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Letter From The Editor

THE NIGHTMARE IN JAFFNA IS REAL. It has been real for a very long time. *On the one hand*, the Police stationed in Jaffna had become a nightmare to the ordinary citizens—and especially after the IATR conference in January 1974 the Police had thrown their weight about in a way that made peace-loving citizens in Jaffna dread the sight of a policeman and to hide the moment one was sighted. *On the other hand*, the shadowy underground of young terrorists, who had surfaced in the North about the time of the 1971 insurgency in the South, had initially acquired (owing to the unbelievably stupid role of the Police and the United Front government) the halo of saviours of the oppressed Ceylon Tamils, have now become a frankensteinian monster terrorising into submission all those not willing to echo unrealistic and provocative slogans about Eelam. This terroristic group has enjoyed peninsular immunity under the euphemistic nomenclature of the "militant youth wing" of the FP and later the TULF and has now tried to assume the role of National Liberation Army fighting for Eelam. It is purposeless examining the credentials of this self-styled military wing of the TULF or its attempt to don the mantle of a Liberation Army without even the first elementary pre-requisites of a separate state. Furthermore, Eelam is not likely to be a realistic factor in Sri Lanka politics in the foreseeable future. The so-called militant military wing can at best be nothing more than a group of terrorists trying to impose their will and their creed (if they have one) on hapless Tamils and others who reside in the territory where they operate. History has shown—especially in the last hundred and fifty years when terrorism had acquired ideological respectability—that terrorism, like crime, does not pay. And, what is worse is that only a tiny hardcore of romantics and dedicated ascetics among terrorists have ever been able to sustain the political idealism that had driven them to terrorism. Moreover, terrorism as such has failed in all countries and at all times as a weapon to achieve long or even short term political objectives. It is only in very exceptional and rare cases has a terroristic group been able to transform itself into an army of national liberation. In Sri Lanka, a Tamil Eelam is not a practical proposition now or in the immediate future, and it is therefore inevitable that the so-called militant (military) wing of the TULF should degenerate into a group using terror to browbeat people into accepting its views on Eelam, and also to collect money to finance its activities by methods which can be only termed criminal and anti-social. At a time when the Police were unpopular and in disfavour in the Jaffna peninsula, murdering anti-TULF politicians or killing policemen had a touch of romantic political bravado, and because of this the people of Jaffna were not willing to assist the police to apprehend these law-breakers. But today a new situation has arisen. The ultra-extremist political projections of this terroristic group through a pliable TULF leadership, anxious to score electoral successes, led to the disastrous EXODUS '77. The terrorist youth and even some of the older TULF leaders also seem to think that EXODUS '77 has laid the foundations for separation: that such disaster and suffering would bring world-wide support for the Tamilians fighting to set up Eelam. And, in pursuance of such belief, TULF leaders have talked recklessly to international newsmagazines like the *Newsweek* and *Asiaweek* about the thousands of Tamil youth who were prepared to join a liberation army and how they expected arms to pour into their territory from several nations. The terrible repercussions that such expressions of folly have brought the Tamil people made these leaders issue half-hearted denials but they are of little avail as the mischief has already been done. In the meantime, the terroristic groups have stepped up their criminal and anti-social activities. Tamil residents in Jaffna who did not, and do not, subscribe to Eelam have been and are regularly terrorised—through psychological terror at its worst interspersed with robbery, assault, arson and threat of killing. Those who worked for candidates who fought the TULF are being shot at. Ordinary householders have been threatened that if they gave information to the authorities about the criminal activities of the group the entire family would be "wiped out". Banks and MPCs stores in Jaffna have been robbed with a regularity that staggers imagination. And now the terrorists have started to rob private citizens and homes as well. *Tribune* daily receives reports of robberies in private homes all over the peninsula, and that the people so victimised were still reluctant to go to the Police. A large number of teenage rowdy and criminal gangs have also proliferated to make living in Jaffna a dangerous hazard. The TULF's Eelam politics have reduced the people in Jaffna to a life of permanent fear and to a total inability to live in peace with other communities in the rest of the island. It is time that something is done to end this unhappy state of affairs for the Tamil people.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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Colombo, September 19,

The results of the Pottuvil election did not provide any surprises: the UNP and the TULF won the first and second places in this two-member seat. The SLFP man, M. M. Mustapha, a veteran from the area who has been many times in Parliament and who has held Ministerial office under different governments, came a very close third. There is no doubt that the results of the voting in Pottuvil electorate showed that it is an anti-Eelam vote. Of the 89,000 (approximately) votes (two each) cast, the TULF secured only a little over 23,000 votes. The Pottuvil vote is a further slipback from the percentage of votes that the TULF had obtained in other Eastern Province electorates.

With the general elections now completed, the UNP has 140 MPs in the NSA with the TULF having 18. But what is of significance, at the moment, is that in the Eastern Province the UNP holds 8 of the 12 seats whilst the TULF has only 4: (the seats held by the UNP are Seruwila, Muttur, Kalkudah, Batticaloa (one seat), Amparai, Samanthurai, Kalmunai and Pottuvil (one seat), and the seats held by the TULF are Trincomalee, Batticaloa, (one seat), Pottuvil (one seat) and Padirippu).

Already the TULF MP for Padirippu has publicly stated that the people of the Eastern Province (no doubt those who had voted TULF) would reject the TULF's call for a separate state if the Government could satisfy their needs in the spheres of agriculture, education, transport, fisheries and certain other matters. Reports have reached *Tribune* that these sentiments are also shared by other TULF MPs not only in the Eastern Province but also in other places (especially outside the Jaffna peninsula).

Tribune has for some weeks been urging the TULF to "lay by" (to use legal jargon) the claim for a Tamil Eelam *sine die* and it is heartening to find that the Madras *Hindu* of September 8 in an editorial entitled HOME TRUTHS IN SRI LANKA asking that "TULF leaders should forget, once and for all, the idea of a separate state..." We cite below the editorial for the record:

"THAT MR. J. R. JAYAWARDENE, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, has come out sharply with the statement that he would never permit the division of the country was only to be expected. It is true that the demand for a separate Tamil State was the main plank on which the Tamil United Liberation Front fought the recent poll and won a sizable number of seats in the National Assembly (Parliament) to form the main Opposition party. But while it may have served as a potent pre-election rallying point, the Front leaders should surely never have imagined that separation was the answer to their problems, though they and their followers had good reason to feel frustrated at the continued neglect of their interests by the past rulers

of the country. Fortunately there are signs of a growing awareness on the part of at least a section of Tamil leaders that the grievances of the Tamil minority are better settled by negotiations and through a political consensus based on mutual understanding. True, the communal issue raised its ugly head on several occasions in the past two decades. True too that only temporary measures were taken to "solve" the problem, with no new, lasting solution anywhere in sight. To-day the position looks more promising than ever before; both the UNP Government's policy statement and the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the House in the National Assembly have given a clear indication of the direction in which it is proposed to tackle the problems of the Tamils. There is the reiteration of Mr. Jayawardene that he will convene an all-party conference to consider the whole problem relating to the minorities and its decisions will be incorporated in the new Constitution to be framed for the country. All this does appear to show the new Prime Minister to be sincere, and must be interpreted as such by the Tamil

COVER

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER, this week, was taken some years ago near a junction in the remote Mannar town of Murunkan very near the famous Giant's Tank and its fertile and prolific paddy fields. The picture has not been chosen to draw attention to the mythical Eelam but to the total lack of development of an area which, with a little effort, can become one of the richest and most plentiful producers of rice and other agricultural produce. Many people do not know that, apart from the tanks, Mannar is one of the areas where tube wells can reach immense quantities of groundwater hidden beneath the limestone beds in the subsoil (and below). Only in areas with such limestone stratification can tube-wells be sunk but there are also areas in Mannar where surface wells are profitably feasible. A private organisation, with West German assistance, has started sinking surface wells at low cost with mechanical means in the Mannar District, and very soon it will sink tube wells in addition. Wells are being sunk at a cost which is only a fraction of what it would cost if sunk by manual labour. They are also many times cheaper than wells sunk by rigs owned and operated by government departments. The Mannar District, which receives the lowest rainfall in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka, will soon be a land of plenty with green fields and rich farms throughout the year. For the moment, there is no danger of the groundwater being over-pumped and becoming exhausted, but the future must be safeguarded by a proper scientific hydro-geological survey to determine the saturation limits of such tapping of groundwater. What is being done in Mannar can be done in all the Dry Zone districts of Sri Lanka but it is essential that an island-wide hydro-geological survey by competent persons should be undertaken without delay. Some of the persons who were qualified in this field have been carried away in a tidal wave of the brain drain in the years after 1970—but there is no reason why they should not be persuaded to return.

minority. The question cannot be solved by sending all Tamils away to the north and east or bringing the Sinhalese to the south. Such a process will only worsen the situation, fanning the flames of communal differences. The Prime Minister's clear cut reminder that the majority Sinhalese people have a right to live in the north which is dominated by the minority Tamils even as the latter have a right to live in the Sinhalese areas of the South is a home truth, the importance of which will stand any amount of repetition. The TULF leaders should forget, once and for all, the idea of a separate State and work peacefully with the Sinhalese, and it is for the Government to act swiftly to create the necessary climate of confidence so that the Tamils no longer feel they are a neglected lot and mere second class citizens."

The Hindu has tendered this advice to the TULF in spite of a report published in the same paper on the same day under the heading **TULF DENIES PLAN FOR ARMED STRUGGLE.**

Mr. A. Amirthalingam, General Secretary of the Tamil United Liberation Front, has denied reports that as a last resort, the Front is contemplating an armed struggle to achieve a separate State for Tamils. He emphasized that if at all they launched any struggle, it would be a non-violent satyagraha campaign. He said in a statement that reports that the TULF expected foreign countries to come to its assistance by "pouring in arms" were completely baseless.

This denial was obviously made because of the question and answer interview which had appeared in the *Asiaweek* of September 2 (this issue of the weekly has not been circulated in Sri Lanka) in which, among other things, Amirthalingam had boasted that there were thousands of youths ready to join a Liberation Army and that arms would flow into their territory from many countries. This interview is only an elaboration, after electoral victory and the eruption of communal disturbances, of the same kind of interviews that Amirthalingam has given foreign newspapermen during the last three months.

It is only after the events that have occurred since the middle of August and the backlash that has overtaken the TULF and the Tamil

community that the TULF leader thought it necessary to issue such a denial through the correspondent of the Hindu. He did not think it necessary to hold a press conference to issue such a denial or amplify how he hoped to win Tamil Eelam through ahimsa. The less said about Amirthalingam and his emotional outbursts of volatile rhetoric the better for everybody. It is significant that other TULF MPs have been strangely silent in the days of travail for the Tamils in Sri Lanka in the last one month (whether they will say anything relevant in the NSA on September 22 and 23 is yet to be seen).

The Hindu draws attention (as *Tribune* has often done in recent weeks), to the statements made by Prime Minister Jayawardene about the problem of the Tamil minority. Whilst firmly asserting that he would not permit the division of the country, the PM has indicated that his government was prepared to meet the just and legitimate demands of the Tamils. He had gone to the Eastern Province a few days before the Pottuvil election (Sept. 12), and the report of one of his speeches reflects, in no uncertain way, the Government's thinking on the matter:

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, yesterday asked voters here not to waste a vote on a party which was fighting for a separate State because there would never be such a State. Pottuvil voters should also not vote for a depleted Opposition, the Premier said addressing a rally at the Akkaraipattu Stadium, in support of the candidature of Mr. M. A. K. Jalladeen, UNP nominee for the Pottuvil by election.

As the government got down to the business of tackling the economic problem of the nation, there was an unfortunate clash among the citizens of this country. He did not know how it had started. A Commission headed by a retired Chief Justice will be appointed to inquire into how they all started, he said. The trouble began in Jaffna but there was no reason why people in other parts of the country should kill each other over something that had happened in Jaffna. He could not understand why people in the south for instance killed or looted others and set fire to their property over a incident in Jaffna and by that act they had hindered the economic progress of the government.

Yesterday he had visited Batticaloa and instructed officials to render all assistance possible to those affected by the recent spate of violence. Expressing his deepest sorrow for all innocent people who were victims of racial violence, the Prime Minister said he had always stressed that Sri Lanka "is a multi-racial society". The Sinhalese were the major community in the society and the Muslims and the Tamils formed a very essential part of the society. There were Tamil-speaking Muslims and Tamils who wished to see a United Sri Lanka, he said.

"I am not the Prime Minister of one race or one country," the Prime Minister said. "In fact more Muslims and Tamils have voted for the UNP than for any other political party in the country at the last general election. As the Prime Minister, I have to think of all these people." He said it was true that Tamil people had grievances which were reasonable. During the 7 year period of the previous government nothing was done to redress them. They were deprived of jobs and discriminated in education and government activities. He said this government already corrected the disabilities in education. Similar corrective steps would be taken in other fields too.

Appealing to the Tamil people and others to repose complete trust in him Mr. Jayawardene disclosed that a package of economic relief awaited the nation in the next budget. The nation's next budget was only two months away. After that there would be rapid progress in the economy of the nation which would benefit all, he said.

He said within one month the present government had done what the previous government could not accomplish in 7 years.

Mr. Jayawardene who flew here by helicopter following a visit to Batticaloa and Trincomalee to inspect rehabilitation programs there was received by a mammoth crowd. Mr. Jayawardene said that the country was overflowing with paddy. The bumper maha harvest had brought in large stocks. The Government was expecting an equally good Yala harvest. He said that the Paddy Marketing Board was finding it difficult to purchase all the paddy offered as there were no sufficient storage facilities. The

Minister of Food had been given Rs. 1 Million to put up more stores and to import spare parts for the paddy mills. Mr. Jayawardene had instructed the government officers to purchase all the paddy that was offered.

The Prime Minister also appealed to the farmers to sell their paddy to the Paddy Marketing Board and the millers. The Paddy Marketing Board would provide all the facilities for the storage of paddy. He asked the officers of the PMB to go to the fields and make the paddy purchases.

The Prime Minister assured that all the paddy that was offered would be purchased and they would be given cash and documents of purchase. These documents would be honoured and they would get all that was due to them. Mr. Jayawardene said that both the Wellawatte Textile Mills and the Salu Sala owed Rs. 350 Million to the Banks. That was the record of achievement of the last Government in producing textiles. In the godowns of these two establishments there were textiles to the value of Rs. 35 Million lying idle. A very large quantity had gone bad. Nobody wanted to purchase them. Still they had to be disposed off, he added.

As we have often pointed out in recent weeks, no Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has approached the Tamil minority problem in this way. No previous PM or Government have said and done the things J. R. Jayawardene and the UNP have done since assuming office on July 23.

One of the most important matters of great significance is the fact that Prime Minister Jayawardene has resisted the pressures from certain sectarian organisations which have exercised great influence on Prime Ministers, Ministers, MPs and Governments in the recent past. A report in the Sunday Observer, September 19, 1977, by B. H. S. Jayawardene under the heading: RAPS ORGANISATION: DEPLORES NARROW THINKING: PM: "ALL CITIZENS ARE EQUAL" makes it clear that the Prime Minister does not mince his words even on sensitive questions:

"The Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has severely criticised a recently constituted organisation which protested to him last week against the Government's

stand on the standardisation of marks at public examinations and language, the Sunday Observer reliably understands. In his reply to the organisation the Prime Minister has stated that he had placed his proposals concerning these issues before the country at the general elections and he had received a mandate. He intended to implement those proposals fully. Mr. Jayawardene has stated that he considers all citizens of Sri Lanka equal. They should be treated equally and be given equal opportunities in a united Sri Lanka. He has exhorted the organisation to follow the teachings of the Buddha and that it should not think in the narrow terms of race. The Buddha had preached for humanity and not race, and Buddhists should consider all human beings equal.

Mr. Jayawardene has told the organisation that perhaps it might be better for it to concentrate on the possibility of persuading Tamil speaking people to embrace Buddhism rather than demand that they be discriminated against. The Prime Minister said he has received complaints from several parents that although their children had received high marks at examinations they had no future. It is his belief that while students in backward areas should be extended a helping hand, students who qualified should not be discriminated against and should be provided all opportunities.

The Sunday Observer, also understands that the Prime Minister who was in communication with other Buddhist organisations as well last week has spelt out his attitude towards the consumption of liquor. He was disturbed at the increased use of liquor in the country. He however did not favour prohibition as he did not believe that it will cure the evil just as much as the prohibition of murder did not eliminate murder. He has however advocated a campaign to be initiated by the Minister of Education, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne, for a start in schools where teachers should set the example and launch propaganda on the evils of drink. For government's part, it is considering a proposal to ban the use of liquor by persons below the age of eighteen years of age. It has already introduced a code of conduct for Ministers where only one attend cocktail parties and for UNP Mem-

bers of Parliament who should not consume liquor in public.

The Prime Minister has indicated to these organisations that he believes 'example is better than precept and laws.' On the question of the propagation of Buddhism, the other matter raised by Buddhist Organisations government's policy is to encourage the translation and publication of books on the teachings of the Buddha which will be undertaken by the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, to whom finance will be provided for the purpose.

In the meantime, even the ebullient Mr. Amirthalingam seems to have been compelled by the realities of the situation to forget his Eelam and come down to pragmatic solutions to meet current difficulties. A report by Neville de Silva in the Daily News of September 9, under the heading TULF PROPOSES RESETTLEMENT PLAN, indicates the process of climbing down from the high horse of Eelam to restoring the status quo ante or something close to it has been reasonably fast:

"The TULF initiated talks with the Government on Wednesday on the major task of settling over 25,000 persons who fled their homes and work places during last month's violence, a substantial number of whom do not wish to return. The leader of the TULF, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, told the Daily News that this was an urgent matter since most of the displaced persons were without any means of livelihood.

Mr. R. Premadasa, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction who has been entrusted with the task of rehabilitating these persons is expected to visit the North shortly to study the situation. The TULF which had discussions with the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and Mr. Premadasa proposed that the refugees be given State land in the North and East for settlement and that financial assistance be provided to allow them to get on their feet once again. Mr. Amirthalingam said that while some of the displaced persons would take to agriculture there were others who had been occupied in one kind of a trade or another. If settlements were opened they would be able to continue with their earlier occupations in the new settlements.

Rehabilitation

The TULF delegation had also pointed out that some of the professional persons such as teachers and doctors who had gone to the North be assigned to schools and medical institutions in the North and East since many of them did not wish to return to their original places. The TULF suggested that generally public servants be given further time to decide whether they wished to return to work. The Government had pointed out that the first task was to collect all the data with regard to those who had been evacuated and those still in the camps. Once all the information is available the Government would map out its strategy for the rehabilitation of these persons. Mr. Amirthalingam said that before any dialogue could take place on outstanding issues it was urgently necessary to solve the present problem facing the displaced persons.

A few days later, a report in the *Daily Mirror* (17/9/77) under the heading **GRANT MORE TIME FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS TO RETURN—AMIRTHALINGAM** showed that Amirthalingam had got down to the serious task of negotiating with the Prime Minister and the Government without preaching rhetorical homilies about the urgent need to usher in Tamil Eelam.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam has urged the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to grant more time to those public servants who did not report for duty after the disturbances to enable them to decide whether they could go back to their former places of work or not. He has stated that he gathered from the newspapers that the public servants who did not report for work by September 19 would be put on no-pay leave. He also stated that a large number of people have lost their belongings and are destitute. Any attempt to pressurise them without any consideration of the extent of physical and mental suffering and material loss they have undergone would be most painful.

He has stated he would therefore make the following suggestions. (1) that these public servants be given more time to decide whether they can go back to their former places of work. (2) If they cannot go back they should be given transfers to safe stations as appears to have been done in

the case of some Sinhalese officers who were working in the North.

(3) In cases where Tamil public servants had been subjected to physical violence or humiliation in their offices in Colombo and the outstations steps be taken to bring the offenders to book and adequate measures of security be provided against a repetition. (4) Till these matters are adjusted and the displaced public servants can report for work either at their former stations or at any new safe station to which they are transferred they be enabled to report at the kachcheries or branch offices in the North or East and arrangements be made to give them their full pay. Some of them have to find the money to buy even the clothing for themselves or their families.

Mr. Amirthalingam has also cited certain instances of persons who have gone back to their houses after being looted.

With the TULF leader in this chastened mood trainloads and plane loads of Tamil officers have returned to Colombo. And what is more encouraging is that Sinhalese residents of Jaffna have started returning to the peninsula.

This is not the time for re-crimination. This is not the time to hark back to the hoary past. This is the time to get things done to bring normalcy back to the country so that the work of development can be started in real earnest.

THE UN SESSIONS WILL FOCUS attention on all the important problems facing the world. There are over a hundred items on the agenda. It is impossible to set out in the space available to us even a few of the more important problems that confront the world. Sri Lanka is an important member of the non-aligned movement and has therefore a special role in the deliberations particularly in regard to a large number of matters affecting the non-aligned and the third world, eg. the Middle East, Rhodesia and Southern Africa, the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa, the New International Economic Order, Third World debt, etc. etc. It will be interesting to see what policy attitudes are adopted by the new UNP government to these and other matters like World Disarmament, Detente and Energy.

Vietnam has been admitted as the 149th member of the UN body. There is no doubt that Vietnam is destined to play a vital and important role in Asian and world affairs. And the role of Vietnam as a socialist country, with a new dynamic and pragmatic approach to all matters, and which is also able to maintain successful relations with Moscow and Peking, is something that must be taken into consideration. It may be sometime before the impact of Vietnam's new importance is felt in world affairs.

But Vietnam's giant neighbour, the People's Republic of China, has undergone a new transformation under the leadership of Hua Kuo feng and other leaders who have been described by commentators as "moderates and pragmatists". Whatever terms are used to describe the changes, there is no doubt that China has reached a new landmark in its internal history. Much of it may be a further extension of policies of the past but there seems to be a great deal that is new and different. The recently concluded 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China set the stamp of the new orientation. Hindu's correspondent, K. V. Narain, writing from Tokyo, had one of the best summaries of what was achieved at the recent Congress. "Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's political report to the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was a lengthy one, going to over 20,000 words, but in essence it boiled down to two major points, namely a detailed account of how the "gang of four" tried to usurp political power by resorting to underhand tactics and how this attempt was crushed, and, secondly, how the country should go about tackling the major task facing it now, that is, the speedy modernisation of the economy to catch up with the developed world before the end of this century. To achieve this, Mr. Hua recommended among other things a vigorous revamping of the structure and functioning of the party. The party constitution has been re-written to prevent in future attempts by a small coterie or clique like the 'gang of four' to grab power. The basis for achieving the speedy modernisation of agriculture, industry, science and technology and the armed forces without having to face major attempts

at sabotage by enemies within the country has been laid, in the first place, through a large-scale reshuffling of personnel at the highest centres of power, namely, in the membership of the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee."

The most important indication of the changes in China is the new leadership that has been chosen.

"The new five-man leadership that has emerged in the country, Mr. Hua and the four Vice-Chairmen, Yeh Chien-ying, Ten Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing, are all regarded as pragmatists. This can be readily seen in the fact that of the four vice-chairmen, three, Yeh, Teng and Li were close to the late Premier Chou En-lai. These same five people also now constitute the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, which is the party's highest decision making body. The new Political Bureau is made up of 23 regular members and three alternates. Included among them are a number of people known to be economic or technical experts. Similarly, the composition of the Central Committee has radically changed with a large number of officials, who were believed to have been under the influence of the "gang of four" being eliminated. In their place have appeared a considerable number of veteran officials and pragmatists. This reflects the realisation by the new leadership that the four goals of modernisation cannot be achieved without the services of technologists and men of experience. There is also a significant increase in the number of military men on the Central Committee, and this may be regarded as a well deserved recognition of the key role played by the military in routing the "gang of four".

Chairman Hua also formally announced the end of the Cultural Revolution. Another important point made by Mr. Hua was his proclamation that the smashing of the 'gang of four' marked the conclusion of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that 11-year old period which witnessed chaos and disorder within the country. China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, said Mr. Hua, had now entered a new period of development. In other words, the regime would no longer tolerate such nonsense as that radical ideol-

ogy was more important than proper education or that China could do without any dependence on the latest technological developments, etc. Order and progress are to be the watchwords for the future. For the modernisation programme, Mr. Hua offered a blue print of "eight fighting tasks" for attaining great order across the land which include in addition to continuing the struggle against the 'gang of four', party consolidation and rectification at all levels and vigorously pushing forward the national economy. The importance given to the target of achieving the "four modernisations" is seen in the fact that this goal is to be achieved before the end of this century.

It will be interesting to examine in the coming weeks other aspects of China's transformation. But, in foreign policy, China continues its old line of implacable hostility to the Soviet Union. A report from Tokyo about this aspect of China's policy reveals some interesting sidelights: "Speaking later at a banquet, given in his honour by Chairman Hua, President Tito came out against one of China's major political concepts when he affirmed that 'war is not unavoidable'. He conceded that the international situation was "very complex and controversial" and the fact that world problems "are not being resolved gives rise to our concern. We cannot say to-day that peace has been secured: However, war is not unavoidable."

Speaking before Marshal Tito, Chairman Hua once again resurrected the spectre of another world war. He declared: "The two super powers are feverishly expanding their arms and preparing for war and they are locked in a fierce rivalry for world hegemony. Their continued rivalry is bound to lead to a world war some day. This is a question which needs to be coped with seriously", he said.

"The Chinese leaders had issued the same warning during the recent Peking visit of the US Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance. But at the banquet to Tito the Chinese and Yugoslav leaders laid emphasis in their speeches on the similarities between the two countries' independent policies. Both refrained from making any kind of direct attack on the Soviet Union. Chairman Hua emphasised Yugoslavia's policy of independence vis-a-

vis the USSR, but observers noted the moderate tone used to express the Chinese warnings against (Soviet) 'hegemonism'. This was in order to avoid any embarrassment to Marshal Tito, who was in Moscow just over a week ago."

With China's theory of the inevitability of another world war as a result of super-power rivalry, the Hua Kuo-feng leadership have decided to modernise their army. It does not seem likely, in spite of persons like Admiral Zumwalt and others who are anxious to supply sophisticated weaponry to China, that President Carter will sanction the sale of arms to China immediately. Secretary Vance's recent visit to Peking was something of a flop.

But China seems to be shopping for arms wherever it is possible to get them. According to the AFP, a top Chinese military delegation is to visit France between September 15 and 25 on the invitation of the French Defence Ministry. The delegation is to be headed by the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Chinese army, and the delegation is expected to visit several armoured, air force and naval stations.

Reports indicate that EEC countries will offer substantial credits to China to buy arms. France is likely to offer its services to help China modernise its Armed Services. China continues to explode nuclear devices and it is likely that she will be a major military power in Asia and the world before the turn of the century. This is a fact that all countries in Asia in particular must take into account in matters of geopolitical strategy and in the conduct of foreign affairs.

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NEXT WEEK

- MORE ABOUT EELAM
 - DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' DILEMMA
 - PAKISTAN'S ELECTIONS
 - GOVERNMENT'S PLANS
-

Aug. 29 — Sept. 1

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

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

MONDAY, AUGUST 29: Reports received by the National Security Council from the co-ordinating officers of the 22 districts in the country indicated the situation in the entire island was returning to normal after the two-week wave of violence; goods estimated at Rs. 5 million have already been recovered by the police and armed forces and search and recovery operations were continuing on a large scale throughout the island, police and armed force officials said yesterday; over 4,000 persons have been taken into custody for offences ranging from murder, arson, looting and breaking the curfew. Sources said that 112 lives were lost and 25,000 rendered homeless and property estimated at around several millions of rupees were damaged and looted. The PM stated in a message to the World Peace through Law Centre Conference which was held in Manila last week that his government doesn't believe in the achievement of economic prosperity at the cost of human freedom. The islandwide curfew was imposed from 9 p.m. last night until 4 a.m. today, except in Jaffna. The CTB is now operating most of the short distance buses since curfew hours have been relaxed, according to a CTB spokesman. The CGR will run four special trains from Colombo to Jaffna, Batticaloa, Kandy and Badulla today. The President of the SLFP, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has appealed to its members and supporters and the general public to help maintain law and order; she was critical both of the government and leaders of the TULF. The police and armed forces will intensify 'preventive action' from six o'clock this morning in order to consolidate the incident-free situation that prevailed during the weekend, an armed forces spokesman said last night. The Ayurveda Drug Corporation has begun a massive scale campaign to dispose of Rs. 30 lakhs worth of imported drugs at present stockpiled in the corporation's stores in Pettah. The Ceylon Communist Party hopes that the recent tragic events would make the TULF leaders think again, says the General Secretary of the Party, Mr. N. Shanmugathasan in a press release issued yesterday. The CP of Sri Lanka in a press release has condemned the recent incidents of violence and has called upon the working class and all patriotic forces to categorically reject the path taken by the anti-people elements. The MP for Mihintale has given notice of a motion to be moved in the NSA calling for action to be taken to afford the opportunity of re-employment to youths who lost their employment on account of their involvement in the April 1971 insurgency. All state

corporations which run at a loss will, in future be closed down, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands said yesterday—CDN. Thirty five thousand persons sought protection in the refugee camps set up by the defence forces in many parts of the island, according to statistics gathered by the government. Operation business as usual starts at 7 a.m. today in the Pettah backed by the Security Forces. Priority would be given to farmers to purchase tractor spares and service of tractors from consignment depôts which would be shortly set up in major agricultural areas in the island said the Chairman of the State Training (Tractor) Corporation. Conditions were back to normal yesterday, defence ministry sources said. The Police and Army have formed a unit to recover looted goods in the Kandy area—CDM. The FM is to summon an all-party conference shortly to consider the problems of the non-Sinhala speaking people; its decisions will be incorporated in the present constitution. The NSA which meets again, according to the standing orders, on September 6 is likely to adjourn immediately after it assembles. The Indo-Ceylon steamer service between Talaimannar Pier and Danushkodi has been suspended indefinitely. A police Inspector attached to the Moratuwa police was interdicted yesterday because he had under the influence of liquor, threatened volunteers working in conjunction with the police to maintain law and order in the area. The Minister of Housing and Construction yesterday directed the Commissioner of National Housing to take immediate action to prevent unscrupulous landlords cashing in on the current situation and evicting tenants. The Police are to submit a report to the PM on the circumstances that led to the recent disturbances. About 11,000 refugees who opted to leave Colombo have been provided all possible assistance and transport facilities by the government. A bomb was thrown at the Colombo residence of Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs at about 1.00 p.m. last Friday—SU. Communal inciters and those who instigate acts of violence should be very severely dealt with is an order given to the police and armed forces by the Ministry of Defence. A rehabilitation scheme to settle nearly 40,000 refugees in the North and East has been devised by officials connected with the refugee rehabilitation scheme—DP. A large number of secret messages are coming the way of the police and armed forces as to who instigated the recent disturbances in the country and they are following it up. People of Indian origin who have gone as refugees to the North can be settled in the Killinochi area in settlement schemes—VK. The situation in Jaffna has improved a great deal with the lifting of the curfew; civilians belonging to organisations such as the Lions, and Rotarians will also patrol the streets with police personnel it was decided—EN. The International Development Association has sanctioned 14 million dollars to extend the pipe borne water scheme in Colombo and towns south and North of it. All the cement factories in the island will go into production again and will be able to meet the country's entire requirement of cement according to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs—CO. There have been frauds to the value of Rs 1½ lakhs and a great deal of bribery and corruption has taken place in the Tobacco Corporation according to the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs. Many of the people in refugee camps feel that in such a small place with very few Tamils, it would not be feasible to have a separate state—DM. The government is spending about a lakh of Rs. daily for the refugee camps in the island—LD.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30: The Chairman of the Cement Corporation said yesterday that the government lost around Rs. 25 million this year as a result of a major breakdown in cement production at the country's three major production units in Puttalam, KKS and Galle; in Puttalam alone the loss of revenue is estimated to be in the region of Rs. 15 million. The all-island curfew was imposed from 10.00 p.m. last night till 4 a.m. today except in Jaffna. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands expressed the satisfaction that the situation in the Central region as a whole was now fast returning to almost normality. The by-election to the Pottuvil seat in the NSA is scheduled to be held on September 12. The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction in a reply to the letter of the leader of the SLFP has said that it was incorrect for Mrs. Bandaranaike to allege that no timely action was taken regarding the Jaffna incidents; in fact the PM categorically stated in the NSA that a presidential commission would be appointed to inquire into the whole matter; to reduce the genesis of the incident in Jaffna to a simple squabble is naïvete in the extreme, he stated. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has directed that the National Livestock Board with its expertise and facilities should establish agro-industrial complexes in their estates. The General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Vimukthi Balavegaya has called for an all-party round table conference to solve the problems that exist between the Sinhala and Tamil peoples. Mr. H. M. Navaratne, former deputy Minister was produced before the Kandy police and remanded. India has expressed satisfaction at the steps taken by the government to look after the interests of persons of Indian origin who were caught up in the recent spate of violence. The city and suburbs were free of any incident yesterday according to reports received by the security sources; the intensified patrols which began at dawn with the lifting of the curfew continued throughout the day with Air Force helicopters carrying out reconnaissance flights and radioing any suspicious movements of persons to police stations and armed forces units in the respective areas. Tea and rubber estates throughout the island resumed production yesterday, as the situation in the country improved further and people began going about their normal business in areas which had been affected by violence earlier; police reported that 70% of the shops which were closed at the height of the disturbances had been re-opened yesterday—CDN. Refugees from Colombo and other parts of the country affected by communal violence are pouring into Jaffna by air, sea and rail; already about 10,000 of them have arrived and 6,000 sent either to their homes in Jaffna or to those of their relatives and friends; there are about 4,000 still left in the 10 camps in Jaffna; there are also 4,000 mostly from Vavuniya in the Killinochchi district. The eleven day Kandy Esala Perahera ends with the day perahera today. The Ceylon Fisheries Corporation contributes only 2% of the total fish consumption of the country, according to statistics of the Ministry of Fisheries. According to the Chairman of the Building Materials Corporation, sales depots would be opened in every electorate by the BMC so that house-builders and others would be able to purchase their needs in their own areas. Conditions in the country returned to normal yesterday except for an incident reported from Vavanikulam in the Vavuniya district; Tamil government and mercantile officials who had kept away from work last week resumed work today—CDM. The Janawasa Commission set up by the previous government

has been abolished; the Minister of Agriculture and Lands has placed the management of all Janawasa institutions in the country in the hands of GA's. The Commission of Inquiry into malpractices in local bodies headed by the former Chief Justice will hold public sittings on Sept. 5, in respect of matters relating to the Colombo municipality. The PM yesterday moved into his official residence Temple Trees—SU. The Municipal Council of Jaffna has agreed to rebuild the 105 shops in the old market and 26 shops near the bus stand which were burnt in the recent fires. Yesterday there was curfew in the Puttalam district from 6 p.m. till six a.m. this morning; in other areas it was from 10 p.m. till 4 a.m. Railway officials who were working in the Southern part of the island and who have gone to Jaffna as refugees have decided that they will not return to work in the South. Mr. S. Thondaman has asked the government to set up refugee rehabilitation schemes under the Ministry of Social Services and give them relief—VK. Many people who have been the victims of the recent wave of violence in the country, have either resigned their jobs, or else left them, while others have asked for transfers to the North and East. All Heads of Departments and Corporations have been issued orders to see that their employees are given adequate protection when they get back to work—DP. Traders in Jaffna have agreed to open their shops and conduct business as usual except for the jewellery shop owners who were rather diffident after the recent incidents; lorry drivers had refused to bring things outside the peninsula and take back other foodstuffs. A lorry carrying refugees from the Mankulam area to Mannar was attacked en route and four persons were killed including a constable. The TULF has set up a committee to collect information regarding the recent violence in the island—EN.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31: Sri Lanka yesterday condemned Israeli moves to set up three new Jewish settlements on the occupied West Bank and invited the international community to take effective action to halt these moves; addressing a news conference yesterday the Foreign Minister said that the government was 'disturbed and alarmed' at the current developments on the Israeli occupied West Bank. The Minister of Social Services yesterday visited refugee camps in Colombo and assured the refugees that the government would do everything possible to help them to overcome their present difficulties. With conditions gradually returning to normal persons in transit camps are moving out to their former homes; the Director of Social Services said families who had decided to return to their former homes and are in need of financial assistance would get Rs. 50 per family to purchase cooking utensils; in the case of a family whose house is damaged Rs. 300 would be paid to repair the house; this would only be if the family stayed in the house. More shops, boutiques and other business establishments re-opened yesterday and were given maximum protection by the Police and armed forces. SLFPers who took a hard line at this month's stormy session of the party's working committee are collecting signatures of card carrying members calling upon the Freedom party hierarchy to summon an emergency meeting of the 600 member executive committee immediately. The Ceylon Leather Corporation is working out a scheme which would provide employment for 8,000 persons within six months, according to the Chairman of the Corporation. A Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. S. Thondaman has been appointed for the express purpose of assessing

damages suffered by Tamil victims of recent incidents of violence and to explore ways and means of obtaining appropriate relief to such affected persons. The President of the Islamic Institute in a press release on the recent event in the country has advocated the setting up of a permanent committee of national unity, comprising prominent members of each community which could work immediately for peace and harmony in the event of any exigency—CDN. The situation in Jaffna had returned to normal and Tamils who had gone to Jaffna after the recent outbreak of violence were now anxious to return to their homes and jobs in Colombo and other areas; this has been reported by a high-powered team of officials sent by the PM to several areas affected by the disturbances to ascertain the conditions prevailing, especially in regard to the food situation. The Minister of Education has ordered that the teaching of 'Principles of Socialism' in schools be stopped immediately; this was a compulsory subject for the HNCE examination. The Janawasama Commission has not been scrapped but the board removed from office till such time as new members were appointed. The curfew in the whole island, except in Jaffna district, was operative from 10 p.m. yesterday till 4 a.m. today; in the Puttalam district the curfew was operative from 6 p.m. till 6 a.m. today. An all round increase in industrial quotas to industrial entrepreneurs is in the offing; the Minister of Industries and Scientific affairs, has decided to ease the system of foreign exchange allocations now being made to local industrialists and increase such quotas. The Minister of Trade has decided to distribute synthetic textiles through private authorised traders channelled through the Lanka Salu Sala; hitherto 80% of synthetic textiles manufactured by the private sector and government undertakings was distributed through co-operative societies; the other 20% was distributed through the manufacturer's retail outlets. A woman doctor in a suburban hospital has been sent on compulsory leave by the Minister of Health for allegedly refusing to attend on a patient—CDM. An alleged attempt to shoot the MP for Badulla is reported to have been foiled by one of his supporters. The Central Bank of Sri Lanka has decided to raise the bank rate in the country by 10%. The Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia area will soon have a new telephone exchange—SU. DMK Ministers have appealed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in India requesting them to send aid in the form of food to help the victims of the recent violence in Sri Lanka and the Minister Vajpayee has agreed to think over the matter. Mr. A. Amirthalingam will meet the PM soon to discuss the position and steps that can be taken to rehabilitate the refugees—VK. About 1794 families had sought refuge in camps in Colombo; of this 1040 lost their property; 211 families came out of panic for refuge leaving their things behind. 543 families did not lose much—DP. The Commissioner of Inland Revenue has said that the non payment of Income tax in 1974 amounted to Rs 173 lakhs—LD.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1: The islandwide curfew which had been in force for the past 10 days was lifted yesterday following security reports that life had returned to normal in most areas and the situation in the entire island was calm and quiet; the only area which had the National Security Council worried this week was the Puttalam district, but the tension was now diffusing; security sources said that the Armed forces would stage a phased withdrawal of troops in most areas, while the police would heighten

preventive action and maintain maximum vigilance throughout the day and night in all areas. The Central Bank has increased its bank rate, which is the rate at which it lends to commercial banks, from 8 1/2% to 10% effective yesterday, the Senior Deputy Governor of the Central Bank said today. The issue of the sugar ration which the government announced last month will commence today. The PM has asked Cabinet Ministers to submit plans to provide employment for 5 lakhs of unemployed before the Cabinet meets on September 5, according to Mr. R. Premadasa. The Minister of Plantation Industry has told the Janawasama, Sri Lanka State Plantations Corporation and the Usawasama to launch a 'Crash Food Program' immediately. The Finance Minister in the new government of Sri Lanka will seek West German support for his country's economic development in talks here next week, the Sri Lanka Embassy in Bonn said yesterday. The period of office of the IGP has been extended by one year with effect from August this year—CDN. The Minister of Transport, has directed that Workers' Councils in the CTB and the Railway be dissolved with immediate effect. A conference was convened by the GA, Jaffna dist, to enlist volunteers among the civilian population of Jaffna to do 24 hour patrolling of the entire Jaffna city in association with the police and army units commencing from Monday. Four employees of the BMC retail depot were interdicted yesterday for alleged indifference and discourtesy to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, according to a senior official of the corporation. 89 incidents were reported upto last Friday from the Pettah area in the one week of violence. The distribution of synthetic textiles will be channelled through the private trade from today. The CWE has now in stock, 1500 cwts of dried fish which will be made available to the public through its retail distribution outlets, co-operative societies and authorised dealers, the Ministry of trade said yesterday—CDM. A top-level CID inquiry is under way into an alleged threat on the life of the PM. All night mail trains, suspended due to the recent disturbances and the curfew, will be resumed from tonight. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has decided to utilise the Agricultural Extension Centres throughout the island for the storage of one million bushels of paddy. A sum of Rs. 420 million is being utilised for a five year programme of intensive malaria control. The Ministry of Education is making arrangements for teachers who left their stations due to the recent violence, to return to their respective schools. Nearly 140 shops in Jaffna belonging to the Municipality have been burned down. The Minister of Sports and Parliamentary Affairs has assured the staff of the Department of Rehabilitation that the government had no intention of scrapping this dept. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs said that all cases of political victimisation after 1970 would be probed by his deputy minister and he has been empowered to recommend redress including compensation and promotions—SU. Over 40% of those who were victims of the recent spate of violence have not yet informed the police; therefore, all those who suffered in any way are asked to report to the nearest police station.—DP.

JULY ELECTIONS

Tamil Mandate For Eelam

—fact or fiction?—

by Fr. Tissa Bala-uraya
Director, Centre for Society
and Religion

At the general election the TULF sought a mandate from the Tamil-speaking people on its demand for a Tamil Eelam.

The writer contends that the voting figures do not indicate an overall mandate and that the Tamil-speaking people have by the manner in which they voted pointed a way out of the impasse.

In order to understand the significance of the 1977 general election concerning the demand for Eelam, one must see how the TULF interprets the issue. According to its manifesto the new 1972 Constitution was drafted by the Sinhala people for their own advantage. It is said to have been rejected by the "Tamil Nation" which is now said to have no alternative but to take its sovereignty into its own hands. For this the TULF wanted a mandate from the "Tamil Nation".

How does the TULF understand the "Tamil Nation"? Its manifesto details the grievances of the Tamils including "the Muslims in the Eastern and North-Western regions of Ceylon". It says "When we speak of the Tamil Nation, we refer to the entirety of the people in this country to whom the mother tongue is Tamil". It adds the "TULF views the forthcoming gene-

ral election as an opportunity to obtain the mandate of the Tamil Nation and on the basis of its right to self-determination, re-establish the independence of the state of Tamil Eelam, the expression of the sovereignty of the Tamil Nation".

But when the manifesto says that the 1972 Constitution was rejected by the Tamils, it takes into account the boycott "by 15 out of the 19 elected Tamil representatives" but ignores the support of elected Muslim representatives for the Constitution. Hence there is an ambiguity in the use of the terms "Tamils" and "Tamil Nation".

There is no clear indication of the area claimed for Eelam.

The only reference is to the 13th century position. "At this time, the territory stretching in the western seaboard from Chilaw through Puttalam to Mannar and thence to the Northern Regions and in the East Trincomalee and also the Batticaloa Regions that extended southwards up to Kumana or to the Northern banks of the Kumbukkan Oya were firmly established as the exclusive homeland of the Tamils. This is the territory of Tamil Eelam."

This is a large chunk of Sri Lanka. It is far more than the Northern Province. This is also the area in which the TULF contested.

The TULF manifesto stated that "the General Election of 1977 is a crucial one to the Tamil Nation". It ends with a fervent appeal to the "Tamil Nation" to vote for the TULF, because "the unanimous verdict of the Tamil-speaking people is indispensable. Hence we appeal to you to set aside your passions for, or prejudices against individual candidates to forget differences of region, caste or religion and with the one and the only determination of making the Tamil

Nation master of its Destiny. To VOTE for the Tamil United Liberation Front, for the emancipation of the Tamil Nation, for the Freedom of Tamil Eelam." (Quotations from TULF Manifesto in Tribune August 6 and Aug. 12, 1977).

This article does not seek to discuss the reasons for the demand for Eelam. It attempts an analysis of the results as published in the newspapers and is subject to correction. We believe, however, that these do not affect the substance of the argument.

We have written earlier in these columns concerning the distribution of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. More than half the Tamils are outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces (58% according to the Tribune of 27.8.77). Less than 1/3 of the Tamil population is in the Northern Province. If we take Tamil-speaking people as the 'Tamil Nation', then the proportion in the Northern Province is still smaller. Colombo with 103,000 "Ceylon Tamils" is the biggest city of "Ceylon Tamils" in Sri Lanka.

In order to analyse the TULF general election results, we shall consider four areas: Northern Province in two sections (a) Jaffna Peninsula (b) Mainland of the Northern Province excluding the Peninsula; (c) Eastern Province; (d) Puttalam Electorate. Thereafter we can see the results for both Northern and Eastern Provinces together.

In the Jaffna Peninsula the TULF got a clear verdict in favour of it. The 10 electorates gave the TULF 223,463 votes out of the total of 311,235 votes. Independents got 76,103 votes, UNP 7,140, LSSP 4,529, SLFP 1,042 in the Peninsula. Hence 71.8% of the votes were in favour of the TULF. This was 58.5 of the electorate. One could therefore argue that the Jaffna Peninsula

TULF VOTE AT GENERAL ELECTION 1977

	Total electorate	Abstentions & spoilt	Total polled	% polled	TULF votes	TULF % of votes electorate	% of votes
Jaffna Peninsula	381,591	70,356	311,235	81.5	223,463	58.50	71.8
Northern Province	493,176	86,919	406,257	82.51	278,293	56.4	68.5
Eastern Province	385,191	49,792	335,401	87.1	92,163	23.9	27.5
Northern and Eastern Province	878,367	136,709	741,658	84.4	370,456	42.2	49.94
Puttalam	37,177	6,107	31,070	83.5	3,268	8.8	10.5
Northern & Eastern Provinces & Puttalam	915,544	142,816	772,728	84.4	373,724	40.8	48.36

responded positively to the TULF demand. Ten of its 18 seats in the National State Assembly are from the Peninsula.

In the Northern Province, as a whole 68.5% of the votes and 56.4% of the electorate were for the TULF i.e. 278,293 votes out of 406,257 voters and an electorate of 493,176. Abstentions and spoilt votes were 36,919 or 17.5% of the electorate.

In the Northern Province 85% of the population is "Ceylon Tamil and 95.4% is Tamil-speaking. Hence even here that one third of the votes was against the TULF has some significance.

In the Eastern Province the case is clearly against separation. The UNP won eight seats: Samanthurai, Kalkudah, Kalmunai, Seruwila, Batticaloa (2nd) Amparai, Muttur, and Pottuvil (1).

The TULF won Padiruppu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa (1st) and Pottuvil (2nd). At Padiruppu the LSSP, SLFP and UNP together got 16,412 votes as against 15,877 for the TULF.

In terms of votes the UNP had 136,296, TULF 92,163, SLFP 81,419, LSSP 6,970, FP (Batticaloa) 11,221 and Independents 7,252. The UNP, SLFP and LSSP which are definitely against separation obtained 224,778 votes or 67% of the votes. The TULF had only 27.5% of the votes cast. Abstention were 49,792 or 12.9% votes of the total electorate.

The TULF obtained only 23.9% of the votes of the total electorate, although 76.7% of the population are Tamils and Moors (Ceylon and Indian) and Ceylon Tamils alone are 40.9%. The Sinhalese population is only 22.5% of the population and hence could not make up the bulk of the 66.9% that voted for the parties that are definitely against separatism.

One would have expected the TULF to be quite sobered by this decision of the Tamil-speaking people in the Eastern Province. It has definitely no mandate to claim the Eastern Province for any proposal for an Eelam.

When we take the Northern and Eastern Province together we see an important phenomenon. Within the Jaffna Peninsula 71.8% of the votes were for the TULF, but in the Eastern Province only 28%. Taking both provinces to-

gether the TULF had 370,458 votes. This is 49.9% of the votes cast. But as there were 136,709 abstentions the TULF vote is only 42.2% of the total electorate in the North and East. The voting pattern is 81.5% in the Peninsula, 85.1% in the 4 Northern electorates outside the Peninsula and 87.1% in the Eastern Province. The national average was 87.2%.

Nearly one-fifth of the Peninsula has not voted. Therefore, the population of both provinces considered together one cannot say that the people have voted as a whole positively for a separate state. Only half the votes cast were for the TULF. But 57.8 per cent of the electorate have not voted for the TULF.

The Puttalam Electorate touches Mannar in the North and has nearly 20 per cent Ceylon Tamils, 38.4 per cent Ceylon Moors and 2.9 per cent Indian Tamils and Moors. Hence 61 per cent of the population are Moors and Tamils. The TULF toyed with the idea of attracting the people of this electorate to its fold. But the results were disastrous. It obtained only 3268 votes out of 31070 voters and an electorate of 37,177.

This is 10.5 per cent of the voters and 8.8 per cent of the electorate. Hence even the 20 per cent Ceylon Tamils here have not all voted TULF and Tamil-speaking people outside the Northern and Eastern Province have rejected the proposal for Eelam.

The election results also show clearly that the Tamil-speaking Muslims do not favour Eelam. This is seen in the Eastern Province, and in Puttalam. In Mannar the Muslims being nearly 30 per cent of the population may explain the large vote against the TULF in an electorate where only 4.2 per cent of the population is Sinhalese.

One can say that the TULF has failed to obtain the support of the Moors for its proposal for a separate state for the Tamil-speaking people. Not a single TULF elected MP is a Moor.

This also contradicts the position that the Tamil-speaking people have not accepted the Republican Constitution of 1972.

The Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC) which joined the TULF, ex-

pressed its unwillingness to support the idea of a separate state for the Tamil-speaking peoples. At the general election and in the new parliament the CWC stands apart from the TULF.

* * * *

TOPICAL

History And Tamil Eelam

by Dr. C. R. de Silva

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THROUGHOUT the ages history has been used (or distorted) to serve a variety of causes. In ancient times the preservation of legends about their past enabled tribal groups to fashion a common cultural heritage. In more recent times empire builders like the British have used the study of history to train and inspire their colonial administrators and to instil a sense of awe in their colonial subjects.

Closer home, in Sri Lanka, it can be argued that the recording of pious deeds and the patronage of religion by local rulers in ancient times was designed at least in part, to inspire later rulers to continue the tradition. In contemporary Sri Lanka, too, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has turned to history to justify its demand for a separate state.

The TULF leaders assert that there was a separate and distinct Tamil kingdom, in the north for centuries before the Westerners arrived in Sri Lanka. There can be no contradicting them on this score.

A separate kingdom centred in the Jaffna Peninsula existed in Sri Lanka from about the early 13th century to 1619. In fact, one can go even further. During certain periods within these four centuries this kingdom was the most powerful in Sri Lanka and for a brief space of time it even seized the western seaboard almost up to the environs of Colombo. The Portuguese, coming to Sri Lanka in the early sixteenth century, often used the word CEYLAO to denote only that part of Sri Lanka south of the Tamil kingdom.

But the use of history to justify one's position is a two-edged weapon for we know many other

facts about the history of this Tamil kingdom. For most of the four hundred years of its existence it was a small and rather weak kingdom confined to the Jaffna Peninsula and its environs. It never wielded power over the present Eastern Province which the TULF claims is part of the "traditional homeland" of the Tamils.

Nor was this kingdom always Independent for it often acknowledged the suzerainty of the dominant power in South India and it was once overwhelmed by a Sinhalese army from the south.

But what is most significant is that the Tamil kings of the north did not really think of themselves as separatist rulers of a Tamil kingdom. They like all Sinhalese kings aimed ultimately at being CHAKRAVARTHI—monarchs of all Sri Lanka. It is the later historians (including myself) who have for the sake of convenience written somewhat misleadingly of kings of Kotte, Kandy and Jaffna. Their inscriptions show that all these rulers considered themselves as rightful (and protential) Kings of a united Sri Lanka.

Indeed, on concentrating their gaze on the reality of a fragmented polity in Sri Lanka in this 400-year period of our history the TULF leaders might well have come to underestimate the strength of the ideal of a united island—an ideal fashioned during the first one thousand five hundred years of our history generally termed the Anuradhapura period and kept alive by historical writing thereafter.

It was an ideal strong enough to persuade the Western colonial rulers—Portuguese, Dutch and British—to place the control of the northern areas not in the headquarters of their possessions in South India but in Colombo.

But this ideal of unity can be preserved only upon a foundation of justice. Instances of discrimination on the basis of race, language and religion have been rare in our history—at least up to recent times.

Tamils rose to high positions under Sinhalese rulers and Sinhalese willingly accepted the Naya-yakkar's from South India as their rulers. Sinhalese kings set up inscriptions in Tamil as well as in Sinhalese.

For many centuries Sinhalese and Tamils have lived in peace and friendship side by side. However unless justice and fairplay are ensured the ideal of unity might soon be belie by the reality of disunion.

Contemporary conflicts must be solved by examining the problems of the present with a vision of the future. An understanding of the past could help if we are ready to see the whole picture and not just the portions that suit one's case.

Our history is so long and so varied that any one can find instances of division, injustice, conflict and even hatred if he looks hard enough—but are these to be the foundations of our future?

* *

LETTERS

ON CURRENT MATTERS

General Attygalle

Sir,

I hesitated to write to you under a pseudonym, but your issue of 10th September has a letter from *Thina-karan Reader*. I am therefore emboldened to write to you as a *Tribune Reader* in the expectation that you will publish this letter.

I was delighted to read the page 'Confidentially' in which you have made very generous and gracious references to General Don Sepala Attygalle. The General deserved every word you had written in that article. Will you permit me to add to it about an incident that happened at the height of the recent communal violence? About 3.00 p.m. one afternoon I received information that a very young family with 2 small children was likely to be the victims of attack that night. The neighbours advised the family to quit. Perhaps it was well intentioned and in their interest as well.

My first reaction was to take them away. On cooler reflection, I felt it was hasty and unwise. I therefore contacted a high Police Official and sought his help. In fairness to him I must say he was most understanding and sympathetic, but very clearly told me that I could not expect any help! How

good would it have been if he had offered to jump into his 504 and at least call on this frightened family, merely to show that he even cared! But no. He advised me to pray and said he would do the same! I was half inclined to remind him of Napoleon's exhortation to his troops *Trust in God but keep the powder dry* (I must apologise for the reference to Napoleon, because the TULF has also sought to rely on him, but was debunked by our PM).

What could I do next? It was evening and night would soon set in. I remembered a Major in the Sri Lanka Army—one whom I knew, but not so well as the High Police Official. I telephoned him and he answered the call. His first question was "Is it Security you need". I said "Yes. But are you quite serious that you can help me immediately—in a matter of hours?". The Major shot back (very kindly of course) with the rapidity of a machine gun "Quick—do not waste time. Give me the address. Give me the name. My men will be there in less than half an hour. And I will see them myself personally later at night". I gave all this information to the kind Major and called back the family 15 minutes later to find that the soldiers had already gone, done a round of the neighbourhood and promised frequent patrols of the area. The entire atmosphere changed. The neighbours were more friendly and the young family was more at peace. This is not all. The Major, true to his word, called on them and personally assured himself that the danger that had been building up had been contained and defused. For some days later too, this very considerate Army assurance was given and the family is now more confident.

What a contrast to the Police response. What illness has come over the Police? Is it so thoroughly inept and totally demoralised? What does it think it is there for and paid for by the tax payer? Is it merely to don uniforms, run around in 504 cars and participate in Welfare Association meetings? I do hope that the Prime Minister will re-organise the Police—and soon.

Obviously, the Sri Lanka Army owes its ethos to the General. We are all proud of our Army. That young family is alive today because of General Attygalle and his

Army. It is a Tamil family. I think we should not permit the General to doff his uniform for some years to come. With him at the head of the Army and Prime Minister Jayawardene in Temple Trees, we can sleep peacefully at night and get about our work by day. Is Eelam worth even talking about? Let us be one proud Nation.

General, I salute you and your Army. I salute the Major and his men. May the good God be with you and your officers and men. I refrain from naming the Major, for it can be misunderstood. He repeatedly assured me that he was only doing his duty. William Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty' may perhaps be dedicated to General Attygalle and his Army.

Regular (recently) Tribune Reader—A Jaffna Tamil.

Colombo.
12.9.77

Colonisation ?

Sir,

In your issue of September 3, Mr. James T. Rutnam dismisses as a fantastic idea, the colonisation by Sinhalese of the "traditional homelands" of the Tamils. He even compares it to the Jewish settlements on the West Bank, which is a totally different problem, as the one refers to colonisation of territories occupied subsequent to a war of expansion and the other, to population migration within the confines of one's country.

The *modus operandi* suggested by the Nayake Thero of Vajirarama Temple leaves much to be desired. However, I feel that the basic concept is correct.

The Norman invasion of Britain and the Chola invasions of Sri Lanka occurred round about the same period (there were Tamil settlements here long before this too). The Normans and Saxons ceased to be two separate races within a couple of centuries and were referred to as English.

In our country, separatism continued throughout the centuries and the tragedy of communalism led to the disastrous events of last month. It is this insistence on a Tamil Homeland, as distinct to the areas populated by the Sinhalese (whether referred to as Eelam or not) that nourishes the monster of

communalism. I feel that the problem can only be solved by voluntary migration in both directions—North and South—and then "Homeland" will mean the same thing to us all—Sri Lanka.

Mrs. P. Amerasinghe

Anniawatte
Kandy.
8.9.77

Division Of The Island

Sir,

According to the front page news item in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 6.9.77 the PM has assured the Maha Nayakes that he will not allow the country's division.

Incidentally does the PM approve of the division by the British of this Island into nine provinces? And this has been perpetuated by the wholesale copying from the Soulbury Constitution to our Republican Constitution ignoring the fact that much water had flown past the Kelani Bridge since the Soulbury Constitution?

If when independence was granted we reverted to the original three provinces which permit ample space and scope for all ethnic groups to stretch themselves and develop according to their genius, this problem of Eelam would never have arisen.

Certainly it is not unreasonable to consult the clergy on secular matters but such consultation should not be confined to one coterie. If, in secular matters, clerical consultation is considered necessary, then Hindu, Muslim and Christian clerics too, the Maha Sangha administering historic shrines such as Naga Deepa, Tissamaharama, Kiri Vehera, Anuradhapura, Kelaniya, Mahiyangana etc., representatives of the Laity and even representatives of atheism should be consulted, i.e., consultation should be broad based and not narrow.

I have observed that Dr. Abraham Koveer expresses more unbiased and reasonable views even in partisan religious matters than the clergy themselves.

The earliest kingdoms in Lanka were not Buddhist e.g., Ravana's and the Kataragama kingdoms. Furthermore the voice of the masses (laity) must also be heeded.

World history is replete with instances of mighty kingdoms and empires that have crumbled to dust because their rulers ruled according to only their own and their private clergy's wishes and not the people's wishes e.g., Pharoah's kingdoms, Babylon, Nineveh, ancient Persia, Russia etc.

R.W.W

5, De Alwis Avenue,
Mount Lavinia.
6.9.77

TULF Alone

Sir,

I read your journal regularly because you objectively analyse the political scene here and elsewhere. But why do you wear blinkers sometimes when you refer to the TULF? You have not given them the necessary credit and prominence due to them by virtue of the fact that they are the major Opposition party in this country and that their leader is the leader of the Opposition. You also gloss over the other undeniable fact that they and no one else can speak for the Ceylon Tamils.

That some Tamils did not vote for or agree with the TULF is as immaterial as 1.2 million Sinhalese did not vote for the UNP. This is surely the main thrust of parliamentary democracy. You have never concentrated on this crucial issue, namely—has the TULF the right on behalf of the Tamils who gave them a clear mandate on this issue to ask for a separate state? Other matters e.g. whether such a separate state is feasible or practical are different questions. You have made very pertinent comments about the statesmanlike qualities or lack of them of the TULF.

But what do you and your readers have to say about this request by the major opposition party remembering that they are the only party to openly declare that they are for a Sovereign, Socialist and Secular state.

R. Y. Chandra

61, Pita Kotte Road,
Kotte.
11 September 1977

Ratepayers Plight

Sir,

Like a lone voice in the wilderness, I have been agitating for the past two decades in the interest of hapless ratepayers throughout the country to obtain relief for them in the matter of the iniquitous "Warrant costs" consequent on their inability to pay their rates on the due date for reasons beyond their control. I have been doing this with every change of government without success and am taking the liberty to appeal to the dynamic Minister of Local Government in the hope that he at least will take appropriate action in the matter to remedy this unhealthy state of affairs ere long. Never again will I revert to this subject.

A tax-payer, whose quarterly tax is rupees ten, has to pay a rupee extra as 'warrant costs', while one whose contribution is rupees one hundred per quarter is called upon to pocket out an extra ten rupees! Is it fair to penalise the latter in this manner? Isn't it rank discrimination against a certain type of people? After all the cost of writing out a 'warrant'—if issued at all—and the labour expended in the process is the same in both cases. Why shouldn't there be a sliding scale for 'defaulters' with twenty five cents as the minimum and a rupee as the maximum amount recoverable on this score? In the large majority of such cases, rate-payers experience difficulty in finding the money to pay tax on the due date for various reasons, and it is grossly unfair to penalise them so heavily for no fault of theirs. It is tantamount to harassment of already over-burdened tax payers.

Incidentally, there is another matter which calls for the consideration of the authorities. Should it not be made a legal requirement that necessary amenities must, as far as practicable, be provided in all wards before a council is justified in recovering rates from the rate-payers of a ward that is sadly neglected for political reasons—as it so often happens nowadays—or otherwise? This will ensure that ratepayers of every ward will get a fair and square deal at all times.

Our rulers are apt to forget—when it suits them of course—that we are no longer under colonial rule

and that it is time that rules, bye-laws etc., enacted in that era were changed for the benefit of the people whom they claim to serve. It is indeed a pity that no Minister of Local Government since independence had addressed his mind to such matters as this and made the necessary changes in the relative Ordinances in keeping with modern trends. It is up to the present holder of this office to remedy this unhealthy state of affairs.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Anagarika Dharmapala
Mawatha, Dehiwela.
30.8.77

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Witch-Hunt?

Sir,

All right-thinking people of this country, irrespective of their party sympathies at the general election, heartily welcomed the Prime Minister's statesmanlike gesture of allowing Mrs. Bandaranaike to address the nation over the state radio and of making a specific request that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike be accommodated in the helicopter that went to N'Elia to bring back Mr. Gamini Disnayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways. Even those who thought that Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's talk about giving a responsible place for the Opposition was only election time demagoguery, had to rethink their thoughts. Through this action he gave an indication to the whole world that he was not so petty-minded as to further humiliate the vanquished. He also showed that he was prepared to translate his righteous thoughts into action.

The attitude thus displayed is quite in keeping with his philosophy that the co-operation of all sections of the people should be obtained to solve the problems and achieve rapid progress in this country. He even regretted the absence of veterans like Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva in the NSA and expressed his desire to get their co-operation in solving the nation's problems.

But unfortunately a trend is now developing, probably at the instance of a myopic section within the ranks of the Government itself,

which may, instead of uniting the people, keep them divided forever and even obstruct the implementation of the Leader's lofty ideals. The present trend is to harp on the misdeeds of the previous regime, going even to the extent of hurling personal abuse, and to find in the defeated parties an easy scapegoat for all problems, whether it be communal or post-election clashes.

If this trend is allowed to develop unchecked the expected departure from the earlier pattern which began with the dawn of independence, will continue. Earlier pattern has been for the government to do the very things (good and bad both) they criticised from the Opposition and for the Opposition to indulge in the very things they condemned from the government benches. Examples are many to illustrate this national weakness. And this unprincipled behaviour on the part of our political parties has been the greatest obstacle on the way of our nation's progress. It is, therefore, our fervent hope that the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene will surmount every obstacle on his way, whether from within or without and establish in this country a righteous and socialist democracy.

D. J. M

Colombo.
1.9.77

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"Take Away Athelism, And I'll Accept Marxism"

(TRIBUNE, July 23)

Sir,

We cannot but agree with "Inna" when he points an accusing finger at the exaggerated idea of the right of private property which many who called themselves Christians have harboured and continue to harbour, and which has given occasion to the rise and spread of atheistic Marxism.

If only we had properly grasped Christ's insistence on spiritual detachment from our worldly possessions, shedding off greed and avarice. If only we had listened to what especially the recent Popes have told us about the common

purpose of earthly goods, paying just wages, sharing responsibilities and profits!.....

Did not Lenin himself say, at the end of his life, that if Russia had had ten St. Francis Assisi's, there would have been no need of the terrible bloodbath that was the Revolution?

And yet, even while we say together "mea culpa!", we are unable to admit that Marxism could be unreservedly baptised after taking away atheism from it.

Marx, as is well known, built his system on Hegel's dialecticism, and on the materialism of Feuerbach, for whom matter alone existed from eternity to eternity, there being no room for an immortal soul nor for life beyond the grave.

Of course, once a Marxist admits God and sheds his atheism, materialism falls to the ground as a pack of cards.

But then what would remain of Marx's philosophy? You might rejoin! "At least his analysis of the capitalistic society would stand, with the remedy that he proposes, which remedy is: Nationalisation of all the means of production; State monopolies; a continual class struggle in violence and mutual hatred; dictatorship of the proletariat; totalitarianism."

I ask you: Can a true Christian meekly swallow this new gospel and still remain a Christian?

The spirit of Christ is not the spirit of Cain. This continual violence and hatred is repugnant to Christ as much as to Buddha. It makes man fit for the jungle life, like Cain.

Neither would Christ approve of an authority that would not be there to "serve" men, but to "dictate" to them arbitrarily, making them a pack of dumb slaves, frightened into silence and acquiescence. The State is for man, not man for the State. Even He who creates every human being to His own likeness, respects the human creature and gives man what really makes him a man, this awful, exhilarating, terrible gift of freedom, of Independence. The dignity of every human person is supreme in our Christian social outlook; and this is the very reason why we would like to spread the right and practice of private ownership, "to provide man with a fully necessary area of Independence, an extension and safeguard of personal freedom."

Now, totalitarianism cuts at the root of all this fine tree.

Can a Christian agree to that mutilation?

Evidently we must love Marxists as our brothers even though they be labouring under dangerous illusions. We must pray for them and learn how to live with them. Strong is our faith, and relying on our Church's stand, we can prudently dialogue and even work with them to bring about the necessary social reforms through legitimate above-board Channels.

Yet if we understand what Christianity stands for and what Marxism involves, the verdict of Pope Pius XI still stands: "A true Christian cannot be a true Marxist." Even if it were possible for Marxism to shed its atheism, the loss of human liberty is too big a price to pay for a plate of lentils.

C. Jannaccone, S.J.

Deniyaya.

REVIEW

ON VIOLENCE

by Jayantha Somasundaram

The Guilty Are Afraid—I

An intelligent appraisal of the events of the last two months would begin with an acknowledgement of the strength and extent of the popular mass movement of predominantly young people, which brought J. R. Jayawardene to power on July twenty-first. This was done in our last article entitled *Tiger by the Tail* which was in fact written before the communal riots began.

As soon as it became known that the UNP had retaken the reins of government, a backlash of violence began. It was led by the young supporters of the UNP and in its initial stage could even be sympathised with, to the extent that it was directed against corrupt SLFP Mudalalis and co-op officials who had enriched themselves at the expense of the people during the previous seven years. There were instances where hoarded stocks were forcibly taken and distributed among the people—this was commendable.

It is important to remember however, that the UNP has never been democratic or disciplined as far as its internal party structure is concerned. Thus the people who took to the streets following the election were not disciplined UNP "cadres", but most anybody who wanted to join the bandwagon of merry makers. And this included criminal elements as well.

Post-election effervescence rapidly degenerated into naked violence, leading finally to a curfew in some areas. There was systematic looting and arson directly against SLFP supporters throughout the island. In addition, violent reprisals were carried out—resulting at times in injury and death. It is estimated that over thirty people lost their lives within the first week.

It is interesting to recall the condemnation which Mrs. Bandaranaike came in for, due to her refusal to publish the Siriwardene Report on 'post-election violence 1970'. In the columns of the national press there was a lot of lead wasted about commissions to investigate this year's violence. Up to now nothing has been done. Is it perhaps that those with influence and power are afraid to expose the guilty?

The initial violence was politically localised, in that it was directed only against the SLFP, and other sections of the population were oblivious of, and indifferent to, it. Moreover the national press was careful to play it down. The conduct of the police at this stage merits consideration. It is strange that despite the pre-election measures regarding security that Mrs. Bandaranaike had taken, intensive and prolonged violence directed at persons and property took place. Were any serious attempts made by the police to stamp out the violence and looting? Or as occurred on the Peradeniya Campus, were those who were at the receiving end of the looting silenced in remand?

We now get on to the second phase of post-election violence. This occurred mostly within government departments and corporations. It consisted of the harassment of non-UNPers. The victimisation and dismissal at all levels of those whose loyalty was suspect was widespread, and what the UNP Unions could accomplish, breath-taking. The harassment meted

out to non-UNPers within government institutions was also totally blacked out by the national press.

This is not surprising when one remembers that the state controlled press was also fair game when it came to the loyalty-test. In this column we documented the happenings in one such institution—Lake House.

What is worth noting in retrospect is, that while men and women were being knocked around inside state institutions like Lake House, the police were on guard outside. The police were increasingly becoming idle bystanders while people who did not pass the green litmus test were being given the works.

We need hardly go down the list department by department and corporation by corporation. But the gathering momentum of mob-rule was becoming increasingly visible. In the CTB where the UNP chairman was arbitrarily removed due to pressure from the unions, we had an example of the direction in which things were going.

Looting and arson had become a way of life. Thuggery and intimidation was now the accepted norm. And the police were progressively abdicating their role as defenders of the citizen. The rule of law was non-existent.

As in the case of the attacks directed against SLFP shops and co-operative officials, the violence of the unions did not become nationally prominent. But indiscipline was growing at a tremendous pace. It had to break out on a national scale sooner or later.

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Tell It To The Birds—2

Many people including ourselves vehemently oppose the policies of the TULF. Nevertheless, to lay the blame for the events that began on August sixteenth at the door of the TULF, is to be myopic to the extent that one discounts the first two phases of post election violence, phases that we dealt with in this column earlier. It is true that TULF leaders have indulged in extravagant and inflammatory oratory. But they are

innocent of the violence that germinated in Jaffna on the sixteenth. It was a straight forward police—civilian clash, of the type and intensity that is not unusual in Jaffna. It was the attacks that began on Tamils south of the Elephant-pass on the night of the sixteenth that set the terrifying ball of violence rolling.

Beginning on the seventeenth, for ten days, with parabolic intensity, violence was recorded throughout the island. The worst incidents took place under the cover of the thirty-five hour curfew. It is relevant at this stage to also draw attention to the criminal negligence of the railways which ran trains on the Northern line on the morning of the seventeenth when they knew that the sixteenth mail trains and stations on the northern line had already been attacked. It would appear that the government and its departments were anxious, even at the expense of life and property, to maintain the facade of normalcy.

It was violence that was both cowardly and sadistic. The hoodlums never took on opponents who could defend themselves. Both Tamil and Sinhalese victims were predominantly the defenceless, women, children and unarmed men. The level of sadism displayed was such that we have lost the right to call ourselves a civilised nation, no matter what pious platitudes our religious leaders may come up with. *Our Society is very very sick.* The national neurosis that displayed itself in the cowardly sadistic attacks of both Sinhalese and Tamil hoodlums and the placid indifference of bystanders calls for immediate attention.

It would now be interesting to examine some of the speculation that has arisen in the press and the country at large, about the causes behind and the forces directing, communal violence.

One important allegation has it that the whole thing was an SLFP plot from beginning to end. However, to grant the SLFP such genius of conspiracy cum organization, would beg the question why talents were not used to successfully win the election itself. And secondly, why such potentials for violence gave them no protection against the vicious attacks, including murder, directed at them in the immediate aftermath of the election.

Another interesting theory is that the police were inactive and perhaps condoned the chaos because they were with the SLFP. But this makes nonsense out of the conduct of the police in the first three weeks after the election. If there was such a great degree of loyalty, let alone sympathy towards the SLFP within the police why didn't the police defend them when they were being murdered and their shops looted? Further, if the police was known to be unreliable and disloyal to the UNP, why were precious days and lives allowed to slip away before the troops were called out? Health Minister Senanayake told parliament that the police were not doing their best to quell the violence and he related how a man was murdered, in front of the Kandy police station. Strangely though troops were not directly deployed until the all-island curfew had been introduced on the twentieth and volunteers were only mobilised on the twentysecond. While the troops were on the streets and the government in a position of strength why then didn't they purge the SLFP elements in the police?

Another theory is that the hoodlums were SLFP supporters. But how the dickens can one reconcile such a theory with the obvious identity of hoodlums who were loose between July twenty-second and August seventeenth?

The SLFP is a party with virulent communal elements within it, and it has used communal passions to political advantage. It is perfectly conceivable that such elements would exploit an ongoing process of communal violence. But to give them the centre stage in the drama that really began on the twentysecond of July is to throw reason to the winds.

We see therefore that the pat theories of Government politicians and their national press don't hold water. This story about violent SLFP inciters and non violent SLFP policemen—tell it to the birds.

FROM THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS,
SEPTEMBER 5, 1977

Rule Of Law And Equality

by O. H. de A. Wijesekera

In enunciating his concept of 'Dharmishta Samajaya' the Prime Minister has emphasized that in a righteous society the Rule of Law should prevail and that there should be equality before the Law for all citizens. While most of those who have commented on the concept have dealt with the religious and ethical significance of it, not much attention has been paid to the above facts highlighted by the Prime Minister. It is of course, natural that to the Buddhist mind what looms large in the idea of 'Dharma' is its basic sense of the 'Doctrine' which in the socio-political context refers to the lay-ethics (gih-dhamma), as outlined in several ethical sermons of the Buddha, especially the ten Principles of Righteous Rule (*dasa-raja dharma*). This aspect of the concept has received considerable treatment at the hands of able exponents of Buddhism. The purpose of this article, however, is to inquire into the relationship of the concept of "Dharmishta Samajaya" to the socio-legal principles of the Rule of Law and equality before the law, which have been emphasized by the Prime Minister himself in this connection. It is also significant that the Prime Minister asserted in the same breath that whatever religion one adheres to, whether it be Christianity, Islam, Hindu or Buddhism, these aspects of the 'Dharmishta Samajaya' would be agreeable to all. Thus it becomes clear that the Prime Minister was laying down socio-legal principles for universal application, and not merely referring to any sectarian doctrine.

As I have shown elsewhere (*Buddhism and Society*, 1951), there are several references in the earliest Canonical Buddhist texts to the legal basis of social organisation and good government. In the Cakkavatti Sutta of the Digha Nikaya there is considerable evidence to prove that even the monarch had to subscribe to the Rule of Law. The ideal monarch is described as one who 'honours the Dhamma

(the law of righteousness) respects it and reverts it, paying homage to it and hallowing it". This whole passage (15) upholds the superiority of right over might: in other words, the Rule of Law. In another passage (9) the king who rules by fiat as an autocrat (*svamatena*) is condemned in unmistakable terms. The regal Norm or Dharma is said to derive from the socio-moral insights of holy men who "renounce the calousness that arises from the intoxication of sense, devoted to forbearance and sympathy and who have mastered, calmed and perfected themselves are thus able to advise the monarch on what is good and bad in government."

From the above cited passage it is clear that the source of authority for the legal obligations binding on the monarch is the spiritually developed moral conscience of holy men. Law in other words must derive from the insights of morally perfect human beings. Students of the philosophy of Law may see a similarity between this Buddhist concept of the source of legal authority and the theory of Natural Law in the West as found in Aristotle.

To quote a recognized authority on the subject: "The mainstream of natural law thought flowing from Aristotle's idea that the 'nature of any creature from which legal obligations must be derived is what it will be in its fullest and most perfect development, that is to say, what man is when the power and qualities distinguishing him from others and his impulse to social living, are fully developed." If we make allowance for the difference between the East and the West in the conception of the ideally perfect human being it has to be admitted that the two theories run parallel to a great extent.

Even more important than the above principle of the Rule of Law in the Buddhist view is the socio-legally pregnant concept of equality before the law. This idea may surprise those who are not acquainted thoroughly with the contents of the teaching of the Buddha. In the same Sutta as cited above there is a passage (12) which clearly states that the monarch should rule his domain treating all his subjects equally (*samena*), i.e. impartially. The Pali phrase according to the majority of manuscripts should read "dhammena samena" meaning that

the ruler should administer his domain not only righteously but also with equity. The Pali word *samena* is derived from the adjective *sama* meaning 'equal' and is used adverbially in the context.

The socio-legal principle that all citizens should be treated as equals and that even the ruler must consider himself as equal to the others is emphasized in another socio-moral doctrine contained in the Four Bases of Popular Service (*sanghaha-vatthu*), namely liberality, civility in speech, altruistic service and the feeling of equality or impartiality (*samanattata*). This last word implies the right of each person to be considered equal to every other citizen, politically or socially.

It must be kept in mind, however, that Buddhism does not make the bland assertion that all human beings are equal. According to the Buddha human beings vary infinitely in their psychological capacities and biological inheritance. What, therefore, this term means is that everyone has a claim to human rights, and that the ruler should make no difference between the citizens on the basis of any inherent rights and privileges, such as sometimes claimed for racial and religious communities in some societies. In the light of these considerations one can well understand why the Prime Minister, with his deep knowledge of Buddhism, referred to the principle of equality before the Law in promoting his idea of Righteous Society.

In emphasizing this principle in his administration Mr. Jayewardene is following in the footsteps of the greatest Buddhist ruler in history. In his Fourth Pillar Edict, Asoka, the most illustrious emperor of India, if not of the whole world, admonishes his administrators and agents in these words: "It is most desirable that there should be absolute equality for all in all legal proceedings and in the dispensation of penal justice (*viyohalasamata ca dandasamataca*)" It can be seen that this injunction of Asoka merely attempts to put into practice the doctrine of equity laid down in the early Buddhist scriptures as indicated above. Students of the history of civilisation will no doubt appreciate the fact that the Buddha nearly 2500 years ago had realized the socio-legal value of the concept of equality in the administration of the State.

The importance of the concept of equality in the theory of natural justice has been emphasized by writers on the philosophy of Law. As an upholder of the theory of natural law the distinguished German legal philosopher, Gustav Raduburch, has declared quite clearly that "where justice is not even striven for, where equality which is the core of justice is constantly denied in the enactment of positive law, there the law is not only 'unjust law' but lacks the nature of law altogether."

In conclusion I may point out that the concept of 'Dharmishta Samajaya' as envisaged by our Prime Minister is a legitimate Buddhist concept enshrining the best features of the ideal Buddhist society as outlined in the Pali Canon and practised by Buddhist rulers of all times. It is unnecessary to add that in the present context when antagonisms are aroused in the minds of individuals in our multi-racial society the need to respect the principle of equality in political and social dealings is of paramount importance.

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WHAT THE COUNTRY NEEDS—3

A Sound Educational System

—to develop the personality of the future citizens and to meet the demands of the development of the country—

by R. Kahawita

In a modern society, education has become the obligation of a Government. Democracy cannot survive in a society that does lip service to education or so designed to subvert the young mind to undermine the established social order. The main functions of education are: first to generate a citizen who can fit into a democratic way of life with a sound character and develop a moral personality, and secondly to arm him with knowledge to contribute his moiety to the community in which he lives. The prosperity and progress of his community depends on what each one of its members can contribute

to the community both morally and materially.

All civilized communities shaped their day to day life on principles of Virtue, goodness and "true manliness". These principles were based on the religious teachings they followed. In the Western countries which came under the influence of Christianity, education and building up of moral character started in the great Monasteries. Similarly in Sri Lanka, in early times, Pirivenas and Buddhist Monasteries devoted much of their time to education and development of human personality. The temple in the village was the seat of learning—teaching was confined to humanities, moral values and character formation. In this respect the ideals of education in Sri Lanka had a common ground with the teaching Monasteries of Western civilizations. Early educationalists irrespective of the location of human societies, realised the need of a religious background to create the "moral man". The accumulation of other forms of knowledge was subservient to the former, though there was the need for both to go side by side to equip man to understand nature and his environment on his onward march to be "like unto his creator."

In our own political orbit, we have declared ourselves a democracy based on Buddhist Principles, and have accepted Buddhism as the State Religion, while guaranteeing the freedom of all other religions to free flowering within the democratic way of life. That is to say, a Buddhist state with full freedom to all other religions—in short a religious denominational state. Then if we accept that the first obligation of the educational system is to build up the "moral man", "a moral man" according to his religious convictions and beliefs—religious education and the practice of the individual's religion must form a part of such education. This has been accepted by two major political parties today, one party has done so not by conviction but by what the nationalized educational system has done to degenerate our youth.

Before Sri Lanka gained independence, during the much-maligned colonial era, there were many denominational schools, where teaching of religion was a rigorous routine and formed a part of the

school curriculum, and compulsory to those students who belonged to the religious denomination of the school. There were several disadvantages to the indigenous religious believers because their schools were in the provinces and pirivena teaching never got beyond "classical education". Whereas the foreign religious denominations came to Sri Lanka armed with the Sciences and very aggressive teaching religious orders. They scored on this point compared to teaching institutions managed by Buddhists. Even here, the few schools there were, were inspired by "Foreigners". This denominational rivalry was the beginning of state interference and the educational deterioration in Sri Lanka. It became a very portent and fertile ground to gain political popularity with the masses who were born to a Buddhist environment.

Before State took over education and its management, we wish to recount briefly what was in Sri Lanka before independence. Then elementary education was compulsory and free. The child was taught three R's. Reading, writing and Arithmetic. This teaching was provided in state run schools as well as in religious denominational schools which were supported by a grant-in-aid scheme. This took the child up to the fourth standard at about age level 11 years. Thereafter secondary education of a child started in schools run by various denominations. State financed one such institution of a non denominational character. They were all fee levying, supported by a supplementary grant-in-aid scheme, provided the schools were open to periodical inspections, assessment of quality of education, for purposes of up-grading. The Public Examinations were Junior and Senior of the Cambridge University and London University Matriculation. All examination papers were set in England, corrected in England and results issued within three months the most. The system worked very well and never was there any question of rigging, unfair marking of Answer papers, or marking failures as passes to satisfy political pressure—not an infrequent occurrence today.

The curricula covered many subjects which prepared the student for various walks of life he chose to follow. In order to guarantee

a minimum standard of general education to make the student an intelligent member of society, there were three compulsory subjects at the junior level which the student had to pass in addition to two other subjects of the student's choice—in all five subjects to qualify for a certificate, failure in one of the compulsory subjects or a failure in any one of the two optional subjects disqualified the student. This was a grading test to weed out "the unsuitables" seeking higher studies when they could be of better use to the community in a lesser role than an unemployable "drop out" at University level. The Cambridge Senior Certificate and London Matriculation were entrance examinations to any British University and latterly to the "Ceylon University College" which was affiliated to the London University, and under the administrative control of the Education Department of the Government.

In the year 1947—with the gain of Independence, Universal free education from the "Baby class" to the University College was adopted as the Education policy. When this step was taken, the denominational schools—mainly secondary education were given the option to come into the free scheme and be under state control or remain outside it with no grant-in-aid but could levy fees. Several schools catering for the children of the well-to-do opted to remain "Private". Thereafter education became the sole responsibility of the State and in keeping with this, several "Vidyalayas and Mahavidyalayas", were set up in areas where schooling facilities were lacking and to meet the requests of Politicians to build up their own popularity in their constituency. Buildings sprang up but the training of teachers to man these schools lagged behind the building programme so the content of education, quality, and discipline deteriorated rapidly in the state managed schools.

This created a severe contrast between denominational schools that opted to remain outside the free scheme and the new institutions built, equipped and manned by Government. Dissatisfaction began to brew among the parents, teachers, students, and the administration alike over the different standards. The Gov-

ernment was facing a very embarrassing situation. What was the solution? Nationalization was the tool the Government found to hide its own short comings, administrative, incompetence, and barrenness of ideas. Thus to shelter itself the Government decided on the "School take-over". This was the beginning and the end of our education system.

Now let us look at the "School take-over" and the aftermath. The SLFP Government of 1960 under Mrs. Bandaranaike took over all the denominational schools, with a neither here nor there kind of protests from the denominations who owned the school properties and managed them well. Dr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud a nominated Parliamentarian, was the Minister of Education and the tool used to take over the School. However some schools were given the option to go private but no fees were to be charged from the pupils, some of the denominations grasped this last reed of hope and went private, with the firm conviction that there will be sufficient support from the parents to maintain the independence, quality, and content of education and that at some stage a more reasonable and democratic government may reverse the process of Nationalization. However these hopes were not realised mainly because there was no unity among the parents and the denominations to request for a change. As time went on some schools that went non-fee levying and private landed on the rocks with the result they were also taken over or gracefully handed over to Government. Some still carry on with all kinds of devious ways to maintain them above the water line.

This process of Government Policies and the determination of the denominations to carry on, have given Sri Lanka several classes of educational institutions—Private fee-levying, Private non-fee levying and finally free schools. None of them adhere to the financial aspects of education to what the category denotes, except the fee levying private schools. In these schools the parents know what they are in for when they admit their children to one of these institutions, others the so-called free schools—Government and private alike—are not free as far as the

parents are concerned. There are all kinds of demands under various guises which the parents have to pay up to maintain the children in the schools. These demands are as great a financial outlay as when fees were charged prior to Nationalization.

The net results of Nationalization are: quality of education has deteriorated to such levels never before experienced, institutional loyalties and the pride of belonging to a particular Institution is not there any longer—a very important outlook in building up character in a growing child, and upholding the traditions of the old school. Teacher-pupil relationship has disappeared altogether and without being accused of exaggeration, the only relationship that exists today between pupil and teacher is for immorality or to generate indiscipline: thus destroying the respect a pupil has towards his teachers and accept them as guides and moral mentors. Teaching profession, what used to be a dedicated service to the school and country, has degenerated to another way of earning a living, no different and no better than a clerk in a government office who puts in the minimum number of hours in a working day to qualify for his wages.

At the time the schools were taken over there were no plans to restructure the educational system to be in line with National needs and aspirations. It was politically motivated to be able to say, that all schools, by nationalization, have been reduced to the village level; that the colonial idea of "Old school tie" bandism has been destroyed; the superiority of denominational schools in education discipline, and building up of moral values have been levelled down to inefficient teaching units—Slogan was "equality in education and equal opportunities to all" and it stopped at that. To maintain the slogan, quality of education was reduced and to maintain a balance between members seeking higher education from city schools and village schools, marking of answer papers were rigged to show that village schools were better than the city schools. This was called "standardization." It meant pulling down the "gifted child" below the average level. Though politically this may have been a popular move, the capable, child suffered.

With the "take-over" of denominational schools and the ban placed on employing religious orders on the teaching staff of schools, created a vacuum in religious and moral education. The full meaning of education is to produce citizens of good moral character and with high ideals, these are prerequisites to the building up of a healthy well conducted society. Lack of moral and religious education after the school take-over has released a band of school leavers of no credit to any institution or country.

To support this statement, evidence is not wanting. On several occasions the erstwhile Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, has referred to the deplorable conduct of our students. She is the one that master-minded the school take-over and it is good for herself to realise the results of her actions. On the 4th of August 1976 at a Dhamma school day celebration she said that the reason for ragging and obscene vulgarity exhibited at the campuses were due to lack of religious education. Again on Saturday the 14th of May 1977 at Milagiriya at a similar function, she bemoaned the lack of religious teaching in schools, lack of religious teachers and a host of other shortcomings in our religious and moral life. Education in religion and secular moral values must run parallel to education in languages, sciences, history etc. She even mentioned on this occasion, that one moral commodity Sri Lanka could export to the Western world is Buddhism and suggested that about 5000 Buddhist monks should be trained and sent abroad for evangelical work. It is rather strange that this should come from a Prime Minister who was responsible for the take-over of the denominational schools and repatriating the religious teaching orders, thus denying the teaching of religion to our children. There were other religious orders who ministered to the lepers, the sick, the maimed and the destitutes, like the internationally famous Mother Teresa of Calcutta. In Sri Lanka too such fountains of kindness and service to humanity were there, but with the SLFP Government coming into power, they were sealed off and smothered to gain political popularity and supremacy. So, almost after seventeen years of degenerating our youths, it is heartening to hear a cry of "Mea Culpa" from these very politicians who cried

down the denominational schools, teaching and practice of religion in the school. If this is the admission of the Prime Minister and the considered assesment of the nett result of the school take-over and the nationalized educational system the whole parent population of Sri Lanka endorses the sentiments expressed by the then Prime Minister at the two Dhamma school functions. At the same time the Prime Minister and her Minister for Education must share the blame for the degeneration of our youths, and the awful activities at our campuses as revealed in the Kularatne report. Fortunately for the country they are no longer in power.

The schools were taken over in 1960 to give Sri Lanka "a National system of education". However as recently as February 1977, the Minister of Education was heard admitting that he had not yet discovered the National System of Education. Still the children of Sri Lanka are going through a period of experimentation. At this stage it may be pertinent to ask "what was wrong with the system before Nationalization"? That system has produced good men and women of character, learning and full of wisdom including some of the Politicians who were responsible in the attempt to change the system through which they reached their heights of ambition etc. The answer to this question may be avarice for Political power and to be in power at any cost. We pay for it now.

If we ponder Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement further; the schools were taken over about fifteen years ago, the students who were involved in the campus rags etc. were toddlers at the time of the take-over. They reached adulthood through the desecrated schools till they reached the higher educational institutions where they went beserk. These mature teenager students were the products of nationalised schools, where discipline is unknown, teaching of religion and religious practices are almost banned, if not, never taught due to lack of moral and religious leadership in the nationalized schools. Teaching of religion has been substituted by teaching of communism, socialism spiced with anti-capitalist propaganda, sense of moral and religious values is replaced by material values to set one class against another. It is this that has

corrupted and despoiled the one time excellent system of education, managed by devoted teachers, religious orders dedicated to the education of the young in the fullest sense of "education", administrators who took pride in the quality of the school products they sent out into the country to man the various walks of life and they in turn upheld the traditions of the institutions they belonged.

When there is trouble in the centres of education the Government is quick to blame the students, the teachers, Presidents, Vice-Chancellors and others involved in education, never the establishment nor the Government which are responsible for the educational Policies and the content of teaching. The students etc. cannot be blamed. They are only tools in a system, designed to demoralize the younger generations. Having witnessed and experienced what is happening to education since the school take-over, it is high time the parents sit up and take stock of what is happening to their children and demand a change.

It is only in Sri Lanka that her people are too glad and willing to surrender their rights without even a murmur. Many a visitor to the country has commented on the ease with which a Government has taken over private Property of the citizens without a protest, denied the constitutional rights of the people, carried on the Government under repressive emergency laws, passed legislation with retrospective effect to destroy those who may have opposed their political adventures, interfered with the independence of the judiciary, appointed judges to courts who will endorse the actions of the Government rather than sit in judgement. In fact all actions of the Government designed to harass the subjects, even thuggery and vindictives, partisan appointments and opportunities, discrimination in the conduct of academic studies, became injudicious. With the steam roller majority in the House of Representatives, with no other democratic political institution to moderate the excesses of the legislature; laws were passed overnight with retrospective effect which no civilized country would do or ac-

cept to exterminate the opponents of a Government. All these the "Free citizens of Sri Lanka who are constitutionally supreme" stomached without a whimper of Protest.

How did the Government do it? By breaking down the moral values in the younger generations, setting one class against another, caste against caste, poor against the rich, labour against the employer, dishonest against the honest, thugery against the law abiding, denying the rights of the one to the advantage of the party stooges, so the story goes on. These acts of commissions against the state and the subjects are recounted with relish by the members of the erstwhile Government and her Ministers. This is what they did to get back into the saddle.

The educational system was taken over to prostitute the growing generation to enable a Government to carry on as we have experienced to date. By our submission we connived with a corrupt Government to degenerate the future generations.

On the 21st of July the people have stopped this rampage. We have a new leadership today. The parents should now ask for a Presidential Commission to inquire into the education system of the United Front Government since May 1970 to date and report to the President with recommendations to put the educational system to be in keeping with National aspirations. This is an obligation of the new Government and action should be taken without delay.

Education is free and is available to all, but the parents never nor the people of Sri Lanka ever bargained for this kind of deal. It has not helped the parent to ease his financial commitment to educate his child nor produced an educated child to his desire or to his aspirations as to what his child should be. It is only in Sri Lanka that a parent could be so irresponsibly tolerant.

Inania of this, that and the other

By INNA
Seventy Seven Years Ago

Fr. Wallyn S. J.

It was the year 1900, and the missionaries had walked the length and breadth of the land. The root

causes of pauperism were not that clear, but unmistakeable lines were showing themselves. To take all the causes would have meant to reflect still further and to recede from history into a vantage-point. That was difficult. The upsurge of the tea-plantations had begun about 33 years earlier, and the pace of 33 years may have been rather slow: much would have been effected in a short while, fifty years later; much more in a still shorter time a hundred years later, but just 33 years after 1867, don't ask anyone to analyse, reflect dissect and get to root causes and radical measures.

That is just what Mr. Wallyn, the Jesuit did.

He wrote an article in that year, analysing on a minor key, "the causes of pauperism in Ceylon, the causes of the moral-social scourge which the missionary more than others can observe in his daily relations with the indigenous people." Seventy-seven years ago, he had bypassed some of the men of rank and religion of today in his wide sweep: "the missionary's work is the moral and material upliftment of his poor people."

His purpose in writing that nine-page article (quarto) was "to note some of the local abuses which, independently of the more general causes ('such as governmental and administrative vices often presented by others')—causes which maintain our population in poverty." He was mainly referring to the Indians who had been brought over in the foregoing decades. He lists as causes of misery, the following, with a fairly detailed analysis and commentary.

We outline:—

Causes of misery:

1. false idea they have, of work; they want office work; manual work is a degradation, they feel.
2. early marriage: especially among Tamils, children married before the age of reason.
3. family organisation: a man in taking a wife marries the whole family: wife's parents and all, are soon under one roof. They don't dream of sending anyone away. Even if they have a handful of rice, they share it.
4. Undue and foolish expenses on the occasions of marriage and feasts in general.
5. Usury.

(From Notes du R. P. Wallyn, "Missions Belges de la Comp. Jesus," 1900 pp. 375-363)

What, may I ask, had this gentleman done to merit the encomium of a pioneer social apostle in Sri Lanka, among the estate population, except that he was more reflexive, more inclined to see the total man, the integral man, sixty-seven years before Pope Paul's Development of Peoples?

Wouldn't most people accept that this is the fuller christianity, the more human type of the Divinity with the human face? True, he did not see, at that time, the ravages made by estate-pioneers on the economy of our peasantry and on the destiny of that dweller in the dingy line-room, but he was on the right track of pursuit. The humane English government had disliked usury; had allowed only 1 percent per month as interest, in S. India. The ancient laws of India, it seems had forbidden people to ask for more than 2 percent from a Brahmin, 4% from a Vaysia, 3% from a Kshatriya and 5% from a Sudra.

Here was one whom so many years ago, was interested in Community rather than in an isolated communion in man's material needs also, rather than in his moral ways only; in bread as well as in the word of the Lord. He could assert with modest pride:

"It is for us catholic priests to react against all these cases of pauperism: it is our social question. It is a tough problem, all the more difficult to eradicate among oriental peoples, as every ingrained habit is difficult to solve....."

RACE-MYTH & SCIENCE—2

Are There Races?

—culture and race—

by Dr Arthur Weerakoon

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There are no races; the human species is not divisible into races. It is a very variable species almost infinitely variable, but it is one, just one. That is the verdict of biologists and of anthropologists who have studied this question for many, many years. A race is a part of a species (or kind) of animal which is distinguishable from the rest.

This concept of race is one that has been arrived at by eminent specialists in the field of such stu-

dies—and it applies to all life; not only to animals but also to plants, not only to the lower animals, but also to man. If we accept it, as we must if we value truth, then man is not divisible into races. Because although one can divide up men into groups, none of these groups meets basic requirements of a race namely that the characters by which the group is distinguished must be heritable and must form a set. What this means will become clear if we examine a few examples.

Thus one may divide human beings into those who play cricket and those who do not play cricket. But this character the playing of cricket is not one a man is born with; it is one he gradually learns, acquires, in the course of his growth after his birth. It is not a heritable character; and cricketers are not a racial group. Similarly, though men can be divided into groups, which grow their hair long or which cut it short, or into groups whose main food is either the potato or wheat, or rice, or rye, into groups who believe that there is one God or that there are many Gods or that there are no Gods, into groups who speak English, or Dutch, or Bengalese or Chinese or Malay or Sinhala or Tamil and so on, yet none of these groups is a race. None of these groups is a race for the simple reason that none of these differentiating characters is heritable; none is capable of being handed down from one generation to the next at birth, or to be more exact, at the moment of conception.

So much for groups based on characters which are not inherited. One may also separate men into groups based on characters which are inherited. The colour of our skins is inherited; and one can divide men into three groups depending on whether their skin is whitish (like Englishmen) or yellowish (like Chinese) or brownish or blackish (like ourselves).

But though these three groups are natural they are not races because these groups are based on differences in just one character, skin-colour. The same applies to groups based upon other heritable characters like hair-colour (golden or brown or black) or hair shape (straight or wavy) or height (short or tall) and so on. None of these groups is a race, for a race is a group which is different from other

groups not in one character at a time, but in a number of characters all at the same time.

What is more, almost all these one-character groups are very vaguely outlined. That is to say, although we may picture two groups of men, the white-skinned and the black-skinned, all manner of shades in between white and black are also found amongst men so that the gap between the two groups is fully bridged and the groups tend to disappear.

Groups based upon the character of our blood form an exception to this rule. They are sharply distinct from each other. Yet nothing could be less like race than a blood-group of man.

I should like to say a little more about it since there is much ignorant talk of "English blood" and "Sinhalese blood" and so on. The blood of man has been studied and heritable differences in the way it responds to certain tests or treatments applied to it have indeed been found that there are four main types of blood; and these types have been named by certain letters of the alphabet: A, B, AB and O. According to the type of blood men have they can be divided into 4 groups; Group A, Group B, Group AB, Group O.

Now we come to the really important point—all four groups are found amongst the English people, and also all four are found amongst the Indians and amongst the Tamils and amongst the Sinhalese! In fact all peoples, all nations of this world, have all these four types of blood! And there is just no such thing as English blood or Sinhalese blood or Tamil blood.

This is a matter of great practical importance in hospitals. After accidents and major operations it is often necessary to inject blood into a patient to keep him alive. For this the correct kind of blood must be given or else the patient will be killed by the blood that is injected into him. By the term "correct kind of blood" is meant blood of the correct blood group (A, B, AB or O). Whether this blood comes from an Englishman or from a Chinese or from a Tamil makes not the slightest difference: if it is of the correct, the appropriate group it will save the patient, though it will not change him into an Englishman or a Chinese or a Tamil in any way at all; if it is of the wrong blood group it will kill

the patient even if the patient and the blood donor are both Sinhalese or both Tamil or both Chinese.

Another thing about these one-character-groups which makes it quite clear that they cannot possibly be races: most of us can, without much difficulty remember families in Ceylon, both amongst the Tamils and amongst the Sinhalese where the father and the mother are brown-skinned, but one of the children is so fair as to be almost white-skinned and another so dark as to be almost black-skinned. If groups based upon one character are races then these children of the same parents would belong to different races! Which is absurd! In the same way it very often happens that though both father and mother belong to Blood Group A the children belong to blood group O.

If one insisted on thinking of these, one character groups as races or even as varieties one should have to put these parents and their children into different races or different varieties! which is again absurd.

It should be quite clear now that there aren't different races of man. If there aren't different races of man, there cannot of course, be morally superior and morally inferior races of man. But what of these one-character-groups like white-skinned, brown-skinned and yellow-skinned into which we have seen it is possible to divide man?

Even though these are not races it is not possible that some of these groups are superior to others. For example, is it now possible that the white-skinned group of people is cleverer and kinder than the brown-skinned group?

The answer is a very definite No. Moral or psychic qualities like kindness and cruelty, generosity, stinginess, dishonesty, honesty and so on are NOT inherited. They are chiefly the result of the conditions in which the growing child is reared after it has been born.

A child will be dishonest not because it is born of dishonest parents but because it is brought up by and amongst dishonest people.

A child of dishonest parents if brought up by and amongst honest people will grow up to be perfectly honest. This has been proved by many careful sociological studies. No man is honest or brave or kind merely because he has a white skin

There Are No Races

or blue eyes; nor is a man cruel or stingy because he happens to have a white skin or blue eyes. A child may develop any of these qualities according to the conditions in which he is brought up; whether he does or does not have anything to do with the colour of his skin; nor with the shape of his hair, nor with his height nor with any such characters by which man may be divided into minor groups. None of these one character groups is superior or inferior to any other morally.

One final important point about human groups. The Germans believed that they were a pure race and despised all other European peoples for being more or less mixed with inferior non-European peoples like the Jews; and they prohibited the marriage of Germans and Jews. White-skinned South Africans today are equally afraid of mixture with the dark-skinned South Africans. And in Ceylon the Sinhalese, the Tamils the "Dutch Burghers" (to name just three of our communities) are each certain that they are a pure race, the Tamils being perhaps more certain of it than anyone else! Are there pure races? Are there unmixed groups of men, racial, communal or otherwise?

It is a well known fact that men and women of the most diverse appearance live together as man and wife, and have children—black-skinned Africans and yellow-skinned Chinese, white-skinned golden-haired Europeans and brown-skinned black haired Sinhalese and Tamils, for example. The children of these unions are perfectly healthy and perfectly normal both in their bodies and in their minds and in their morals. Mixture between different people occurs today all over the world. And it has done so for thousands of years, for hundreds of thousands of years, in fact for at least a quarter of a million years. Men of our species, our kind, have lived in this world for at least that length of time; and almost from their first appearance they have roamed over the entire habitable world—much more slowly, of course, than we do today but just as certainly; and with the same results—interbreeding. Even if "once upon a time" there were pure unmixed peoples, there cannot be any left today. There aren't any in exist-

ence today; we are all mixed the Tamils as much as the Sinhalese, the Portuguese as much as the Burghers. We are not only all members of just one species—we are also a thoroughly mixed lot. Amongst men there are no pure races, no pure communities, no pure groups of any sort. To preen ourselves on the purity of one's race or community or nation is about the most supremely ignorant thing a man can do.

But you may ask, if there are not different races of man how is it that you can distinguish an Englishman from an Indian. You distinguish between these people by the bodily difference they often show—differences in skin-colour, in hair-colour and so on. But we have already seen that these differences are of no racial significance; and in any case there are often Englishmen and Indians who show absolutely no bodily differences at all. You also distinguish between the Englishman and the Indian by differences in the way they talk, in the way they walk, in the way they dress, in their manners and in their customs, and so on.

In short you distinguish between them by what might be called their cultural differences, all of which are picked up by them in the course of their upbringing. Between the Sinhalese and the Tamils these are the only significant differences that can be found, there aren't any physical ones. Whenever you are able to tell a Sinhalese from a Tamil it is because they show some of these cultural differences.

Does this mean, then, that those Sinhalese are justified who fear that their Buddhist culture will be damaged and will ultimately disappear by contact with Tamil culture? That those Tamils are justified who fear that their Tamil Hindu culture will be damaged and will finally disappear by contact with Sinhalese culture?

No they are not justified. Their fears are as unreasonable and as groundless as are the fears of the Germans that they would be polluted by contact with the Jews. Just as there are no pure races of man, so also are there no pure cultures.

All existing cultures are hybrid cultures formed by the incorporation of parts of other cultures into

themselves; they are hybrid cultures produced by culture contact and inter-mixture. And the more flourishing a culture is, the more it flowers, the more hybrid it will be found upon examination. Throughout the long history of the island, Sinhalese and Tamil cultures have existed side by side, have been in intimate contact with each other—and it is well to remember that at no time did this contact harm either of the cultures. There is no reason why contact between them should be harmful now.

It is also very important to remember that the one certain way to destroy one's own culture is to attempt to develop it at the expense of another's. The Germans set out to destroy the Jews and Jewish culture. They certainly succeeded in killing millions of Jews. But they did not destroy Jewish culture. The culture they did destroy was their own; making monsters of themselves, they destroyed their own wonderful German culture.

The same holds true for us in Ceylon. If we Sinhalese attempt to destroy Tamil culture, or to develop ours at the expense of theirs, we may be certain that we shall damage our own most grievously. And if the Tamils in unreasonable fear, oppose a healthy revival of Sinhalese culture, they too may be certain that they will thereby damage their own.

There are no races of man. The Sinhalese and the Tamils are not two races. They are one people. Between them there are only cultural differences. We should rejoice that in a country as small as ours we have so many cultures; the Sinhalese, the Tamil, the Muslim, the Burgher and so on. Let us foster them all.

Let us not make the blunder of supposing that we can foster one culture at the expense of any other culture; nor the blunder of imagining that cultural differences are racial differences. For if we do these things, be ready to be gulled as the Germans were by the Nazis fascists who called themselves National Socialists. We shall be ready to be hoodwinked as were the Germans, whose political and economic emancipation was set back a whole generation, whilst they, poor fools, were busy burning and baiting the Jews.

Confidentially

Is Eelam Viable?—2

IS IT NOT TRUE that many Tamils who have so far talked enthusiastically about a separate state and *Tamil Eelam* are only now seriously examining the question about the viability of such a "sovereign, secular and socialist state?" That it was because a large number of our readers had asked us this question that we started on this series *IS EELAM VIABLE* in this column last week? That we had set out some preliminary thoughts about the totally evasive TULF vagueness about what constitutes the territory of *Tamil Eelam*? That elsewhere in this issue, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya—a great friend of the Tamils if there is one—has carefully explained how in the recent general elections, the Tamils had not given a mandate to the TULF to demand (or attempt to set up) a separatist *Tamil Eelam*? That in the course of his arguments he touched on the question of the "territory" the TULF claims as the *Tamil Eelam*? That Fr. Balasuriya cites the TULF's manifesto, "...when we speak of the Tamil nation we refer to the entirety of the people in this country to whom the mother tongue is Tamil..."? That Fr. Balasuriya then goes on to say, "that there was no clear indication of the area claimed for Eelam? That the only reference is to the 13th century position: "...at this time, the territory stretching in the western seaboard from Chilaw through Puttalam to Mannar and thence to the Northern Regions in the East, Trincomalee and also the Batticaloa Regions that extended southwards up to Kumana or to the Northern banks of the Kumbukkan Oya were firmly established as the exclusive homeland of the Tamils. This is the territory of *Tamil Eelam*?" That Fr. Balasuriya commented: "This is a fairly large chunk of Sri Lanka: it is far more than the Northern Province. This is also the area in which the TULF contested?" That Fr. Balasuriya is not the only person who has been stumped by the failure of the TULF to define the territory of *Tamil Eelam* in a way that even friends of the Tamils in other communi-

ties can understand or appreciate? That a careful scrutiny of the TULF Manifesto (vide *Tribune*, August 6 and 13) does not help? That the Manifesto in a bid to bring the Muslims into *Tamil Eelam* states: "...bound together by the bonds of a common language and inter-twining lives in a common territory and brought together by the common danger of total destruction, the Tamils and the Muslims realised the indispensability of joint action; subject to the safeguards of preserving the identity of the Muslims and ensuring their sovereignty, the Muslim United Front joined the Tamil United Liberation Front as a constituent unit: the rights of the Muslim people in the Tamil State of Eelam will be amplified further in this manifesto: when we speak of the Tamil Nation, we refer to the entirety of the people in this country to whom the mother tongue is Tamil"?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Muslims in the Eastern Province and Puttalam have now made it amply clear that they are not *Tamil Eelam*? That the total rejection of *Tamil Eelam* by the Muslims in the so-called Tamil areas has knocked the bottom out of the TULF's *Eelam* as defined in the Manifesto? That the Manifesto further seeks justification for Eelam in ancient history? That after indulging in speculative and doubtful dicta about Sinhalese and Tamil kings and kingdoms in the distant past it pounced upon a situation that is said to have existed when the Portuguese conquered the maritime regions of Ceylon "...at this time, the territory stretching in the western sea-board from Chilaw through Puttalam to Mannar and thence to the Northern Regions and in the East, Trincomalee and also the Batticaloa Regions that extended southwards up to Kumana or to the northern banks of the river Kumbukkan Oya were firmly established as the exclusive homeland of the Tamils: this is the territory of *Tamil Eelam*?" That all that is said in the TULF manifesto only makes the confusion more confounded? That if one sought assistance from the speeches of the TULF candidates and spokesmen during the recent election campaign to define *Tamil Eelam*, one will have no alternative but to conclude that if the full implications of TULF speeches were made known in the Sinhalese areas this country will become a veritable hell for several generations?

That even at this late stage TULF propagandists should learn to forget emotional rhetoric and resolve the problems confronting the Tamils in a realistic and pragmatic way? That we have strayed away from the question *IS EELAM VIABLE*? That we have done so only because this question is intimately tied up with the exact boundaries of *Tamil Eelam*? That everybody will also acknowledge that *Tamil Eelam* has not been defined by the TULF in a way that will enable either economists or social scientists to decide whether *Tamil Eelam* is, or is not, a viable proposition? That it will be interesting, nevertheless, to examine the arguments of TULF apologists about the economic viability of the yet uncertain area of *Tamil Eelam*? That in answering the question whether a *Tamil Eelam* would "be able to pay its own way in the world", Amirthalingam, according to the *Asiaweek* of July 8, "has no doubt on the score: last week he made the point of reminding his listeners that the North produces the bulk of Sri Lanka's onions, potatoes, chillies and tobacco as well as a goodly volume of rice and grapes"? *Asiaweek* itself had commented on this claim thus: "none of these crops is even remotely near the tea, rubber and coconut bracket as a foreign exchange earner—but an independent Tamilnad presumably would have a ready market for its products right next door in Sri Lanka: if that was what Amirthalingam had in mind, however, he seemed less than concerned about staying in the customer's good books..." That, in the interests of all people in Ceylon it has become necessary to examine critically the claims for economic viability for *Tamil Eelam* put forward by TULF apologists? That the TULF is as evasive about economic viability as it is about the territory of *Tamil Eelam*? That the time has come for this demagogic bluff about the economic viability of *Eelam* to be called? That the time has also come to discard illusions of viability because of such dispensable or importable onions, chillies, potatoes, rice and grapes? That it is necessary to examine (critically) the TULF case for viability even on the basis of territory that cannot be *Eelam*?

(To be Continued)



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