

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 14.

19th May 1984

IT'S NOW OR NEVER

There is only one lesson to be learnt from last week's hostage crisis: this is that if our leaders are keen on the preservation of the independence, sovereignty territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, then they must act with a greater sense of statesmanship than displayed hitherto in resolving the National Question — and act fast.

Guerilla movements everywhere have a tendency to gather momentum unless the conditions which give birth and sustenance to such movements are not eliminated.

The SUN, in one of its rare moments of enlightenment, has acknowledged this fact when it said editorially (on 17th May): "The latest kidnap drama bears testimony to the extent of sophistication the agents of terror has achieved. They are not second to any international terrorist movement. They were able to kidnap a foreign couple, hold them hostage and even release them despite the heavy security network that was launched in the Northern peninsula....."

The SUN also acknowledged: "The hostage crisis also exposed shortcomings in

DIOGENES ALIVE

We finally found Diogenes, just as the Government finally found the Allens.

Our philosopher was seated on the Pannai causeway, his feet dangling in the water, his head in the clouds.

After much persuasion, he agreed to share his thoughts with SATURDAY REVIEW readers.

Over to Diogenes - on Page 2.

the general law and order and security systems now in operation in strife-torn north. If terrorists could pull off such a well-organised stunt and also get away unscathed, then it is time that changes for the better are affected."

If we said all this off our own bat, the Censor would have used his blue pencil liberally. That is why we are hiding behind the cover of another newspaper.

This is by the way. What is important is that our leaders, instead of thinking of a military solution to the National Question, should give more urgent consideration to a political solution.

The Sinhalese leaders and their followers should ask themselves: Who benefited from the July 1983 holocaust?

All things material that were destroyed then (we are not referring to the Tamil people's lives, which seem to be very expendable) were either produced locally or imported at heavy cost of foreign exchange. Which means that we as a nation suffered; not the Tamil people alone.

Which is to say that we cannot afford another holocaust of the same nature, which will be the inevitable and inexorable fate of this nation unless our leaders shed their parochialism and chauvinism and act with foresight, bearing in mind the future of the country.

We repeat that the Sinhalese people have more to lose from a repeat performance of 1983 than the Tamil people.

We hope they and their leaders learn the correct lesson from the hostage crisis and act accordingly.

Lucky Man!

The Joint Secretary of the Sri Lankan Jatika Guru Sangamaya, Mr. Piyasena Kahandagamage, was transferred 31 times in his 20 years of service!

Following protests by the Sangamaya, 12 of these transfers, on political grounds, were cancelled, so that he is now serving in his 19th school.

Rs. 1,500

A Month

The United Front of Teachers' Union has demanded that the minimum salary of a teacher be fixed at Rs. 1,500 a month immediately.

EDITOR WARNED BY CHIEF CENSOR

Dear Readers: We have been pulled up by the Competent Authority appointed under the Emergency Regulations and armed with power to regulate the media.

Our "crime"? We rushed to print with the expose headlined "Sun's damn lie" in the issue of 28th April without awaiting formal approval of the copy by the censor.

Here is the Competent Authority's letter, dated 2nd May, 1984.

Editor
Saturday Review

Ministry of State,
2nd May 1984.

I refer to the Order issued by me on 18th April 1984 under Section 14 (1) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) Regulations No. 4 of 1984 by which I directed that all material, which term shall include articles, comments, news items, pictorial representations and photographs that are to be published in the Saturday Review should be submitted to the Government Agent of the District of Jaffna and his prior approval obtained before such material is published in the said newspaper.

You are hereby warned under Regulation 14 (2) (b) of the said Regulations for contravention of the above direction by failure to submit to the G. A. Jaffna, the matter carried on page one of your issue of 28th April 1984 under the title "SUN'S DAMN LIE".

This warning should be displayed prominently on the first page of your next issue.

D. J. F. Liyanage,
Secretary / Ministry of State
COMPETENT AUTHORITY

As we said in our explanation to the Government Agent of Jaffna (published on 5th May), there was no intention at all on our part to defy the Censor.

by Saturday, which means we have to keep to tight printing schedules which do not make allowance for the tight Censorship rules.

But we have an obligation by our readers to bring out the SATURDAY REVIEW

These rules, which are applicable to only the SATURDAY REVIEW of

(Continued on Page 12)

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A MOMENT WITH DIOGENES

Diogenes had strayed into Jaffna quite unintentionally and become a very welcome guest of Gamini Navaratne who looked after the philosopher with his spartan hospitality. Gamini led an ascetic life in the North. The Master found the people of Jaffna without their leaders who had fled in fear of the boys to South India and were being lavishly hosted in Madras. The nerves of the Jaffna people had been shattered. Anxiety and concern, fear and despair were writ large on their faces. Jaffna was an occupied territory. Diogenes roamed the streets in the town and in Manipay, Chankanai, Vadukoddai and Kayts, Mathagal, Atchuvily, Tellipalai, K.K., Point Pedro Chunnakam and Kokuvil. He visited the houses of some of the people whose relatives were killed either during the holocaust in July last year or during the military operation last month. He visited the homes of the Tamil policemen who were shot last week. Jaffna was a veritable funeral house. It was Funeral House without funeral rights. Bodies were heaped up and burnt on the

road. The people were mourning their dead and their lamentations for the innocent people killed keep reaching the heavens. They are in a state of shock. They bear no ill will to anybody. There was silence, misery, uncertainty, confusion, death and terror—an unarmed people, helpless and innocent. Grief stricken already they do not know when it is their turn to die. Some of them want to die. They have nothing to live for. They live like hunted animals, not knowing when the guns will be turned on them. Even birds and animals can run for their safety. No place in Sri Lanka is safe for them.

This is the reality in Jaffna. Some of the youth have disappeared—God knows where; they have sent messages to their parents that they preferred to move out of Jaffna than remain to be shot at home. Diogenes sat on a culvert beside a wide open field and wept.

"Who cares for them?" asked Diogenes. "What a cruel thing to say that if India invades Sri Lanka, it is the end of the Tamils! The only Indian Union invasion the Tamils know of and have resented is the Indian Union invasion under this Government's free market policy which has broken the agricultural economy of the Jaffna farmer. India also ceased to import the Jaffna tobacco. Why should these people suffer for the talk of their chicken-hearted loud mouthed-leaders in India? If the sun rises it is the end of the Tamils. If the sun sets it is the end of the Tamils. Why should the State strike terror into these innocent Tamils? State terrorism is no answer. It multiplies the terrorists. The Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Army occupation in Jaffna has been counter productive. Far from eliminating Terrorism, it has increased it manifold. Today the Jaffna youth feel safer as Terrorists than as law abiding citizens because the guns are turned on the innocent civilians. The youth are at least trained to run away if not to use a gun. Why cannot there be a free debate on the realities of this problem? It is not a genocide, it will be a case of a racial suicide organised by the so-called leaders from their sanctuaries abroad and directed by those in the south who cannot think clearly, feel sincerely or say anything truthfully. The situation is such that both the SLFP and the UNP can obtain political mileage out of all this and the short-term rewards

are too tempting for them to reject in the interests of Sri Lanka and the people of Sri Lanka. How can they expect the Tamils to think of a United Sri Lanka when they have neither safety or security in any part of Sri Lanka?"

"Master, what are your solutions to this problem?" asked his friend from the philosopher.

"There certainly cannot be an immediate solution. The problem is complicated and there are too many consultants and interests. The SLFP has stood out of all this, but the Ven. Rahula says that neither the SLFP nor the UNP is prepared to give anything more than the D. D. Cs. If so, the solution perforce is confined to square one and a going back to the situation that prevailed before the July holocaust. Therefore the ultimate solution must be postponed. One does not fill a tooth or pull out a tooth when there is an abscess. It should be obvious that a political solution cannot be found after a military operation and all that followed after July. Solution must be found by stages. Let us think of what should be done now. I suggest the following:

1. An amnesty must be declared on the laying down of arms.
2. The TULF 'leaders' must return and lead the people and be with them.
3. The boys cannot be ignored. It will be helpful to meet them after the grant of the amnesty or at least to have some communication with them.
4. The armed force must be withdrawn within 6 months time.
5. The prevention of Terrorism Act to be suspended.
6. If there is no significant incident during the Truce the army must be permanently withdrawn and the Prevention of Terrorism Act permanently repealed.
7. The security of the Tamils to be the primary concern of the Sinhalese and the security of the Sinhalese the primary concern of the Tamils.
8. A Human Rights Commission to be invited to assist the Government and its members to be

given diplomatic status to advise the Nation and all parties.

9. Non-violence and the Rule of Law to be re-established.
10. Inculcate discipline and rule of valour and patriotism and not racism into the members of the armed forces.
11. Make rules that an act of violence by the armed forces against an unarmed civilian as retaliation is an act of cowardice.
12. An address to the Nation by the patriots of Sri Lanka whose philosophy holds high a united Sri Lanka, and the Sovereignty of the People, whatever their race or creed.
13. Alleviate the hunger and suffering of the Sinhala and Tamil people.
14. Make a dent into the Sinhala and Tamil Youth unemployment.
15. Revise the scheme and strategies of National Education.
16. Meaningfully revive a religious consciousness among peoples who are by nature religious.
17. Impose heavy penalties on racists.
18. Inculcate the realisation among the Buddhists and Hindus that it was on Hindu soil that two beautiful flowers grew. One was the intellectual flower and that was Buddhism and the other was the spiritual flower and that was the Vedanta Philosophy. To make people understand that humanism and the love for man is the third most beautiful flower.

"Well, these are my suggestions. Consider them and may be, if these 18 points are agreed upon the final ultimate solution will automatically reveal itself, acceptable to all lovers of this country, its people and mankind."

With these words, Diogenes swooned, fell off the culvert and hurt himself. After some time, he was taken into a nearby wayside dispensary.

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Fundamental Rights Infringed: Q.C.

Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., alleged in the Supreme Court on Thursday that the Competent Authority, in banning the SATURDAY REVIEW (in July 1983) had acted with ill-will and animosity, and on improper grounds.

He was continuing his submissions in support of two fundamental rights applications before Mr. Justice D. Wimalaratne, (President) Mr. Justice Colin-Thome, Mr. Justice Parinda Ranasinghe, Mr. Justice

Abdul Cader and Mr. Justice Rodrigo.

The petitioners in the first case are Messrs. K. Visuvalingam, K. Kanagarayanayagam, J. X. Phillipupillai, V. Kanapathipillai, Gamini Navaratne, N. Kandasamy, Oscar P. C. Perera and T. Upali Cooray.

Mr. V. Kanapathipillai, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and Mr. Manel Fonseka are the petitioners in the second application.

Mr. Nadesan said the SATURDAY REVIEW had

always been a critical and outspoken journal. That was what a newspaper was for.

Speaking on the role of newspapers, he said that if not for newspapers, the Watergate scandal would never have been exposed nor the former Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka jailed for bribery.

He charged that in the case of the SATURDAY REVIEW the Competent Authority had acted with ill-will and animosity and unlaw-

fully on improper grounds.

Regulations required the Competent Authority to have an opinion to act upon in a matter of that nature. There should be material for him to base his opinion. In that instance, the Competent Authority had no material to form any opinion. There was no statutory power in him to act in the absence of materials. Statutory provisions had not been satisfied in that instance and, there-

fore, there was an infringement of the fundamental rights of the petitioners, counsel said.

After Mr. Nadesan concluded his submissions, Deputy Solicitor-General Mr. Sarath N. Silva who is appearing for the Competent Authority, the Inspector-General of Police and the Attorney General, cited as respondents to the two applications, began his submissions.

Mr. Nadesan with Mr. S. Mahendran appeared for the petitioners. Deputy Solicitor-General Mr. Sarath N. Silva with State Counsel Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty appeared for the respondents.

TULF Parliamentarianism

A PLETHORA of liberation movements claim leadership for this new resistance of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. For, after the violence of last summer, there is no doubt that Tamils now see their political voice in a nationalist movement, conducted through guerrilla action TULF, the Tamil parliamentary party, is quite discredited. But most of the nationalist groups are based in India, and only the LTTE — or Tigers as they are popularly known — have any real organisation membership in the country.

LTTE has evolved over the last 12 years from a loose-knit youth movement reacting spontaneously to stress vio-

lence with hit-and-run tactics to a disciplined guerrilla organisation. Its base is strongest in the rural areas. "People in the villages and towns, claims LTTE's representative in London" may not call themselves Tigers, but they shelter and protect us and see us as their hope for the future, so we can move among them like fish in the sea."

LTTE's wall posters and pamphlets are to be found in towns and even small villages all over the north and east, and occasionally there are instant meetings advising people on a variety of issues. For example, in May 1983 the

Tigers called for the boycott of a local election — more than 99 percent of the population accordingly did not vote. LTTE have also had some success in administering their own law and order. In one case the Tamil Chairman of a Rural Development Board, who was cheating the contract labourers of their wages, paid up when he was warned by the Tigers and, in another LTTE intervened in a Hindu-Muslim clash which the police had failed to stop by cornering and threatening the Hindus.

Behind the Jayewardene Government and Sinhalese state lie the West's military and economic interests causing deep unease among Tamils. This year US funded agencies are carrying out 'water research' in order to provide fresh water to Tamil villages in the process they have carried out detailed surveys on the whole area — surveys which the Tamils fear will be made available to the army.

Meanwhile a series of US

by **Amrit Wilson**

Tamil nationalism has drawn the contempt of many Sinhalese marxists; nonetheless, the LTTE is managing to represent popular feeling. For example, last November the Government asked Tamil students who had fled from southern universities in the summer to return. The Tigers issued a pamphlet asking them not to. The students obeyed and instead of returning, organised sit-down in the Jaffna University campus demanding the right to continue their studies in the Tamil area. On January 9th nine students began a 'fast unto death' on their own initiative.

The government was adamant and when a woman student became comatose the authorities began to discuss calling in the army and beginning force-feeding. The LTTE met the students' organisation and under the eyes of the university authorities the nine hunger strikers were whisked away to India. But LTTE then issued a pamphlet on proper tactics, pointing out the failure of Bobby Sands and the Irish hunger strikers to shift an intransigent government.

politicians has visited Sri Lanka reaffirming an 'excellent relationship' promising 'modern training' for the Sri Lankan navy and even complimenting the Sri Lankan Embassy in the US for countering Eelam supporters there. Underneath is a tacit understanding that sooner or later the US will move into the naval base at Trincomalee. When it does Mrs. Gandhi is unlikely to intervene to support the Tamil nationalists. As LTTE spokesman A. S. Balasingham has said in an interview in the Indian magazine Sunday: "Mrs Gandhi's hands are tied... The Sri Lankan Government has always wielded Trincomalee as a trump card — they had earlier agreed to keep it a free zone (i. e. free of bases) provided India helped to crush the Liberation Tigers".

(Courtesy 'New Statesmen' London.)

Woman Food Producers

ROME (FAO) — Rural women in some developing countries not only produce most of the food needed by their families; they are also important market and cash crop producers. There is new evidence that their work in agriculture can be as much as 60 per cent more than men's. Food-crop related development projects should in many countries be primarily directed at women.

These and other new insights on rural women were reported at a recent one-week expert consultation on women in food production, held at the head quarters of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome.

Invisible Hazard

GENEVA (ILO) — Prolonged exposure to low concentrations of chemical substances is by far the most common risk to which workers are exposed today. And yet occupational exposure limits have been adopted for only a fraction of the substances known to be toxic for human beings, and then only in a limited number of countries. Measures for action at national and international levels to meet the complex problems of this growing hazard were proposed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) meeting of experts, held recently in Geneva.

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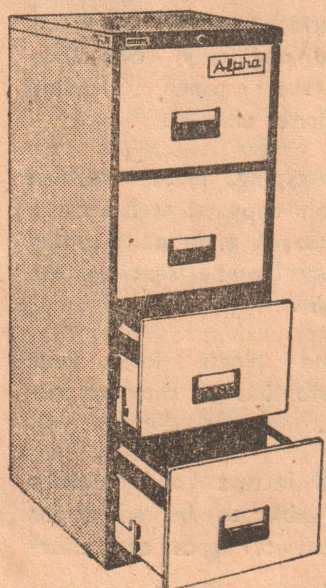
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Socialism and Ethnic Problem

Never before as now has the question been posed in many quarters as to whether parliamentary democracy and the "democratic" constitutions, so much advertised by the propagandists of parliamentary democracy, have in practice safeguarded the minorities in countries like Sri Lanka.

The question is all the more important in the context of the mechanics of constitutional changes in the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, which has the unique distinction of having had two republican constitutions within a brief span of six years and more than half a dozen amendments to the second one within six years of its enactment. Both the Constitutions incorporated chapters on fundamental rights.

Earlier, there was the Soulbury Constitution which, too, had provisions to safeguard the interests of the minorities in Section 29 and its sub-sections. But it is history that all these sections miserably failed to provide even a transparent facade of security to the minorities.

On the contrary, these sections did provide adequate safeguards for those who were indicted with the charge of treason and attempts to overthrow the legally constituted and democratically elected government in the 1960s.

It was while Section 29 and its sub-sections were in force that the Sinhala Only Act was passed by the sovereign legislature with its concomitant consequences. It was then that thousands of plantation workers of Indian origin were deprived of their franchise and reduced to third-rate citizenry. And it is for this Section 29 that torrential tears are being shed.

The Constitution of the United States, which is a rich and flourishing piece of literature, afforded little or no safeguard to the Negroes, the Red Indians and the Puerto-Ricans of that country. These minorities have no equal rights with the whites. The same thing applies to the religious minorities in some of the Asian countries.

Despite all the entrenched clauses, so painfully advertised to the international community, the world witnessed the ghastly and traumatic series of tragedies enacted in Sri Lanka in July, 1983. Never in the history of any civilised country were prisoners of conscience, who were in the virtual custody of the Government,

massacred so cowardly and brutally.

It is in this context that one has to turn to the socialist countries for a solution to our National Question. With the informations now amply provided by the media, no one in his right senses can dare say that national minorities are being oppressed or tortured or even deprived of their civic rights in any socialist country, as they are in non-socialist or anti-socialist countries. On the contrary, they are afforded the maximum protection of their lives and given an equal status in the affairs of their respective countries.

The socialist countries, despite of their ideological differences, have consistently stood for the right of self-determination of the national minorities. When proposals were put forward in the Soviet Union in the 1970s for the introduction of the concept of an integral Soviet nation, in the Soviet Constitution, eliminating the autonomous republics, thereby drastically curtailing the sovereignty of the union republics, depriving them of the right to secede from the USSR and set-up a unicameral supreme soviet, it was unceremoniously rejected. It was held that the disappearance of national distinction cannot be equated with the Soviet people's social and political unity. The great Lenin, the architect of the Soviet Union, has persistently warned against such a step. As Lenin pointed out, the right to divorce should be available to all, but it is only a microscopic minority that will resort to it.

Among the noteworthy achievements of Soviet Union, the one that stands pre-eminent and relevant to a country like Sri Lanka is the solution of the national Question, one of the most poignant and sensitive questions in world history.

Lenin had always upheld the right of nation and nationality to self-determination. The historic triumph of the October Revolution opened the way for the liberation of the nation. The peoples under the oppressive Tsarist Russia for the first time had had a possibility of making a historical choice, the right to determine their own destiny.

In the Peoples Republic of China, the problem of the minorities has been satisfactorily solved. Research academies for the development of the languages of the minorities are now actively endeavouring to transform the various dialects in full-fledged living languages.

LETTERS

transform the various dialects in full-fledged living languages.

It is high time that the educated men and the intelligentsia of both the Sinhala and Tamil communities take the lead and exhort their respective followers to be more sober, more realistic and to be more rational in the interests of the rising generation, to emulate the way of life as in socialist countries and to live in peace and amity in fraternal relationship.

Let us all stand to live in unity amidst diversity or as Dr. Colvin R. de Silva put it years back, in a different context, "Let us march separately but strike together".

V. Mahalingam

Nellady.

SINGLE BANNER

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Being a subscriber to the *Saturday Review* with a concerned interest in Sri Lanka, it is my pleasure to comply with your request appearing in a recent issue of the paper, asking for our opinion as to whether the paper's publication be continued in the light of the restricted censorship placed upon it.

Mr. Editor, you have displayed your courage in bringing the existing injustices found in Sri Lanka before eyes, and I am sure you will not permit ill-considered harassment deter you from continuing to do just that into the future.

In fact in my judgement your type of thinking, if

followed, will Sri Lanka of its unhealthy party chauvinistic nationalisms, to be replaced with a healthy Sri Lanka nationalism under which banner all sects can unite for the nations preservation, starting with the elimination of the poverty found amongst too many Sri Lankans.

Violence will breed more violence, and a hate that will be carried down the years, hence all forms of injustices must be wiped out of Sri Lanka now, lest the island be torn apart and Sri Lanka now called the Pearl of the Indian Ocean have a less pleasant title among the nations of the World.

I have before me literature from a travel agency, one of the booklets having this written within - "The people of Sri Lanka are good and friendly persons". Therefore, I close with the prayer that the intelligentsia of Sri Lanka will take over, get rid of every form of injustice, and strive for the creation of a government of all the people, by all the people and for the total good of all the people.

Joseph P. Berry
Hartford, Connecticut.

Dear Contributors

Despite all our pleas, we continue to receive quite a number of contributions handwritten (some very illegibly) or typed on both sides of the paper.

Also, many articles are handwritten or typed with no margins at all to mark even a correction.

In future, such contributions will not be considered for publication because it takes so much of our time in re-typing them in order to conform to the standard practice of the printing trade, which requires all copy to be written or typed double-spaced on one side of the paper only to facilitate the work of the compositors.

We do not have a translation section, so we cannot accommodate the requests of persons who send letters and articles in Tamil or clippings from Tamil publications with requests that these be published in the *SATURDAY REVIEW*.

Nor can we accommodate requests that contributions be acknowledged or be published in the "next issue". Besides delays in the post - for instance, a letter from Colombo may now take five days to reach Jaffna - we have to contend with the Censor. Every item intended for publication has to be sent

to the Censor in advance and we have to await approval before publication. There could thus be considerable delay between the time the copy is received at our office and it is finally used.

The return of unsolicited material is also out of the question - unless the contributor encloses a self-addressed stamped envelope.

As a forum for free comment and expression, we wish to repeat that the *SATURDAY REVIEW* will be open to any point of view within the limits of law and reason and - for the present - the censorship rules.

So, please help us in this task by sending all contributions written legibly or typed on only one side of the paper, leaving adequate margins.

If typing, please send a carbon copy as well because this saves time in re-typing a copy to be sent to the Censor.

And please keep your contribution as short as possible.

All letters and articles are liable to be edited for reasons of space and clarity.

— Editor

GOOD OLD TIMES

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

I read your letter with interest both in *The Island* and the *SATURDAY REVIEW* inviting the Sinhala sisters and brothers to visit Jaffna and associate with the people there.

I am one who has a good number of friends in Jaffna among the Tamil community. I have still with me the vivid picture of the days that I spent in Jaffna.

The first time I visited Jaffna was in 1948 as a schoolboy of about fifteen years. There was a relative of mine who was running a lucrative garage business then. I spent almost a month there, made many Tamil friends. Although I did not know Tamil and my knowledge of English was not quite good at the time, nevertheless it was no bar to making acquaintance with the people.

Again I went to Jaffna in 1952, still a student in the H.S.C., to organise a show by Indian film duo Krishnan and Mathuram in the Jaffna Town Hall in aid of the now defunct Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College, Kandy, where I was studying. I still remember spending about a week in Jaffna and travelling throughout the Peninsula and spending the

(Continued on page 9)

ENERGY FROM HUMAN WASTE

Recently a number of newspapers in New Delhi carried advertisements by a virtually unknown firm called Sulabh International, offering to build water sealed hand flush toilets in people homes at a cost of Rs. 1,400 each. With a thoroughness that has become its hallmark in Patna, its city of origin, its advertisement pointed out that even in the Delhi metropolitan area, by far the best cared for urban centre in the country, 200,000 households (roughly 12 to 15 million people) are served only by dry pit latrines (holes in the ground) and bucket privies (where a jamadar carries away the excreta). What is more disturbing, half a million households (over three million people) defecate in the open. Since the population of the DMA was 7.1 million in 1981, this means that even in the prince of Indian cities, barely a third of the population enjoys adequate sanitation.

Needless to say, conditions are far worse in the other towns and cities. A sample survey of 800,000 households in 110 towns carried out by the United Nations Development Programme showed that only 25 percent of the households have flush latrines of any type. Another 29 percent use dry pits or bucket privies, while 48 percent defecate alfresco.

Indian planners have known for a long time that conventional water-borne sewerage systems are not economically feasible in any but the largest of cities. A 1980 estimate by the World Bank put the cost of such a sanitation system at Rs. 14,000 per household in low-income, high-density residential areas. While this is an average estimate for the developing countries as a whole, even if the corresponding estimate for India is only two-thirds as high providing waterborne sewerage for 77 percent of the country's present urban population of 160 million will cost a mammoth Rs. 20,000 crores!

As a result, the UNDP, the World Bank, and other international agencies have been recommending simple systems, notably the water-sealed handflush privy that is being marketed by Sulabh. The UNDP survey mentioned above calculated that a hundred percent coverage of the urban areas will cost Rs. 5,315 crores, and recommended the provision of this money in the seventh Plan.

Ten year experiment

This is what makes the achievements of Sulabh International a matter of pivotal importance to the future of

the urban areas of this country. For Sulabh has shown that a programme for the installation of water-sealed community latrines can be made to pay for itself. To the extent that it does this it will take the burden of financing the sanitation programme off the exchequer.

Sulabh's experiment has matured gradually over ten years of earning by doing. It began in 1973 by merely offering to build a set of communal latrines for the Bihar government at Gandhi Maidan in Patna, which had been rendered virtually unusable by public defecation! However, it soon realised that merely building latrines was not enough. To make people use them, it would have to maintain them also. It made its first managerial innovation here, and began charging 10 paise for the use of the latrines. But it tempered the impact of this levy by permitting women and children to use the facilities free of charge. The income from this small levy, (which to people's surprise the poor willingly paid) was sufficient to meet the cost of maintenance, and the Sulabh shauchalayas became popular because they were clean and completely free of any odours.

When the Bihar government asked Sulabh to take up the building of more communal latrines, it made its second innovation. It added 20 percent to the construction cost of the privies and created a capital fund for financing maintenance and for its own expansion. Since despite this levy the Sulabh shauchalayas were 25 to 30 percent cheaper than the ones built by the public works department, the Bihar government and other city and state authorities gladly agreed to the scheme.

Methane gas recovery

Some idea of the success of Sulabh's scheme may be had from the fact that in less than ten years it has built over 300,000 privies. In Bihar it has largely eliminated scavenging and defecation in eight medium-size towns and has been entrusted with the task of doing this in the more. It has also been entrusted with converting 150,000 privies in Calcutta by the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority. Sulabh is also taking up projects in other south and south-east Asian countries, notably Thailand and Sri Lanka. While it did three crores of rupees worth of business in 1982. It did Rs. 12 crores worth in 1983.

The key to Sulabh's spectacular success is, in current

jargon, its decision to provide not only the hardware but also the software needed for low-cost sanitation. In marked contrast, the low-cost sanitation projects being executed by the government with assistance from the UNDP and funds from the World Bank are facing serious problems, one of which, according to the UNDP report cited earlier, is "inadequate training for the use of latrines."

However, Sulabh's most important innovation has been the recovery of methane gas from the accumulated excreta. So far its privies have been discharging wastes into two pits alternately. Each is equipped with gas vent to release the gas generated by fermentation. The liquids in the waste are allowed to soak into the soil and eventually get neutralised by bacterial action in it. When one pit is full, the other is used and in due course, the dry completely digested waste is removed and can serve as a compost for those willing to use it. While Sulabh continues to offer this system for

prizes of the demonstration unit) is capable of generating 280 units of power per night in a generator with a 33 per cent conversion efficiency (in a small gas turbine which Sulabh hopes eventually to employ, the power generated will be almost fifty per cent more). Sulabh is currently selling the electricity to the municipal corporation at 50 paise a unit. Thus the annual income from the sale of power will come to over Rs. 51,000 per year. Allowing 1.25 per cent a year depreciation on the buildings and 10 per cent on the generator, the net return after deducting this comes to almost Rs. 40,000 on an investment of Rs. 2 lakhs, or a respectable 20 per cent.

Subventions small

However, if the state government buys the power at the actual cost of thermal power generation (over 80 paise per unit after the latest increase in coal prices) or allows Sulabh to sell its

many of the problems, like a lack of space, which prevent the adoption of the water-sealed pit latrine system in highly congested areas in the larger cities. Instead of being buried in pits, the human wastes and flush water of an entire colony can be carried in a small bore pipe to one or more biogas digesters.

Lastly, feeding the human wastes to a biogas unit makes it possible to recover the waste water for recycling. As a test carried out before this writer at Adalatganj showed, the water that is discharged from the digester is not only free of organic matter but also relatively sterile (it had a pH content of seven to eight). This can be further treated in a series of small plants or dumped in a main sewer, for subsequent purification in a large sewage treatment plant. This circumvents what will one day become the most potent argument against water-sealed pit privies, namely that the water used in them is irretrievably lost. Thus, it is the water-sealed latrine in combination with the biogas unit that promises to be the low-cost alternative to conventional water-borne sewerage, and not the water-sealed privy alone.

by Prem Shankar Jha

This article, published in The Times of India on 30th April, has great relevance to Sri Lanka and especially to Jaffna where sanitation is a big problem.

private latrines, in its Adalatganj community latrine complex in Patna it has installed a biogas plant to digest the waste. What is more, it is using the gas to run a generator, which in turn is providing power to a mile of street lights on one of Patna's most crowded roads.

While the Adalatganj facility is designed mainly as a test-cum demonstration unit, it has already proved that power generation in small power plants from human wastes, on the lines Sulabh has planned it, is a paying proposition. The 42 privies at Adalatganj and the biogas plant have cost around Rs. 80-85,000. The generator has cost another lakh of rupees. Along with other expenses, the total investment is around two lakhs of rupees. Around 2,500 people use the facilities every day and two-thirds of them are paying 20 paise each (the rate was revised recently, but the Adalatganj facility includes handbasins, free soap and free bathing facilities), generating Rs. 350 per day. This is sufficient to meet the staff costs of the privies and the generation plant.

The 4,800 cubic feet of gas generated (this is nearly twice the conventional estimate—one of the happy sur-

power to industrial units at the current rate of 72 to 82 paise per unit, the returns will rise to 35 percent on the total fixed investment.

In practice, it is not likely that private concerns will be eager to plunge into this field all on their own, with no support from their state governments. In Sulabh's case, its activities expanded precisely because the state government was willing to pay for the cost of building the community privies. But it does show that the subventions that the state may need to give will be relatively small, and that most of the money can be found by the programme itself.

The social implications of the Adalatganj experiment go far beyond the marginal addition to power that it makes possible. First, it eliminates some of the hazards associated with water-sealed pit latrines—namely the impermeability of the soil which can lead to an accumulation of liquid wastes, and the contamination of sub-soil water reservoirs in areas where the water table is high. Secondly, it circumvents

Health For All

GENEVA (WHO) — Member States of the World Health Organization (WHO) were urged to accelerate the reorientation and the modifications of their health systems towards primary health care by the recent session of the WHO.

In a resolution noting that the attainment of the goal of Health for All by the Year 2000 is intimately related to socio-economic development and world peace. The Board urged Member States to: (a) strengthen the managerial capacity of their health systems, including the generation, analysis, and use of the information needed; and (b) accord the highest priority to, and assume full responsibility for, the continuing monitoring and evaluation of their strategies to identify factors which contribute to or impede, implementation.

The Tomb of Elara

Ever since the aged but valiant Elara, the Tamil King of Sri Lanka, was struck down and killed in single combat by the much younger Dutugemunu, the epic hero of the national chronicle *Mahavamsa*, the place where Elara fell and where his body was later cremated had been revered at the express command of chivalrous foe.

This event is said to have taken place over two thousand years ago in 161 B.C. For forty-four years the Chola Prince had ruled this land and had ruled (according to the *Mahavamsa*) "with even justice towards friend and foe". Nowhere else in this national chronicle do we find such singular and unextinguished praise bestowed on a ruler.

The *Dipavamsa* also says: "Avoiding the paths of desire, hatred, fear and delusion he ruled righteously being incomparable... cloud rained during the night, and there was no rainfall during the day". Even the elements, it would seem, had favoured this righteous king.

The *Mahavamsa* had illustrated its tribute by identifying the king with the fabulous legends current at the time and had concluded: "Only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking in the path of evil did this (monarch), though he had not put aside false beliefs, gain such miraculous power".

It is not surprising, therefore, that Dutugemunu in the hour of his greatest victory, while grappling with his conscience as we shall discover later, had instantly proceeded to participate in the funeral rites of his noble enemy.

The *Mahavamsa* records: "Near the south gate of the city the two kings fought; Elara hurled his dart, Gamini evaded it; he made his own elephant pierce (Elara's) elephant with his tusks and hurled his dart at Elara; and this (latter) fell there, with his elephant.

"When he had thus been victorious in battle and had united Lanka under one rule he marched, with chariots, troops and beasts for riders, into the capital. In the city he caused the drum to be beaten, and when he had summoned the people from a yojana around he celebrated the funeral rites for King Elara.

"On the spot where his body had fallen he burned it with the catafalque, and there did he build a monument and ordained worship. And even to this day the princes of Lanka, when they

draw near to this place, are wont to silence their music because of this worship."

A pillar inscription is said to have been set up near this monument and it read as follows: "Let no man, prince or peasant, in future pass this way riding in palanquin or litter with beating of drums".

The author of the *Mahavamsa* has here testified to a unique honour being paid "even to this day" to a Tamil monarch i. e., even after the lapse of over seven hundred years, for the *Mahavamsa* was written only in the sixth century.

It will be noted the encounter between the two kings took place "near the south gate of the city", *puradakkhinadvarahmi*. It was there that the body of Elara was cremated with the catafalque; and it was there that Dutugemunu had "built a monument"—but the Pali word in text was *cetiya*—"and ordained worship".

The commentary or *tike* on the *Mahavamsa* known as the *Vamsatthappakasini* ascribed by its editor G. P. Malalasekera to the eighth or ninth century and by Wilhelm Geiger to a date between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, had pointed out that the place where the kings fought, *puradakkhinadvarahmi*, was "the (place) east of the Elarapatimaghara and west of the potters' village in the southern part of Anuradhapura".

The commentator, it will be observed, speaks of a place named *Elarapatimaghara* as if this place was popularly known and familiar to that generation. What is *Elarapatimaghara*? It means "Elara's image house" and nothing else. This sanctuary, build no doubt much earlier, had stood there at the time the *Vamsatthappakasini* was written.

The commentator also describes, drawing obviously from his own personal knowledge, what was earlier proclaimed in the century B.C. by Dutugemunu, and what was testified to by the author of the *Mahavamsa* as an observance in the sixth century, that even in the time of the princes of Lanka when they drew near to this place were wont to silence their music, and also to circumambulate the sanctuary with garlands and perfumes, and worship the *cetiya* (*stupa*). Senarat Paranavitana, our former Archaeological Commissioner, too, agrees that up to the time of the commentator i. e., more

than 1000 years after Elara's death, his "image received worship".

Now that we know the extent of the posthumous sanctity that was attached to Elara for whom there has been both an image and an image house, the word "monument" used by Geiger in translating *cetiya* is not correct. The proper word should have been *stupa* or *dagaba*.

It is strange that Geiger had left the Pali words *cetiya* and *thupa* to remain, respectively, untranslated when describing the structures put up over the cremation sites of the Saints Mahinda and Sanghamitta. In the case of the former, he translates *Cetiya* as *ettha karesi* and here did he build a "cetiya", and in the case of the other he translates *thupa* as *tattha karesi Ntitiyo so mahamati*. The most wise Uttiya also had a *teupa* built there. Geiger had frankly confessed elsewhere, "I by no means am content with my translation of the *Mahavamsa*".

The respect, indeed the reverence, given by Dutugemunu to his fallen enemy, Elara the righteous ruler, is surely unique in the annals of the Island's history. We can now understand why Dutugemunu was stricken by conscience on his death-bed. We can also understand the exceptional veneration Dutugemunu had paid to Elara from the moment he was slain. The *arahats*, had consoled him saying that his "slaughter" of a great host numbering millions was equal only to "slaying one and a half human beings". The rest, they explained, were unbelievers (*micchaditthi*) and men of evil life (*dussila*) not more to be esteemed than beasts (*pasusama*).

Of the exceptions, one, they said, had taken the "three refuges" and the other had pledged himself to observe the "five precepts". Elara, who was a "pious Hindu" according to E. W. Adikaram, was apparently one of the exceptions. Hence, we suppose the adoration, an adoration that had, as could be seen, continued for two millennia, and been paid not so much as an act of duty in obedience to a king's command, but as an act of worship towards an exalted being who had gained a niche in the national pantheon.

The *Saddharmalankaraya* of the fourteenth century expressly states that Dutugemunu had "caused a Dagoba named (after) Elara (to be built) at the place where he was

burnt". The author confirms the continued observance of what had earlier been described in the *Mahavamsa* of the sixth century. 'Even to this time', (i. e., in the fourteenth century), *Saddharmalankaraya* says "when princes came to this place drums etc., are not beaten". It is significant that this had taken place even after the Chola conquest of Anuradhapura. The *Elara dagaba* had thus withstood and survived the ravages of war.

During the time of the Portuguese and the Dutch, certain parts of this country were overtaken by the jungle. For instance, Polonnaruwa and its environs were enveloped and remained unknown for nearly a millennium. But Anuradhapura had continued to be cherished in the memory of the people. We know that Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe, for one, had made an effort to restore some of the monuments of the place.

It is agreed that mistakes had been made in the identification of some of the ruins of Anuradhapura. But traditionally it was well known that there was one spot over all others where kings and commoners had been enjoined that they should not pass without paying due respect and veneration. It was a continuing injunction

the suppression of the rebellion in which he had been engaged, alighted from his litter, although weary and almost incapable of exertion; and not knowing the precise spot, walked on until assured that he had passed far beyond this ancient memorial".

George Turnour, in his translation of the *Mahavamsa* published in 1837, has in this connection printed a footnote in his book saying, "These honours continue to be paid to the tomb of Elara up to the period of British occupation of the Kandyan territory".

During the whole of the nineteenth century, if not for a long time earlier, this ruined structure was well-known as the *Elara Sohona* and many a pilgrim to Anuradhapura had been dutifully paying it honour, closely following ancient custom and practice. Emerson Tennent in his book *Ceylon*, which ran into five editions in 1858 and 1860, had this to say in this connection in Volume I, Part 3, Chapter 5 headed *Sinhalese Chivalry - Elara and Dutugemunu*: "The contest between the rival chiefs is the solitary tale of Ceylon chivalry, in which Elara is the Saladin and Dutugemunu the Coeur-de-Lion. So genuine was the admiration of Elara's

by Dr. James T. Rutnam

This article is the text of a lecture delivered on 24th March 1981 at the University of Jaffna under the auspices of the South Asian Studies Seminar and the Jaffna Archaeological Society.

that had been handed down from mouth to mouth, from generation to generation, and the chance of making a mistake is impossible.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Pilima Talawa was fleeing from his enemies, he is reported to have insisted at Anuradhapura, on observing this age-old rite and custom. Forbes in his *Eleven Years in Ceylon* published in 1840 says; "The ruined tomb of an infidel is now looked upon by many Buddhist pilgrims as the remnant of a sacred edifice, although twenty centuries have elapsed since the death of Elara. I do not believe that the injunctions of his conqueror have ever been disregarded by a native. In 1818 Pilima Talawa, the head of the oldest Kandyan family, when attempting to escape, after

bravery that his rival erected a monument in his honour on the spot where he fell; its ruins remain to the present day and the Sinhalese still regard it with respect and veneration.

S. M. Burrows, who had served as an archaeological surveyor of Sri Lanka from August 1884 to the end of February 1886, had published a book entitled *Buried Cities of Ceylon* in 1885. It ran into four editions. In this book Burrows says: "Satiated with military success and penitent for the bloodshed he had caused, he (Dutugemunu) determined to devote the rest of his life to expiatory acts. But his first care was to erect a generous and fitting monument to his rival Elara and to enact that the music of processions should cease and kings alight from their palan-

at Anuradhapura

quins as they pass the tomb. The site is marked by a conical mound of earth; nor was the generous monument less lasting; as in 1816 (sic) Pillima Talawe, the head of the leading Kandyan clan was escaping through Anuradhapura after the unsuccessful attempt at insurrection, he alighted from his litter, weary as he was, walked on until he was well past the venerable memorial". Burrows' map of Anuradhapura appearing in his book marks the site as "Elala's tomb".

In 1896 Burrow's successor H.C.P. Bell, known to be a cautious explorer, began 'the examination of the tree-covered hillock, anciently one of the larger dagabas of Anuradhapura but now popularly known as Elala's Tomb (Elala Sohona)". in a footnote Bell had correctly surmised at the time he began cutting the trenches, that this was "perhaps the thupa built by Kanittha Tissa (A.D. 165-193) in the Dakshinarama (Dipavamsa XXII: 24)".

In the two paragraphs immediately following, Bell had concluded: "Elara's body was cremated and his ashes deposited in a tomb at the spot where he fell 'near the southern gate of the city' (Mahavamsa XXV: 69-73). This site would, therefore, be in the neighbourhood of the Dakshina Vihara constructed by the warrior Uttiya half century later in the reign of Wottagamani Abhaya (Mahavamsa XXXIII: 90) (Dipavamsa 19)".

Bell's reasons were confined to quotation from the two chronicles. He was satisfied that the Elala Sohona built "near the southern gate of the city" was in fact the 'neighbourhood of the Dakshina Vihare' where he surmised he was then digging.

The examination and digging of the Elala Sohona continued from 1896 to 1900, when the work was stopped as the 'digging and removal of the spoil proved too expensive for a limited vote'. In all his five Annual Reports, Bell had continued to name the site "Elala Sohona". This was the position up to 1900.

Eight years later H. W. Cave wrote in this connection: "Then followed an act of chivalry on the part of Dutthagamani so remarkable that it has been regarded with admiration for twenty centuries. He caused Elara to be cremated on the spot where he fell and there he built a tomb. He further ordained the tomb should receive honours, and that no one should

pass it without some mark of reverence: and even to this day these injunctions are to some extent respected and the tomb is still marked by a huge mound" (emphasis added).

Be it noted: Dutugemunu had decreed that this reverence be paid in the second century B. C. Mahanama, the reputed author of the Mahavamsa, bears witness to it being followed in the sixth century A. D. The author of the Vamsatthappakasini confirms its contemporary observance which would have been in the 8th or 9th century according to Malalasekera, or between the 11th and 13th centuries according to Geiger; the author of the Saddharmalankaraya testifies to it being followed in the fourteenth century; Turnour and Forbes in the nineteenth century and Cave in the twentieth century.

Today this noble tradition (unbroken, as we shall see, until 1948) that had distinguished a nation and its people and elevated them to a unique position in the annals of chivalry has, alas, disappeared. Even if we concede that the Elala Sohona is not the tomb of Elara, has any honest effort been made to look for it? The only clue we have is the gruesome remark of Paranavitana, in his Annual Report of 1948: "It is not impossible that the Medical Officer of Anuradhapura sleeps over Elara's ashes". How we respect and honour the chivalry of Dutugemunu!

No one appears to have challenged the popular belief until 1948, when Paranavitana appeared on the scene and sought to suggest that the mound was the tomb of Dutugemunu. Soon afterwards, on the orders of Paranavitana, a board was displayed at the site that the mound was Dutugemunu's tomb. No one now alights from his carriage and walks past it with solemnity.

Paranavitana is honoured as a great archaeologist in Sri Lanka, but like all of us he is fallible. In a growing number of instances he had been proved wrong and, sometimes, grossly misleading. His reading of the so-called interlinear inscriptions have been found to be nothing but tissues of hallucinations, if one must not call them fiction. His numerous books on the interlinear inscriptions are pure and simple fairy tales.

In 1946 Paranavitana had begun his excavation of the Elala Sohona. He continued this work until 1949 and his observations appear in the Annual Reports of 1946,

1947, 1948 and 1949, published by the Archaeological Department. These observations have been incorporated into a single article entitled: "The Dakkhina Thupa of Anuradhapura; The Tomb of Dutthagamani" and published in 1972 in Paranavitana's book Glimpses of Ceylon's Past.

In his report of 1946, Paranavitana, taking up the story from where Bell had left, wrote: "Mr. Bell, questioning the popular identification of the mound, gave cogent reasons for taking it as the stupa of the Dakkhina Vihare". Bell's five reports are available to us. It is only on two occasions in these reports that Bell refers to the Dakkhina Vihare. The initial was a single footnote that appeared in Bell's first report, where, as we have already observed, he had surmised that the Elala Sohona could perhaps be the thupa referred to in the Dipavamsa, Ch. XXII: 24. Bell had also said in the same footnote that "this site" where "his ashes" (viz, Elara's) were "deposited in a tomb" would therefore be in the neighbourhood of the Dakkhina Vihara. It was here that he cites the "cogent reasons" he found in the Mahavamsa Ch. XXXIII and the Dipavamsa Ch. XIX. The second instance where Bell refers to Dakkhina Vihara is in his report for 1898 where he compares the "probable" Dakkhina Vihara with the other large viharas. Nothing more was said here. Nowhere do we find Bell "questioning" the popular identification of the mound. This is quite plain and clear to anyone who cares to read Bell's reports.

But this is not all. Paranavitana goes on to state, "Bell, it may be recalled, expressed the opinion half century ago that the mound concealed the remains of the stupa of the Dakkhina Vihara and not of the Tomb of Elala as popularly held. Bell's reasons for this view given in his report of 1898, p.5 were universally accepted". How could anyone "universally accept" Bell's reasons in his report for 1898, p.5, when they are simply not there? It would be as mysterious as the reading of the interlinear inscriptions by Paranavitana.

Bell had never said that the mound was "not the Tomb of Elala as popularly held". Search where you will, you will always draw a blank. We find it necessary to repeat that in all of Bell's five reports which we reproduce in an appendix, he

has expressed only two views on this site. First, the mound is "perhaps" the Dakkhina Thupa, and secondly, that the site of the Elala Sohona would therefore be in its neighbourhood. Paranavitana goes into raptures praising Bell, his predecessor in office. The praise is no doubt justified, but it is for what Bell has not said.

On the contrary, Paranavitana does not seem to view with favour, or accord the same sort of praise to the comments A. M. Hocart, another of our former Archaeological Commissioners, had felt urged to make in this matter. Hocart had pointed out that "even if it (Elala Sohona) were taken to be a stupa, it was not necessarily opposed to the (popular view that the mound was the monument built to commemorate Elara" (emphasis added). Paranavitana had refuted this by saying, "Hocart had not made a study of the available topographical information".

To charge Hocart, who is known to have been Paranavitana's mentor in archaeology, with not knowing his business is most unfortunate. Paranavitana is certainly an excellent scholar in his own way, and a painstaking researcher. But he is so sure of himself and of his strange hunches that he brooks no criticism or correction. Two of our former Archaeological Commissioners, besides Bell and Hocart, have criticised or taken a contrary view to Paranavitana, but he had not offered them the courtesy of a reply. He just ignored them completely and contemptuously. True scholarship naturally suffers.

R. H. de Silva, then an Assistant Archaeological Commissioner, was one of them. He dared to criticise Paranavitana's views on the Dakkhina Thupa. De Silva's long and carefully researched criticism appeared in the Ceylon Observer Sunday Morning edition of 24th March 1957. It was prominently displayed on a full page with headlines "Dakkhina Thupa-Not Dutugemunu's Tomb". De Silva had analysed the relevant parts of Paranavitana's reports time by time and had succeeded in upsetting Paranavitana's conclusions. Being a qualified archaeologist, specially trained in the chemical aspect, he took care to test "the lumps of clay" found at this site. He also studied the reference in Saddharmalankaraya and other literary sources and finally declared emphatically that the evidence brought forward by Paranavitana did not support Paranavitana's own conclusions.

ion that the Dakkhina Thupa was Dutugemunu's tomb.

One important point de Silva had stressed was that nowhere in any of the literary sources do we find mention of a thupa having been built over Dutugemunu's cremation site, and Dutugemunu himself had never expressed a desire for such a thupa, although Dutugemunu is reported to have expressed an unusual dying wish in the following words: "In a place where the Great Thupa may be seen, in the malaka (bounded about) for the ceremonial acts of the brotherhood do ye burn the body of me, the servant of the brotherhood".

The bereaved brotherhood would have strictly followed the king's injunctions. The body of the dead king was accordingly cremated in a malaka of the Mahavihara, and the place was renamed Rajamalaka to commemorate this event. Geiger had defined malaka a space marked off, and usually terraced, within which sacred functions were carried out. In the Mahavihara there were thirty two malakas.

The kammamalaka where Dutugemunu's body was cremated could only have been within the precincts of the Mahavihara, for knowing as we do the exceptional nature of Dutugemunu's ardent wish to be identified with the Sangha, it could not have been otherwise. But the Mahavamsa records that the body of the king was burnt in the malaka "outside the precincts of the Monastery". This is based on Geiger's rendering of the Pali term nissima malaka.

Abaya Aryasingha in a recent communication to the press, differs from Geiger and offers a likely alternative translation for this term, namely, a terrace rendered unsuitable for the approved purpose. Since, he says, a cremation was held (though of a king) in this place, the brotherhood of the bhikkus must have surely "abandoned this place and preferred some other place to hold sangha-kammas. Naturally a cremation place forfeits its right to be called a kammamalaka".

The Mahavamsa records that after the cremation two halls called Makutammutasala and Ravivitasala were built at this site to commemorate the attendance of the dancing women and the other loyal subjects who had assembled there to vent their sorrow. Aryasingha relates that there was also a pavilion "built over the site of the cremation", quoting a passage in the Mahabodhi-vamsa Granthipada Vivaranaya.

(To be continued next week)

Who's afraid of India?

Q: Last November, when you came to New Delhi for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, you had agreed to consider the demand by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) for regional autonomy. At the conclusion of the last round of talk in Colombo last month your Prime Minister said that nothing more than the district councils would be possible. How did this dramatic change come about?

A: After my talks with Gandhi and Mr. G. Parthasarathi in Delhi, I had said I'd summon an all-party conference to discuss the TULF demands. I want a consensus at the conference. In my party, in our parliament and then a referendum because of the past experience here, Prime Ministers S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Dudley Senanayake had signed certain pacts on their own to settle the Tamil issue; The Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact, and the Senanayake-Cheivanyakam Pact. They had to tear them up. I don't want to tear up anything. Since my return from Delhi, I've been discussing all the proposals. I now find that regional and provincial councils

are not acceptable here. My Cabinet won't accept them, my party won't accept, the parliament won't accept, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) won't accept, and the Maha Sangha (organisation of the powerful Buddhist clergy) won't accept them. What can I do?

Q: The TULF says you did not assert yourself at the round table conference. If you had said, "Look. We need to solve this problem. We have to settle it. I'd like you to agree to these proposals." may be, a consensus would have emerged.

A: The regional and provincial councils are not acceptable to anybody except the TULF and their friends. How can I say I want regional councils when everybody is against them? I have to get the idea through my party, the parliamentary group. I have to draft legislation which needs constitutional support and a two-thirds majority. Experts here tell me that we may even need a referendum for this. Unlike in India, we have a unitary constitution. We can't give away powers. Mr. Parthasarathi and the TULF said it will be possible through an amendment to the constitution. But apparently that's not so. Moreover, the validity of any constitutional changes has to be cleared by our courts. Every act has to be passed by the courts here. There are certain things for

which even a referendum is not enough. It's wrong to say I can do anything I want because I can't. I'm not a dictator. They say I can solve this, but I can't. I'm stuck. I'm a prisoner, not of any particular group but a prisoner of circumstances, law, constitution, political parties. I can't throw my weight about and say: Do this, do that. They refuse to do it. What am I to do? Nobody is more sorry than I. I cannot, buy a flat or by a gazette notification or even by a passing a law, do any of the things that the TULF says will satisfy them. It has to go to my party, followed by other things.

Q: Has the round table conference been able to do anything?

A: Not yet. I want to suggest certain things to the TULF. I think under the district councils scheme, they can get four districts. Why can't they keep them separate? Why do they want to get them together? We couldn't give power and authority to the councils because the Attorney General said we can't do it. Then finance took some time. This time we sorted it out. Why can't they wait a bit?

Q: The TULF is under pressure.

A: I don't accept that. I feel the terrorists won't accept anything. Otherwise even when the talks were going on, why should they shoot? They could have declared a cease fire?

Q: Mr. A. Amirthalingam says he is not optimistic any more about the talks yielding any results.

A: Certainly not the kind of results he wants. It's impossible to get the regional councils through my party.

Q: What about the provincial assemblies that the Muslims have suggested? That appears to be the middle course compared to the extreme postures adopted by the Tamils extremists and the Sinhalese.

A: Even if I like the idea, my party may not like it. They are reacting to the SLFP attitude. The SLFP is even objecting to the granting of citizenship to the so called Indian Tamils.

Q: When are you granting them the citizenship rights?

A: I'm asking the foreign minister to draft the legislation. It will be ready in the next few months.

Q: Do you accept that Tamils have grievances in the first place?

A: Well, they may have in Jaffna. But what are their grievances in the rest of the island?

Q: No Tamil has become the President or the Prime Minister in this country so far. They say they don't get enough funds to develop their areas. Their universities are starved of funds. The Jaffna boys find it difficult to get into colleges because a large number of seats are allocated on a quota basis and very few on merit.

A: But so do the Colombo (Sinhalese) boys. I don't like the quota system myself. But the MPs from the backward districts, including some Tamils, insisted that unless there is a quota system for each district, students from their areas can never hope to compete with those from Colombo and Jaffna.

Q: Will you consider restoring civic rights to Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike so that she can actively participate in your efforts to solve the Tamil problem?

A: I will consider it and exercise my right to do so at the proper time. But her civic rights and her party's stand on the Tamil issue are two separate issues. She'll never support the Tamils, demands even after she gets her civic rights.

Full text of interview with President Jayewardene by S. Venkat Narayan, senior editor of India Today

Q: What are the salient features of the district councils that you have in mind.

A: They will have some form of local police. They will be given funds for development and they can control education. Regional councils is a later possibility, not now. The biggest handicap is the distrust of the TULF by the Sinhalese. The terrorists, they know, are for violence. If they can give it up, we can talk. Otherwise, we must fight them. They think the TULF is humbug. The TULF is with the terrorists. If Tamil Nadu wants to invade us, the TULF is for it. If you give them provincial or regional councils and if they drop the Eelam (separate state), it will be bogus. They will use the regional councils to get more. If they don't win the elections to those councils, the terrorists will. So, what are you gaining? I've suggested something else. Let the district councils be there for legislative functions; We can set up a joint executive, combining two or three districts of a region. It doesn't need an amendment to the constitution. The President can make anybody a minister if he is an MP. There will be three district ministers, plus the chairman of

the councils who can be made MPs through an amendment to the constitution. The President can make these three also ministers. Three district ministers and three elected chairmen who can be made ministers to make a cabinet of six ministers. It doesn't need any laws, doesn't need going to the country and you needn't get anybody's sanction. I've asked for this six week recess in the talks to discuss this.

Q: There are suspicions in India about your leasing at the tank farm at Trincomalee to a consortium. The Indian suspect the bona fides of at least two of the three firms comprising the consortium which, they fear, represent US interests.

A: The US navy won't be allowed to come to Trincomalee. No oil can be sold to military institutions or ships. We will ask the Indians also to join the consortium. If the Indians have fears about the US navy coming to Trincomalee, I'm afraid I can't help it. If it is only a US firm and military, what right have you to object? We don't object to your having agreements with the USSR. We're

not interested in the Indian's suspicions, their shouting, their sabre-rattling. We're not worried about an invasion by India. I'm not going to be frightened by India. I'd rather take my own decisions. We can look after ourselves. I don't intend asking anybody for any help. Fifteen million people can't be subjugated. We won't sacrifice our independence. We'll guard our shores, of course. Within the country we can't successfully resist an invasion by India or any super power, it's obvious. Nonviolently we can and we will.

Q: Prime Minister Premadasa said in your parliament "even a big country like India can't bully us." Is India trying to bully you?

A: Yes, that's what they are trying to do.

Q: In what way?

A: Some people in Tamil Nadu are saying: Invade Sri Lanka. I know Mrs Gandhi won't do that. The Indian government is saying: Don't enter into this pact or that. But why shouldn't I? Why shouldn't I have a treaty with the NSA? Of course I won't, but why should they tell me (what I should or shouldn't do)?

Q: You're only question-

ing India's right to tell you so?

A: Yes. That goes against my whole grain, what I learnt from Mahatma Gandhi and others including Mrs Gandhi's own father. If they misunderstand it, it's their problem. I can't correct that. We are not bullying the Tamils here. We are not doing anything more to control terrorism in Jaffna than what Mrs Gandhi is doing to control terrorism in Punjab. The last July riots here were political. We got reports on it but we can't say: You did this, he did that. But the way it happened, the way it happened, the way it was handled and from what we heard, it wasn't just communal frenzy. It was part of a big plan to attack government. We got over that. I don't think it will happen again, not for a long time. Two thousand people are to be charged for the July incidents.

Q: Some people here have said that you should sign a friendship treaty with a big country.

A: They won't do it. I'm not for it anyway. The worst India can do is to invade us. If they invade us, that is the end of the Tamils in

the country. Now we have only guerilla warfare in the north. Suppose it starts in Colombo? You can't stop Punjab. Are you going to stop the slaughter of the Tamils in Colombo? Shall I suggest a solution? In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi went to Calcutta and openly defied violence. If the TULF is sincere, that's what they should do. They must say they're against violence. Secondly, they must say they are not for Eelam. If they do, the Sinhalese attitude will change completely. Why should the TULF leaders run to India all the time? Every time they go to India, our people get angry. Today, the TULF's supporter is India, not the Tamil masses here. Why do they think in India that the TULF represents the Tamils? They have only one seat in the eastern province and in Trinco only 2 against our 10. Why don't you think we represent the eastern province? There are more Tamils in other parts of Sri Lanka than in the north and the east. Why do Indian leaders talk to the TULF? What's the TULF's authority to speak for the Tamils? Your central government thinks they are talking to the leaders of the Tamils. Which Tamil?

Q: Some Sri Lankans seem to feel that India may invade this country.

A: Yes. Some people from Tamil Nadu were planning

(Continued on page 9)

Who's afraid...

(Continued from page 8)

to march here after the July riots.

Q: An Indian state cannot invade another country. The central government controls the Indian armed forces. Does your government share this fear of an Indian invasion?

A: I don't think they can do it. But the Tamil terrorists and their friends may enter country illegally. We're trying to prevent that.

Q: In the wake of the last July riots, you had reportedly asked some countries for help. Which countries were they and what help did you ask for?

A: We asked all the countries as Mrs. Bandaranaike did in 1971. We thought that, ultimately, the attack would be on the government. We had information that another insurgency was being planned. First the insurgents would get at the Sinhala Tamils, second Sinhala Muslims, then Buddhist Christians, then the Burghers (descendants of the Dutch) and then an attack on the government. The documents came into my hands. The Janatha Vimukthi Perumana (JVP) was planning all this. We don't know for sure if any foreign power was involved in it. The government was to be attacked with the help of dissidents in the armed forces. But then we came to know about this. It didn't work out. From Monday till Friday, it gradually fizzled out. When your foreign minister (P. V. Narasimha Rao) came here, he was very worried. He said: "We'll never invade you. We favour your independence. Please solve this (Tamil problem) quickly. You are an elected president. Yours is an elected government. We have to preserve you and your government. Who'll come in your place, we don't know. But we don't want any body else except through elections. Somehow, you control it".

Q: But you didn't ask for India's help?

A: Mrs. Bandaranaike too didn't when she faced an insurgency in 1971. You see, Indian help is suspect in the eyes of the Sri Lankan people. In 1915, when there were Sinhalese-Muslim riots here, the British brought the Sikh and Maratha troops from India. There was martial law. The troops were very ruthless. Anybody coming out of a house was shot. They are still feared here. We asked these countries only for arms, not troops. But nobody helped us because they thought this was an internal problem, a racial problem.

Q: India thinks you deliberately kept her out. She

fears that if any big power sends troops here, it can create a security problem for her.

A: We are not interested in Indian fears. We told this to Mrs. Gandhi and your high commissioner here. But they don't accept what we tell them. They accept only what Amirthalingam tell them.

Q: Would your government like to sign a treaty with a big country?

A: Well, I don't mind a treat with any country: USSR or even India. We have one with the UK, 40 years old. No base here or anything. Just some help in case of an attack, similar to the Indo-Soviet treaty. I know the whole situation. No country in the world would like India to be annoyed with it. Because you're 800 million people, a big market for trade purposes. It isn't just the British who are shop-keepers. The Americans are shop-keepers too! If there's an invasion of Sri Lanka by India, that will solve the Tamil problem here for good. There will be no Tamils left here.

Q: What should India do to allay these fears of invasion?

A: They should stop talking to Amirthalingam.

Q: Would you grant amnesty to the terrorists if the Tamils accept a political solution?

A: Yes. I told this to Amirthalingam more than three years ago.

Q: Tell us about your coming visit to China.

A: We're going there to make a pact (laughs)! Jokes apart, I haven't been there at all. That's why I'm going.

Q: What about your visit to the US in June?

A: I never paid an official visit to the US so far. I passed through Los Angeles on my way to Cuba some years ago. President Reagan invited me to pay a state visit, the last by a head of state before the elections there.

Q: How are your personal relations with Mrs. Gandhi?

A: Very good. I want her to know that I'm doing nothing more here than what she's doing in Punjab. She doesn't even meet Longowal but I'm meeting Amirthalingam all the time. He comes home, we are very friendly. But she meets Amirthalingam. She shouldn't meet him.

Q: Are you planning to pass through New Delhi for a chat with Mrs. Gandhi either on your way to China or the US or on your way back from those countries?

A: Not really. She may think I'm going to sign a pact with Mr. Reagan!

IN THE BRAVE PERFORMANCE OF DUTY...

"Died in the brave performance of duty" is the eloquent citation inscribed on a fitting tribute to the police officers who died in the execution of their duties. Impressive plaques and shining brass plates adorn the Police Headquarters and the Officers' Mess.

The gentleman I am referring to was NOT a police officer. He was not even a soldier "seeking the bubble reputation even in the cannon's mouth." He was only a retired state officer who, by dint of perseverance, integrity and loyalty had earned his promotion as office assistant in the Attorney-General's Department. Instead of enjoying his retirement, he served the public of Jaffna, holding a very responsible position as public relations officer. Unfortunately, Fate with its mysterious and unrelenting plans had decided otherwise. He had attended to all his duties with a sense of dedication and loyalty so that the patients of a private nursing home were not inconvenienced.

The entire day was caught in the throes of anguish, uncertainty and fear. Confusion inundated the town and its suburbs with an obnoxious miasma of an unwholesome stench. People seemed to quiver at the slightest sound. Many tried to seek shelter and protection. Some, in their humble homes concealed themselves and their children behind almirahs in the erroneous belief that they would serve as impregnable walls of a fortress. Most of them lost their appetite. Who can think of food when their lives were in imminent danger? Who can deny that self-preservation is a man's most primordial instinct? Bullets were flying, some ricocheting on hard stone surfaces.

It was then that our hero answered the call. As the helplessly desperate escapees tried to enter, he rushed out of his house to

Q: What if she invites you to visit her?

A: I'll send a minister before I go. A visit by a head of state can be misunderstood. I'll be glad to go if she asks me to.

Q: At 77, what's the secret of your health?

A: India.

Q: Why?

A: Because I try to follow gautama, the Buddha, India's gratest son.

open the gate to allow them ingress—unmindful of the risk to his own life.

It is said that "true bravery proposes a just end, measure the dangers and meets the result with calmness and unyielding decision". How many will do this today? The great and courageous man, conscious of his obligation to God and his fellowmen decided to act. That was the true stamp

percilious manner, apparently a hauteur for his "chivalry", "Sorry", he mumbled and was off. He could not care less.

Our hero's supreme sacrifice is so emphatically symbolic of what the Holy Bible enunciates: "Greater LOVE hath no man than this, a man may lay down his life for his friends" (Gospel according to St. John, Chapter 15.

by R. C. Thavarajah

of nobility which urged him to do his duty—to save the people from certain death.

He paid the price. Writing in pain, the undaunted man assured his daughter that it was only one bullet and that there was no cause for alarm. It was a vain hope. The shocking summons of death came without even the slightest ray of mercy. Mercifully, he did not suffer much. The steel-jacketed bullets have at least one virtue. They ensure the certainty of the end.

"Who is that man?"—the voice of a liveried minion boomed rumbustiously. The daughter did not forget her manners. With eyes welling with tears and her voice almost stifled with unendurable grief, she managed to mutter, "He is my father". The interrogator offered his sympathies in the most su-

Verse No. 13.) He needs no ornate monument or laudatory epitaph. The great writer Washington Irving, so aptly referred to as the "First American Man of Letters" or Father of American Literature" commented most appropriately: "There is no remembrance of the dead to which we turn even from the charms of the living. These we would not exchange for the song of pleasure or the bursts of revelry".

Our beloved hero will always live because he taught us not only HOW to live but also how to die.

The name of the writer, R. C. THAVARAJAH, was inadvertently omitted from the article "A Lady Without Identity" which appeared on Page 3 of our last issue. We apologise for the omission.

Good old times

(Continued from page 4)

night in a Tamil friend's rural house in Nelliady.

In the 1960's I have made more frequent visits, individually and in groups and always stayed in a Tamil home at Nallur - Kachcheri Road.

The last visit I made to Jaffna was in 1974, as a Principal of a school at Wattala with about 65 students, both girls and boys and teachers, and our Tamil friends gave all their help during our tour.

At no time did I feel that I was a stranger and was always received with warmth and as one among them. I have gone out with my Jaffna friends not only to Keerimalai and other

places but also, on joy rides fishing boats. I can never forget those memorable times.

But strange that today we are artificially getting far apart, and it pains me that it is happening. Still I prefer to visit Jaffna and meet friends and travel about. The prohibitive cost of travel is no doubt a retarding factor but the news that we hear is more disturbing.

Your letter is no doubt an encouragement in this direction. But what is the guarantee that a stray bullet may not put all your hopes to an end.

E. A. Vaidyasekera.
Halloluwa.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

It is the "what's in a name?" item in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 31st March that prompted me to write, this article.

What is the difference between a Sinhala and a Tamil name? Most of the names of Sinhalese living in the low country areas are of Portuguese origin and the names of most Hindu Tamils are of Sanskrit origin. In the case of most of the Kandyan, it is the village names they bear. Some have names of Sanskrit or Pali origin.

What is the difference between a Sinhala and a Tamil? It is the language he speaks and the name he bears. If a Tamil can speak Sinhala well and adopts a Sinhala name, he will become a Sinhalese. In the same way, a Sinhalese will become a Tamil if he can speak Tamil well and adopts a Tamil name. It is as simple as that.

It is the Tamils, a minority nationality living among the Sinhalese, a majority nationality, who have been changing their names, getting themselves absorbed among the Sinhalese and thereby losing their separate identity and helping to increase the Sinhalese population many fold. Perhaps, it may be said that it is natural.

This name-changing game has been going on in this island for many centuries from very early times. After the 8th century the Indian influence on Sri Lanka was predominantly South Indian and continued to be so till the arrival of the Portuguese.

It is well-known that from the time of the Chola Conquest (1017-1070) there had been an influx of Brahmins Pandarams and others to Sri Lanka. A group of these priests came to the island from the Chola country in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I (1272-1284) of Dambadeniya, together with all the paraphernalia, attendants, craftsmen, etc., connected with Hindu worship. They were given by the king *radala* or *mudali* titles such as were always given to their maintenance. These immigrants soon mixed with the indigenous population and were absorbed into the *govikula* caste. It is also well-known that certain castes other than *govikula* among the Sinhalese are the descendants of Tamils who had come from south India between the 13th and 18th centuries.

The Velakkaras

There were Tamil mercenaries from India who were hired by the Sinhalese kings. During the Polonnaruwa period, the Velakkaras or the Tamil mercenaries remained a power-

ful force in Sri Lankan politics. They became so influential in Polonnaruwa that, according to a Tamil inscription of the reign of Vickramabahu II (1116-1137), they obtained control of the Temple of the Tooth built by Vijabahu. The temple had been placed in their custody by no other than Maha Thera Moggallana, the royal preceptor, at the general assembly of Velakkaras who are explicitly stated to be not Buddhists, but Salvites. Who are their descendants and where are they now? They have all become Sinhalese with Sinhala names.

During the Kotte period, the Sinhalese royalty got so mixed up with the South Indian Tamil royalty as to make it difficult at times to distinguish one from the other; as examples, there were such celebrities as Alaheswara Alagakkonar, the founder of Jayawardenapura, who pushed back the armies of Ariya Chakravarti of Jaffna, Sapumal Kumarayana or Champaha Perumal, the conqueror of the northern kingdom, and many others. It is obvious that with these princes many of their followers would have crossed over to the island.

When Rajasinghe I embraced Saivism he encouraged the entry of large numbers of Saiva mendicants and many of them found their way to Udarata. It is said that one Perumal who had come from the Chola country played an important part in the state affairs of Sitawaka and his descendants, having embraced Christianity, later became very powerful during the Dutch and British periods, and some of them, after becoming Buddhists in later times, wielded tremendous influence in the Sinhalese society.

Perumal, unlike other Hindu Tamil names, is a pure Tamil word. Many Perumals had come to this island from the mainland and their descendants as Sinhalese became very powerful and influential and some played important roles in the making of the history of this country at different periods.

It is said that Moratota Dhammakanda, the chief monk of the Malwatte Vihara from 1787-1811, was of Brahmin descent.

All those priests and Pandarams who came during the Sitawaka period merged into the Buddhist population.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Pandarams had become part and parcel of the Kandyan nobility. It is accepted that the strong influence of South Indian religious beliefs and practices on Kandyan society was un-

doubtedly due to the absorption of these immigrant groups. It is a well-known fact that the *kovi-kula* or "farmer aristocracy" of the Kandyan kingdom was not a homogeneous group but the result of the fusion of several elements, both indigenous and foreign.

by T. SUBRAMANIAM

It needs to be mentioned that the last four Kandyan kings, who ruled under Sinhalese names, belonged to the Nayakkar dynasty.

A good many of the titles, both honorific and official, that became popular during the Kandyan period can be ultimately traced to a South Indian origin. Words like "Mudali" and "Adikaram" (Adigar) were borrowed from Tamil. The Tamil word "Muthal" means "first" and also "capital". The chieftain or the first citizen of a district is Mudali or Mudaliar. The first money, that is, money put initially into business is muthal or capital.

This word has acquired many shades of meaning, connected with head or top or first. Mudianse is Mudali-Vahanse. Vahans is an honorific title suggesting a high sub caste in the *govikula*. Add a prefix or suffix to the Tamil word "Mudali" and you get a Sinhalese name, perhaps of a sort of aristocratic origin. Names such as Hettiarachchi, Lokuhetti and Adihetti have had much to do with the word "Chetty".

B. S. Perera in "Some observation on the study of Sinhalese place-names" (The Ceylon Historical Journal Vol II, 1963) states: "Tamil place-names are found mostly along the sea-coast and in Anuradhapura, Chilaw, Puttalam districts. Though there are no indigenous Tamils living along the South of Colombo, the Tamil origin of most of the present inhabitants is evident from the fairly large number of Tamil place-names. The 'ge' names of the people, too, attest to their Tamil origin. The word 'Malai' meaning in Tamil a mountain or hill, is found even in the central parts of the island. These are found in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of plantations and show that the Tamil element in the composition of the Sinhalese is far greater than is conceded. Ranmalaya, Kotmale, Kilimale are some of the examples". Now the Tamil place-names are deliberately being changed into Sinhala names. Examples are too numerous to be given in a short article.

G. C. Mendis, in "The Early History of Ceylon", writes thus on the Tamil

contribution to Sri Lanka, "Another stock of people who helped to form the Sinhalese race was the Dravidians. There is no evidence to show when they first came to this island, but they undoubtedly came from the earliest times onwards, whether as invaders or as peaceful immigrants. Most of them gradually adopted the Sinhalese language as some of them still do in some of the coastal districts and were merged in the Sinhalese population. ... It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure, shows the influence of Tamil so strongly, and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India."

To understand the full implications of what Dr. Mendis has stated, it is necessary that one should know what has been happening in some of the coastal areas. The Tamils who had settled in the coastal area between Puttalam and Negombo were converted to the Roman Catholic religion by the Portuguese and given Portuguese names. Gradually they have been absorbed into the Sinhalese population of the area who are themselves Roman Catholics with Portuguese names.

The Catholic clergy, an eminent Catholic priest in particular, played an important role in this exercise. Most of them in that area bearing names such as Fernando, Pieris and Costa were originally Tamil Hindus. Dom Francisco alias Velautha Perumal, Dom Pedro alias Iliya Perumal, Dom Joao alias Viracuti, Dom Gheronimo alias Nilacuti and so many others were Hindu prior to conversion to Catholicism and absorption into the Sinhalese community. This is what the Catholic cre-

ligion has done to the Tamils of that area. There are some villages there which still have a Tamil population because they are Hindus.

Inspired by the past history of name-changing, Mr. Tissa Wijeyeratne, a former Ambassador in France during Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government, propounded in an article which appeared in the Ceylon Daily News some years ago. That the Sinhaputra doctrine based on the Bhumi-putra doctrine to Malaysia. He advocated that instruction to Tamil children in all schools except in the Jaffna peninsula should be given through the Sinhala language so that in course of time they might become Sinhalese. Why he had left the peninsula out nobody knows. Perhaps he may explain one day.

Once a minister of this government said that if Amirthalingams become Amerthasekeras there will not be an ethnic problem. It is to stop this dangerous process that the Tamil people are asking for regional autonomy so that in the areas with a predominantly Tamil-speaking population they may be able to preserve their separate identity, language, culture, etc. That is really the essence of the ethnic problem of this island.

So, what's in a name? The nameboards of Tamil medical specialists and eminent physicians and surgeons residing in the fashionable quarters of Colombo 7 and those of Tamil attorneys-at-law practising at Hulftsdorf have been removed after the black July.

A person with a Sinhala name belongs to the ruling race and a person with a Tamil name to a subject race, notwithstanding all the pious professions made from public platforms and solemn declarations inscribed in constitutional documents. This is the stark, naked, brutal fact.

So what's in a name? It is a theme that deserves a volume and not a mere newspaper article.

NVDAG's 5th Anniversary

The Non-Violent Direct Action Group is now a five-year old baby. It was born on 25th February 1979 at the premises of the Kaithady Hindu Orphanage. It has been very active in its commitment since its inception and has also earned a good name for its service among the Tamil-speaking people in the country.

To mark the 5th anniversary celebrations of the NVDAG, various programmes were organised on 24th and 25th February.

On the first day, NVDAG donated the scavenging labourers attached to the Chava-

kachcheri Urban Council with gum boots, gloves, apron and other items.

On the second day, a shramadana campaign was organised at Kaithady, in which 75 members of the organisation took part enthusiastically. A portion of land was cleared for the construction of a permanent secretariat for the NVDAG.

The other item on that day's programme included the serving of lunch to 50 orphans living at the Kaithady Hindu Orphanage and a seminar and meeting chaired by Mr. V. S. Thuraijiah, an activist of the NVDAG.

THE INDIAN PRESS

New Dimensions

SLOWLY and steadily—almost imperceptibly—the Indian language press has come into its own, dislodging the English language press from the pre-eminent position it enjoyed for 150 years. This is not to say that English has been discarded. No. It continues to be an important and influential language, the link language between the Union and the State Governments and the official language of two of the 22 states of India. In the number of newspapers (3583) and their circulation (11,039,000), English comes next to Hindi with 5329 newspapers and a circulation of 13,984,000. While English maintains its important position at the national level, its position in the states has been weakend considerably. Generally speaking, the Indian language press till 1979, has recorded unprecedented improvements, qualitatively and quantitatively. The Indian language newspapers have gone ahead in the number of newspapers and circulation, and also introduced improvements in technology that would not have been dreamt of a few years ago. As against 20 daily newspapers, with a circulation of over 100,000 in 1976, today there are 31 dailies. While the combined circulation of the 20 dailies, in 1976, was 3.48 millions today's 31 dailies sell more than three times the number of copies.

English language journalism, it may be mentioned, is just over 200 years old—the first newspaper having been started by James Augustus Hicky in 1780—and the Indian language press just about 150 years old. The latter was started initially to counter the rising influence of foreign missionaries, and later undertook the task of social reform and, still later, of national liberation from colonial rule. Indeed, the language papers played a notable part in the fight for freedom, at a time when quite a few of the English newspapers played the role of the collaborators. The growth rate of newspapers before independence was pretty low, and the mortality rate very high. Not so since independence.

According to a study undertaken in 1883, the English language, vernacular newspapers, and also the Anglo-Vernacular journals then being published in India numbered 330 and their circulation was 110,389. When India became

free in 1947, newspapers of varying periodicity numbered around 2000. A count taken in 1952, when the first press commission was set up, showed there were 330 daily newspapers, 1189 weeklies and 1733 periodicals. In 1971 there were 12,218 newspapers, with a circulation of 29.6 million. By 1977 their number had gone up to 14,531 with a circulation of 37.44 million. In 1981, the total number of newspapers stood at 19,144 and their circulation at 51.1 million copies.

The press commission, in its report in 1953, had anticipated that the rate of growth of Indian language newspapers would be much faster than that of the English language newspapers. This has in fact been so. For, in 1960, there were only two newspapers in India with a circulation of more than 50,000 and both these were in English. Twenty years

later, in 1981, there were 32 newspapers with a circulation of more than 100,000 and above, and of these 21 newspapers were in the Indian languages. The three largest circulated single edition newspapers are not in English, but in Bengali and Hindi. So spectacular has been the growth of Indian language newspapers that, quite a few English newspapers, with the exception of *The Hindu* and *The Statesman*, decided to bring out editions in Indian languages—i.e., *The Pioneer*, *Tribune*, *Searchlight*, *Leader*. What is more, the language editions brought out by the common ownership units have far outstripped their older and well-established English language counterparts.

The *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the Bengali daily of Calcutta, with a circulation of 416,514 sells more copies than the three English dailies of Calcutta, the *Statesman*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *The Telegraph*, all put together. The *Punjab Kesari*, a Hindi daily of Jalandhar with a circulation of 186,912, sells more copies than the centenary *Tribune* (circulation: 162,912), a regional paper of national importance. *The Nav Bharat Times* (circulation: 310,708) the third largest circulated daily in the country, although established in 1950, sells more co-

pies than its sister publication, the *Times of India* (Circulation: 285,984) established in 1838. The Bombay edition of the leading English daily *Indian Express* (circulation: 135,598) is eclipsed by the Marathi *Loksatta* (circulation: 230,441). Similarly, *Aryavarta* (circulation: 102,692), a Hindi daily of Patna, sells many more copies than its sister publication *Indian Nation* (56,527). The same is true of *Pradeep* (35,771) and its sister publication in English, the *Searchlight* (20,390).

All this has been possible because the rate of growth has been much faster in the languages than in English. According to the Registrar of Newspapers, for instance, the Hindi newspapers have doubled their circulation since 1972, and registered a spectacular rise of three hundred per cent during the period between 1964 and

120,077) have also emerged rapidly in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Malayalam language newspapers of Kerala have had a phenomenal growth, unrivalled by other languages, the *Malayala Manorama* (circulation: 238,290) occupying the fourth position in the language newspapers of the country. Kerala does not have a single city of the size of metropolitan cities. Yet it has recorded a phenomenal growth. The state can lay claim to six language dailies with a circulation of more than 100,000, four of them published from provincial towns.

The Indian language newspapers have built up impressive circulations because of the accent on local news, or happenings in the neighbourhood and of dealing with the local problems, not adequately covered in the national newspapers from the metropolitan cities and towns all with an urban bias. Newspapers in Kerala, for instance, deal with the problems of migrants to the Gulf countries and West Asia. Another important factor has been the use of local idiom, phrases, puns, folktales, imaginative layouts, investigative reporting, a fresh style of feature writing and eye-catching headlines. While many of the language newspapers set up news bureaux at Delhi for coverage at the national level, they being closer to the cultural ethos of the people of different regions, also cashed in on parochial and linguistic chauvinism to increase circulation.

A truly remarkable feature of the Indian language newspapers has been the ad-

option by them of the technological advances for composing and printing, and also modern management techniques, for more efficient distribution networks. Even though *The Hindu* was ahead of most others in adopting the facsimile edition technology, most of the well-established newspapers in English still use the hot metal technology. It is the language newspapers in Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Tamil and Urdu which have switched over to the cold type, i.e., phototypesetting and offset printing. The *Malayala Manorama* has set up satellite units for colour printing.

What is said above is true not only of the daily newspapers but also of the periodical press. The *Malayala Manorama* weekly sells 565,591. The Tamil weekly *Kumudum* sells more than 560,646 copies as against a mere 256,326 of the well-entrenched *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Even *Manohar Kahanian* sell 354,083 copies. One index of the popularity of the language newspapers is the advertisement tariffs. The media, always choosy about the selection of newspapers for their campaigns, are now opting for the Indian language newspapers.

A remarkable feature of the growth of the Indian press during the last five years has been the emergence of financial journalism and a boom in magazines, especially in English. These came up suddenly during the late seventies and have added a new dimension to the press, tapping a greatly underexploited potential. Apart from independent periodicals, even the language newspaper chains have started weeklies and fortnightly. Of the 49 periodicals with a circulation of 100,000 and above, as many as 38 are in Hindi and other languages. (INDIAN & FOREIGN REVIEW, 29th February)

by

Madan Gopal

Words of Wisdom

"Airs of importance are credentials of impotence."

— Lavater

"How often the greatest geniuses lie hidden in obscurity."

— Platus

"It is equally an error to believe all men or no man."

— Seneca

"No system of philosophy, no theory of science is more than a single stone in the ever growing pyramid of truth."

— J. M. Gibbon

"Men's evil manners live in brass, their virtues we write in water."

— Shakespeare

"Desire and anger drown a man without water, burn him without fire, kill him without weapons, bind him without ropes. They can destroy even a wise man, The consequences of self indulgence are suicidal. Beware, beware."

— Sri Swami Sivananda

"The politician who once had to learn how to flatter kings, has now to learn how to fascinate, amuse, coax, humbug, frighten or otherwise strike the fancy of the electorate."

— Bernard Shaw

(Collected by Jupiter)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

EDITOR WARNED

(Continued from Page 1)
all newspapers in Sri Lanka, are hampering our style.
Only last week, both the Government Agent and his

deputy were out of Jaffna for several days, so that copy sent for approval get held up. It was with the greatest difficulty that we

were able to bring the paper out on Saturday.

The special censorship, we understand, will continue for some more time—because the authorities seem to have some fear of the SATURDAY REVIEW!

On our part, there will be no complete giving in to the Censor. Within the rules, we will continue to perform our role as an independent journal.

We wish to repeat what we said in our expose of the SUN's DAMN LIE: "Not even a thousand Douglas Liyanages (of 1962 coup conspiracy fame) nor a thousand Lalith Athulathmudali (of Oxford and Harvard fame) can stop the truth of what is happening in Jaffna getting out to the outside world."

THE ALLEN AFFAIR

How shall we describe it?

A crying shame; the height of absurdity; bureaucracy at its blundering worst.

However it may be described, the fact remains that a Jaffna-based newspaper was not able to freely report on one of the biggest and bizarre episode to take place in Jaffna in recent history.

But the Colombo-based newspapers were allowed to go to town with it—with the blessing of the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali.

According to what was published in these newspapers, around 8 p. m. on Thursday, 10th May, Mr. Stanley B. Allen who was working on a US-funded water project at Point Pedro, and his wife were abducted from their house in Jaffna by eight armed men and taken to an unknown destination.

The next morning, a note was delivered at the office of the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. D. Nesiah, by some youths.

About the same time, a similar note (cyclostyled) was delivered at the SATURDAY REVIEW office but we were not able to make any use of it because of the censorship rules.

According to the note, the People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), one of the several groups forming the Liberation Tiger Movement, claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of the Allens.

The EPRLF, according to the note which was read out to journalists by Mr. Athulathmudali at a hurriedly summoned press conference on Saturday afternoon, demanded the release of 20 "political prisoners" and Rs. 50 million in gold, all to be delivered to the Tamil Nadu Government within a 72-hour deadline, ending at 12 noon on 14th May (Vesak Day).

Failure to meet the twin demands, the note said, would lead to the killing of the Allens.

The "political prisoners" whose release was demanded were:

Fr. Singarayer.

Nirmala Nithianandan.

Arumugam Sathiyamoorthy (University student).

Sambandan Sivanandan (Kokuvil).

Ponnusamy Sritharan (Myliddy).

Rasathurai Selvamohan. Thirunavukkarasu Sritharan (Nallur).

Deivanayagam Pathinbanayagam alias Aiyah (Vavuniya).

Thirusethukavalar (Vavuniya).

Premahasan (Vavuniya). S. Sivakolunthu (Mullaithivu).

Thirunavukkarasu Thananjayan (Mullaithivu).

Sivaganesalingam (Mullaithivu).

Vallipuram Gangatharam (Mullaithivu).

Thaveethu Jeevaratnam (Mullaithivu).

Thirunavukkarasu Sooriyakumar (Mullaithivu).

Veerappan Arumugam (Mullaithivu).

Dharmaraja (Thambuluvil).

Veerakkutti Shanmuganathan (Batticaloa).

Sinnathamby Krishnarasa (Batticaloa).

Mr. Athulathmudali, at another press conference on Sunday, said that only 16 of the persons named were still in custody and noted that two of them, Fr. Singarayer and Mrs. Nithianandan did not want to be released because they were innocent of any crime.

Replying to a question as to whether there would be no negotiations whatsoever, Mr. Athulathmudali said, "I never said I would not talk with them. This is too serious and grave a matter. I am willing to talk to anyone purely as a matter of humanitarian concern. Our primary concern is to see that the lives of these two persons are safe."

Mr. Athulathmudali also said that Sri Lanka would not turn the heat on the abductors if they released the hostages unharmed. "If they release them unharmed

then we will not actively pursue them with vigour".

The Minister said that it was clear now that the plan envisaged by the terrorists originally on Friday could not be carried out. The Tamil Nadu State Government was not willing to be involved. All 20 prisoners whose release was being sought were not there and two of them refused to be released.

"So now a stalemate situation has set in. Only those holding the abducted couple are in a position to break that stalemate" he said.

After much speculation about their possible hiding place and their fate—and several more press conferences where Mr. Athulathmudali displayed his rhetorical skills—the Allens were finally released on Wednesday, 16th May. They were "found" at Bishop's House in Jaffna about 8.30 p. m., that day.

Mr. Athulathmudali claimed that their release was a triumph for world public opinion. The EPRLF said it was responding to the requests of the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran.

Before their departure to the U.S., the couple gave an interview to pressmen at the American Centre in Colombo.

Among the questions asked and the answers given were:

You said they were not terrorists. Was it a point you made or what they told you?

They said they were not terrorists but freedom fighters. If they were terrorists, they would have killed us instead of releasing us.

Could you form an opinion of the educational and intellectual level of your captors?

They seemed to us to be very educated. They were very knowledgeable about world affairs and were fluent in English.

How did they treat you at the time of abduction?

They treated us very well. They even brought ice for my wife when she was feeling hot.

Were they rough with you?

No, they were very gentle.

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