political climbers.

"Unwarranted fears expressed by ideologues about any hypothetical 'Khomenism' should not dissuade the Government from providing suitable representation to the Maha Sangha and the clergy of other religions..."