

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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21st July 1984

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# 5 GIRLS TO 1 BOY LIKE IN GERMANY AFTER WORLD WAR II

A study by the SATURDAY REVIEW staff revealed that in some parts of the Jaffna Peninsula the ratio of females to males in the age-group 18 to 25 years has now risen to 5 to 1.

This unusual phenomenon is not the outcome of any change in the birth pattern in the North beginning around 25 years ago. The proportion of male to female births has remained constant throughout.

It is the general EXODUS of Tamil persons which started in 1956 and is continuing with increasing momentum, especially after the devastating events of July 1983, that is responsible.

Almost every parent who can afford it is sending his or her grown-up sons out of the country.

Many parents who really cannot afford it are selling their prized possessions, including jewellery and land, to meet the cost of the passages.

Why this hurry to send the boys out of the land of their birth as soon as possible?

We asked a cross-section of the people in Jaffna.

One mother, who managed to send both her sons overseas, told the SATURDAY REVIEW: Earlier, our children used to study hard and many of them man-

aged to secure places in the universities. Now the opportunities are very limited, with all except the Jaffna and Batticaloa campuses virtually closed to them... The only way to get our sons educated is to send them abroad."

A father of five said: "Even after all the expenditure and effort our children who pass out from the universities often come up against a blank wall where local employment opportunities are concerned. So we try to find them jobs in other countries, where they get a fairer deal."

But it was not education and employment that was uppermost in the minds of most Jaffna parents, we found.

"In these turbulent days, I am worried about the physical safety of my sons," one parent said.

Pressed, many others expressed the same view.

So, irrespective of whether a place in a school or university or a job has been lined up for them abroad, most boys themselves want to get out.

In May alone, nearly 4,000 Tamils are reported to have left Sri Lanka, according to a Department of Immigration and Emigration spokesman.

A university don with two sons, both away in Canada, lamented: "The situation in Sri Lanka in general and the North in particular since 1977 has made many of our children run away and wanderers and job and asylum seekers in the five continents of the world."

So unless the boys return home within a reasonable period, it will be "Five to One" in Jaffna.

One parent quipped: "It will be something like the situation that arose in Hitler's Germany after World War II."

A prominent sociologist told the SATURDAY RE-

VIEW: "It does not need any knowledge of sociology to realise that the EXODUS is going to play havoc with Jaffna society. It can have explosive consequences.....

It will make an already tight marriage market tighter. Worse, at the rate the boys are going, in time to come

there will be only young children and old people in the Peninsula. The traditional idea of expecting the children to look after their parents in old age will also vanish."

What is happening is not at all good for Jaffna. It is not good for the rest of Sri Lanka as well.

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## Saturday Review

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# AN INTERVIEW WITH DIOGENES

Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.  
Dear Sir,

You little know that Diogenes made another trip to Jaffna. I ran into him the other day, at Casuarina Beach. I was curious to know his views on three important topics and pleaded with him to spare some time. He was all game.

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW  
LAUGH AWAY!

It is with real pleasure and enjoyment one reads the articles by Diogenes.

It is not mere satire (which any person can write) but real witty satire imbued with humour. To be able to make people laugh is far harder for an actor or writer than to make them cry, and, in result, far more disastrous to egoists and those of stupid minds.

I asked him, what he thought of a U.N. sponsored Anti-terrorist force. "Oh, that, you know terrorism has been in existence all over the world for many years and people have been affected, but you know, you should not show love for people in other parts of the world until you are affected". "Master, what about Uncle Sam and Israel, interfering in the internal affairs of our country" countered I. The Master was quick to answer, "that is simple son, they are Devils, you know, we can call in the Devils even to counter terrorism". "Then what is going to happen to the P.L.O. 'terrorists' we recognised", asked I. "Who said terrorists, they are the only FREEDOM FIGHTERS in the world", was the reply.

Without wasting his time I moved on to the next topic—sharing power in the Second House. "If you knew, a little Arithmetic you would have known that this is not sharing but

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW  
POOR DIOGENES!

I can just imagine what would happen to our beloved Diogenes if he continued to write after the law has tabooed pseudonyms. The Gestapo will drag him out of his tub, snatch his lantern and produce him in court. The production will be P 1, the tub, and P 2, the lantern. The only honest man who will be called to testify against poor Diogenes will be his barber.

A very close friend of  
Diogenes from his Jaffna  
school days.

SHAMMING, the shamming of the last 7 years. Can't you understand 10 out of 50 will be as powerless as the Opposition in the First House."

Rather dismayed, I asked him about Terrorists and Harijans. He smiled quietly and said, "I have heard it said that the terrorists are Marxists, hell bent on establishing a Marxist state not only in Sri Lanka but in India too. I also know that Marxists, are not caste-conscious and that the terrorists have killed more Non-Harijan robbers. But what to do Thamby, there is a purpose in all this, no".

"What is that?" I asked. "DIVIDE AND RULE" said he and left singing "la, lala, li, li, li, tha, tha, tha..."

Yours truly,  
S. Puthiman

### BONFIRE.

Some youths burnt copies of the Sun group of newspapers in Jaffna town on 18th July as a protest against their biased reporting of events in the North.

### PAY GONE.

The pay roll of the Jaffna University amounting to several lakhs of rupees, was robbed by a group unidentified young men on 20th July.

### BOOK REVIEW

## A SYMBOL OF SCIENTIFIC CULTURE

Builders of Modern India: C. V. Raman — by P. R. Pisharoty

SEEING A SMALL boy in the junior B.A. class, the surprised English Professor asked, "Do you belong to this class?" C. V. Raman, the fourteen-year old boy, replied in the affirmative. So brilliant was he, that he passed the B. A. and the M.A. examinations also with distinction. His first scientific research paper was published in the London "Philosophical Journal" when he was a student.

In 1907 he topped the list in the competitive examination for civil servants of the Finance Department. He created for himself the environment for his scientific pursuits while performing his official duties as Assistant Accountant General in Calcutta. He spent all his spare hours each day - 5.30 to 9.45 a.m. and 5 to 10 p. m. and the holidays in doing research at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Later at the request of the great educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, he gave up the Government job and accepted a professorship in physics on a reduced salary. Vice-Chancellor Mukherjee appreciated this gesture in these words: "This one in-

stance encourages me to entertain the hope\* that there will be no lack of seekers after Truth in the Temple of Knowledge which it is our endeavour to erect." This period (1917-32) was the golden era in Raman's scientific career.

It was during a voyage to England in 1921—undertaken at the suggestion of Sir Ashutosh—that Raman's curiosity was aroused by the blue colour of the Mediterranean Sea, which culminated in the discovery of the Raman Effect and the award of the Nobel Prize to him in 1930. His discovery that the energy of a photon can undergo a partial transformation with-in matter was hailed by great scientists, including Einstein and Rutherford. Even after five decades, particularly since the advent of the Laser in 1960, Raman Effect is getting more and more uses.

Raman joined the Indian Institute of Science in 1933 as its first Indian Director and with him the national centre of research moved from Calcutta to Bangalore. In this position he not only proved himself an exemplary science administrator and teacher but

continued his own direct research, with a fifteen-hour work schedule every day. But his very efficiency made him a marked man and conditions became unfavourable to him to function as Director. He resigned from that post with grace but continued as professor of physics, unmindful of the reduced status and emoluments. About this time he also declined an attractive offer from an institute in Amsterdam. He did not accept the offer of a high political position either.

In 1948, at the age of 60, he retired and set up his own institute. Under his guidance, it grew into a big centre of research. Raman was dissatisfied with the government's Western type 'big science' policy and the emigration of Indian scientists, including some of his own, to the West. He became a recluse and devoted all his time to personal research unaided by others.

After some years this depression lifted and he became once again a child of Nature, enjoyed the company of children and delivered important scientific lectures. Soon after delivering his memorable Gandhi Memorial Lecture

in October 1970, he passed away next month at the ripe old age of 82.

The life of C. V. Raman the seeker, creator and teacher of new knowledge and the advocate of scientific culture, will always remain a source of inspiration to the youth of India. He praised the fresh outlook of youth as the principal requisite for successful research. He firmly believed that the Indian mind was second to none and exhorted the youth to give up defeatism and work hard with courage. His assessment has been proved correct in recent years by the winning of the Nobel Prize by two more Indians—Khurana and Chandrasekhar,—(the latter being Raman's own nephew). Raman wrote five books and published nearly 400 original scientific papers on an amazing variety of subjects, and also delivered several learned lectures. He was truly an early builder of Scientific India.

Prof. Pisharoty, himself a distinguished scientist, has portrayed the biography of Raman with brief strokes but in bright colours. He has added an autobiographical dimension to it by

annexing Raman's Nobel speech, a lecture to children (which is a model for writing popular science), a radio talk on scientific outlook and his quotable quotes. The book deserves to be read by all those who are interested in science and scientific temper.

P. Srinivasan,  
(Courtesy, Yojana,  
published by Publications Division,  
New Delhi.

### H.F.C. ARE NET BALL CHAMPIONS

Holy Family Convent Jaffna, emerged Net Ball Champions in the Intermediate Section at the recent Inter-School District Net Ball Tournament conducted by the Education Department for the Year 1984. They won first place. The team consisted of:

Captain — Miss Shirani Perinpanathan,  
Miss Roshini Thavaratnam,  
,, Savithiri Segaraja-singhe,  
,, Charlotte Alexander,  
,, Baptista Antonipillai,  
,, Amuthini Stanislaus,  
,, Kalpana Gnana-singhm  
,, Shereena Thambi-nayagam  
Sr. Anthony Joseph,  
Principal,  
Holy Family Convent,  
Jaffna.

# KILLING OF CIVILIANS:

## AI Lays Blame on Govt.

Amnesty International on 18th June 1984 urged President Jayewardene to prevent deliberate killings of civilians by the country's security forces and to restrict the wide powers of arrest under current emergency regulations.

The worldwide human rights movement also appealed for a full and impartial investigation into killings reported since July 1983 and for those responsible to be brought to justice.

Amnesty International's appeal coincided with the publication of documents it had compiled containing eyewitness evidence of extrajudicial killings by the security forces last year, reports of further killings in March and April this year and the organisation's other human rights concerns in Sri Lanka.

The killings erupted in the wake of the north of Sri Lanka where some members of the Tamil minority have demanded a separate state. Some of the violence was attributed to Tamil extremist groups.

Amnesty International urged Mr. Jayewardene to suspend fully an emergency regulation allowing the disposal of bodies without inquest and which it believed facilitated the killings.

### INQUESTS

It welcomed in principle a reported statement by the Minister of National Security Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali that henceforth inquest would be held into all deaths at the hands of the security forces. However, it said the inquests should follow ordinary proce-

dures laid down in Sri Lanka's criminal code.

It said there had been a clear failure by the Government to investigate security force killings adequately. To AI's knowledge, there had been no criminal prosecutions of officials believed responsible for them, and in only one case was an inquest even held.

Furthermore, extrajudicial killings have not been officially condemned", it said. "The Government has merely stated that it 'does not condone' such killings of unarmed or, in other cases, has sought to justify them by stating that civilians were killed during an 'exchange of fire' with 'terrorists', without however permitting inquest proceedings to be held".

To protect the future safety of political detainees, AI said there should be a full and impartial investigation into the killings in July 1983 of 53 political prisoners held in jail under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

### AMENDMENT

It further urged the Government to restrict the wide powers of arrest and incommunicado detention allowed by the Act and urged it not to proceed with a proposed amendment which would suspend the right of habeas corpus of political detainees.

While welcoming Mr. Athulathmudali's reported assur-

ance that the security forces had been told to inform detainees' relatives of their arrest within 48 hours, it pointed that people detained under the Act could still be held incommunicado and denied access to relatives and lawyers.

AI acknowledged that the Government had faced serious problems and that members of the security forces had been killed by extremist groups. It said it condemned "the killing or torture of individuals detained by anyone", and emphasized the Government's responsibility to bring to justice the perpetrator of such Acts.

## Appeal to Minister

DR. E. S. MAHENDRA-RAJAH, of Matale in a letter to the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has stated:

"I have been an eternal victim of unending racial holocausts that have engulfed this once peaceful country. Having been pauperised and penalised for no fault of mine, I am now seriously thinking of pulling my roots out of this thrice-blessed Island, which has thrice visited me with untold misery and agony. To write about the suffering and humiliation I had gone through in a letter of this type, could compel me to lengthen into a volume.

"I had written umpteen letters to the REPIA to help me with a soft loan but have been met with a deafening silence.

"It is indeed sad to note, and contemplate, the fate of millions of rupees magnanimously donated by civilized countries to help us victims not reaching us even in trickles.

"In the present context, the most prudent things for Tamils to preserve ourselves appears to be to follow in the footsteps of those who have already left our shores to pitch

their tents elsewhere. Therefore, the Government should look into ways and means of paying us adequate compensation for having suffered due to the ineffectivity of the Government to protect us.

"May this appeal spur yourself to look into this matter and urge the lethargic officialdom to act with dedication and meaningfulness."

### Acknowledgement

The report on the International Institute of Tamil Studies, which appeared on Page 3 of our last issue, was written by Chandrika Somasundram and reproduced from the first issue (1st July) of the new fortnightly magazine TAMIL INTERNATIONAL published from Madras.

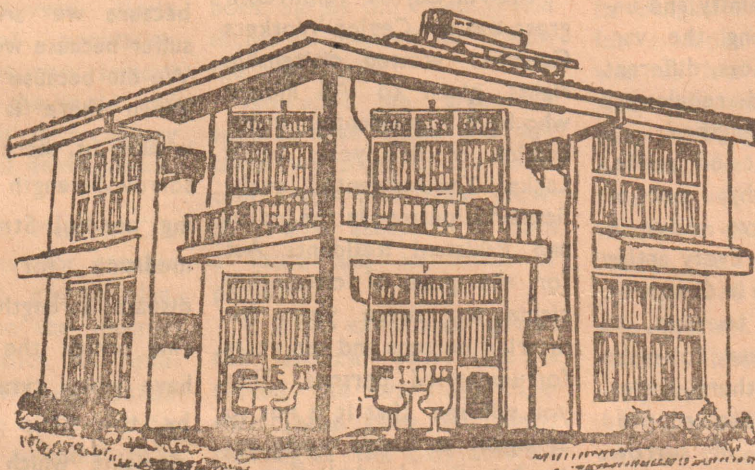
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# Udagama Complex: North Ignored

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Under the Udagama and village re-awakening schemes, the Prime Minister, who is also the Minister for Housing and Construction, has opened quite a number of model villages and provided houses and other essential facilities like water and even electricity in some instances, to very many people who were either without houses or living in squalid conditions. And all this was done with a lot of pomp and pageantry.

In fact, it was only last month that the 6th anniversary of the Udagama scheme was celebrated in Anuradhapura with much ostentation and grandiosity. The celebrations lasted for a number of days and on the last day President Jayewardene himself and his wife were present.

It is however, a pity that so far all these village re-awakening schemes have been confined to the Sinhalese districts and that no such schemes have been started in the Northern Province. There are a number of people in the North who are living in grinding, poverty who also do not have a roof over their heads.

It is surprising that this Dharmista Government, which speaks about treating all races with equality, justice and fairness should have so far ignored the people in the North.

Augustine Saverimuttu  
Jaffna.

## GARBO & GANDHI

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Having received the valued gift of a copy of The Ox-

ford Dictionary of Quotations, I looked in it in the year of the awards-winning film "Gandhi" (1983) to see what words of the great man had been judged worthy of inclusion in that anthology of wit and wisdom. I was dismayed to find none.

The reference in the cover flap to Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change" reminded me of Gandhi's

"I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any".

I expected to find at least this in the book.

But interestingly, as I turned the pages, I ran into Garbo, Greta, and her apparently deathless "I want to be alone" near where I expected to meet Gandhi. She shares the first two letters of her name with the Mahatma's.

Odd, isn't it?

S. K Gnanamuttu  
Chavakachcheri.

## FOLLY & FURY

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Man has to be respected because he is man. The barriers of caste, race, creed, and colour, the barriers of wealth and family prestige, the barriers of power and office are broken asunder and the innate value of man as man is recognised. This is exactly the point of view of Buddhism and also of other religions.

When we study history, we find that all the havoc wrought in the world is wrought by men who have not learned the way of

mental calm, balance and poise. This weakness of character is due to the outbursts of folly and fury, intolerance and violence and the fatal grimness of man to man.

Even today we see animosity, intolerance, disunity and tension growing without any check. The people are intoxicated with the desire for fame, gain, wealth, power and gratification of the senses which makes the world more and more an armed camp and drives us steadily to the brink of an Armagedden.

Peace is our birthright and we must win it, peace based on justice and freedom. If people are just, upright,

# LETTERS

stand to reason and face facts, and refrain from getting at things at any cost, the bonds of amity and understanding among the various nations, races, different communities and religionists will greatly strengthen.

Life rests not on strife, but on sympathy, not on hatred but on love. Love is an active force. Every action of the loving one is done with a stainless mind to help, to succour, to cheer, to make the paths of others easier, smoother and more adopted to the conquest of sorrow.

If the world is to emerge from the present unrest, it needs not only scientists and technologists, but humanists too. There must be right understanding and kindly feeling. If only the love and compassion that throb through the teachings of the Enlightened One, ruled man's actions today, we should not be living in this atmosphere of suspicion, fear, jealousy, greed, hate and delusion.

E. S. R. M. Perumal  
Moratuwa.

## WHY BLAME G.G.?

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Mr. N. Sanmugathan has made some feeble attempts to defend himself in his reply which appeared in your paper on 2nd June.

I am very happy to note that he has now accepted the position that the late

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam had voted against the Ceylon Citizenship Act which disfranchised the persons of Indian origin. He only vote for the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act, which gave citizenship rights to those persons who were deprived of their rights by the earlier Act.

Had it not been for the senseless and suicidal boycott of this Act by the Ceylon Workers Congress and the Federal Party for a period of 18 months, out of a period of 24 months given for the Indians to apply for citizenship, the majority of the persons involved would have got their citizenship rights by this Act. Indian leaders like Mr. Motha, Mr. Perisundaram and Mr. V. V. Giri expected 85 per cent of the Indians to get back their rights by this Act. Further,

this Act had the blessing of Mr. Nehru.

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Workers Congress wanted citizenship rights given to All Indians who have a residential qualification of five years in Sri Lanka. The residential qualification stipulated in the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act for the grant of citizenship rights was seven years for married persons and ten years for unmarried persons. Thus you will see that it is not so stringent as it was made out to be. But I admit that it was very stringently implemented to reject as many applications as possible.

Mr. Ponnambalam did not merely attend the Yamuna Conference as a passive observer or onlooker but took an active part and presided over it. The conference which was convened to explore the possibility of an alternative government to the UNP failed not because of Mr. Ponnambalam but because of disunity among the leftists. I do not think it will be easy for Mr. Sanmugathan now to deny these facts and still state that he wants to stand by what he wrote.

Appathuray  
Vinayagamoorthy  
Kokuvil East.

## GOOD IDEA

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

By Jupiter! I say your "Words of Wisdom" column is indeed a good idea and could serve a useful purpose. I am contributing two quotations from the sayings of Swami Vivekananda, to which I hope you would give publicity.

"Feel, therefore, my would be reformers, my would be patriots! Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that. That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step."

"Weakness is the one cause of suffering. We become miserable because we are weak. We lie, steal, kill and commit other crimes because we are weak. We suffer because we are weak. We die because we are weak. When there is nothing to weaken us, there is no death no sorrow. Strength is the one thing needful. Strength is the medicine for the world's disease. Strength is the medicine which the poor must have when tyrannized over by the rich. Strength is medicine which the ignorant must have when oppressed by the learned. And it is the medicine that sinners must have when tyrannized over by other sinners."

A. Gitanjali.

Colombo 3.

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# India in South Asia

GEOGRAPHY is an important factor in any country's past history, present position and future potentialities. Geopolitics cannot be easily changed except sometimes by a political or military earthquake. But it has a habit of reasserting its influence, based on the lie of the land, the flow of rivers, the height of the mountains and the depth of the surrounding seas and oceans. This is true of every large country such as the USA or the USSR, China, or India and even of smaller but important countries like the UK, Japan or Indonesia. Large continental countries, like Brazil or Argentina, Nigeria or Zaire, or Canada, have their own geopolitical problems. Small landlocked countries like Nepal and Afghanistan or little island states like Sri Lanka and Singapore are also subject to the pulls and pressures of their near and distant neighbours because of their location. Pakistan is perhaps in a peculiarly unique position, having been carved out artificially by British imperialism and trying very hard to find a *raison d'être* even after the separation of Bangladesh.

Ancient countries and civilisations like those of India and China have their peculiar problems too, but they have stood the test of time and survived the many ups and downs of their long history. Continental — cum — maritime powers like the USSR and USA have in spite of their relatively shorter histories, managed to acquire superpower status because of their size and strategic positions, their resources and social, military and technological development. But, even the two superpowers have problems not only with each other, but even with their allies and smaller neighbors.

It is against this broader perspective and global situation that one should consider India's position in South Asia. This region cannot be considered in isolation from other regions or the superpower rivalry and cold war. However, that needs more time and space. This article, therefore is confined to the particular position of India in the region and the problems arising therefrom.

## UPS AND DOWNS

India has had close relations with countries of South Asia all through the ages. These relations have been based mainly on common interests, commonness of outlook, historical and cultural linkages and last, but not the least,

economic, political and geopolitical factors. As the largest and the most populous country of this region, India is naturally looked upon by these countries with a feeling of respect, hope and confidence and sometimes with awe, suspicion and fear. There have thus been many ups and downs in India relations with these countries. But, on the whole, India has managed to maintain fairly close and cordial relations with all of them except Pakistan.

Pakistan is a special case because it has, since its creation, been searching for an identity of its own; not finding it easy to do so on social or economic grounds it has harped on the two nations theory. According to this theory Pakistanis regarded themselves as the custodians of Muslims whom they consider as a separate nation from non-Muslims. However, this has not enabled Pakistan to keep East Bengal which found it necessary to secede and form itself into the sovereign state of Bangladesh. In spite of the determined efforts of Mrs Indra Gandhi as Prime Minister of India to persuade President Yahya Khan of Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and enter into political negotiations with him, Pakistani military rulers tried to divert attention from Bangladesh by forcing a war on India. We all know what the result of this military misadventure was.

I am mentioning this matter because unless India and Pakistan come to a real understanding of the mutuality of their interests, relations between them cannot be stabilised on an enduring basis. The absence of such an understanding is harmful not only to India and Pakistan but also to the whole region of South Asia and reduces its influence in shaping the course of events not only in the region but also outside.

With other countries of the region such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Afghanistan, India's relations are fairly stable, though there is possibility of much improvement. But as long as India and Pakistan do not normalise their relations, peace, security, development and stability in the region will become difficult. I should therefore like in this article to concentrate mainly on Indo-Pak relations and their current impact on the peace and security of this region.

## SUPER POWERS

In discussing this matter one cannot ignore the pulls and pressures exerted by the super and great powers who have

geopolitical and economic interests as well as strategic concepts which seem to be at loggerheads all the time. This results in projection of the cold war and military, political and ideological and economic rivalry of the two superpowers into the arena of this region.

India with a population of 700 million and as the tenth largest industrial state in the world cannot be easily pushed around by super and great powers. Some of them try to woo India from time to time and pay lip-service to the principles of reciprocity but they do not hesitate to incite and antagonise some of the neighbours of India against her. This is amply illustrated by the arming of Pakistan by the US administration since 1954 onwards. It is also illustrated by the attempts some great powers make to wean India's neighbours away from India and pit them against her. However, these attempts, by and large, have not succeeded so far except in the case of Pakistan. There

India is a large country which has been able to preserve the democratic structure in spite of many difficulties. India is politically stable and has a leadership which has proved its merit and maturity during times of peace and war and cold war. India has been able to maintain and even strengthen its policy of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment in spite of pulls and pressures from within and without. India need not, therefore, be obsessed with the intransigence of Pakistan, although she should be fully aware of the possibility of the military rulers of Pakistan starting another military misadventure as they did three or four times during the last 35 years. India must be prepared for any eventuality but at the same time try to instill a sense of mutual trust and confidence with Pakistan.

The question arises how this is to be done. Where do we start and how do we maintain a steady, even though slow, rate of progress? These

by **T. N. Kaul**

(Formerly Foreign Secretary of India and Ambassador of India to Moscow and Washington)

may be problems between India and Nepal and India and Sri Lanka and even between India and Bhutan — Problems which have been exacerbated by some outside power — but they are capable of being resolved peacefully, bilaterally and without outside interference. With patience and continued dialogue India should be able to remove minor misunderstandings through normal diplomatic channels. This also applies to India's relations with Bangladesh although they have been slightly complicated by the large influx of Bangladeshis into Assam and other states of India:

As regards Pakistan, while the people there have begun to realise the advantage of friendly relations with India, their military rulers are trying to strengthen their own position by creating a false fear of India and getting sophisticated weapons from USA. This is indeed a dangerous and unhealthy trend but no reason why India should not continue its dialogue with Pakistan in order to achieve a state of durable friendly relations with it. It will be undoubtedly long drawn out process but that makes it all the more necessary to exercise patience and adopt farsighted policies.

are not questions that are easy to answer. For the last 55 years or more India has tried several times, but not succeeded, in bringing about a durable rapprochement with Pakistan. The last such effort was at Simla in July 1972 when Mrs Gandhi signed the Simla agreement with Bhutto. It was hoped and expected then that this agreement and the Simla Spirit would start a new era of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries. But these hopes and expectations have not been fulfilled yet. Indeed, relations have, if anything deteriorated.

What are the reasons for this sad state of affairs? Are the Pakistani military rulers really serious about achieving some kind of a peaceful *modus vivendi* with India? Have they forgotten their defeat in 1971 or have they learnt any lessons from it? Does India believe that Pakistani rulers are willing and ready to enter into a durable understanding with her? Do the Pakistani rulers believe that they will be able to carry their people along with them for such an understanding with India or is it a mere gimmick to hoodwink both India and their own people? Do the Pakistani and Indian governments trust each other's

words or is it a mere game of oneupmanship?

All these doubts and misgivings may sound silly and supercilious, but they are there in the minds of many. One cannot ignore the history of the last 35 years when four bloody wars took place between the two countries. The wounds of the partition holocaust may have healed in the minds of the younger generation who were not born at that time. But the after-effects of partition and scars of the four wars are still there. In these circumstances one has to proceed cautiously and carefully, with patience and perseverance, with some hope but no illusions. This becomes all the more necessary, now that Pakistan has acquired a new generation of sophisticated weapons from the USA and is on the threshold of exploding a nuclear bomb.

Given this grim scenario, what initiatives, if any, can India take? India cannot ignore the fact that the present Pakistani rulers do not carry much credibility with their own people. Any agreement entered into behind their back and without their tacit approval would carry little weight. It would only prolong the period of their suppression by strengthening the present setup in Pakistan and giving it some respectability. But, if any agreement or understanding arrived at is such that it benefits the people on both sides, increases their mutual trust and confidence through contacts and exchanges in the economic, cultural and political fields, it is worth trying.

Taking all these factors into consideration, a mere Non-Aggression Pact would have little value in the absence of any provisions for increasing the people-to-people contacts and benefits. The Tashkent Agreement of 1966 had provided for 'no use of force' and yet there was the 1971 war. The UN Charter also stipulates nonaggression and yet there have been four wars between India and Pakistan. Pakistan today has a much bigger military arsenal than ever before (even after the separation of Bangladesh) and has a virtual military alliance with USA. There are reports that Pakistan is giving bases to the USA's Rapid Deployment Force. It has also a large refugee insurgent overflow from Afghanistan. There is discontent in Sind, Baluchistan, NWFP and even in West Punjab.

(Continued on page 8)

# Ethnic Consciousness

Another of the papers presented at the seminar on "Nationality Problems in Sri Lanka" organised by the Social Scientists' Association of Nawala Road, Colombo 5 and included in the book titled "Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka". (The English edition of the book is fixed at Rs. 25 and the Sinhala edition at Rs. 15).

Under British rule, Sri Lanka was referred to as the 'model Crown Colony', prospering under plantation capitalism and other 'benefits' of foreign rule, where *pax Britannica* prevailed and where rebellion, sedition and violent disturbance hardly occurred. Reality was somewhat different, however. Armed popular resistance was continuous from 1815 (when the British finally conquered the whole island) until 1848 a protracted war of independence was fought in 1817-18, and a serious peasant rebellion occurred in 1848. Working-class agitation was common from the 1890s onwards: important strikes were organised by the printers (1893) the carters (1906), railway workers (1912), while the first general strike took place in 1923.

In addition to these confrontations, there was tension and violence between the major ethnic and religious groupings. With the revival of Buddhism in the late 19th century, conflict arose between the Buddhists (who felt themselves to be politically and economically deprived) and the Christians and Muslims. This was sometimes expressed in violence (e.g. the Catholic-Buddhist riots in Colombo in 1883; the outbreaks in Anuradhapura in 1903, directed against churches, taverns and butchers shops, and the Sinhalese-Muslim riots of 1915) The main arena of conflict, how-

ever, has been between the Sinhalese and Tamils, major conflagrations erupting in 1958, 1977 and August 1981. Again, in August 1982, serious rioting broke out between Sinhalese and Muslims in Galle.

This article will re-examine some aspects of the structure of the economy in colonial Sri Lanka, the nature of the nationalist and revivalist agitation of the period, and the class character of these movements, in order to stimulate an understanding of the present contradictions between the Sinhalese and the minority groups. The historical period under consideration is that of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when local merchant capitalism developed, resulting in new class formations and the first expressions of nationalism through religious and cultural revival. It was during this period that communalism took on its modern form. We shall not go into the details of the ensuing conflicts, but will discuss those aspects that provide some background to the analysis of the continuing presence of communalism in Sri Lanka.

Positive aspects of the incipient nationalism associated with the Buddhist revival and temperance movements at the turn of the century in Sri Lanka have received the attention of historians and are now an accepted part of our recent history. Due credit has been given to the patriotism of national leaders who aroused the people to a new awareness of national identity, giving leadership not only to semi-political movements of protest against various aspects of foreign rule, but also providing assistance to early working-class struggles. But the nationalism of the period remained incipient; it failed to develop into a fully matured national movement against foreign rule and even gave rise to chauvinism and communalism.

This article therefore specifically discusses.

(a) the rise of Sinhala merchant capital in the 19th century and its weakness in relation both to non-Sinhala capital associated with the minority communities and foreign merchant capital.

(b) The assertion of a Sinhala Buddhist identity by the Sinhala merchants and petty bourgeoisie through the religious-cultural revival.

(c) the communalism inherent in this revivalist ideology.

An analysis of the formation of classes in Sri Lanka

under the impact of the establishment of a plantation economy in the mid-19th century is a necessary prelude to this discussion. In the absence, however, of such studies, this article will first set out a broad and necessarily tentative description of the class structure at the beginning of this century, sufficient for an analysis of communal tensions in this period.

The mercantilist and monopolistic practices, first of the Dutch and later of the British up to 1830, had restricted the trading and other opportunities of accumulation open to local entrepreneurs. In this period, the colonial economy offered only modest profits to this class as contractors, traders, paddy tax collectors, shippers and arrack renters. However after 1830, the growth of the economy based on the plantation sector created conditions for a class of merchant capitalists who made quick fortunes from the arrack sold to plantation and urban workers.

Under conditions of strict protection and control by the state, monopoly rights to sell liquor were auctioned by government. In these circumstances, combinations and cartels developed among renters, enabling them to control most stages of the arrack industry, especially distillation and the wholesale and retail trade and liquor. This laid the basis for the first spurt of capital accumulation by an emerging local bourgeoisie. The big arrack renters invested their profits in coffee, graphite, coconut, rubber and property.

Through education of the next generation in English and in some instances abroad, there emerged a stratum of "professionals" engaged in law, medicine and in government service.

Thus they gained in status and added social respectability to the wealth that they had amassed. The new class of merchants and plantation owners were able to challenge the old traditional land-owning class, financially, socially and professionally. The limited investment opportunities of the colonial economy however stunted their growth and left them ideologically backward.

The main class groups in late 19th century Sri Lanka can be broadly categorised as follows;

(i) The bourgeoisie which included

(a) The Sinhala and Tamil land and plantation owners, belonging mainly to the *goyigama* and *vellala* castes, who had been rewarded with grants of land for their services as *Mudliyors* (officials) both to the Dutch and the British administrations. Despite the mercantile opportunities of this time, they did not invest their monies except in plantations they were 'feudal' in their life styles and faithful to the British, many being converts to Christianity. There was also a stratum of aristocratic landlords in the Kandyan provinces, holding bureaucratic sinecures and controlling land cultivated by peasants.

(b) The new class of merchants, speculators, plantation owners and professionals of all communities and castes mainly from the non-agricultural coastal areas. They were innovative and enterprising and moved to remote areas of the country in search of quick profits especially in the very lucrative liquor trade after 1830. But they were essentially a weak bour-

geoisie investing the liquor profits in coffee, graphite and coconut production, being unable to venture into the export-import trade, and in the colonial context, having no opportunities for expanding into the sphere of industrial capital. They assimilated British social values and basically accepted the continuance of British rule while making demands for limited reforms. They were thus in no sense a 'national bourgeoisie' with contradictions with imperialism.

by **Dr. Kumari Jayawardene**

(ii) A petty bourgeoisie that contained two segments cutting across caste and communal barriers.

(a) Small land owners, artisans, craftsmen, small traders and petty producers, mainly rural based who had their origins in the pre-capitalist economy and were adjusting themselves to new economic trends. This group was educated in the indigenous languages, followed the local religions and were active in village level associations for moral and social 'upliftment'.

(b) a new group of (mainly urban) clerks, minor bureaucrats, shopkeepers and teachers spawned by the needs of the plantation economy and the expanding activities of the state and service sectors. The petty bourgeois intelligentsia (especially in the urban sector)

were articulate on economic and social questions and supported movements for social reform.

(iii) The working people composed of-

(a) Plantation workers of Indian origin whose employment relations were of a pre-capitalist nature and a small number of Sinhala, and Malayali wage workers in the public utilities (port, railways, and roads) and in numerous enterprises servicing the plantations in the city of Colombo. Though strikes and working-class protest had begun by 1893, the urban workers had not developed a strong class consciousness and were therefore under the ideological influence of the more articulate sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

(b) The peasantry and agricultural workers engaged in paddy cultivation and the growing of other crops. Many were small producers eking out a precarious existence in a stagnant agricultural economy, whether they worked on their own plots of land or as sharecroppers. There was

also an expanding stratum of landless agricultural labour in the process of formation. These groups were also influenced strongly by the ideology of the rural petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, and supported movements of religious revival and social protest.

The ideological content of the incipient political movement of the late 19th century should be considered in relation to the condition of merchant capitalism in Sri Lanka. This class failed to give leadership to a bourgeois nationalist liberation move-

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# in Sri Lanka

ment directed against British rule. Far from competing with the British, the interests of the local capitalists were essentially subsidiary and dovetailed into those of the British; they in fact benefited from their links with British business firms and with the colonial bureaucracy. As James Pieris, a moderate reformist politician, whose father was a leading arrack renter, said in 1908. "British planters deserve the credit for having brought capital into the country and shown us the path along which we may all win prosperity... The interests of the Ceylonese planters are identical with those of the European planters" (Ceylon National Review, February, 1908).

Differences however existed among the sections of the Sinhala bourgeoisie referred to earlier; the 'new rich' merchants wanted limited reforms such as the franchise for the middle class, political representation and equality of opportunity. They were opposed by the Mudaliyar group of 'old rich' land and plantation owners who unquestioningly supported British rule and like the British, were apprehensive of the effects of such reforms. This conservative section of the Sinhala bourgeoisie belonged predominantly to the *goyigama* caste; the reformist section included both *goyigama* and persons of several castes of which the *karawa* caste was prominent. These groups often indulged in caste polemics which were merely the outward expression of the (somewhat classical) antagonism between landowners and a rising merchant class, which has led some historians to mistakenly analyse this period in terms of caste conflict and to misinterpret the rise of the new merchant sector of the bourgeoisie as the "rise of the

karava". However, this article is concerned with the ideological aspect of yet another contradiction that existed — namely that between Sinhala merchant capital and foreign and minority groups of traders. The discussion which follows will deal with the resentment and hostility of the Sinhala merchants and other Sinhala groups directed against non-Sinhala traders, comprising both Indian and those of the minority communities and the growth of a communal ideology among the Sinhala capitalists and petty bourgeoisie.

At several levels in the colonial economy, the Sinhalese were to feel at a disadvantage vis-a-vis other ethnic groups. First, the plantations, agency houses, banks and key areas of foreign trade were controlled by British interests; what is more, British imperialist policies had the effect of restricting the growth of local industry through a denial of bank-credit and by tariff structures that favoured British manufactures. Second, the export-import sector and wholesale trade were dominated by merchant capitalists from India. There were 'merchant princes' with business connections abroad, in India, Africa and the Far East. They owned fleets of 'buggalows' that traded with India, the Maldives and nearby islands, and had access to ample financial resources and credit facilities. They thus acquired a virtual monopoly of an important component of Sri Lanka's external trade. They imported rice, sugar, flour, kerosene oil, and a variety of other products and exports local produce.

At the beginning of the 20th century, this trade was dominated by seven leading Borah firms organised on a

family basis (Carimjee Jafferjee, A. H. S. Jeevunjee, A. T. Noorbhai, Heptulabhoj Abdullaly, E. G. Adamaly, A. E. S. Jeevunjee and H. M. Moosajee). and by a few Memon traders (Janoo Hassan) and Parsee traders such as P. N. Kapadia, R. Pestonjee and J. Rustomjee.

Most of them also owned plantations, lived in great splendour, gave liberally to British and local charities, and were politically loyal to the British. With access to finance, shipping and with regional trading connections, these Indian traders effectively controlled the relatively complex and lucrative lines of commerce in which British capital showed no interest.

The entrenchment of the Indians caused the emerging Sri Lankan merchant capitalists to confine their business interests to plantations, graphite mining and the liquor trade. For example of the new rich inter-related *karava* families of arrack renters of the 19th century — the *de Soysa*, *de Mel*, *Peiris*, *Amarasuriya* and *Dias* family groups — diversified into graphite and plantation agriculture while the new rich interrelated *Senanayake Kotawala* and *Attygalle* families (of the *goyigama* caste) having made their fortunes in graphite, subsequently invested in plantations and also in arrack renting in Colombo.

The few Sinhala merchants like M. S. Fernando, D. D. Pedris, H. Don Carolis and W. E. Bastian, themselves retailers and importers of foreign goods, were not able to emulate the successful Indian traders. Thus the class of Sinhala capitalists could not break through, in any significant way, into the wholesale, large scale retail or export-import trade of the country.

Third, in the area of retail trade, the smaller Sinhala traders were hard-pressed to compete with the trading communities such as Muslims and Chettians who had traditionally been in the business for some time; local minority groups also had a large stake in the petty retail trade and peddling all over the country, even to the smallest village — the itinerant Muslim hawker being a common feature of village life. The small Sinhala boutique keeper, trader or pedlar was thus constantly aware of the competition he had to face from counterparts of minority groups.

Fourth, in the area of wage-employment, one can mention the fears of the Sinhala white-collar workers

and other skilled and unskilled wage workers who had to compete with workers of local ethnic minorities, especially with Tamils and South Indian migrants for the limited avenues of employment that existed in an undeveloped colonial economy. The largest section of the working-class (on plantations) was composed of migrant labour: competition for employment existed in the port, railway and urban factories where there was a high proportion of Indian migrant workers, both Tamil and Malayali.

Fifth, aggravating the disadvantages of competition in trade and employment, was the virtual monopoly of money lending held by members of minority ethnic groups: Sinhala merchants at all levels and the Sinhala white-collar workers and others were forced to go them for credit. Even the prosperous Sinhala renters and planters of the 19th and early 20th centuries were not considered credit-worthy by the foreign banks that operated in Colombo, and being denied access to such institutionalised credit, were compelled to rely on the Chettiar money lenders who charged usurious rates of interest. 2 The urban petty bourgeoisie also had recourse for quick loans to the Pathan (popularly called "Afghan") money lenders who were a prominent feature of city life. Since the almost 'sinful' practice of usury was associated with minority groups, it is not surprising that the economic problems of the Sinhala traders and petty bourgeoisie became tied up with feelings of chauvinism and that emotional tirades against foreign money lenders were common among the Sinhalese.

In discussing such popular prejudices fostered at the time among the Sinhalese, it is also necessary to stress that in periods of economic difficulty, the hostility of the poorer sections of the population could be more easily directed against traders of ethnic minority groups. This was clear in 1915, when the rise in prices and shortages caused by the World War led to an intensification of popular hatred against Muslim traders, erupting in serious rioting.

At this time, Governor Chalmers, in trying to explain the animosity of the peasantry towards Muslim traders, stated that they had "always been viewed by the villager with feelings entertained at all times and in all lands towards transitory aliens who make money

out of the local peasantry by supplying their wants at the 'shop'", adding that in a peasant economy "where retail prices are expressed in cents and half cents, even a slight rise in prices is both felt and resented by the customer", 3

The animosity of the Sinhalese towards the Tamil section of the population had a different origin. Historically, the conflict, when it had existed between Sinhalese and Tamils was political rather than racial — taking the form of rivalry between rulers of kingdoms. But in periods of cooperation the relations between the communities had been cordial, to the extent that not only were the last kings of Kandy of the Nayakkar dynasty from Madurai in South India, but the pretenders to the throne (in the post-1815 period) who led revolts against the British, had to pretend to be Tamil even when they were Sinhala in origin, in order to establish their legitimacy.

It was with the development of the colonial economy in the 19th century that tensions arose between these groups which took a communal form. Like the Sinhalese, the Tamils were unable to make a significant breakthrough into the export import trade or the lucrative retail trade. In addition (unlike the Sinhala bourgeoisie), the Sri Lankan Tamils did not even have avenues of accumulation through graphite or liquor renting and only a few Tamils had large coconut or other plantations. In this situation, the Tamils were the main competitors with the Sinhalese for the few other avenues of advancement — namely government employment at all levels and the professions; hence competition for advance through educational system and for employment became aggravated among these two communities.

(To be Continued  
Next Week)

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# INDIA IN SOUTH ASIA

(Continued from page 5)

There are reliable reports that Pakistani money, agents and arms are being smuggled into East Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir state, apart from the open support, encouragement and incitement that the Pakistani media and even official spokesmen give to dissident elements in India.

Unless, therefore, Pakistani rulers are willing, ready and sincere to enter into a long-term agreement with India to stop these subversive activities and encourage more peaceful and fruitful ventures, there is little likelihood of any lasting peace and friendship between the two countries. At the same time it is necessary that any suspicions in the minds of the Pakistani people about India's intentions and motives regarding Pakistan be removed.

## FRANK TALK

For this purpose what is needed is frank and sincere exchange of views between the leaders of the two countries at all levels—governmental, political, cultural and economic. Unless any understanding arrived at has the support of both the governments and the major political parties and leaders of public opinion, it will have little chance of surviving any change in government in either country, especially in Pakistan where there is no democratic government at present.

It would be premature, at this stage, to spell out the details of a possible agreement or understanding. Both sides know broadly the points of difference. What is practical is to start a dialogue and break the whole problem into various bits and tackle each bit, one by one. Once a broad understanding has been arrived at, those issues on which it is possible to have specific agreements could be discussed in detail. Preparatory talks at a fairly senior level should start first. A summit would only be practical if the preparatory ground work has first been done.

However, it is no use tinkering with the problem unless a congenial atmosphere has first been created in both countries. Hostile propaganda against each other must stop. The provision of the Simla Agreement that bilateral problems will be settled bilaterally and peacefully without outside intervention must be respected in letter and spirit. Airing such issues as Kashmir in international fora has not achieved any purpose so far but only made the situation more insoluble and difficult. It is time Pakistan realised that raising such issues in UNO or elsewhere is not of any use. The people of Pakistan

seem to have realised this but the ruling circles still go on harping on the old hackneyed note.

Similarly, an understanding about Afghanistan would be helpful in defusing the grave situation. India's good offices could be used by both Pakistan and Afghanistan and the two could meet on Indian soil. If India and Pakistan could meet in Tashkent in 1966, there is no reason why India's two nonaligned neighbours cannot meet in India. But, for this it is necessary that Pakistan must have trust in India's good faith, as Afghanistan seems to have. Taking such issues to the UN or the Islamic Conference has not and will not help ease the situation but only aggravate it.

This is only one instance. Such co-operation could be extended to many other issues. However, it is not easy to achieve this unless Pakistani rulers change their basic attitude of hostility to and suspicion of India. So far as India is concerned she has accepted the fact of partition and the creation of Pakistan as a sovereign, independent country. Almost 40 years have gone by and four wars between them have harmed both countries' economy. It is time more mature and realistic policies are adopted by both countries, towards each other, the region and the world. Together they could exercise a much greater and healthier influence on the region and the world. Sooner or later the pressure of social and economic realities, geopolitical and developmental needs and the force of public opinion in each country will compel the two governments to come closer. But, it will take some time. In the meanwhile, small steps towards better relations, a dialogue for better understanding, exchanges of visits by students, teachers, poets, sportsmen, economists and tourists would help improve the atmosphere. A small beginning could be made and might lead to bigger things. Will the rulers of Pakistan listen and heed this call?

## CLOSE CONTACT

India's relations with Pakistan are undoubtedly important to India's relations with other countries in South Asia. However, India should not be so obsessed with Pakistan as to allow Indo-Pak relations to deter or prevent the improvement of relations with other countries in or outside the region. Indo-Pak relations should be dealt with in a practical,

realistic manner, mainly on a bilateral basis.

It is, therefore, necessary that India should seek closer relations with other countries in the region even if Pakistan is not willing to respond to India's feelers. For instance, in spite of differences with Bangladesh on the Farakka issue or the question of infiltrators from Bangladesh into India, India could resolve both these and other issues through direct bilateral negotiations with Bangladesh. The problems of trade and cooperation in the industrial, cultural and other fields are not so difficult to deal with and could hopefully be taken up with some positive results in sight. In the case of Nepal, in spite of its being a neighbour of both China and India, there is a fertile of closer cooperation with India particularly in the economic and cultural fields. This is even more so in the case of Bhutan which has traditionally close, political, security and economic links with India. These links should not be weakened in any manner, but strengthened in the mutual interests of both countries. With Sri Lanka, India has certainly a serious, problem at the moment but this problem can be dealt with and resolved through patience and perseverance. It is not a permanent problem that need poison relations between the two countries for a long time. Such problems are bound to arise between neighbouring countries and can and must be resolved bilaterally, peacefully and without outside intervention. With the Maldives India's relations are close and cordial, be could be further strengthened both in fields of trade and commerce, culture and communications.

## MAIN BLOCK

The main stumbling block in the development of India's relations with its neighbours is partly the latter's fear that India is too big and might dominate them. At the same time, there might be a feeling that when it comes to the crunch and the security and integrity of any of these countries is threatened from outside, India will not be in a position to come to their help. This feeling increased after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 though India's victory in the 1971 conflict with Pakistan removed this feeling to some extent. What is necessary is that India's strength and stability should not only be but also appear to be in the interests of

the strength, security, stability, peace and development of our smaller neighbours. This can only come about if India is economically strong, politically united and stable, and militarily in a position not only to defend herself but also to create a feeling of assurance among her neighbours.

For this purpose India should concentrate her attention not only on entering into a treaty of peace, friendship and nonaggression with Pakistan, but also sound her other neighbours. This is all the more important because Pakistani rulers seem to be dragging their feet. This should not deter India from going ahead in signing treaties of peace, friendship, cooperation, trade and transit etc., with her other neighbours even if Pakistan is unwilling. There could be a provision in such treaties or agreements that if the security, territorial integrity and peace of any of the signatory countries is threatened, they will enter immediately into mutual consultations with a view to avoiding or meeting such threats should they arise. The signature of India on such treaties should and would create a feeling of greater security among her neighbours and need not give rise to fear or suspicion in the minds of other countries. Such treaties would not be aimed against any other country, but would deter third countries from having any designs or embarking on any misadventures, overt or covert, against the signatories.

Small nonaligned countries are vulnerable outside threats and interference. They cannot afford to have armies and sophisticated weapons to defend themselves. Nor can they afford to enter into military alliances with one great power or another as that would involve them in the existing cold war and even in hot wars. They need peace and security for their development and restructuring their economies and social structures. India could help in this regard provided she herself is economically strong and stable and politically united. A strong nonaligned and stable India should not and need not be a threat to the peace and security of her neighbours; on the contrary, it should and could add to their strength, stability, peace and development.

The above perspective may appear to be somewhat theoretical at present. But it is not impossible or difficult to achieve. A country with the size and natural resources, the human talent and skills, the developments experience and infrastructure of a country such as India has great potentialities. What is long-term perspective and political will to work towards it. Mrs. Gandhi has shown calmness and courage in times of difficulty. She has put India on the international map as Chairperson of the nonaligned movement and as host to the Commonwealth summit held recently at Delhi. India has proved that she can and will cooperate successfully not only with her neighbours, but with all other countries to prevent war, to safeguard peace and promote international cooperation. This is the natural role that India, as the pivot of Southeast Asia, can and must play, now and in the future. (Reproduced from the monthly *WORLD FOCUS* published from New Delhi.)

## 'Anti - TU Plot'

Mr. H. N. Fernando and Mr. Poulter Goonawardhane, Secretaries of the Ceylon Teachers' Union and Sri Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya, respectively, were detained at the Slave Island Police Station on the 4th July, on a complaint made by an official of the Ministry of Education, according to a press statement issued by the Sri Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya.

They were accused of distributing anti-Government literature. They were released after statements were recorded.

According to the statement, the two Secretaries had gone to the Ministry on official trade union work and had interviewed the Additional Secretary to the Ministry. They were waiting to collect two passes that the Additional Secretary had authorised to be issued when they had been accused of distributing anti-Government literature. Those charges were categorically denied by them at the Ministry and at the police station as well.

"This, we believe, is a complete fabrication and is just another of those organised attempts to curtail trade union activities and to harass union officials" the statement said.



## Planning the global family

# Ten years on...

It is ten years since the first World Population Conference was held in 1974. And global attitudes to population have changed markedly since then. In August 1984, there will be another Population conference in Mexico City from 6th to 13th August. But this time, as Jyoti Shankar Singh explains, the debate will be less about whether there is a population problem than what should be done about it.

World population should finally stabilize at around 10.2 billion people. It will stop growing, according to the latest estimates from the United Nations, around the year 2100 when the number dying will finally match those being born.

This 10.2 billion might seem a daunting figure - two and a quarter times the present world population - but it's one that might be greeted with some relief - even optimism - by those who went to the first World Population Conference back in 1974.

Ten years ago, thinking about world population was a good deal more confusing and contentious. The 1974 conference developed at times into a heated clash of ideologies: between those who felt that population growth was the most serious problem facing the world and those who felt it secondary to the much of development.

This August, Mexico City will be the venue for another UN-sponsored gathering, called this time the International Conference on Population. It will probably involve many of the same people. And it will certainly raise some of the same issues. But on the whole, the debate promises to be more practical than rhetorical.

In 1974, there were two opposed views of population growth; One side was the nervous inspection of soaring and the world's resources bucking under the strain. Family planning was thought to be the most effective remedy.

This view was energetically countered by others. Several developing countries argued that large families were a result of poverty rather than a cause of it. Parents needed children to help them in their daily work and to provide their only security in old age. Eliminate the need for large families.

The developed countries of Europe and North America, they pointed out, had been through this very process themselves. They found that higher family income meant fewer children were born. Surely the Third World should be allowed to follow the same path?

Nowadays the arguments seem to have fused and become two sides of the same coin. Rapid population growth is now accepted as both a cause and an effect of poverty.

It is an experience gained the last ten years that has moved the two sides together. Those keen on family planning as the only solution to world poverty, for example, found it to be of limited use unless it was related to activities on other

issues such as delivery of basic health services, literacy, reductions in child and maternal mortality and the status of women.

The other camp argued that development was the best contraceptive. But they found that, though giving parents more financial security certainly helped pave the way to smaller families, this was not enough on its own. Vigorous family planning campaigns were still needed to make information and services acceptable and available to those who did decide to limit their families.

which are the most worried about high fertility - two thirds of these, containing 80 per cent of the total population of the developing countries concerns. Those worried about declining populations were almost all developed nations.

The Asian governments are the ones which have worked out their population policies in greatest detail and most have set precise targets which involve bringing birth rates down from around 37 per thousand women to something closer to 22 by the year 2000. But government

now set up population units of one sort or another as part of machinery of government.

This is a remarkable turnaround. At the beginning of the 1950s, almost every government in the world saw more people as a national asset - more workers, more taxpayers, more soldiers. Nowadays, the welfare of individual human beings has become much more of a priority. And the conference in Mexico in August will be concerned with just that: how the world will provide for those 10.2 billion individuals who will occupy our planet in the year 2100.

But it will be aware, too, that 10.2 billion is itself only an estimate. It represents a slowing down of population growth that still has to be achieved. Whether the world community is prepared to commit the energy and resources to meeting this long-term objective is something we will have to wait until August to find out.

(Courtesy, Development Forum, Published by the United Nations from New York)

by **J. Shankar Singh**

The comprehensive World Fertility Survey which has been carried out over the last ten years has provided evidence from 43 developing countries to support this conclusion. The Survey interviewed thousands of women who said that they did not want any more children and found that less than half of these were actually using any form of contraception. In Bangladesh and Pakistan, for example, this proportion was as low as 15 per cent. And this was not simply a question of ignorance. In Indonesia, for instance, they interviewed women who wanted no more children and found that even though 80 per cent of them knew of an efficient contraceptive method, less than half were using one.

This experience has begun to be reflected in government policies. And developing countries are now taking a very active stance on population. For some of them this is nothing new. India started official family planning programmes back in the early 1950s. Indeed it was the Asian Population Conference back in 1964 which led to the UN involving itself in population issues in the first place and resulted, in 1966, in the creation of the UN Fund for Population Activities - the organization through which concerned governments can channel their assistance for population programmes.

And interest in population issues has continued to grow since then - at is evident from periodical surveys the UN conducts to investigate attitudes of member governments. Not surprisingly it is the developing countries

all over the world now say that they would not hesitate to take action if they were worried about population trends. Indeed, three-quarters of the governments of developing countries have

## Priorities for Development

The Batticaloa municipal councillors resigned. The district council members resigned. Batticaloa has no representatives at grass root level. Local government development envisaged by the district council lie buried.

The Municipal Commissioner, who knows the funds of the council, has incubated a development programme shown on the council's notice board. The complex suggested by the Commissioner is the Munai Road - St. Anthony's Road Triangle, with a lagoon frontage. A shopping complex is also to be built but buildings by the lagoon are not easy to build.

by **John B. Kumarakulasinghe**

A top level engineer told this writer that this complex has to be examined and the lagoon's wave action, flow, tides and wind influence have to be studied. This is a big job, calling for supervision by experienced technocrats. The cost is bound to be very high. What are the benefit ratios and would those youth in the area be given preference for jobs? Or would youth come through the backdoor with political patronage?

The Planning Department spokesman felt that the suggested complex is not a number one priority. He agreed with the writer that as long as there are annual floods, development would be retarded.

Water has been the district's best friend. We are making the friend an enemy - floods. Floods must flow away. But the Batticaloa and Kallar sand bars remained closed many months and the lagoon cannot flow into the sea. But flow it must. So it flows with its flood waters, into houses, into paddy fields, into the stadium, into gardens.

A permanent structure of the estuary should replace the sand bar. This structure would keep the mouth open the year round for boats to go to sea and for fish to come from the sea. Lagoon fish prefer the warmer sea waters. They go there and lay their eggs. Then the sand bar gets closed and the baby fish cannot join their mothers in the lagoon. So lagoon fish population also goes down and down.

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# 'Pull our motherland: Out of valley of defeat'

Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I would have wished your leader of the 14th July on the theme of '25th July' to have struck a more positive note. Surely, Sri Lanka touched a very low on 25th July, 1983 and after, and all of us have a duty to pull our beloved motherland out of that valley of defeat.

And where shall we turn for guidance but to the genius of our own civilisation personified in Mahatma Gandhi? when he called upon his countrymen to observe a general hartal to protest against the Rowlatt Act he said "Satyagraha is a process of self-purification, and ours is a sacred fight, and it seems to me in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification. Let the people of India, therefore suspend their business on that day and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer". The date for this first All-India hartal was finally fixed for 6th April, 1919 and Gandhiji wrote in his *Autobiography*: "The whole of India from one end to the other, towns as well as villages, observed a complete hartal on that day. It was a most wonderful spectacle."

Two decades later, after further successful satyagrahas, he wrote suggesting 4 basic assumptions for a successful satyagraha:

1. There must be common honesty among Satyagrahis.
2. They must render heart discipline to their commander. There should be no mental reservation.
3. They must be prepared to lose all personal liberty, property and even life.
4. They must not be violent in thought, word or deed towards the 'enemy' or among themselves. (Harijan 22-10-38)

There were just a few instances when a satyagraha had to be suspended. One was after the murder of policemen at Chauri Chauri. "Wherever I have suspended civil disobedience, I have done so, not by reason of any outbreak of violence," wrote Gandhiji, "but upon the discovery of such violence as had been initiated or encouraged by Congressmen."

The proposed satyagraha on 25th July will be beneficial if the Tamils of Sri Lanka will in groups, or in their homes, observe the day as one of fasting and prayer, pledging to continue their struggle for their rights by

steadfast observance of the above four conditions, while cleaning themselves of racial animosities, conquering hate by love and violence by non-violence.

If numbers of Sinhalese too would join in the day of fast and prayer, it will be a test and proof that while the regional autonomy answer to the just demands of Sri Lanka's Tamils, Sri Lanka itself will continue to be One Nation and become sooner or later a great nation in the Asian Continent. We will do well to remember that the sense of belonging together is the essence of nationhood. When Whites joined Negroes in the great Washington Civil Rights March led by Martin Luther King, it became a great human event. It contributed towards a free and equal society and so to a great Nation; truly a New World called to redress the balance of the Old. Shall we not in our time seize the opportunity of bequeathing to our children and children's children. One Lanka from shore to shore, and justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as well.

K. Nesiiah

Jaffna.

## TAMILS ALL

Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I was amused to read the item headed "Tamils All" in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 23rd June according to which President Jayawardene told President Reagan that the Attorney-General and the Inspector-General of Police were Tamils

If the government is being fair, for every four Sinhalese Ministers, there should have been one Tamil Minister appointed, because the Sinhalese are 74% of the population while the Tamils are 18%.

The President further said that if he had a Vice President, he would like to have a Tamil. Mr. Jayawardene has not appointed any Tamils in high positions in his Cabinet, but says he would like to have a Tamil as a Vice-President (sic).

I suppose he believes in what his cousin Mr. Upali Wijewardene said - "Every successful Sinhalese has a Tamil deputy behind him".

Manouri Cook

Badulla.

## SINHALA ONLY

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I should congratulate Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali for taking action to bring the situation which erupted after the Peradeniya University incident under control. He, as acting Minister of Defence and Minister of National Security, did a much better job than what was done in July 1983. It proves the saying, "If there is a will, there is a way".

I should also congratulate Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne for trying to maintain good public relations with the citizens of Jaffna. He gave SATURDAY REVIEW three telephone numbers to dial in case of emergency. When I tried it out, I found that the person at the other end spoke only Sinhalese. How could the Jaffna people, who all speak Tamil and some are fluent in English, express themselves?

I would like to suggest to the Brigadier to have a Tamil or English-speaking person to answer calls.

Manouri Cook

Badulla.



## FEDERALISM

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

It is surprising that Mr. Jehan Perera wastes time and effort shooting down Lt. Col. E T. Fernando through the Press when, as he himself says, the matters involved are not germane to the issue. After his exhaustive and erudite essay, one would have expected him to get on to the next step of formulating concrete proposals to help resolve the ethnic problem.

Discussing military strategy is futile. This is a matter solely for the Government, which now has the firepower as well as the expertise needed to make an "end of the Tamils in Sri Lanka", if it so desires. If the foreign expertise is found wanting, Mr. Lt. Col. (Retd.) could be co-opted.

It is equally futile to discuss units of devolution and such minor technicalities. Only federalism or genuine regional autonomy will satisfy the Tamils.

In this context, it is well worth remembering that federalism was first mooted not by Mr. S. J. V. Chelva-

nayakam, as most Tamils fondly believe, but by the Kandyan National League as far back as 1927!

I suggest that the following steps taken to defuse an explosive situation.

In ethnic conflicts, extremism in a community can only be exorcised by the moderates of that community. If the other community attempts to suppress it by force, they may win a temporary respite, but all their blandishments notwithstanding, the problem will never be truly solved, and the moderates of the threatened community will eventually end up as extremists themselves.

The Tamil moderate must therefore openly confront the Tamil extremists. Meetings of civil rights workers and citizen committees, though welcome, will hardly have any real impact. What is needed are election-style meetings in every village and street corner in the North and the East, where the Tamil moderates openly declare themselves against violence, and offer their alternative programme. It may well be that they are exposing themselves to Tamil bullets, but that is the price the Tamil community must pay for its regeneration. Salvation can come only from the Tamils themselves. The North must find its own Gandhi. There can be no Saviour from the South, however venerable he be.

To enable the Tamil moderates to make such an open stand, the Government must create the climate. There are so many steps, which can be taken by them for this purpose. Let it appoint separate boards made up of people of the area, with Industries Ministry and Treasury representatives for the Kankasanturai Cement Factory and the Salt Corporation. Even under a district council scheme genuinely administered, such factories would have been run by the local people. In fact, the "devolution" should be carried out immediately for all factories and ports. Thus there should be separate and independent corporations for the ports of Galle, K.K.S, and Trincomalee, instead of all work in these ports being under the control of the single monolithic Ports Authority in Colombo. Such separation would lead to competition and thus improvement. If the Port of London can be open to competition from Felixstowe, Bristol, Liver-

pool, etc, why should Colombo fear competition?

The Government must also provide access to the media for Tamil moderate opinion to make itself heard. For example, I submitted a reply to the Ven. Dr. Rahula, whose "Appeal to the nation" received intensive coverage in all media. My reply never saw print. As against this lack of a forum for the Tamils we find appeals like "Let the Maha Sangha Lead the Way" (Sun 13th June) which says, inter alia.. "if a political solution is to be sought... that would be the end of the Sinhala country, the Sinhala race, and the Sinhala language"

Of course, the Tamils are to blame for this lack. What a single Sinhala Entrepreneur was able to do, 800,000 Tamils together in the North have not been able to achieve, that is, to establish their own newspaper group. But the Government makes matters still more difficult by the censorship on the SATURDAY REVIEW, which at least, gives some opportunity for the expression of Tamil moderate opinion.

A. Ratnam,

Colombo - 3.

## NOT FAIR

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Most of your readers seem to suggest that merit should be the basis of University selection. I can only presume that what they are saying indirectly is that selection should be based on A/L scores. Does that mean that they believe A/L scores fairly represent merit? Are they suggesting that facilities and social conditions have no effect on A/L scores? Do they actually believe that a random pick of the city bunch is more deserving than an outstanding lad from a remote area?

And again universities are common assets. Every citizen has a right to benefit by it. Hence I argue that the selection procedure must be such that the nation as a whole must obtain the maximum possible benefit. It is not proper to think of in terms of individuals.

Degrees and other qualifications paid for the public cannot be regarded as trophies of individuals. They are national assets. Those of us who receive it have a moral obligation to share it with those of us who did not. Knowledge is the most powerful weapon ever. Those of us who have obtained more, must move very carefully. We have the potential to do much harm!

K. C. Mouli

Neeraviady.

## A TRIBUTE

## A. WIMALATHASAN

Anthirespillai Wimalathasan was nearly thirty years younger than I, so I could never ever dream that one day I would have to write his obituary. Those of my age group, concerned about justice for the secularly under-privileged and for the minorities, hoped that persons like Wimalathasan would continue and vastly chart forward any work which we were able to begin. We were, after all, many of us, for a variety of reasons, late-starters. In contrast, Wimalathasan had been in the thick of things from his undergraduate days and had, we thought and could never have guessed otherwise, many, many years still to go.

How the tables have turned! Now it is we who have to keep alive the flame lit by Wimalathasan during the years in which we knew him and which were also the last four or five years of his life.

In July 1979 the *Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE)* had not yet been formally set up. But we were on the way to it after numerous discussions, some formal, others informal, with groups and individuals of varying ideological persuasions and pursuing various strategies of social action.

It was at one of these preliminary discussions that a decision was taken to send a delegation to Jaffna on a mission of fact-finding in regard to the situation that had developed there after the declaration of a State of Emergency and the fateful night of 13th-14th, July 1979. The delegation was in Jaffna from 28th to 31st July.

It was on 28th July in the late evening, as the shades of night were beginning to fall, that I first met Wimalathasan in the courtyard of a church in Jaffna. Since 1979 Jaffna has grown to be grimly accustomed to Army occupation and manners, but in 1979 the experience was relatively new to young men like Wimalathasan. I found him visibly shaken, fearful of what the night still would bring, willing to talk somewhat only when he became sure of us.

But even on that night I detected in him certain features that he was to develop over the next four and a half years a definite commitment to the struggle for human rights and justice, a re-reading of Christian theology and a re-understanding of Jesus in the

context of such a struggle, a willingness to join hands with others who accepted the same goals but from the standpoint of other ideologies, even those classically unfamiliar to his own.

much the unchallenging product of the resistance. But, slowly and steadily, his defence began to weaken.

He began to examine and accept the essential social significance of Christianity.

by **Paul Caspersz, S. J.**

It was particularly fascinating to watch Wimalathasan's evolution as a Christian. A leftwing intellectual with a Buddhist upbringing (with whom Wimalathasan worked in Colombo for a few months on the subject of racism) once told me he was perplexed by a very contemporary phenomenon.

Christians who begin to take on radical social stances and even to accept Marxism, refuse in steadily increasing numbers to let their Christianity weaken; instead, their growing convictions in the field of social theory and social action seem to be in direct positive correlation with an increasing commitment to Christianity. Was Wimalathasan one of those who thus perplexed my friend? I have not met him since Wimalathasan was killed, so have never been able to ask.

Wimalathasan grew up in a home and school environment that was traditionally Catholic. Built up in, and handed down from Portuguese times, the tradition was that the Catholics had to jealously safeguard their separate and distinct identity from all other religious groups, even other Christian groups, in the country; that this identity had to be maintained by unquestioning acceptance of a body of doctrine and by fervent devotion to accepted ritual; that exposure to the secular was risky and immersion in the profane fraught with a thousand dangers for the Catholic, consecrated, as a Catholic, to the sacred.

Around and certainly after the time that Wimalathasan was born, the first winds of change began to blow in and upon the Catholic Church in Ceylon. At least until the liberating influence of Pope John XXIII and the Vatican Council inaugurated by him there was much resistance to change from the establishment and even from the Catholic rank and file in the country. Wimalathasan the boy, and Wimalathasan the adolescent youth, like the overwhelming majority of his peers, was very

He came gradually to understand and to accept that what Jesus came to talk and bring about was not pie in the sky when you die but a society free of oppression of the many by the few, a society in which each would give according to capacity and receive according to need. He began to read the tracts of Filipino and Latin American theology, he came to know the writings of Kappen, Soares and Ryan of India, and showed great and awed openness to liberation theologians at the meetings of the Asian Theological Conference held in Ceylon in 1979.

He hoped to arrive at a complete basic synthesis between social action and his religious belief by a full-time course of post-graduate studies at the Catholic University of Louvain. But he died before his bursary in that University could definitely and finally be arranged.

Came—in Wimalathasan's boyhood and adolescence—the Sinhala Buddhist populism of the Bandaranaike era. Sinhala Catholic youth began to be caught up in it with an ambivalence worth noting. For while it was a wholesome development that many Sinhala Catholics should break out of their secular ghetto and seek to meet their peers in the fields of art and politics, they also progressively succumbed to a devastating ethnic chauvinism.

Not autonomously, but mainly as a response, came the contemporary Tamil renaissance in the country and so Tamil Catholic youth began increasingly to seek their roots in Tamil culture. For the Tamil Catholics, too, there was again ambivalence; delayed but necessary and wholesome participation in the secular life of the Tamil Hindu people and, like the worm in the seed of the fruit, ethnic unwillingness to work to build a genuine pluriculture in the land.

To set the record straight it must be re-emphasised that Sinhala chauvinism was largely original and Tamil chauvinism largely



A. Wimalathasan

derived; the former does not justify the latter, but neither can the latter be effectively fought without frontal assaults on the former.

To his great credit, from his university days, Wimalathasan was singularly free of the ambivalence. His commitment from then until the end of his life was to a non-racial and pluri-

communal humanism. After his graduation in the Jaffna University, he elected to spend some time in Colombo in order to have direct experience of the Sinhala way of life and to find friends and colleagues among the Sinhala people in the struggle for justice and peace. When Colombo had no more work for him, he returned to Jaffna.

Then on 24th July 1983, while travelling in a public passenger van with his brother on private business connected with his sister's future, Anthirespillai Wimalathasan was killed by an enraged and revengeful soldier's bullet (on the morning after the fatal ambush in which 13 Sinhalese soldiers were killed). His noble spirit will rest when justice and peace return to our land. May his innocent blood not have been spilled in vain.

## SPORTS

By VICTOR S. KIRUPARAJ

Bullough House (Golds) swept the board at the Inter-House Athletic-Meet of Jaffna Central College concluded last week-end. It evoked keen and healthy rivalry among the participating Houses and much spectator enthusiasm.

As predicted, last week, new find, twelve year old Arunprakash Balachandran lived up to, expectations, grabbing the 'long' and the 100 metres in his stride. In the 'long' he leapt a 14'9" to create a new ground record. The old mark had stood at 14'6". Young Prakash running the anchor lap in the under 13 Metric Quarter Relay, streaked home in grand style to score a win for Percival House.

The most glamorous event on the card was the TUG O' War Finals between Bullough (golds) and Percival (purples). Bullough was the eventual winner.

## Ranging of Houses

1. Bullough (golds)
2. Percival (purples)
3. Wilkes (blues)
4. Romaine (chocolate)

The following are the Jaffna District Champions and runners-up of the Net-ball, Volley-ball, Soccer and Elle competitions in the competitions concluded by the Ministry of Sports recently.

**Net-Ball** 1. Champions Nallur Division, 2. Runner-up Kopay Division.

**Volley-ball-Men** 1. Champions Tellipallai Division  
2. Runner-up Jaffna Division.

**Volley-ball-Women:**

1. Champions Nallur Division, 2. Runner-up Kopay Division.

**Soccer:** 1. Champions Jaffna Division, 2. Runner-up Kopay Division.

**Elle:** 1. Champions Chankanaik Division, 2. Runner-up Kopay Division.  
The Final over all positions of the A.G.A. Divisions are as follows:-

**Over All Championship:**

1. Jaffna 37 pts.
2. Kopay 28 pts.
3. Nallur 27 pts.
4. Tellipallai and Chankanaik 10 pts.
5. Sandilipay 07 pts.

In the above competitions, including the Track & Field Meet, one should be thankful to the hard and strenuous effort put in by the District Sports Officer, Mr. S. Mariathas and his able lieutenants in the role of Sports Officers.

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# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## NO POSTPONEMENT

Secretary General of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Felix Dias Abeysinghe, announced on 17th July that the Conference which is scheduled to meet on the

23rd of this month will not be postponed.

The Secretary-General of the TULF and former Opposition Leader, Mr. A.

Amirthalingam, had earlier made a request that the meeting be not held on the 23rd.

He had made this request to the Sri Lankan President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in a cable from Tamil Nadu.

TULF sources have indicated that even if their request for a postponement is turned down, a delegation from the TULF will participate at the Conference. Political commentators believe that this position has been taken on the advice of the Indian Government.

## WE NEVER DESERTED THE PEOPLE

— TULF PRESIDENT

To some, the TULF can never do right. One has only to compare the editorial of the issue of 14th July 1984 with the articles and editorials in the SATURDAY REVIEW when Mr. Sivanayagam was Editor to realise that the TULF can never do right in the eyes of some. To such persons, any reply will also never satisfy but I wish to correct some of the statements in the Editorial.

You state that "the TULF leaders had deserted the Tamil people at the hour of their greatest need." On what material do you make this assertion? We were all in Mannar on the 24th of July 1983 onwards when all hell was let loose against the Tamils. We were constantly and continuously protesting to President Jayewardene. We contacted Mr. Narasimha Rao, India's Foreign Secretary, when he came over to Colombo. We told him all that happened and the need to stop the violence immediately. We asked the President that we wished to proceed to Colombo to help in the Refugee Camps. We were told that it was not safe for us to go to Colombo. We were at Nadeswara College the Transit Camp for refugees doing our bit to help the refugees who came by ship. Indeed my wife and daughter too came as refugees by ship. All these we did, despite the fact that some of us had been victims of the cruel violence. Then Mr. Amirthalingam took a great risk, proceeded to Colombo and then flew to Madras. He met the Indian leaders in Tamil Nadu and Delhi. He acted in a most statesmanlike manner during these visits. In fact the Indian Prime Minister paid him a tribute in the Lok Sabha for his restraint and for his statesmanship. I was in Jaffna till September 1983 and left for India and met Chief Ministers of Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and West Bengal. None can deny

that it was the moral pressure by all these leaders that made President Jayewardene move towards a settlement.

We came in January, 1984 for an All Parties Conference and I stayed on till April 1984. During the Army and Air Force violence in March and April, I was in Jaffna and did all one could under the circumstances. I contacted the President on the telephone. I sent him telegrams. I wrote a long letter, detailing all the incidents. I visited the affected areas. I visited the injured in Hospital. Then I went to Madras and participated in the Human Rights Commission where the disposal of bodies without judicial inquiry was highlighted.

In the face of all these on what basis do you state that "we deserted the people"? We were with them at all crucial stages; when we left them, it was to appeal to the conscience of right thinking persons.

You state that critics and cynics might say "that the TULF leaders are making a desperate attempt to rehabilitate themselves politically". The call for satyagraha is no late or desperate move. As early as October 1983, when correspondents asked me in Trivandrum what the next move of the TULF was, I told them that very soon we shall organise a Mass Civil Disobedience Campaign. But the process of negotiation started early in November and we held out our hand. But this process which was held out to be finished in 10 days' time, has now gone on for seven long months. It is

now patent that no political solution acceptable to the Tamil people will ever be worked out at the A.P.C. It is in this context that we have now called for Satyagraha on the 25th of July.

Of course, one of our objectives is to draw International attention, not only to negotiation of our plight but also to the total failure of the Government to seriously seek a political solution. But why do you treat the Sinhalese people as being different from the "international community". If the objective, as you agree, is to draw international attention, does that not include the attention of the Sinhalese people?

You speak of a fund of good-will among the Sinhalese people. I agree. I am aware of a number of Sinhalese families that gave shelter to Tamils in July. But how is this good-will being shown at the political level, for only such demonstration can help solve the problem. This is particularly important as the Government has tried to convince the world leaders that the Sinhalese people will not permit them to go beyond a point.

You advise us to communicate directly with Sinhalese people through liberal Sinhalese leaders. Have we not despite many constraints done this? Did we not meet the Maha Sangha? Did we not meet the leaders of all political parties? Did we not meet Mrs. Bandaranaike? Did we not meet men of good-will like Rev. Ratnasara and Fr. Balasuriya? Did we not address all Parties

at the A.P.C.? Whom else do you have in mind please? If you tell us, we shall meet them too.

The Tamil people in their overwhelming numbers have placed their faith in us to win their rights. This is a sacred task for us. We have tried to do our duty in different ways. We have tried dialogues; we have tried bi-party talks; we have tried persuasion in Parliament; we have canvassed **World Opinion**. But all have proved fruitless. Mahatma Gandhi has shown a way of action to the weak of the world. We shall go along that path on the 25th of July. We shall be true Satyagrahis. But if this causes suffering to the Tamils we offer ourselves as the first to suffer.

M. Sivasithamparam,  
President, T.U.L.F.

Karaveddi.

### EMERGENCY.

Parliament on 19th July approved by 123 votes to 10 the extension of the emergency for another month. The "state of emergency" was originally proclaimed in June 1983.

### "A WEEK OF MOURNING"

The Tamil United Liberation Front, headed by the former Leader of the Opposition, A. Amirthalingam has called for a week's mourning in the Tamil-speaking areas from 20th to 27th July in memory of the July 1983 ethnic violence.

### URO's Fact - Finding Mission

"Our main intention is to find out for ourselves the situation in Jaffna and explain it to the people down South so that we can explore ways and means of restoring peace" said Fr. Tissa Balasuriya at a meeting with leading citizens and youths.

Fr. Balasuriya along with

Fr. Paul Caspersz, and Buddhist Clergy belonging to the United Religions Organisation was on a goodwill visit to Jaffna recently.

The URO delegation visited the University of Jaffna and had discussions with the staff and students. The team was on a three-day goodwill visit to Jaffna.

## WHAT WILL BE TULF'S STAND?

The General Council of the TULF will discuss its stand on the Trincomalee and Padiruppu by-elections at its meeting today (21st

July, 1984).

The Administrative Secretary of the TULF, Mr. M. Alalanderam disclosed this recently. He also said that the General Council members had been sent invitations to the meeting which will also discuss the present political situation in the country.

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