

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 24.

28th July 1984

# VICTORY FOR THE RADICALS

The Tamil people in Sri Lanka and abroad this week remembered their dead—the victims of the pogrom by the Sinhalese in the South in July – August 1983 and of the two shooting incidents in the North this year (at Chunnakam and Jaffna in April).

Mostly in their homes, with solemnity and restraint, they paid silent tribute to the many men, women and children whose lives were so rudely snuffed out and whose crime—if anyone can dare

call it that—was that they were Tamils.

The main public event planned to mark the “week of mourning”—the fast organised by the Tamil United Liberation Front at the Veera Makali Amman Kovil at Nallur on Tuesday, 24th July—was not the success the TULF leaders must have expected it to be.

Around 5.30 a.m. that day, there were three bomb explosions at the Kovil, viewed by observers as a warning

by militant youth against the TULF's style of functioning.

The fast began at 8 a.m., as scheduled, with the TULF President, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, and the Secretary-General, Mr. A. Amirthalingam leading the way. It was to continue until 5 p.m. There were about 250 participants.

But about 11 a.m. groups of youths began to arrive on the scene. They offered food packets to the participants, who refused to accept them.

The Government has requested friendly countries to discourage as much as possible Sri Lankans seeking entry for purposes of employment or asylum, the SATURDAY REVIEW reliably learns.

This is part of an attempt to halt the ‘brain drain’ which is linked with the accelerated departure of Tamil persons, especially professionals, from Sri Lanka since July 1983.

Soon after the holocaust a number of countries,

particularly those within the Commonwealth, took in Tamils irrespective of whether they were directly affected or not, provided they had sponsors.

Persons who had relations in those countries had a relatively easy time in getting access.

But most countries now insist that only Tamils who had suffered in some way during last year's violence would be allowed entry.

In Jaffna, almost all outdoor activity came to a halt on these two days.

As the Government-controlled Daily News reported, Jaffna “stayed indoors” on the hartal days, workers were “forced off” Government premises (especially the Kachcheri) and “transport was at a standstill”.

Then they began shouting slogans and cross-examining the TULF leaders on their performance, particularly since July 1983.

“Where were you when the people were suffering?” was among the many embarrassing questions asked.

As the youths were adamant in taunting the TULF leaders, the fast was abandoned shortly after 3 p.m.

The hartal called for 25th and 26th July by militant youths through wall posters was, according to reports in Government-controlled newspapers themselves, a big success in Jaffna and Batticaloa.

The people had stocked up food and other essentials to last through the hartal days.

On both days, bomb blasts were heard intermittently in various parts of Jaffna.

Throughout, the Police and the Armed Forces maintained a very low profile so that there were no incidents involving them and the public.

Thank God for that.

BUT WHERE DO THE TAMIL PEOPLE GO FROM HERE?

## UNIQUE COMMUNICATION SERVICE



FOR  
INSTANT AND CLEAR  
**TELEX & I.D.D PHONE**  
CONNECTIONS JOIN US TODAY  
**OPEN 24 HOURS**

### COLOMBO CITY OFFICE

GROUND FLOOR AUSTRALIA BUILDING.

54, YORK STREET, COLOMBO-1.

P. O. BOX 1917,

TELEX: 21652, 21742, 21918, 21931 PERIMR CE

PHONE: 22726, 547884, 548626, 549065, 549066

### JAFFNA TOWN OFFICE

FIRST FLOOR

28/18-1/1 MAHATMAGHANDI ROAD

(CLOCK TOWER ROAD) JAFFNA

TELEX: 22285 PERIMR CE

PHONE: 22789, 22891

REACH THE WORLD  
THE UNIQUE WAY

## TULF: ‘Peaceful Stir’ to continue - Amir

TULF Secretary General A. Amirthalingam said in a press statement issued after the fast that his party would continue its programme of non-violent protest.

The statement says: “The TULF concluded a fast at Veeramakaliamman Kovil at Nallur, on 24th July, as a day of remembrance, mourning and prayer, to commemorate the tragic events of July 1983.

“The fast was limited to about 300 selected volunteers and representatives of party organisations and com-

menced at 7 a.m. Around 11 a.m. a group of young persons interrupted the fast and engaged in an intense interrogation of several of the party leaders and volunteers who were present.

“Nonetheless, the fast continued and ended at 3.30 p.m. with speeches by President of the TULF, M. Sivasithamparam, the Secretary-General A. Amirthalingam and Mr. R. Sampanthan, former MP for Trincomalee.

“The TULF leaders in their speeches explained to those present the purpose of the fast and the significance of non-violent agitation that the party was engaged in. At the conclusion of the speeches those present participated in a pooja at the Veeramakaliamman Kovil.

“Contrary to some news reports no fast had been planned in the Eastern Province on July 24. The TULF, however, will hold a similar fast in the Eastern Province next week.

“The TULF has called for a hartal on 25th July and 26th and will continue with its programme of non-violent protest”.

## Editorial: OLD FOLKS’ HOME

After the events of July 1983 — after which Sri Lanka can never be the same again — regional autonomy, through a federal system of Government or some other comparable set-up — is the least that can satisfy the nationalist aspira-

tions of the Tamil people.

That is all we have to say in response to President Jayewardene's proposal (see page 12) to establish a Second Chamber, which can turn out to be an old folks' home, like the former Senate.

# Socialism the answer: CP

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka supports the right of the Tamil people to self-determination and affirms that the National Question can be completely

and permanently solved only within the framework of a socialist system.

The party's position was made clear before a plenary session of the Roundtable Conference by its General Secretary, Mr. K. P. Silva.

Mr. Silva said that if one were to speak about the "grievances" and "injustices" faced by the various communities and ethnic groups in Sri Lanka it had to be accepted that those who were faced with the gravest injustices and as a result, those who had the biggest grievances, were among the Sinhalese, Tamil Muslims, Malays and Burghers who tirelessly expended their physical and mental energies and who struggled to eke out an existence, mainly the workers, peasants, clerks, teachers etc, and, in general, the working population.

"As a matter of fact, they belong to the majority of the people. You must accept that on them, on their efforts, on their labour, lie the responsibility of building the country's economy.

"However, I do not wish to use this opportunity to point out the grievances of the working people or the injustices faced by them or the tragic plight of those dismissed from service consequent to the 1980 July General Strike or the endless travails faced by the peasantry and the rural poor. We have no illusion at all that such problems could be discussed and solutions found here, at a conference such as this."

Mr. Silva said the main problem before all right-thinking people in the country was how to prevent the recurrence of such shameful and barbarous acts of communal violence as occurred in July 1983. They also faced the problems of identifying and determining the factors that gave rise to those acts, re-

building unity among the communities and safeguarding the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Today the country faced a grave threat to its territorial integrity. There is now a widespread feeling among the Tamil community, consequent to the harassment faced by them at the outbreak of communal violence in 1958, 1977, 1979, 1981 and more particularly the great disaster that befell them in July 1983, that it is no longer possible for them to live with the Sinhalese people. Their trust has been shattered. They have reached the conclusion that there is absolutely no protection or security for their life and property. What has happened as a result? The strengthening of the tendency of an establishment of a separate state. That is the reality."

Mr. Silva said the Communist Party believed that the establishment of a separate state would be of no benefit for both the Sinhala and Tamil people.

It was also of the view that the problems of the Tamil people could not be solved through the use of military force and suppression.

"Some delegations, when expressing their views on the National Question, took us back into the corridors of history. But does anyone believe reasonably and responsibly that present-day problems could be solved by delving into history? They should take into consideration the present situation, especially the fact that there are many nationalities in Sri Lanka.

"There are two main principles which should be adhered to in solving the National Question. The first is that every nation should have the right to preserve and develop its language and culture, the right to develop one's economy, the right to determine how one should be governed, to determine the right to existence and destiny. It is the right to self-determination. The second principle is that all rights contained in the first should voluntarily come into practice in a manner so as in no way impeding the country's independence, territorial integrity and social progress.

"Our Party is of the opinion that in implementing

these two principles there should be a form of regional self-government within a united Sri Lanka. Although this is our view, I would like to state that our Party is prepared to consider any other idea or proposal or variation which, of course, should be based on these two principles.

"However, it is our firm conviction that the National Question can be completely and permanently solved only within a socialist system where all forms of exploitation have been eradicated. A people could be liberated only when exploitation of man by man and class by class is completely eradicated."

"Our Party does not accept the so-called district development councils that have been set up. That is why our Party boycotted the DDC elections. The DDC's were set up by abolishing the democratic

institutions at village levels, such as village committees and town councils to which the village people elected their representatives.

They do not contain democratic features. In fact they have been proved a complete failure.

"The Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact envisaged regional councils (rata sabha). At the time, some sections rose in opposition not because they disapproved of the devolution of power and the decentralisation of administration, but because of the doubt and fear that the regional councils would be utilised for the division of the country.

"I would like to remind the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Anura Bandaranaike) that although he opposes regional councils now this system was designed by no other than his father."

## Freedom of the Press and Bonapartism

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne in a statement on the proposed amendment to the Press Council Act states:

"The attempt to muzzle the freedom of the press by this Government, too, shows clearly the tendency within the Government for a Bonapartist dictatorship. Every time a Government faces an acute political crisis and pressure for Bonapartism develops within, the first casualty will be the free Press. This we have observed several times in Sri Lanka in the past, even when Mrs. Bandaranaike was in power.

"Of course Marxists are not contented with the existing freedom of the bourgeois Press. It is a freedom strictly defined by the economic powers that control the Press today. All Marxists agree with Bukharin and Preobrazhensky when they say that socialist revolution abolishes the dependence of the Press upon capital, and puts into the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry all the technical and material means for the publicat-

ion of newspapers... and provides for their free distribution throughout the country.

"Somewhat similar opinion was expressed even by the not so Marxist author of 'Revolt in the Temple' when he said that the Press has become an immensely powerful force in national life, and the important part it plays in moulding the political character of a nation leads us to suggest for consideration the establishment of a 'People's Press' in Sri Lanka; a Press owned by the state but controlled by an autonomous body like the BBC."

"However all right thinking people agree that muzzling the limited freedom that exists for the bourgeois Press today is a formidable step towards dictatorship. It is the duty of the Left to make the issue of 'freedom of the Press' an important slogan in its campaign against the Government."

### Saturday Review

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,  
P. O. Box 122  
JAFFNA

Telegrams: SATVIEW

EDITOR  
GAMINI NAVARATNE

Subscription Rates inclusive of local postage and foreign Air Mail Rate

Sri Lanka

Annual Rs. 170/-

Half-year Rs. 85/-

India

Annual Rs. 225/-

(Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia-

U. S. \$ 30

All other Countries

Annual U.S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to  
New Era Publications  
Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 15/-  
per col. centimetre

Casual — Rs. 20/- per  
col. centimetre

### TO LEASE FARM

Kilinochchi Area, 50 Acres, Co-owned, Irrigable, adjoining Bus Road, Comfortable House, Cattle Shed, Long Lease. Rent yearly advance payment or recognised guarantee. Institutions preferred. Ideal for large scale cattle farm.

No. 711 - C/o. Saturday Review

For Your Requirements of

Water Pumps (Robin with Centric Pump)

VISIT THE LEADING AND PIONEER PEOPLE

Durgha Auto Hardwares

STANLEY BUILDING,  
11, STANLEY ROAD,  
JAFFNA

T.P 23204.

# 'INDIA CANNOT KEEP QUIET'

The Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's visit to New Delhi recently does not appear to have broken the stalemate on the Tamil issue. The round-table conference in Colombo, convened to consider the Tamil demands, has made little headway, with Tamil leaders sceptical of anything worthwhile being accomplished there. The efforts of Mrs. Gandhi's special envoy, Mr. G. Parthasarathy to mediate a compromise between Tamil demands for a measure of autonomy for Tamil Majority areas and the dictates of Sri Lanka's unity appeared at one stage to be leading some where with the proposal for regional councils, vested with somewhat greater authority than the district councils Mr. Jayewardene was initially willing to concede.

But although he had promised to put the formation of regional councils on the agenda of the all-party conference in Colombo, he backtracked at the last minute, apparently because of pressure from hardliners within his Government, led by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, as well as among the Sinhalese Buddhist clergy.

Not surprisingly, the Tamil leaders interpreted this as a decision by the Sri Lanka Government not to go into the nitty gritty of autonomy but rather to put down the Tamil agitation with a heavy hand on the ground that "terrorists" had taken it over and were threatening Sri Lanka's stability. Tamil apprehensions that Colombo had decided against palavering and in favour of repression were strengthened by the tightening of security measures in and around Jaffna and the Tamil-majority northern and eastern provinces.

## Fresh Lease

Only India's patient insistence that Colombo ought not to slam the door on negotiations persuaded the Sri Lanka Government to give the round-table conference a fresh lease on life. However, its continuance — albeit in a state of suspended animation for much of the time — has not proved productive and the expectation

was that Mr. Jayewardene's talks with Mrs. Gandhi, preceded by discussions between the Sri Lanka minister, for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, and the external affairs minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, would infuse fresh ideas and purpose into the all-party talks.

These hopes were fuelled by reports that Mr. Jayewardene had come up with new proposals on Tamil autonomy. At a press conference in New Delhi, the Sri Lanka President would not go beyond suggesting that they entailed the election of a second legislative chamber representing the five contiguous Tamil-majority districts in the North. The idea was "still in the womb", he said, "wait till it comes out". From what is known of it, such a chamber is envisaged as part of a regional electoral process for the appointment of local ministers. But he has not clarified whether these ministers would be responsible to the local chamber, the Sri Lanka Parliament or the President himself. Instead, he emphasised the "negative consequences of the Tamil United Liberation Front absents itself from (the peace) process."

Yet, so long as he is not prepared to go effectively beyond the establishment of district councils with very limited local powers, he is offering the TULF leaders incentive to join it.

It is difficult to resist the impression that the Sri Lanka Government is less interested in devising, with India's help, a meaningful political response to Tamil demands than with playing up the security aspects of the matter so as to justify using strong-arm methods against the Tamil minority with a view to squashing the agitation for autonomy. Although it continues to say it wants a political solution, the indifference, even languor, which mark its participation in the round-table conference suggest that it is only going through the motions of engaging in consultations with Tamil leaders at India's urging in order to placate New Delhi

and prevent it from coming under intolerable domestic Tamil pressure to take a much stronger line.

## Mossad, Too

While it goes on stalling, it is taking concrete measures to beef up its security operations. It has allowed the Israelis to open a special interests section in the U. S. embassy, a prelude to Israeli assistance in counter-insurgency operations. Although this step has provoked the ire of the Muslim minority in Sri Lanka as well as Arab, Muslim and third-world criticism generally, this has not deterred Colombo from going ahead. It has also hired experts from Britain, including ex members of the special British commando squad raised to combat terrorism in the United Kingdom to train Sri Lankan commandos.

The other part of the strategy to emphasise the threat from Tamil "terrorists" is to harp on alleged Indian complicity in their operations. These allegations, insofar as they undercut Indian mediation for a political solution, are a further indication that Colombo is not seriously interested in finding one. If it were, it would be more understanding of India's position.

Some 30,000 Tamils fled to this country from Sri Lanka a year ago in the wake of the Sinhalese programs against them, attacks which the Sri Lanka army and police did, on the evidence of non-partisan foreign observers, nothing to prevent and not a little to encourage. So long as they apprehend a danger to their lives — and they have plenty of reasons to do so — there can be no question of their wishing to go back or of being pushed out of this country. It is not merely the compulsions of domestic politics that force New Delhi to keep them here, but humanitarianism as well.

For all the concern it expresses about Tamil refugee settlements in, Tamil Nadu serving as bases for guerrilla operations in Sri Lanka, Colombo does not seem to want to deplete this reser-

voir of Tamil ill-will towards it by moving rapidly towards a political resolution of the issue. Paradoxically, it wants such ill-will to continue so that, when it manifests itself (as, on occasion, it must) in violent actions committed in Sri Lanka, Colombo can cite these incidents to justify turning the screw on the Tamil minority in the country, on the moderate TULF political leadership, and on the Tamil agitation for autonomy.

Far from wanting the 30,000 refugees to return as part of a political solution, Colombo has good reason to keep them where they are. It uses them as a stick to beat India with, accusing the latter of "harbouring terrorists" and it reinforces its pro-Sinhalese credentials by keeping the refugees away from Sri Lankan soil.

The Sri Lanka Government cannot long engage, in its present policy without falling foul of New Delhi. It may not like the role New Delhi is playing in the resolution of what Colombo feels is a purely internal dispute. However New Delhi has no choice but to play it. Thousands of people have been driven out of Sri Lanka into this country as a result of this "internal" dispute; it can hardly remain an exclusively domestic one after that, any more than the influx of some ten million East Pakistani refugees into India in 1971 made that an exclusively domestic concern of undivided Pakistan.

There is also the clear prospect of thousands more coming into India as a result of the hardline anti-Tamil policy that Colombo has actually adopted while being ostensibly committed to a political solution. Since rampaging Sinhalese mobs attack Tamils indiscriminately, not a few of the victims, especially in the tea plantations of the central highlands, are Indian citizens yet to be repatriated. And there are the repercussions on Tamil Nadu, which New Delhi cannot

ignore, of what happens to Tamils in Sri Lanka.

## Repressive Acts

Colombo, aware of India's right to be more than casually interested in the fate of the Tamil minority, may be pretending to go along with Indian mediation so as to blunt Indian opposition to the repressive course of action it is in reality pursuing.

Attempts to portray legitimate Tamil demands for autonomy as a secessionist threat by "terrorists" bent on carving out a Marxist state have not cut much ice, even among countries, like the United States, that are otherwise sympathetic to it for economic and strategic reasons.

Its refusal to concede the Tamils so much as a modicum of genuine autonomy in areas where they predominate and to redress their legitimate grievances on language, education and employment has made the minuscule number of Tamil extremists disproportionately important at the same time as increasing the pressure on TULF leaders to strike a more aggressive posture.

Disconcertingly, the Sri Lanka government appears to be taking advantage of New Delhi's restraining influence to, on the one hand, dissimulate by appearing to engage in negotiations with Tamil leaders and, on the other, to launch a full-scale "security" operation to hammer the Tamils into a submissive acceptance of *de facto* second-class status.

While New Delhi stands ready to give Colombo all the help it can to bring about a political solution, it cannot go on mediating endlessly without some measurable progress on autonomy. But the lackadaisical manner in which Colombo is engaging in negotiations, while preparing to club the Tamils into silence, can only make New Delhi's patience wear thin.

(*"Courtesy: Reproduced from The Times of India"*)

# GLOBAL CALLS AT HOMES

GLOBAL TELEPHONES: 23015, 23249, 23312

# The Sinhala People I Knew

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Way back in 1944 I was jobless, helpless and frustrated. My mission schools in Jaffna failed to accommodate me. I left for Colombo seeking a job. I was an utter stranger in a "foreign" sector. I was naturally timid.

I joined the staff of St. John's (Boys') College, Nugegoda. It near comprised a pan-Sinhala staff and a near pan-Sinhala student body. Of the thousand students, only about two hundred were Tamils and of the sixty odd members of the staff only about ten were Tamils. To add to my discomfort, I knew little Sinhala and wore the "national" - a garb not much in vogue then.

I was delighted. It was a non-racial school with a Tamil gentleman at the head. The staff did me proud by accepting me as one of them. I taught there for ten long years. There wasn't even a semblance of discrimination against me either from the staff or the students, the public or the parents and old boys. I got on swimmingly. I left after ten years of faithful service only because my failing health needed home care and comfort.

At the end of fifteen months I was selected for admission to the Maharagama Training College. I could not avail myself of it as there was no salary attached to a teacher-trainee then. I decided not to go. The moment my decision to "skip" the training was known, an emergency staff meeting was held and it was unanimously resolved that a certain percentage of each member's salary was to be deducted to maintain me and my home for the training period. The afternoon school and the night school decided to continue my allowance for that same per-

iod. Thus the wholesome Sinhala goodwill enabled me to become a trained teacher. I had this to say at a farewell - "St. John's has risen to poetic heights by giving me, an airy nothing, a local habitation and a name".

I was down with coronary thrombosis. I had to go on "no pay" for some months. But the near pan-Sinhala staff did not let me down. They saw to it that my full salary reached me on the due dates. A similar gesture was made when Mrs. Anderson of the staff fell ill for a long time. Could such goodwill, generosity and magnanimity be ever forgotten? My days at St. John's were the happiest in my life. The Sinhalese, are an affable and affectionate lot, a friendly fraternity and their hospitality was limitless. That has been my fortunate experience with a large cross section of them for ten long years. The time is now most opportune to give publicity to it.

In a multi-racial, multi-linguistic country like ours sporadic upheavals are to be expected fanned by chauvinistic and fanatic politicians. An individual, a group or a race may go beserk aroused by passions of jealousy anger or hatred. Even liquor and drugs can move men to inhuman actions. The Black Week of July '83 still stinks. Its atrocity beats human understanding. But such irresponsible acts cannot and should not be taken as depicting the character of a people. It will be grossly unfair to do so.

This contribution may strike a discordant note in the present context. It may even raise a hornet's nest. Several hundreds of Tamils are deeply indebted to several hundreds of Sinhalese for protecting their lives and their properties during pe-

riods of ethnic disturbances. Some Sinhalese even lost their lives in the process. Even during times of peace several Tamils received various types of help, job or promotion wise in the public or private sector. Our sense of gratitude should not lie dormant or silent. It must be spoken out written openly to allay ethnic misgivings.

I am a confirmed opponent of violence of any kind from any quarter. Dialogue and discussion are the best means of solving problems. A human approach to the situation is what is wanted.

I welcome the Prayer Week organised by religious bodies to foster peace and harmony. It is a step in the right direction. May the best traits in both races surface to the top and bring about a spate of goodwill to promote peace in the country, on a consumation devoutly to be wished for by every right thinking Sri Lankan.

P. R. Ariyapooshanam  
Manipay

## LETTERS

### GRANT REGIONAL AUTONOMY

The Editor,  
THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

While Lt. Col. E. T. Fernando (in The Island of 12th June) criticises Mr. Jehan Perera on some of the vestigial parts of his thesis, I trust he has appreciated the crux of Mr. Perera's argument backed up by a plenitude of examples and analysis. That is to say the choice which requires courage is the only one available to the Government. If it wishes to solve the National Question: if you wish to preserve the unity of this country, grant regional autonomy to the Tamils and let them tackle their basic problems, be it education and employment or law and order.

It is well-appreciated in academic circles that no thesis in the field of humanities is perfect and a sharpening of understanding requires time and the participation of others in the form of new ideas and criticism. Mr. Perera deserves the gratitude of his countrymen, especially fellow Sinhalese, for his analytical ability and courage to put forward such a thesis.

Lt. Col. Fernando again draws wrong conclusions by a wrong use of terminology. By choosing to call the Tamil militants "terrorists", he puts them in the same category as the Bader Meinhoff gang, which is surely wrong. The UNP's 1977 manifesto would have told him that very eloquently. Far from this being an expression of "existentialist" disgust, it is principally a reaction to violence by agents of the state coupled with measures which were seen by the Tamil community as a threat to their existence as a free cultural entity.

His assertion that "the Sri Lanka Army will not be given orders to attack a Tamil or any other village to shoot all terrorist suspects..." is reassuring. But there are recorded instances of the army having shot censored Tamil civilians in July last year and censored in March, April this year. None of the victims was identified as a 'terrorist'. These were reported in the The Guardian and India Today,

all like to share Lt. Col. Fernando's sentiment that Sri Lanka is a democracy guided by the rule of law unlike "Vietnam, El Salvador, etc." Unfortunately, there are well-documented reports by organisations like Amnesty International to the effect that systematic torture, especially of Tamil prisoners, has been taking place in this country and that some prisoners have been killed. Sadly, the people of this country have been told by some of their leaders that Amnesty International is Communist-inspired, rather than it being seen world as a respected human rights organisation whose reports are carefully researched. There is nothing in the North akin to the nihilistic terrorism of the Bader-Meinhoff gang or to the Golden Temple scenario in the Punjab. The former was the product of a society very successful materially and enjoyed no public support. The latter came from certain people with fanatical religious values and commanded only a limited following. Tamil militancy, on the other hand, grew with Tamil defiance to what was seen as increasing state oppression and thus to a great extent is rooted in public aspirations.

No democratic society can comfortably contemplate a course of action which will necessarily entail the deaths of many innocents. Nor will it do for the opinion makers in Colombo to ease their consciences with regard to the projected deaths of those physically and emotionally distant from them by uttering such sentiments as "after all we all suffer", "the nation bleeds", etc.

Let us leave aside moral categories. These have only led to a dialogue of the deaf. Let all people, especially the Sinhalese, understand clearly what a military solution to the Tamil problem means.

Dr. M. R. R. Hoole  
Nallur.

VALAMBIGA  
TRADE CENTRE  
1 A, Stanley Road,  
Jaffna.

Visit VALAMBIGA  
TRADE CENTRE for

- ★ T. V. Sets
- ★ Radios
- ★ Wrist Watches

and other imported presentation articles.

# CHESTO

the Sweet

that relieves coughs and colds

An excellent mouth freshener

Available at all good stores.

# PAKISTAN IN SOUTH ASIA

AFTER a long pause of nearly a century happenings in Afghanistan have once again been affecting politics and policies in the subcontinent.

It is difficult to imagine how General Zia's regime had assumed that Moscow would at no time react to Pakistan-based insurgency aimed at disturbing the Tarakki and Amin regimes in Kabul. Perhaps it did not have the capacity to withstand the American pressure and played on the game, hoping for the best.

It is now universally recognised that while the Soviets did not have a hand in the overthrow of Daoud, the fallout was a bonanza and they lost on time in consolidating this unexpected gain in Central Asia. Again as a lucky coincidence for the Kremlin, the fate of the monarchy in Iran created for it a new parity with its arch rival—America, in this strategic area. For years the Soviets had looked with apprehension at the piling up of sophisticated armaments in their neighbouring territory. The Shah was threatening to assume a larger-than-life-size role for himself in the Gulf and Central Asia. Khomeini was no friend of theirs either but he had accomplished a victory that amiably suited the Soviet strategy.

With this also began an era wherein the Soviets perceived that America would attempt a re-entry in Iran sooner or later. To meet this eventuality, presence in Afghanistan was considered useful.

The Carter regime did not muster courage to directly intervene and get back its embassy hostages but it stepped up militarisation of the Persian Gulf and to further acquire and strengthen bases in the Indian Ocean. In its perception, Pakistan was now a 'front-line state'. Despite its initial hesitations, it was amenable to temptations and pressures.

General Zia had overthrown and executed Bhutto but he had failed to get hold of an issue or a situation that could help him in finding a niche in the hearts of the Pakistani people. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan provided him a much-needed lease for political survival.

To loudly protest against the Soviet intervention was one thing, but it did not mean that he could easily sell the Americans to his own people. The Muslim sentiment had seen through the American game in West Asia and their Arab affinity had enraged them to the extent of burning down the American embassy in Islamabad. Zia was, therefore, forced to reject the 'peanuts' offer of help and assistance. He wanted to buy time that would enable him to generate a lobby in Pakistan and to pressurise Americans to raise their bid. He succeeded in both.

## Mighty India

But all this, for him, did not exclude the strategic presence of a mighty India. Pakistani diplomacy therefore proceeded to begin a "new chapter" in Indo-Pak relations. Earnestly meant, it could indeed transform the polity of South Asia.

The Indian perception was that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan was unfortunate and would not be acceptable in the long run. But India being a regional power, this could not be viewed in isolation. The scenario of increasing naval presence of major world powers in the Indian Ocean and Gulf had very clear signals for India's security. The Indian Ocean reality is felt by Indians all the way from the Rann of Kutch to the Bay of Bengal. Any conflagration in this area has serious implications for the country.

Thanks to India's own experience in 1971 when the American 7th Fleet threatened to twist its arm, India cannot afford a repetition of

such an occurrence in future. In face of mounting super-power tension, India's major concern now is that the second cold war should not enter this region and adversely affect security and development in South Asia. India had, therefore, to emphasise that the Pakistani proposal of a 'no war pact' was an inadequate response to this perilous situation. What is needed is that within the ideological framework of no-

These crises are likely to escalate sharply in the next six months to a year—certainly the Iraq-Iran war can expand. The Middle East remains extremely volatile and the Soviets are still in Afghanistan. If these conflicts escalate at the same time, we face a grave and dangerous situation, not merely for the region, but for the world".

Read in context, it means two policy positions: one,

Israeli and American interest.

I heard an interesting story in Pakistan last year: the Pakistani armed forces, under Gen Yahya Khan, were keen to impress the agitated Pakistanis that the Jordan happenings did not have support of the regime. So they decided to retire Brigadier Zia from service. But the friendly American pressure came to his rescue. It also assisted in his selection as Chief of Staff later by Bhutto.

## Public view

The MRD has come to represent the feelings and aspirations of the Pakistani people. Though the Sindhis have borne its major brunt, other parts (Punjab not excluded) are sympathetic to it. Yaqub Ali Khan in the Newsweek interview was keen that American public opinion should not develop any sympathy for the popular agitation. So he said, 'I do not believe that the Reagan Administration separates its commitment to Pakistan from its commitment to Zia regime.'

During my travels and discussions in Pakistan last year, I saw an overwhelming public opinion everywhere and on all levels, favouring friendship with India. They did not share Zia's pro-American tilt but, at the same time, they felt strongly adverse to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Of course they are deeply patriotic to Pakistan but injection of martial law forces, in all spheres of life, has generated a void between the armed forces and the public at large.

In some of our meetings with Pakistani intellectuals and experts, K. Subrahmanyam and I pointed out that unless Pakistani diplomacy decided to turn its face towards South Asia instead of continuing involvement in West Asia, there could not be a lasting understanding between our two countries. In the world of today, it may be

(Continued on page 9)

by

I. K. Gujral

nalignment, the two countries should mutually pledge not to give any bases or facilities to any external power. Why is Pakistan not willing to respond positively?

The Pakistani diplomats say 'no' to any direct query regarding their partnership in projected "shared strategic perception" of the USA. But detailed scrutiny highlights a different scenario. My erstwhile ambassadorial colleague in Moscow—Gen. Yaqub Ali Khan, currently Foreign Minister of Pakistan has told the Newsweek magazine in a recent interview: In our view the national interests of the United States certainly demand that independence, territorial integrity, stability and strength of Pakistan are elements that would contribute to stability in a region where vital interests of the United States are engaged. That means the support to Pakistan coincides with US national interest".

Obviously Pakistan's diplomacy not only welcomes the American military presence in the regional waters but it also feels that what suits the American strategy serves the vital interests of Pakistan too.

It is equally important to notice another response of the Pakistani Foreign Minister when he said, "Pakistan find itself at the periphery of an area that is inflamed.

that Pakistan has already committed itself on the American side despite its recent entry in the nonaligned movement. And, secondly, to be a participant in "shared security perceptions". The Pakistani rulers may not hesitate in committing their land and resources to America. Permission to set up bases on Pakistani soil will be a major step in this direction.

In the same context, it may be easier to understand why the Reagan administration lifted the arms embargo that it had unilaterally imposed against arms supply to Pakistan since it was going in for a nuclear programme without signing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Congress and Senate were then told that sophisticated arms were being given to serve American interests. Washington does not protest any more regarding likely nuclear test by Islamabad.

This perception could also visualise a situation when the Pakistani troops may well be deployed in Iran or elsewhere in the name of religion or self-security in direct confrontation with the local governments and its possible allies.

It may be interesting to recall how the Pakistani legion posted in Jordan under the command of the then Brigadier Zia was used to butcher the PLO youth. It served the

## NIGHT & DAY - ANY DAY - ANY TIME

### THE WHOLE YEAR ROUND

# GLOBAL COMMUNICATES AROUND

GLOBAL TELEX: 22119 -- GLOBAL CE & TELEPHONE: 23015, 23249, 23312

(Continued from last week)

As in many other countries, early resistance to foreign domination in Sri Lanka took on the form of a religious-cultural revival. For as Amilcar Capral has pointed out.

"The history of national liberation, struggles shows that generally these struggles are preceded by an increase in expression of culture, consolidated progressively into an... attempt to affirm the cultural personality of the dominated people, as a means of negating the oppressor culture.... It is generally within the culture that we find the seed of opposition, which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation." 4

However in Sri Lanka the "seed of opposition" which began through the affirmation of the "cultural personality of the dominated people" did not blossom into nationalism or a full-scale liberation movement. It was confined to the realm of cultural and religious agitation by the majority group and later degenerated into communalism against the minorities. It is this phenomenon that one has to try and understand, in order to assess correctly the growth of latter day chauvinism.

In Sri Lanka, the resistance to foreign rule had begun in the early decades of the 19th century, even taking form of armed revolts and uprisings. Buddhist monks had given leadership and participated in such revolts; in later times they were naturally in the forefront of the struggle to purify and revive Buddhism. There had developed, by the turn of the century, many contradictions between Christians and Buddhists. The British rulers were regarded as supporters of Christianity and of proselytization through missionary education, and in addition, most of the leading families of the 'old' and 'new' bourgeoisie had become Christian. But those Buddhists who had made their wealth in arrack renting, mining, coconut, cinnamon and rubber planting had an added grievance. In spite of their wealth and newly-acquired status, as Buddhists, they were unrepresented in the higher echelons of government service and in the Legislative Council, where from 1833 until 1912 (with one exception) Protestant Christians of a single family group had been successively appointed to represent the interests of the low-country Sinhalese. The Buddhist bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie thus keenly felt that they were a disadvantaged and deprived section of the population both politically and culturally.

The agitation of the Sinhala Buddhists therefore took place on both fronts. As far as the cultural aspect went, it took the form of an attempt to rescue Buddhism from the decay and degeneration it was seen to have suffered due to loss of state patronage and to the state-supported missionary activities; wealthy Buddhists attempted to replace the state with organised private support for temples. One important aspect of this attempt was an attack on the government for its neglect of Buddhist education and its support of Christian education and missionary activities; another target was the liquor policy of the state which was seen to result in a proliferation of taverns and a consequent increase of social problems. Such state policies were held to be responsible for the decline of traditional Sinhala Buddhist culture and values; the anglicised bourgeoisie was also attacked for its adoption of alien social values which were denounced as degenerate and false. Links with movements in the West - the rationalist and free thinker's organisations in Britain which openly challenged Christianity, and the Theosophical Society with its emphasis on the brotherhood of man and its partiality for the religions of the East - also provided an impetus to the revival. The arrival in Sri Lanka in 1880 of the founders of the Theosophical Society, Colonel Olcott and Helena Blavatsky, and their activities in the island, gave a greater degree of dynamism to the Buddhist education and revival movements, which had been started earlier by bhikkhus Migetuwatte Gunananda and Hikkaduwa Sri Sumangala. Colonel Olcott, who was an able organiser and propagandiser, set about mobilising the Buddhist and raising funds for the cause. The Buddhists movement received money and support from the new rich Buddhists such as Thomas de Silva Amarasinghe, the leading arrack renter of Galle; Simon Perera Abeywardene, a coffee and cinnamon planter of Galle, several Panadura arrack renters (including P. Jeremias Dias, M. Cornelis Perera, M. Mathes Salgado, Andiris Perera and P. Domingo Dias) and from the leading Sinhala Buddhist traders and merchants (C. H. Don Carolis, N. S. Fernando, D. D. Pedris, W. E. Bastian, R. A. Miranda and Adris Mendis among others). While the rich Buddhists helped with donations, the Sinhala

Buddhist intelligentsia (including Anagarika Dharmapala, C. Don Bastian, C. Martinus Perera and Walisinha Harischandra) responded by writing pamphlets and articles, speaking at meetings and forming local level temperance association and Buddhist organisations for religious and social work.

In this connection, it is relevant to give a few examples of the Sinhala Buddhist fervour of the traders. For instance, N. S. Fernando, who had started with a small shop in 1875 and had become the first Sri Lankan importer of paper and stationery by the late 19th century, only employed Buddhists in his shop; not only was he very devout, observing all Buddhist rituals and financing a 'pilgrims rest' in Anuradhapura, but he also began a Journal in Sinhala for traders called *Velanda Mithraya* (The Merchants' Friend) and published a Sinhala translation of 'The Arabian Nights'. 5 Similarly, another leading Sinhala merchant, D. D. Pedris, who had a drapery shop in Colombo, held to finance the Buddhist movement. He was the main importer of Indian

personalities of the Buddhist movement. Anagarika Dharmapala, for example, frequently wrote on this theme, praising the Sinhala merchants for having accumulated wealth by fair means and calling upon them to support patriotic causes, 7 while denouncing the "Merchants from Bombay and peddlars from South India" who dominated the trade of the island. 8

### III. Revivalist Ideology and Communalism.

The Buddhist revival was undoubtedly an agitational movement with semi-political overtones. The Buddhists challenged the privileges of Christians in colonial society they attacked missionary education and aimed at imparting a more relevant education to Sri Lankan children in Buddhist schools. They exposed social evils such as drunkenness which they attributed to foreign rule, and imbued with the puritanism which is characteristic of revival movements, they criticised the decadence of society under colonial rule, contrasting it with the ancient culture of the Sinhalese. However, the main emphasis

was on the revival of traditional values and, not too dissatisfied with the constitutional reforms of 1912 and 1923, did not launch an agitational struggle against the foreign rulers. Even the leaders of the temperance and Buddhist education movements did not question the continuance of British rule; their activities were carefully limited so as not to appear disloyal, being confined to nibbling at sedition" as Herbert Dowbiggin, the Inspector General of Police perceptively reported. 9 This weak bourgeoisie was thus incapable of creating among the people a national consciousness based on rationalism and a scientific outlook or leading a struggle based on the concept of a Sri Lankan nation. The very nature of merchant capital activity, which did not require the application of science and technology, probably prevented the growth of a modern rationalist outlook among these groups; contacts with foreign rational and liberal thought remained at a superficial level, without affecting seriously their practice or their consciousness. They were thus more susceptible to the traditional id-

by

Dr. Kumari Jayawardena

sarism, and was supported by the Buddhist press in a campaign to promote the sari as a national dress for women of the country, 6 especially for the women of the bourgeoisie who dressed in the latest Western fashions. Significantly during the anti-Muslim riots of 1915, both N. S. Fernando's and Pedris' sons were sentenced to death for inciting crowds to attack rival Muslim shops in the Pettah, (the non-European commercial quarter of Colombo.)

While the Buddhist traders gave generously to temples and schools and financed the temperance movement, they in return were supported in their business ventures by the Buddhist press and the Sinhala petty bourgeois intelligentsia. Jayasekera has pointed out how, as early as 1888, the Sarasavi Sandaresa wrote against "alien exploiters", and up to 1915, Buddhist papers continuously attacked the dominant trading position of minorities and called upon the Sinhalese to boycott Muslim shops and eating houses. Such attacks in the media against foreign and minority traders were often written by bhikkhus, school teachers and leading

of the movement, as symbolised in Anagarika Dharmapala's campaign in Anuradhapura in 1903, revolved more around ridding the sacred city of churches, taverns and butchers shops, rather than ridding the country of foreign rule. In the context of the time, such religious agitation as well as the Buddhist temperance movement of 1904 and 1912 - were merely signs of an incipient nationalism and were only semi-political in content. But given the nature of the class that led such movements, the nationalism continued to remain "incipient" and the agitation remained "semi-political" - confined to taunting British officials on marginal issues, such as temperance, rather than challenging British imperialism in a serious way.

There was no 'national bourgeoisie' with basic economic contradictions with imperialism, which was sufficiently strong or mature enough to lead these religious-cultural agitations into a fully-fledged anti-imperialist movement. The old landowning families stood solidly by the British; the new segment of the bourgeoisie agitated only for class pri-

vileges and superstitions that were dominant among the other classes. In this situation, where a Sri Lankan consciousness could not arise, the need of the new class for an identity that it could espouse vis-a-vis the foreign rulers and foreign economic interests, was met by a revival of older identities based on the familiar traditional categories of religion, caste and ethnicity. Rather than being swept away by the winds of nationalism and national unity, the older forms of identity were given a new lease of life, resulting in communalism, casteism, a distortion of history, a revival of myths of origin, and hero-myths along with the creation of visions of a past 'golden age'.

### Three Myths

In discussing the ideology of the Buddhist revival, one can trace three inter-connected myths linked with racial and religious origin which gained popularity during this period. They were:

(a) the myth of the "Aryan race" and the view that the Sinhala speaking peoples belonged racially to this group.

# NATIONALISM

(b) the 'Sihadipa' concept, namely the myth of the landing in Sri Lanka of Vijaya and the founding of the Sinhala "race".

(c) the 'dhammadipa' concept and the myth of Buddha's visits to Sri Lanka and his special relationship with the island.

In this connection it must be noted that 19th century European Orientalists who studied the Sanskrit language, found that it had links with European languages and assumed that this presupposed a common racial origin. The linguistic discovery had many repercussions and led to the theory that the Aryans were a racial entity rather than, as Romila Thapar says "a group of people who spoke related languages". The latent racism in this theory was used by political thinkers of 19th century Europe, including Gobineau in France, Chamberlain in England and Schopenhauer in Germany, giving ideological content to racist (and later Fascist) theories based on the myth of racial purity and the superiority of the Aryans. The Hindu revivalists of India not only appropriated the Aryan myth, but also eagerly propagated the Orientalists' 'golden age' vision of the "ancient Indians as a people with an idyllic society" and laid stress on Vedic culture as the root of the Indian tradition<sup>10</sup>. The glorification of the Aryans as the chosen people who 'civilised' the earlier inhabitants and who were the sole originators of Indian culture, was put forward as historical fact.

All these false theories and myths which were floating around at the time were eagerly picked up by the Buddhist revivalists in Sri Lanka who, in the absence of a strong, nationalist ideology were turning inward in their search for an identity. They adopted the doctrine of racial superiority, glorified an idyllic past and associated the Sinhala people with the chosen 'Aryan race', and the chosen Buddhist faith. The Aryan concept occurs in the writing of the Buddhist leaders of the period such as Anagarika Dharmapala, who consistently maintained that "the Sinhalese.... in whose veins no savage blood is found.... stand as the representatives of Aryan civilization,"<sup>11</sup>. Linked with this was the myth of the landing of Vijaya and his "Aryan" followers from Sinhapura in Bengal, rather a strange legend given the fact that the Bengalis themselves do not claim to be Aryans. Vijaya

(according to the Mahavamsa), was the founder of the Sinhala 'race' and landed in Sri Lanka on the day of Buddha's death, interwoven with this 'Sihadipa' idea, that civilisation began in Sri Lanka with the landing of Vijaya and the founding of the Aryan Sinhala race, is the "dhammadipa" concept of the special role of the Sinhalese as guardians of the Buddha dhamma. For not only was it believed that Buddha visited Sri Lanka three times, but on his death bed he is also said to have asked Sakra to protect Vijaya in his historic mission to Sri Lanka, the land where the dhamma would flourish for five thousand years. In this way were intertwined the racist theory of Aryan origin, the traditional myths of Vijaya and the divinely ordained mission of the Sinhala 'race' to protect the Buddhist religion. Racial purity and religious purity were thus combined and the 'pure Aryan Sinhalese' became the appointed guardians of the 'pure doctrine' of Buddhism.

## 'Sons of Soil'

What were the logical concomitants of such arguments and which classes found inspiration in this types of mythology? - The implications of the Sinhala - Buddhist ideologies were clear - for if the Sinhala people could put forward claims to being the first civilised inhabitants and therefore the legitimate 'owners' of the country - all other migrants who came at a later date were regarded as 'foreigners'. The concept thus grew that Sri Lanka was the land of the Sinhalese and that non-Sinhalese who resided there were allowed to do so by grace and favour of the Sinhala master 'race' who had prior rights of possession and were the exclusive 'sons of the soil'. This idea was typified in a statement that Anagarika Dharmapala made in 1922: "Look at the Administration Report of the General Manager of Railways... Tamils, Cochins and Hambankaraya are employed in large numbers to the prejudice of the people of the island - sons of the soil, who contribute the largest share".<sup>12</sup>

The second implication was that Buddhism was the religion of dhammadipa - and all other religions were merely tolerated on condition of good behaviour. In addition if the minority communities were non-Sinhala and non-Buddhist, they were by definition both racially and

religiously inferior and were "infidels of degraded race". as Anagarika Dharmapala (in 1912) described Tamils, Muslims and Europeans.<sup>13</sup> Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, founded on the myths of the golden age that were an integral part of the Buddhist revival, permeated the writings of many of the novelists, dramatists and journalists of the period. To mention only a few examples, in Piyadasa Sirisena's the heroes and heroines were devout Buddhists and proud Sinhalese, and minorities of all ethnic groups and religions were the object of bitter diatribes. In 1909, as editor of the Sinhala Jathiya, he called upon the Sinhalese to "refrain from transactions with the Coast Moor, the Cochins and the foreigner".<sup>14</sup> Similarly W. A. de Silva in his novels did not hesitate to make contemptuous references to Tamils and Muslims, while many of John de Silva's plays glorified the ancient rulers of Sinhala kingdoms, lamented the contemporary degeneration and issued an emotional call for the revival of earlier values and traditions.

The popular appeal of such ideologies (which exist even today) may be explained by the fact that the Sinhala peasantry and petty bourgeoisie of small producers, small traders, and urban 'white collar' workers lead an uncertain life between the bourgeoisie and working-class, their bitterness aggravated by the competitive activities of minority groups in trade and employment - all factors were seen to threaten the 'small man's' already tenuous economic existence. It may be that the very precarious nature of their lives and their narrow horizons made it easy for them to fall back on and find solace in grandiose events - in past glories, in the heroism of great leaders, in myths of high status origin and in victories against the "historic enemy and the defeat of the 'invader'". Where the contemporary competitor belonged to an ethnic minority which had suffered defeat in war in an earlier epoch, such episodes as the Dutugemunu - Elara confrontation were revived, given a false interpretation as a war between ethnic groups and misused for building up communal hatred.

## Racist Myths

In conclusion it may be stated that communalism appeared from the time of the Buddhist revival onwards as a vicarious nationalism supported by the weak Sin-

hala bourgeoisie. This communalism was also prevalent among the Sinhala petty traders and the Sinhala rural small producers and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie who believed they had little chance of rising in the economic or political spectrum; ideological support for such view were provided by the Sinhala intelligentsia and Buddhist monks who were keenly aware of the decline of traditional culture that had occurred under the impact of alien culture. The urban working-class being weak and not having developed a proletarian consciousness was also amenable to the petty bourgeois chauvinism of the time. This was no doubt aggravated by the fact that important sections of the working class, in the plantation and urban areas were non-Sinhala. In this context the Sinhala Buddhists who felt economically hemmed in, politically oppressed and culturally deprived, were to find succour in racist myths and legends and were to give vent to their frustrations in attacking ethnic and religious minorities, thereby espousing the retrograde ideology of communalism which Bipan Chandra has correctly described as "the false consciousness of the historical process of the last 100 years".<sup>15</sup>

## Footnotes:

1. For example Jeronis Soysa, who paid £38 in 1829 for the right to run a tavern at Kadugannawa, invested £7,000 in the Central province arrack rents for 1836 which gave him a profit of £1,800. In 1837, he became the first important local coffee planter, buying 400 acres in Hanguranketa for £411. His son Charles de Soysa was the leading Sri Lankan capitalist by the 1870s, with interests in coffee and coconut plantations and graphite mining. Charles de Soysa's sons were educated in Britain and his sons-in-law were eminent doctors and lawyers with qualifications obtained in Britain.

2. Many of the early arrack renters were given loans by Chettlars and the Chettlar had a prominent place at Sinhala upper class weddings, since he had often advanced the money for the dowry and the wedding.

3. Correspondence relating to Disturbances in Ceylon, Command paper HMSO, London, Chalmers to Secretary of State. Cd. 8167 of 1916, p. 3.

4. A. Cabral, *Return to the Source*, New York, 1973, p. 43.

5. A. Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*, London 1907, p. 474.

6. P. V. J. Jayasekera, *Social and Political Change in Ceylon, 1900-1919*, PhD Thesis, London 1970, p. 328.

7. Ibid. pp. 103-7.

8. The Mahabodhi, Oct. 1909.

9. Sri Lanka National Archives, Confidential Paper No. 14502 of 1915. For details of this period see Kumari Jayawardena, *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*. Duke University Press. North Carolina, 1872.

10. R. Thapar, *Communalism and the Writing of Ancient Indian History*, in *Communalism and the Writing of Indian History*. R. Thapar, H. Mukhia and Bipan Chandra, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 2-3.

11. Anagarika Dharmapala, *History of an Ancient Civilisation*, (1902) in *Return to Righteousness*, ed. A. Guruge, Colombo 1965, p. 479-483.

12. Anagarika Dharmapala, 'A Message to the Young Men of Ceylon (1922) in *Return to Righteousness*, op cit p. 514-5.

13. Sri Lanka National Archives, Confidential Report No. 14502 of 1915 quoting the Sinhala Baudhaya.

14. Quoted in Report 14502 op. cit.

15. B. Chandra, *Historians of Modern India and Communalism*, in *Communalism and the Writing of Indian History*, op. cit, p. 38.

**Advertise  
in the  
Saturday  
Review  
for Best  
Results**

# SHOCK TREATMENT FOR STUDENTS

The selection of students to the universities is based on the formula of 30 percent on an all-island rank order, 55 percent on a district quota rank order and 15 percent from backward districts. Whatever this may mean, the net result of the selections made for the academic year 1983/84 can be seen in its stark reality from the document released by the University Grants Commission which gives in tabular form the minimum marks for selection in the respective districts for the different courses of study.

When one studies this handout, one is struck by the vast disparity in the aggregate of marks required of students from the districts of Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, Kandy, Matara, Kalutara, etc., as against the students from districts of Monaragala, Nuwara Eliya, Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura, Amparai, Hambantota, Mannar etc.

For example, in Engineering I, the difference in the aggregate between the highest and the lowest is 96 marks and the difference ranges from 96 to 45 marks. In Engineering II, the difference in the total ranges from 87 to 50 marks. In the case of medicine, the difference varies from 90 downwards. It is the same sad story in the case of dentistry, agriculture, veterinary science, bio science, physical science and architecture.

A student from Colombo or Jaffna with a total of 263 marks or less is shut out of the medical course while there are students with aggregates of 174, 180, 195, 197, 203 on whom Dame Fortune has smiled.

One wonders how many students from Colombo, Jaffna and other provincial towns with scores of 255 marks or less have been deprived of pursuing their studies in engineering while some others with scores of 170, 172, 173, 174, 175 marks have been in luck's way.

## Big Mystery

The great mystery is how many hundreds of the country's youth brimming with hope and zest for life have been cut down in the prime of life. Have they been given shock treatment for life because they are too bright? Like the Unknown Soldier, they are unidentifiable, unhonoured and unsung.

Some years back they killed their bodies. Now they are out to crush their spirits.

Like Mark Antony, one is constrained to ask, is there no one to plead for these unfortunate students? Are they second or third class citizens with no claims to equal rights to higher education? Are we justified in shutting out such gifted students who will never forgive a society that has made them

intellectual invalids for life? They will in time swell the ranks of the potential subversives as the country is witness to already. I am afraid their case has gone by default this couple of years.

The United National party is said to believe in a free democratic society and advocates an open economy and free enterprise which thrives in open competition. Then why does the UNP allocate only 30 percent for absolute merit and 70 percent for conditional merit limited to districts and backward areas in the open competition for admission to the universities? Its stand on the open economy and free enterprise is incompatible with its measly quota for pure merit and a bigger quota for qualified merit smacking of political wirepulling.

This is another glaring instance of perpetual contradictions between official words and action of our thrice blessed Isle of the Dhamma. It has certainly belied its election promises when it criticised the political meddling in the name of standardisation in university admissions as an evil legacy of the last Government and pledged to maintain the highest standards of scholarship in the country's seats of learning. No university worth its name would wish to deviate from the pursuit of excellence.

Where absolute merit in an open competitive examination should be given pride of place, merit in this land of the Dhamma is treated like a pauper with a dole of 30 percent of the places in our universities. One can understand if sheer merit in an open competition had been rewarded with 70 percent or 60 percent or even 50 percent and the balance had been given as weightage to the students from backward areas with an eye to narrowing the gap. That would seem reasonable and sensible. But our rulers do not seem to be guided by reason or common sense.

## Self - Defeating

It is pertinent to point out that some of the government scholars from rural areas who were awarded places in town schools on merit might themselves be the victims of this iniquitous system which seems to be self-defeating in its operation.

Let us look at this problem from another aspect. It is an annoying experience for a teacher to be saddled with a class of students of varying levels of scholastic achieve-

ment and ability. However sympathetic he may be to the backward ones, he soon begins to realise the truth of the old adage that it is one thing to take a horse to water but a nerve-racking job to attempt to make it drink.

This must be the unhappy lot of many a university teacher in our universities today. One can only pity him for he must be working with his back to the wall, having to carry the baby, with many a handicap. He is paid a pauper's salary and has to work with students whose quality deteriorates from year to year in direct proportion to the state of penury and on top of it all there is the language snag.

He has to initiate his charges into the mysteries of science by way of English which, God forbid, the Minister of Justice declaimed last week in Kandy, as a foreign language and therefore un-

always welcome but not with "magul bera and Kandyan dancing" with which we often greet the visitors to our country.

If he dares to criticise the system obtaining in the institute, he is branded a Communist, a revolutionary and in time to come, a "terrorist", the Government's latest pass-word to all its problems. He is accused of being selfish, unpatriotic and greedy for money. But the stinging thrust hurled at him as a passing shot is the charge that he was educated at state expense!

This is the quiet beginning of the story of the "Brain Drain" (repeated ad nauseam in varying contexts) that the social scientists in our country are up against. This has gone on for the past few decades with greater intensity in proportion to the political wind blow-

by

V. A. Philipupillai

suitable as a medium for advanced level students. Some of our rulers having drunk deep at its fountains know the pitfalls and we like dutiful children must abide by their fatherly advice.

Coming back to the undergraduates, most of them are the products of the tutorials that dot the country from Pt. Pedro to Dondra Head and which will soon make our schools redundant, just as Mohamed's mini-buses will sooner or later drive the Transport Board buses off our roads. We hear him shedding crocodile tears already.

## Spoon - Feeding

These students have been spoon-fed with copious draughts of cyclostyled notes and ready-made answers to past question papers but have not been trained to think for themselves. They can mug up the notes and reproduce them at will, God bless them. Originality of thought, exciting discussions on school subject or on current topics of the day are not their forte.

Under such trying circumstances, the university lecturer in his frustration, might well be heard to mutter, "My job is to teach, but not to make you chaps study", and might curse the truants in his class, the politicos and the jelly-fish type university bosses for being the cause of his nightmarish experience. When he finds the situation intolerable, he will pack up his bags and fly in search of greener pastures where he is

ing across the land, without flourish or fanfare as unobtrusively as Ceylon gave way to Sri Lanka.

The country is very very much the poorer for this tragic-comedy. But the loss to the nation can never be evaluated for it cannot be assessed in terms of rupees and cents. Thank God, we are never in short supply of hirelings and quislings to fill the gaps. While the dogs bark, the caravan moves on.

The story goes that the percentage of failures at the terminal or annual examinations conducted by the universities for its internal students is rather high. This is neither a pleasing prospect nor is it surprising. Any observant reader of the newspapers would have noticed that the number of reference passes in various subjects often far outweigh the number of full passes whenever the university results are published.

This seems to confirm the theory that the basis of selection of students is unsatisfactory and needs to be reviewed periodically so that we evolve a foolproof system that will be considered just, right, lawful, reasonable and acceptable to all with no section of the student community embittered and will pass the test of public scrutiny and is also above party politics, even that of the party in power. This is a must. We must be big enough to accept the considered view of a body

of educational experts who are above board with no party affiliations. Take their scheme at face-value and put it to work and watch it in action and improve on it by constant re-appraisal. We owe it to the budding intelligentsia of the nation who will be privileged to usher in the dawn of a new century and unravel its mysteries.

## Long History

We constantly boast of our 2500 year-old history and heritage but when such weighty though sensitive issues are aired in public, we often lose our bearings and bicker and fight like little children crying for a handful of sweets. A sense of detachment is called for.

What is needed is more light and less heat, more truthfulness and honesty and less exaggeration and rhetoric. Unless we rise to such great heights, the future generations will curse us. That will be the finest hour for Sri Lanka and may it dawn soon!

As a Catholic writer remarks, "The method of dialectic, be it Buddhist, Hindu or Socratic or scholastic is to confront ideas with opposing ideas in order that the dispute may lead to true ideas".

It is the duty of every citizen, be he priest or poet, peasant or pauper to raise his voice in protest at this gross violation of inviolable rights of the individual student who demands a fairer share of the nation's academic cake and will brook no taint of favouritism, under whatever guise or pretence. As there is not enough to go round, the children, Oliver Twist-like, are clamouring for more. Why they ask for the bread of Knowledge, how dare we shut our doors at them?

Provide we must, since we are committed to free education, even if it means a re-ordering of our list of priorities like the "Cultural Triangle", "Million Houses Scheme" and other sensational and vote-catching stunts. For we must be alive to the great awakening in Education, in the thirst and quest for knowledge all over the country, particularly among the teenage ones, if one only cares to watch and stand, as they hurry to school each morning.

# More on Breast Feeding

The triumphant conclusion of the seven year old Nestle boycott by the "Good Citizens" of the world is unique in itself. Never before, powerful multinational corporation yielded to demands of a grass-root level organisation. At times, even the governments were powerless against those multinationals.

Nestle and other similar corporations were accused of adopting sophisticated marketing techniques to convince the mothers who breast feed that the formula food is best. Exploiting the Third World's passion for western things, happy blondes and plump babies symbolising health and prosperity, were shown together with cans of infant formula. Nestle is known to have distributed free samples of the product to new mothers through hospital systems in developing countries.

The poor mothers, who try the formula and decide to keep on using it, discover after a few cans that the scheme is just too expensive.

They are then forced to stretch out the life of each can of powder by over-diluting with water, since by that time their breast milk has dried up. The result is severely malnourished children (if not, the death of some of them) with the possibility of permanent learning disabilities. It should be noted that 80 percent of the brain growth occurs during the first two years of the child's growth.

The World Health Organisation attributes the death of 1,000,000 children a year to non-breast feeding in the developing countries. The W. H. O. also attributes many baby deaths to the unhygienic conditions connected to the bottle feeding.

## WHO Code

The W. H. O. code (International Code of Marketing of Breast Milk Substitutes), which was set up in 1981 to stop unethical marketing of baby food, forbids the hanging of promotional posters of

of any kind in hospitals and the distribution of formula samples to new mothers. The Code also forbids the presence in the health care systems of all health care workers on formula company payrolls. Not surprisingly, the United States, where many of the infant formula food companies are based, was the only nation in 1981 to refuse to endorse the W.H.O. Code.

In the Western world, with the exception of the Soviet

developing countries, the multinationals turned their attention towards the underprivileged people of the Third World.

## Fatty Acid

However sophisticated the newer infant formulas are, the very recent studies prove the breast milk is superior. Although the powdered milk contains larger quantities of protein, there is a qualitative

breast-feeding causes increase in infant morbidity and mortality due to infectious diseases. These infections are also a more important cause of malnutrition than the lack of food.

The main cause of infant mortality are the gastrointestinal diseases. In a curious way, the breast milk provides protection against such diseases. When the mother ingests a harmful micro-organism which causes such an infection, certain sensitized cells from the intestinal area migrate into the systematic circulation from where they proceed to the breasts. This induces release into her milk a specific antibody directed against that particular infection. The antibody remains in the breast-fed infant's gut and plays a vital role in preventing the infection.

Extensive research is underway to learn more about role of human milk antibodies in protecting the infant from viral and bacterial infections. Each new study in this respect seems to reiterate the importance of breast feeding instead of feeding the baby with infant formula food.

by **S. Vijayakumaran**

(University of Toronto)

Union and Israel, bottle-feeding became popular in the 1950's. But when the studies indicated the inadequacy of the formula food in providing the baby with all the absorbable nutrients, the doctors switched their emphasis to breast-feeding. Because of the dwindling market in the developed countries and the easy access to the

difference in the protein contained in the human milk. The amino acid compositions of human milk proteins are particularly suited to the metabolic peculiarities of the newborn infant. The need for protein is greatest in childhood and withholding of an indispensable amino acid, even for a few hours, produces growth retardation. Human milk also contains variety of nucleotides which provide a source of non-protein nitrogen, thereby playing an important role in anabolism and growth.

Due to the different fatty acid composition, the lipids of human milk are better absorbed by the infants than the lipids present in the powdered milk. Poor fat absorption makes it difficult for the infant to meet the energy requirement. Recent formulae contain vegetable oils, replacing animal fat, in order to induce more absorption by the body. But high levels of fatty acids in the unsaturated form present in the vegetable oils cause the deficiency of vitamin E.

Iron in human milk is better absorbed by the infants and the human milk is sufficient to meet the iron requirement of exclusively breast-fed infants. In low-birth-weight infants the lower level of sodium and calcium contained in the powdered milk leads to impaired growth.

Also, the fact that vitamin C is present in high levels in the breast milk seems to suggest that the human milk provides the necessary vitamin for the infant.

## Malnutrition

Until the last decade, the transfer of immunity against various infections via breast milk was not properly understood. Now it is proved that the decrease of

## Pakistan in South Asia

(Continued from page 5)

difficult to draw a dividing line between two neighbouring areas but smaller and regional powers have assigned priority to their own geographical areas first. While we found response amongst them, the official line is still the same.

Indian foreign policy's long-term objective must remain to be in favour of close friendship and cooperation amongst countries of South Asia, bilaterally and multilaterally. Obviously we see that a democratic polity in Pakistan is likely to be more

interested in peace and development that would be able to construct bridges of comradeship and closeness between our two people.

But that may still be far off. In the meantime we must convince them that India's own interest demands sustenance of an independent, integrated and strong Pakistan but when it gets into the mire of American strategy, it not only compromise its own nonaligned status but creates a series of adverse reactions for itself on the Soviet side that may affect its territorial integrity and cause ripple reaction in the whole of South Asia. Islamabad has a fragile presence in Baluchistan and NWFP. In a worst situation scenario both the Baluch and Pakhtoon cards can be played by the Soviets and Afghanistan.

In ideal circumstances, it is in the long-term interest of India and Pakistan to keep away from the super power confrontations. That is the real meaning of our asking for maintaining the 'Indian Ocean as zone of peace.' But the ruling generals obviously wish to treat Pakistan as an important factor in the politics of West Asia. This, in the first instance, gets them supply of sophisticated arms that cause anxiety and so an environment of tension and arms race is induced.

Students of contemporary diplomacy should fully understand that in the background of massive superpower presence in the Indian Ocean, there are defined limits to our bilateral war, if it comes, can only be a tragic dimension of a proxy war. While India's policy objective is clearly in favour of a nonaligned stay away from the cold war, Pakistan sadly is getting sucked in.

Very often the media and politicians talk of a conflict that Pakistan lacks the capacity to take this suicidal step on its own. Alienated from its own people, the regimes own resources are limited. It can do so either to externalise the regime's own deepening crisis or at a stage when the American strategy wishes to create a conflagration in this region to test the Soviet response. But that can be the beginning of a superpower conflict. Despite the collapse of European detente, and the high tension situation prevailing in our neighbourhood, such a prospect seems remote just now.

(Reproduced from World Focus, the monthly Journal published from New Delhi).

With best compliments

**VIJAYA PRESS**

OFFSET,  
LETTER PRESS AND  
COLOUR PRINTERS

551, K. K. S. Road,  
JAFFNA.

T'phone: 23045

## SIVAKUMAR STORES

282, Hospital Road,  
JAFFNA.

Phone: 23738

Household Provisions  
available at  
cheap prices.

COURTEOUS AND  
PROMPT SERVICE.

Specialists in quality goods  
If you buy once,  
you are sure to buy always.

## "TAMILARAM"

A Volume of tributes  
and reminiscences dedicated to the memory  
of FATHER THANI-NAYAGAM.

Rs. 50/- per copy.

Available at:

**SATURDAY REVIEW OFFICE,**

118, 4th Cross Street  
JAFFNA.

## Appreciation

M. RAJANAYAGAM

In the dwindling band of partizan civilised oldest men, Mr. Rajanayagam who passed away peacefully at the ripe old age of 79 is perhaps the doyen and is a man worth remembering. Thinking of him is to remember Ceylon of the fifties — an era shuffling off now into near oblivion. He was the helmsman of the prestigious Labour Department for five or six years which he ran with consummate skill. He was one of the triumvirate — the other two being Felix Dias Abeyesinghe (Local Govt.) and Leslie Gunasekara (Inland Revenue) who broke the monopoly of the old Civil Service brigade as departmental chieftains.

With his qualitative academic background — Trinity College — L. S. E. — Lincoln's Inn, he moved easily through the corridors of power at international conferences, where he sits at the head of the table. With his subtle and intuitive mind, he could always draw a sharp distinction between efforts at honest mediation among parties and desperate attempts to be on all sides and be all things to all men. He could not be pushed around either literally or metaphorically. His firm and fair decisions and his easy accessibility earned the love and respect of the employers and trade unions alike. He was a picture of old world culture and charm, complete devoid of rancour or illwill. With his photographic memory he has an unusual ability to hold in his mind and inter-relate a host of facts. He was a grandmaster of wonderfully rich and revealing anecdotes about men and matters. He can seem aloof but if you can break through the initial reserve and cool manner, you will find a man who is sensitive, honest and direct.

He was a gracious host but shuns much of the hectic social life, favouring small sit down dinners with a judicious mix of friends always quipping that only cattle and diplomats eat and drink standing.

What are his achievements in the Labour Department? Trade Union and labour welfare legislation was principally his brainchild and he dedicated himself to cause of the trampled and down-trodden. The cry in the wilderness of leftwing leader of the calibre of N.M. Perera, S. A. Wickremasinghe and Pieter Keuneman was transmuted into labour legislation and has now become part of the assumptions of the ordinary man and woman. As the change was gradual and didn't happen with dramatic suddenness, only a social historian can appreciate the facts and give credit where it is due. Not only that, he handpicked and

## Where's the Rs. 10 Million?

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

With reference to the news in your newspaper about the Jaffna Public Library, there is a certain amount of doubt about the funds received by it.

We all know that there is a President's Fund, out of which monies are voted for charitable causes as well. If I remember right, Rs. 1 million was transferred from the President's Fund to what is called the Jaffna Public Library Trust (or Reconstruction) Fund. From this, Rs. 9 lakhs were given as relief to the Jaffna Public Library, leaving a balance of Rs. 1 lakh. Even members of the public were requested to contribute to this Fund.

According to your paper, Rs. 2 million was donated from the President's Fund. If that be so, was it from the President's Jaffna Public Library Trust (Reconstruction) Fund or the President's Fund? If it is the former, then it would have included contributions made by the public as well.

The Lionel Fernando Committee appointed by the Government recommended Rs. 10.2 million as compensation to the Jaffna Public Library, which was destroyed by fire on 1st June 1981.

Will any of your readers or the authorities please clarify these doubts?

T. Arumugam

Puloly East,  
Puloly.

## FOLLOW JAPAN

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Japan does not possess much minerals and only 20 per cent of its land can be

trained a few officers who blossomed out incredibly in later life and held their own at the negotiating table to mention a few names, Roland Wijewickrema, Lincoln Abeywira, P. Navaratnam and Ernest Appathurai. There was order and stability in the department during his regime. He held the scales evenly and distributed the scholarship awards to various officers on a rotational basis.

Men cast in his mould who are independent in thought and action are very rare these days. He was the good man in our time one of a few who in the words of Stephen Spender 'travel the short while towards the sun and leave the vivid air signed with their honour'.

S. K. Ratnasamy

26th June, 1984

used for cultivation. Yet it is one of the world's leading industrial nations. The Japanese import raw materials from other countries and manufacture using advanced technical equipment and expertise, and export the finished products. Through this method they find employment for their citizens and also earn foreign exchange.

Why do not we in Sri Lanka use our own raw materials that Mother Nature showers on us and with technical advice from the developed countries, produce the end products ourselves? We should spend money on purchasing factory equipment, instead of spending the money on Boeing 747s and Benz cars.

Miss. Saradha  
Ramanathan

Kondavil East.

## LETTERS

## THE WAY OUT

Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

For a satisfactory settlement of the National Question, the strength of the Security Forces in the Tamil areas must be reduced to the minimum. They must not harass the public and drive them into the hands of the militants.

Regional councils on a provincial basis must be established.

Tamil areas which are barren and unproductive, unlike the Sinhalese areas must be developed without interference from Colombo.

The youth must be afforded opportunities for higher education and facilities to secure employment.

The Mahaweli waters must be diverted to the North. This was a dream of Mr. Balasingam.

Let the light and water from the South unite the two warring communities. The Sinhalese have nothing to fear from regional councils.

S. S. Vasan

Uduvil.

## EQUAL RIGHTS

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

A solution to the ethnic problem can be achieved only at a round-table conference at which all the leading political parties, including the TULF, are represented. It is heartening to learn that our Tamil leaders are prepared to drop the separatist demand and seek an alternative solution.

There can be no national happiness when a section of the people are discontented and unhappy. There can be no national progress if the minorities are un-cooperative or lack enthusiasm. It is only when every citizen feels that he can live with self-respect and assert his rights in the land of his birth that there can be true national progress and prosperity.

There is no doubt that in private life the Sinhalese and the Tamils are the best of friends. This fact was demonstrated during the ethnic crisis of last July when many Sinhalese went out of their way and even at risk to their own lives to help their Tamil friends and neighbours. There is, therefore, no reason why the Sinhalese and the Tamils cannot collectively live as one nation, provided the right atmosphere is created.

Augustine Saverimuttu  
Jaffna.

## DELAY FATAL

Editor.  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Many Tamils living in the predominantly Sinhalese areas, the innocent victims who had to face the brunt of the brutal attacks in successive communal outbursts, continue to remain in those areas in spite of the losses incurred and the humiliations suffered, in the silent hope that the people of Sri Lanka will be wiser after the events of July 1983.

If not for the agitations and concern shown in India, particularly Tamil Nadu, the plight of these Tamils might have been worse.

However, subsequent activities in Tamil Nadu and the utterance, of certain Tamil Nadu politicians, which probably are aimed at causing embarrassment to the Prime Minister of India, are causing a serious problem.

Politicians from the North, taking courage from Tamil Nadu, and politicians from the South, taking umbrage at their attitude make public utterances which are not only widening the rift between the two communities, but can also create another breach of the peace.

It is time, therefore, for the mutual benefit of the two communities, that a settlement be reached without any further procrastination.

S. Thambyrajah  
Colombo."A Jaffna Man  
or A

## Refugee"

I am a Tamil  
Even though,  
Now —  
I am in hell!  
not in the heaven.

For the work, for the life,  
I went to Colombo.  
— a city of pity!  
The pity was  
the people were witty  
So, I believed.....

But, that July came!  
Every year July  
comes and goes.  
But, '83 July!  
What a serious period.

A month of murder.  
Month of jealousy, and  
disaster!  
The end was ash and smoke!  
but I survived!  
A narrow shave!!  
My wife  
lost her life!

I lost everything  
But not that  
"Thinking"  
So, I am alive!  
I am alive!!

What a life  
Walking on the  
Jaffna roads  
Carrying the  
sorrow and worries.

As an  
angry mongrel,  
without barking,  
I am walking!

I stop at  
every "KOVIL"  
But, the devil  
still with me!

Before July,  
I was wondering  
What a great life,  
that I've got.

Now —  
I am wandering  
in Jaffna streets!  
Is it a curse  
for Jaffna man??

Please tell me.

— ALA SRISKANTHARAJAH

Remember to visit for  
your requirements ofShirtings, Suitings &  
SareesRAVI & RAJH  
SILKS  
(Ragu Ramam Building)77, Grand Bazaar,  
JAFFNA.

## BOOK REVIEW:

## PIONEERING WORK

**Title:** Development of Tamil literary forms and traditions in Sri Lanka (14th century to 18th century). (Tamil)

**Author:** Dr. K. S. Nadarajah  
**Publishers:** The Colombo Tamil Sangam. No: 7, 57th Lane, Colombo - 6. Sri Lanka.

**Price:** Rs. 25/-

Although English is the language of England, America and Australia and part of Canada, each of these countries have an independent and separate literary history and tradition of their own.

Likewise, although Tamil is one of the indigenous languages of India and Sri Lanka, their literary history and traditions are different.

In the history of Tamil literature, the 19th century is a landmark and turning point with the advent of the printing press and it is universally accepted that this glorious period owes much to Sri Lanka for what it is.

Despite sporadic references here and there to Tamil literary works of the 18th century and earlier periods, there has been no codification of these works in a chronological order and a treatment of the forms and traditions in their respective sequences. When speaking of Sri Lankan Tamil literature, there is evidence of Sri Lankan contribution as early as the Cankam period

- i. e. the 3rd century B. C. to 2nd century A.D. But the lack of a comprehensive work tracing the unbroken Sri Lankan tradition from the Cankam period to the present day is a long-felt want.

However, Dr. K. S. Nadarajah, the well-known poet-cum-scholar has filled the gap between the 14th century and the 18th century. He has quoted Tamil poetry engraved on stone in a 9th century inscription from Anuradhapura found among some Hindu ruins. He has also quoted another poetic inscription found at Kotagama in the Kegalle District and which is ascribed to the Arya Cakkavartis of the 14th century. These references, as the author aptly points out, throw some light on the advanced state of development of Tamil poetic form and Tamil literature even in the periods prior to the 9th century A.D.

Dr. K.S. Nadarajah has adopted a praiseworthy style of codifying the works in a chronological order periodizing under (i) Arya Cakkavartis (ii) Portuguese (iii) Dutch and (iv) the British rule. In doing so, he has not failed to pinpoint the relevance to the political situation prevalent during each period. Thereafter, he discusses the forms and traditions under two broad perspectives in two separate chapters. In the fourth chapter he deals with forms and traditions which

do not come within the forms discussed in the second and third chapters. A serious discussion of the works of the Arya Cakkavartis is a notable feature of his work. The astrological work *Segarajasegara Malai* and the medicinal works *Segarajasegaram* and *Pararajasegaram* have been duly discussed. He has in general brought out the intrinsic excellence of the Sri Lankan traditions. Another important discussion is that of *Sarasothi Malai* written by Bhojarajan a poet-laureate under Pandit Parakrama Bahu IV of Dambadeniya. It is a treatise on astrology. The poet hailed from Devinuwara. An important feature of his unfailing discussion of the Christian contribution to Tamil literature is both the form and content. He has not failed to spotlight the Hindu revivalist tendencies that crept into Hindu literature following the Christian proselytisation process.

The book is of absorbing interest from start to finish and is an inseparable companion to the student of Tamil literature in general and to the teachers of Tamil literature at the Universities, and a well of information to students of Tamil literature in the G.C.E. Advanced Level classes and upwards. It is an indispensable work.

A. Theva Rajan.

## NEW FORUM

A new English fortnightly journal titled Forum made its appearance in Colombo on 15th July.

In its first editorial, commenting on the present situation in Sri Lanka, Forum said:

Political opponents have been disenfranchised or locked up. One presidential contestant was hauled to the Fourth Floor; two others were sent into hiding. The most draconian and repressive laws have been introduced onto the statute book to eliminate dissidents without justice. The Constitution has been subjected to constant amendments designed to serve the interests of the ruling party. Thuggery and violence have been institutionalised to protect and perpetuate the obscenely opulent life style of a ruling clique. Highly placed judges who uphold the people's rights have been threatened in their homes by organised mobs; no action has been taken against the hoodlums. Respected intellectuals who

deplore the debasement of cultural values, have been manhandled in public by goons enjoying state patronage. Gentle traditions of simple living formed over the centuries by the philosophic Asian spirit and the Buddhist ethos are being demolished by an alien socio-economic system in which only money sets the value. A mafia has taken over the affairs of the nation. And the hour has come for good men and women to do something.

The Editor of Forum is Mr. Nihal Ratnaike, who earlier edited a lively political weekly, Focus, which folded up after six weekly issues.

The cause for the closure it was rumoured at the time, was a snide attack on President Jayewardene over his performance at the sixth Nonaligned Summit held in Cuba.

Forum is published from No. 301 A, T.B. Jayah Mawatha, Colombo-10. The publisher is Mr. Haris Hulugalle.

## OPPOSITION TO WATER TAX

The proposal to levy a water tax at the behest of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, from farmers who benefit from irrigation facilities such as under the

Mahaweli project, is coming under increasing criticism from farmers.

Reporting this fact, "Goviya" (Peasant), the Sinhala monthly published by the All-Lanka Peasants Congress from Anuradhapura, notes that the Minister of Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanaike, has asked his ministerial colleagues for their active co-operation to implement the water tax, in view of the likely opposition to it from farmers.

"Goviya" points out that it is unfair for the Government to levy the new tax because the costs of all inputs, especially fertiliser, and tractor charges have risen steeply while there has been no commensurate increase in the prices that the farmers received for their produce.

The Congress has called upon farmers to resist the imposition of the water tax on an all-irland basis.

## SPORTS

## JOLLY STARS NEW CHAMPS

The cricket outfit of Centralites Sports Club — a formidable combination with stalwarts like C. Sooriakumar, R. Naguleswaran, M. S. Rameez, M. Y. C. Fowzan, N. Baheerathan, K. Thomas, V. Sutharshanan, and Paul Prahalathan to do service for them—surprisingly went down on their haunches to Jolly Stars Sports Club in the final of the limited 40-

over Cricket Tournament conducted by the Jolly Stars Sports Club recently.

The excellent fielding by Jolly Stars S.C. combined with some on-the-spot bowling restricted Centralites to a rather lowly score.

Sent in to bat first, they were in a precarious position when the first seven wickets

fell for a measly 46. It was at this critical juncture when Central's might seemed to take a severe battering that V. K. Sutharshanan and Paul Prahalathan, in a determined back-to-the-wall stand, took the score up to respectable proportions. When the innings ended at the termination of the 40th over, the Centralites had collected 123 for 9 wickets, with Sutharshanan top scoring with a workman-like 40. For Jolly Stars, Sivaraman bowled best to capture 5 wickets at a personal cost of 30 runs.

Jolly Stars in reply had to strain hard against some intelligent bowling to move past the target in the 38th over, losing eight wickets in the process. Asokumar wielded the willow with the aplomb of a seasoned campaigner to top score with

a delightful 34. Gowrishankar's contribution was a painstaking 21. For the Centralites Rajaratnam Naguleswaran bowled well to claim 3 wickets conceding 28 runs.

Eight reputed clubs participated in this tournament. All the matches which were played on Jaffna Hindu Grounds evoked much spectator enthusiasm.

## BITTER SWEET

A group of farmers from Moneragala, along with some Buddhist monks, will meet the Press at the Centre for Society and Religion, Dean's Road, Colombo-10, today at 9 a.m. to explain the adverse impact of the Government's plan to go ahead with sugar cane cultivation in the district in collaboration with three foreign multinationals.

## SHABRA Your Friends in Finance

## INVEST

with  
The Most  
Knowledgeable  
and influential  
people on the  
financial scene.

**SHABRA**  
61, New Bullers Road,  
COLOMBO 4.

**SHABRA**  
207, Power House Road,  
JAFFNA.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## JR's SECOND CHAMBER

A six-page memorandum containing a proposal to establish a Second Chamber as a way out of the National Question impasse was presented to the participants by President Jayewardene when the Round Table Conference re-convened in plenary at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Colombo, on 23rd July after a 51-day recess.

The proposal envisaged that, in addition to the existing Parliament, there should be a second Chamber consisting of a maximum of 75 members—two elected from each of the 25 administrative districts and not exceeding 25 others appointed by the President, the Parliament and Professional bodies.

The functions and powers of the second Chamber are to be decided by the RTC participants.

The President is to be vested with power to choose Cabinet Ministers and non-Cabinet Ministers from the Second Chamber and to decide on the functions to be allotted to them.

On the proposed powers of the Second Chamber, the memorandum states that "there should be a definite

exclusion of powers in relation to constitutional amendment, money bills, public security, foreign relations, and any other 'sensitive' areas.

"Any power regarding legislation should be confined mainly to a delaying power. The mechanism for this should be worked out so as to avoid undue delay after Parliament has passed a bill; it is suggested that the Second Chamber should commence examining a bill after gazetting (or after first reading), so that its views are known to Parliament, when Parliament commences the second reading.

"A further power could be the initiation of legislation of a provincial, district or parochial nature; this could also include 'private member bill' type legislation (such as incorporation of private associations, professional bodies, etc.).

"Outside the area of legislation, the Second Chamber could be a useful forum for balanced and informed debate on various issues without too much political partisanship."

The following were the participants at the Conference:

## First Private Enterprise Olympics

As the countdown to the world's first private enterprise Olympics begins, California has become a freeloaders' paradise. Businesses are busy lining up to give things away to anyone who can associate them with the lustre of the Games and get them a share of the three billion dollars worth of Olympic action.

**Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress:** Ven. Mapalagama Wipulasara Thero and Ven. Diviyagaha Yasassi Thero.

**Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha:** Ven. Palipana Chandananda Maha Nayaka Thero, Ven. Madihe Pannaseeha Maha Nayaka Thero and Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula Thero.

**United National Party:** The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa and Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed, M.P.

**Lanka Sama Samaja Party:** Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Mr. Bernard Soysa, and Mr. Chandra Gunasekera.

**Democratic Workers' Congress:** Mr. A. Aziz, Mr. Ashruff Aziz and Mr. S. R. A. Samimuttu.

**Ceylon Workers' Congress:** Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development, Mr. M. S. Sellasamy and Mr. Jaya Peri Sundaram.

**All-Ceylon Muslim League:** Mr. A. L. M. Hashim, Mr. Jabir A. Cader, M.P. and Mr. S. L. M. Shafie Marikar.

**Communist Party of Sri Lanka:** Mr. Pieter Keuneman and Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, M.P.

**Sinhala Associations:** Mr. Edmund Panagoda, Mr. J. Moodadeniya and Mr. D. L. W. Abeygunaratne.

**Hindu Organisations:** Mr. V. Siva Supramaniam, Mr. Yogendra Duraiswamy and Mr. M. Rajendra.

**Christian Organisations:** Rt. Rev. Dr. Oswald Gomis and Rev. Celestine Fernando.

**Government delegates:** Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister of Home Affairs.

**Council of Muslims of Sri Lanka:** Dr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud, Mr. M. H. M. Ashruff and Mr. M. M. Zubair.

**All Ceylon Tamil Congress:** Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam (Jr) and Mr. V. G. Motilal Nehru.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party was not represented.

The next meeting of the RTC was fixed for 17th August.

Despite the minimum donation of 4 million per sponsor demanded by the Olympic Organising Committee, there was a flood of applications. And finally 30 official sponsors were chosen.

Why would McDonald's invest 4 million on providing the Games with swimming and diving facilities? Undoubtedly, in coarse commercial terms, the pay off as the "official fast food supplier" would make it more than worth their while.

These Games are the first to be expected to make a profit. Of the 500 million that will be spent on staging them, between 10 to 15 million will be left for the benefit of amateur sport.

There is, in addition, a bigger prize. According to an independent economic research group, the Games will generate 3.3 billion of business for South California this summer.

Half a million visitors are expected to land up at the Games and they will be

digging deep into their pockets to pay for accommodation, food, transport and recreation. Owners of some of Los Angeles's fancier homes are moving out of town for the duration of the event and hope to let their homes out for 1,000 a night.

Professor Edward Tauber, a marketing teacher at the University of Southern California, believes that fear is the reason behind businessmen's desire to gamble on the Olympics. "Companies are well aware that they will never know the exact pay off," he says, "but they don't want to see a competitor's product carrying the Olympic's designation they might have won."

## MISSING DIOGENES

Diogenes has been missing from the Galle Face Green. Last seen greatly disturbed by the floods in Sri Lanka as he predicted. Believed in deep meditation in the jungle. No other information.

by a Reporter,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

## Words of Wisdom

"What is history?"

"It is not merely a narrative of when, where, and how an event took place. It is more an account of why it took place."

—Dr. G. C. Mendis

"Jealousy is said to be the off spring of love. Yet, unless the parent makes haste to strangle the child, the child will not rest till it has poisoned the parent."

—J. C. and A. W. Hare

"The disease under which the human mind now labours is want of faith"

—Emerson

## NO HEAR!

The people of Jaffna complain that for the last few days they have been unable to pick up SLBC broadcasts through the transmitter station at Mandaitivu.

Printed at Kalanilaya Atchaham, 303, K. K. S. Road, Jaffna, and published by New Era Publications Ltd., 118, 4th Cross Street, Jaffna, on 28th July 1984. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka, under QJ 101.

## A New Path-Breaking Book on ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SRI LANKA

Papers by Sinhala and Tamil Scholars analysing the historical roots of ethnicity and

the myths and misinterpretations behind ethnic dogmas

Available at Poobalasingham's bookshops in Jaffna

IN ENGLISH : Rs. 25-00

IN SINHALA : Rs. 15-00

Inquiries from:

Social Scientists' Association

129/6A, Nawala Road,

COLOMBO 5.