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BHUTAN TALKS COLLAPSE

The senseless slaughter of over 200 innocent Tamil civilians in Vavuniya on 16 August by the Sri Lankan security forces resulted in the representatives of the TULF and five Tamil militant groups walking out of the Conference room at Thimpu. The efforts by the Indian government and in particular by Mr Romesh Bhandari, the Foreign Secretary, who flew to Thimpu to salvage the talks from total collapse, failed.

Was the massacre at Vavuniya deliberately contrived to cause the result it eventually did, is the question that is being raised in political circles in Colombo. Within Sri Lanka, there was mounting opposition from Sinhala-Buddhist extremist elements demanding the abandonment, or at least the postponement of the Bhutan talks.

Mrs Bandaranaike soon became the rallying point, assisted by the higher echelons of the Buddhist clergy led by the Mahanayake of the Asgiriya chapter, Palipane Chanananda, for this mounting opposition. An organisation called the Sri Lanka National Front was formed to 'save the Sinhala race and the Buddhist religion'. Behind this organisation gathered all the known elements and personalities whose only gravitational pull was Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony over the whole island and giving no quarter to the Tamils. The signatories to a document that demanded the immediate abandonment of the Bhutan talks include Mrs Bandaranaike, Anura Bandaranaike, Dinesh Gunawardene (MEP), Palipane Chanananda Sobitha Thero, and that 'authentic' Sinhala-Buddhist ideologue Pannaseeha Thero. This National Front (an appropriate name in the Sri Lankan context for its views are not very different from the racist National Front in Britain, declared that it was to

launch an agitation 'against government's inaction to provide security to Sinhalese in the north and east' and in fighting the Tamil militants.

The Mahanayake of Asgiriya presented a petition signed by 9,400 Buddhist priests to the President demanding that any decision arrived at in Bhutan should have the approval of

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CHANDRAHASAN & BALASINGHAM DEPORTED

Mr S.C. Chandrachud who was in South India since the July 1983 violence and Mr A.S. Balasingham of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who also was in Madras for almost the same period were deported by the Indian government on 24 August.

Mr Balasingham, a UK citizen, was put on a plane to London and Mr Chandrachud to New York.

It is also reported that Mr N. Satyendra, who participated in the Bhutan talks, left for the United Kingdom before he was served with a similar deportation order. This apparent tough move by the Indian authorities, coming soon after the collapse of the Bhutan talks is seen as an indicator of the irritation felt by India in respect of what one New Delhi source described as 'the inflexible stance adopted by the Tamil groups'.

By this hasty action it would seem that the central government wanted to pre-empt any popular agitation in Tamil Nadu by South Indian politicians against the deportation of these three articulate spokesmen for the Tamil cause.

The Sri Lankan government's proposals at the Thimpu talks included the

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TAMIL DEMANDS & GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

The four fundamental principles put forward by the Tamil delegates at the Thimpu Conference were rejected by the Sri Lankan Government when talks were resumed on 12th August. The leader of the Sri Lankan Government delegation, Hector Jayawardene, read out a 10-page document which was termed as containing 'the Sri Lankan government viewpoint on the four demands of the Tamils'. The four principles placed before the conference by the Tamil delegates earlier were:

- (1) The recognition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct 'nationality'.
- (2) The recognition and guarantee of the 'territorial integrity' of the identified Tamil homelands.
- (3) The recognition of the inalienable rights of self-determination of the 'Tamil Nation'.
- (4) The recognition of the rights of Citizenship and other fundamental rights of all Tamils who look upon the island as their home.

The rejection did not come as a surprise to many of those who are familiar with Sinhalese attitude towards the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Tamil people. The total dismissal of the proposals, the flagrant violations of the ceasefire by the Sri Lankan security forces, the military build-up in the north and east and the acrimonious outbursts of the Colombo politicians lead to the inevitable conclusion that the Sri Lanka government, as suspected, was only buying time and not sincerely committed to a negotiated settlement.

A nation is 'a historically evolved stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture'. The Tamils of Sri

Lanka undoubtedly possess the constituent elements of this universally accepted definition of a nation.

The Tamils have lived in the island from ancient times and have historically constituted a distinct nation for several centuries, occupying a separate territory administered by a separate kingdom and developing unique systems of law different from that of the rest of the island. The Tamil kingdom withstood the onslaughts of the Portuguese battalions for several decades before final capitulation, whereas the Sinhalese kingdoms in the south had since been overrun. The foreign invaders recognised the existence of a nation of Tamil people and administered it as a separate territorial entity. The Cleghorn Minute, recorded in 1797, drew a clear distinction between the Tamil nation and the Sinhalese nation in the island. It was only in 1833 that Westminster amalgamated the Tamil territory with the rest of the country for administrative expediency on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission. But the amalgamation did not result in the undoing of the Tamil nation. The Tamils have continued to exist as a stable distinct community of people, living in their homelands, manifesting common traditions in their social and cultural activities. This is evidenced in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1956 and the 1967 Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact. These two agreements between the Tamil leaders and Sri Lankan governments in fact incorporated implicitly, if not expressly, the four fundamental principles placed at the Thimpu conference. The two agreements were shelved because of mounting opposition to granting of any rights to the

Tamils by the parties in opposition and the Buddhist clergy.

The Tamils have suffered as a result of the inability of the Sinhalese leadership to rise above sectarian politics and exhibit statesmanship — like qualities in bringing about a solution to the problem. The present demands have been rejected probably not so much for the opposition of the SLFP and the Buddhist clergy, but because of the dissent of anti-Tamil strong men within Jayawardene's own party and the all-devouring 'hawks' in the Cabinet.

Referring to the Citizenship issue, Hector Jayawardene said that the All Party Conference of 1984 had decided to grant citizenship to 94,000 stateless persons.

Firstly, a promise was made in 1955 by this very same Government that all stateless persons will be granted citizenship, but after eight years in power not an iota of progress has been made. The attempts of the Ceylon Workers Congress, which forms part of the Government, have proved futile due to the strong opposition by UNP members within the Cabinet. Committee after Committee have been appointed to study the citizenship problem and make recommendations and these steps have only served to further complicate the issue. (It is probable Committees are appointed for this very purpose.)

Secondly, a question arises as to the fate of the rest of the stateless persons. At the time of the Indo-Ceylon agreement in 1964, in the estimated figure of the number of stateless persons, almost 200,000 people were left out as a proper survey had not been conducted. This was in addition to the 150,000 persons whose fate was left to be decided

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of all — is deemed a necessity. (vi) Most important, however, is that apartheid, Zionism, Sinhala-Buddhism chauvinism all form **cultural complexes**, that is, they are not merely simple sets of policies and ideas, but complexes that operate on many levels, as if leading a life of their own.

The ideological roots of these cultural complexes all date back to the closing years of the nineteenth century. This was a time when **racial thinking** was all-pervasive throughout the world, a time when no political event of importance could pass without a racial explanation being given for it, when racial thinking had also entered into philosophy, art, esoteric thought, and religion. This was also the time when imperialism was at its peak and nationalism at its most intense. Anti-imperialist movements were also taking shape at the time. Racial thinking, usually in tandem with religious revivalism, mythologised nationalism, on either side of the fences of empire. Racial thinking rationalised the hierarchies between the planet's peoples reflecting or renegotiating the global configurations of power. All the while, of course, 'race' was a bogus concept, virtually devoid of biological foundation, and actually referring to language groups (as with 'Aryans', 'Dravidians', etc.).

The next milestone on this road is fascism, when the ideological complexes of aggressive nationalism and racial thinking achieve **state power** in Europe and Japan. Zionism which had developed as a counterpart to nineteenth century anti-Semitism, branched out further both in opposition to and osmosis with European fascism. Afrikaner nationalism also took further shape in the 1930s, drawing nourishment from the European example.

Dharmapala's emphasis, at the turn of the century, on 'religion-land-people' parallels Hitler's later spells of 'Blood and Soil' and 'Volk und Vaterland'. Indeed, often the same rhetoric and imagery was used in Ceylon as in Europe; as when Dharmapala wrote in 1915: 'The Muhammedans, an alien people . . . by Shylockian methods became prosperous like the Jews.'⁷⁵ These affinities with European mentalities continued through the 1930s. As Kumari Jayawardena commented: 'Many nationalist and labour leaders, especially those who had been influenced by the myth of the Aryan origin of the Sinhalese, found the language

and rhetoric emanating from Germany and Italy, useful in their own propaganda.'⁷⁶ Thus in the years of economic crisis also the Ceylonese labour movement succumbed to religious nationalism, culminating in the 1939 campaign against the Malayali workers.

In the thirties, then, the ideological complexes of Afrikaans nationalism, Zionism and Sinhala Buddhist-chauvinism all gained political momentum and broadened their constituencies. It is interesting to note that after the world war in which the fascist states were defeated, they all achieved state power, in South Africa, Israel and Sri Lanka, in the same year: 1948.

Since then other interests have joined the banquet. It is like a 'computer error' which once it has entered into a programme has begun to lead a life of its own and, no matter its being an error to begin with, is being used and activated by all sorts of forces to suit their advantage. Buddhists have ridden Sinhala nationalism to build the nest of Buddhism and the Sangha; Sinhalese politicians have warmed up to Buddhism to gain a short cut to popularity. Local political forces who have built their hegemony on the foundation of paranoia and confrontation dove-tailed with outside interests. In the post-war world, after the British had prepared the ingredients and supplied the cookbook, the **manipulation of ethnic and religious cleavages** is a key dimension of the CIA's destabilisation textbook.

Fascism, indeed, is a worn-out over-used category. It must be kept in mind, however, that what we call fascism is only the political manifestation of an underlying force field of nationalism, racism, chauvinism, anti-communism, bigotry and other psychological and cultural currents. What matters is not simply the outward manifestation of facism, the **political form** it assumes, but the **substratum** from which it grows, and which under different circumstances can very well produce different political arrangements.

The final point that needs to be made is that **race (people) and religion** together form an extremely potent combination. It is this combination that lends the hegemonic cloud formation of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism its strength, both in terms of its ideological sway and resilience and in terms of its numerical popular support — a strength which neither a Sinhala project nor a Buddhist programme could

muster separately. Hence it is the glue that binds the two that must be the focus of concentrated attention. This can be concretised in several ways. For Tamils this means for instance that in resisting Sinhala incursions they should refrain from damaging Buddhist shrines and holy places, for to do so would only reinforce and reproduce the Sinhala Buddhist connection.

There is a strategic point to drawing parallels with South Africa and Israel. A point that transcends the issue of involvement in Sri Lanka on the part of both Mossad training Lankan armed forces and South Africa supplying arms, both also serving as conduits for US influence in the Indian Ocean. More important is that there are lessons to be learned from the resistance movements in both countries.

A cultural complex

The heart of the matter is that Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism is to be understood as a cultural complex. And it is as such that it needs to be confronted and subjected to a total and unrelenting **cultural critique**, from its branches to its roots. No lasting political solution to the Sinhala-Tamil situation in Sri Lanka can be envisioned without confronting Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism itself, without severing the Sinhala Buddhist connection, without clearing the air and a fundamental change in the climate of opinion in Sri Lanka. It is well known what is to be done with a Gordian knot — it is no use staring at it, discussing it, debating it; the only thing to be done is to make a clean sharp break with it.

The greatest source of strength to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa is that it can operate within a climate of **utter rejection** of apartheid on moral, human, cultural, religious, political grounds, a rejection which has also become part of global awareness. It is important to note that the churches, once they turned their back on apartheid, have become among its most vigorous and staunchest opponents. In a similar way, the stalemate in Israel and the Middle East cannot really be broken through without the critique of Zionism — on the part of 'still small voices' as yet — gaining ground, to the point of changing the opinion climate in Israel. Religious racism, anywhere, is an inversion of religion. Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism

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ARMY SLAUGHTERS 200 TAMILS, VAVUNIYA, 'A GHOST TOWN'

Over 200 civilian Tamils were shot dead by the army on 16 August when the army went on a rampage in the town of Vavuniya. Many women and children and, in some cases, whole families have been gunned down.

The attack was supposedly in retaliation for a land-mine explosion in which the security forces suffered no casualty or damage. Although it was alleged that the explosion was caused by Tamil guerrillas, this has been denied and a counter-allegation has been made that the army itself master-minded the explosion to give themselves an excuse to mount an attack on Vavuniya and drive the Tamils out.

The 'ISLAND' (Colombo) of 17 August reported that 'Vavuniya resem-

bled a dead-house with bodies mounting in the hospital mortuary and the injured being counted in the hospital' and that transport and communication had come to a halt. Over 1,000 Tamil families had taken refuge in St. Anthony's Church. The same paper reported on the following day (18th) that the Vavuniya Magistrate held an inquest into the death of 21 persons who included 10 children and a 6-month pregnant woman. Only three persons had been identified. The victims of the massacre included the Vavuniya head of the Sarvodaya Movement, Mr Kathiramalainathan, his wife, father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Several houses and shops were set on fire by the security forces. Christopher Moore, the 'Guardian' (London) correspondent who visited Vavuniya

on August 18, reported ('Guardian', 19.8.85):

'Vavuniya is a town in shock, its shops and bazaars closed, its streets empty and the only visible activity the collection and burial of the dead. More than 200 people may have died here during the last three days, according to reliable sources.

'Vavuniya's agony began on Friday, when Tamil separatists detonated a landmine as an army patrol was returning to camp on the outskirts of the town. The attack was apparently mistimed because no soldiers were reported injured. But, dazed by the explosion and unable to pinpoint the location of their assailants, the soldiers took immediate retaliation against Tamils living close by.

'For at least an hour after the explosion, which happened at about 5a.m., there was the sound of continuous gunfire all over the area. One eyewitness described what happened when troops smashed down the gates of the compound where he and several families were living: "We all ran to the main house and hid in one room, about 47 people. We could hear the soldiers shouting in Sinhalese. One soldier came in and took us outside. Three soldiers made us line up. One soldier, he was about 10 feet away, loaded a magazine into his machine gun. We were all of us pleading with him not to shoot. We all ran away. We were screaming. The other soldiers began firing. I fell down, pretending to be dead, with my son at my side."

Refuge in church

'The witness, the clerk for a prominent local lawyer, said that after half an hour soldiers and the police chief returned to collect dead bodies. The survivors were eventually allowed to go into the town to take refuge in the Catholic church. On the way they passed more bodies and saw two trailers loaded with corpses being driven off in the direction of the army camp.

'Once the killing had stopped the looting began. Eyewitnesses described how Sinhalese civilians joined the army in raiding Tamil-owned property in the vicinity of the army camp, while troops drew a protective cordon round the district. One eyewitness said he hid for the entire day in an outside lava-

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later. Furthermore, during the time of the second agreement in 1974, the estimates of 1964 were adopted without any question and the 1984 figure of 94,000 is, in fact, based on the estimates made two decades earlier.

Independent organisations have estimated that currently there are more than 400,000 stateless persons in Sri Lanka. Sidestepping the issue by the Sri Lanka government amounts to a denial of the just demands of the Tamil people. The right of self-determination is an inalienable right of a 'nation' of people which is recognised by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Sri Lanka is a signatory to these two Covenants. The Tamils of Sri Lanka constitute a nation and therefore their right to self-determination is inalienable and cannot be compromised.

The rejection of the principles placed at the Conference is a rejection of universally accepted norms. This is not surprising, because the Sri Lankan government has violated and continues to violate almost every article in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants.

BHUTAN TALKS COLLAPSE

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the Sinhala people. Some weeks earlier Anura Bandaranaike led a walk-out of the rump SLFP MPs from Parliament accusing the UNP of selling the 'Sinhalese down the line'. Later he told Parliament that the 'ceasefire' would create the conditions for the Tamil militants to 'come back and cook the goose for the Sinhalese'.

It was in this context of an orchestrated reply of an earlier scenario that the Sri Lankan government was beginning to get nervous and this nervousness found expression when its delegation presented proposals which were not very different from what the government had placed before the Tamils at last year's abortive All Party Conference. The government, through its delegation, also rejected the four fundamental principles put forward by the Tamil representatives.

The gap between the two sides is so wide that neither the expert advice provided by India to the Sri Lanka government on the extent of decentralisation and devolution on the Indian model nor the pressure exerted on the Tamil militant groups was able to avert a deadlock. But as it turned out, the Vavuniya massacre brought the talks to a premature if not a predictable end.

GOVERNMENT REJECTS TAMIL DEMANDS

The TULF and the five Tamil militant groups (LTTE, EROS, EPRLF, TELO and PLOTE), put forward the following four basic principles on behalf of the Tamil people at Thimpu in Bhutan.

Recognition of (a) Tamils as a distinct nationality, (b) the Tamil homeland and its territorial integrity, (c) the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation, and (d) the right to full citizenship of all Tamils living in Sri Lanka.

Mr H.W. Jayawardene QC, who headed the Sri Lankan delegation, made a lengthy statement on 12 August 1985 on behalf of the government rejecting the four principles. The following is a summary of his statement:

The first three are unacceptable to the government of Sri Lanka. They constitute a negation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and are inimical to the interests of the several communities, ethnic and religious, in our country.

(a) Tamils as a distinct nationality

If it means a separateness or distinctness from other communities or racial groups in the island, by virtue of a difference in the obligation of their allegiance to the state, this would involve the creation of a new state, we reject it.

We are prepared to consider any proposals that would help the preservation and protection of those rights and interests which are necessary for the continuing existence of the Tamils as an ethnic group.

We recognise the right of all communities in Sri Lanka to preserve, protect and promote their cultural heritage, linguistic traditions and to practise their religion, without prejudicing the sovereignty of the state.

(b) The second principle speaks of the recognition of an identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity

There is implicit in this the idea of a truncation of the republic's own territorial integrity, as defined by Article 5 of the constitution. I need hardly say that any such idea cannot be entertained let alone considered.

In so far as this principle contains the implication that there is to be a total or partial embargo placed against the settlement of people of other communities in the areas perceived by the Tamils as their homeland, we reject it as being a violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms

of all citizens of Sri Lanka. It is the right and freedom of every citizen of Sri Lanka, irrespective of the racial or religious group to which he belongs to, to settle in any part of Sri Lanka which has been the homeland of all communities from time immemorial. All citizens, irrespective of community are entitled to the freedom of movement and of choosing their residency in any part of Sri Lanka, and of engaging in any lawful occupation anywhere in the country.

On the other hand, we do recognise the fact that in certain parts of the country there is strong concentration which has given rise to special problems. In so far as there is a need to recognise their special rights and claims to preferential treatment which are not inconsistent with the fundamental principle of equality and equal protection and in so far as it is necessary to accord any special rights to the Tamil community living in these areas, for the preservation of their ethnic identity, we are prepared to consider reasonable proposals for achievement of these objectives. We shall place before you specific proposals, for land settlement and land use, which in our opinion do satisfy this need.

(c) The right of self-determination of the Tamil Nation

The third principle of the right of self-determination in so far as it implies the right of secession from and out of the democratic socialist republic of Sri Lanka, and the right to create a separate state is totally unacceptable and is in that form rejected.

(d) The right to full citizenship of all Tamils living in Sri Lanka

As far as the fourth principle is concerned we do not acknowledge the right or status or any persons present here to represent or negotiate on behalf of all Tamils living in Sri Lanka. Those of the Tamil community of recent Indian origin who are commonly referred to as Indian Tamils have their own accredited representatives and the government has reached certain understandings with them in regard to their problems and these do not need to be discussed here.

We may state, however, that the government of Sri Lanka has already announced at the All-Party Conference that was concluded last year, its intention to grant Sri Lankan citizenship to the outstanding number of the 94,000

persons who fall into the stateless category as soon as arrangements are made for the repatriation of the Indian Tamils who have been granted Indian citizenship.

We shall presently outline our main proposals.

The implementation of any agreement reached at these talks require as a precondition a complete renunciation of all forms of militant action. All militant groups in Sri Lanka must surrender their arms and equipment. All training camps whether in Sri Lanka or abroad must be closed down. Refugees, wherever they may be, must be permitted to return unmolested to areas which were inhabited by them prior to their disturbance and inhabited by them prior to their disturbance and destabilisation.

Guarantees in constitution

All temples, kovils, churches, mosques and other places of worship and shrines, of whatever religion damaged or destroyed, shall be restored and people of all communities and religions, wherever they may be, shall be allowed to manifest their religion in accordance with the guarantees in the constitution. An amnesty for all violations of the criminal law pursuant to agitations of the militant groups will only be granted after the government is satisfied that these pre-conditions have been observed. This is the only basis on which any settlement reached here can be implemented and peace restored to our country.

All forms of agitation by extra-legal means must be abandoned and any form of political agitation must be in accordance with constitutional methods.

ARMS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Sri Lanka is to purchase arms from South Africa and Malaysia. This news was disclosed in the Sri Lankan Parliament recently by opposition SLFP MP, Mr Lakshman Jayakody.

Mr Jayakody said that the government had already entered into deals for the purchase of military vehicles and equipment from these countries. He disclosed that there were men close to the government who have engaged in rackets in arms deals and that 'several VIPs are implicated, and that there are moves to hush it up'.

THE APPLICATION OF RAJIV GANDHI'S PEACE SOLUTION FOR SRI LANKA: THE IMPLEMENTATIONAL ASPECTS

By Professor A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

As stated in our previous contribution to Tamil Times of July 1985, Mr Rajiv Gandhi is reported to have recommended the Indian political system as a model for Sri Lanka. The Rajiv Gandhi formula when applied to Sri Lanka carries with it the following obligations as far as the government of Sri Lanka is concerned:

1. There must be a Division of Powers between the Central Government and the state governments as under the Indian Constitution .

2. There therefore arises a need for a State List of powers, a Unit List, a List of Concurrent Powers where in the event of conflict between legislation by the State of Sri Lanka (the Colombo government) and the legislation of the Unit governments, State law will prevail; provision must also be made for the Residuary of Powers (that is, those powers not included in the State, Unit and Concurrent Lists) to be assumed, as in India, by the central Government.

3. The Units in Sri Lanka must have the same legislative and executive powers devolved on them as the States have in India; under the Indian Constitution, the State List in India comprises sixty-six items among which are public order, police, the administration of justice, local government, public health, education (including State universities as distinct from universities financed and run by New Delhi), libraries and museums, intra-state communications, agriculture, industry, irrigation, land rights, forests, fisheries, trade and commerce within the state, State public services, etc. The States in India have the exclusive power of legislation in each and all of sixty-six items enumerated; there are, however, two exceptions; under Article 249 of the Indian Constitution, the Indian second chamber, the Rajya Sabha, can by resolution supported by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting declare that it is 'necessary or expedient in the national interest' that the Parliament of India should enact legislation for one year in respect of any of the powers enumerated in the State list; the Rajya Sabha can extend this period for one year at a time by a similar two-thirds majority; this power has seldom been used; it was used

only once up to 1975; the difference between India and Sri Lanka, however, is that India does not have a militant and activist majority of linguistic and religious proportions; India is a structured multi-cultural state and a resolution by the Rajya Sabha will be passed because of the urgency of the question or because of its national significance; Sri Lanka on the other has essentially a bicultural society with a politicised Sinhala-Buddhist majority seeking dominance; the way out of this impasse could be to (i) either require that a resolution of this type be enacted with the consent of two-thirds of the total Tamil-speaking membership (Sri Lanka Tamils, Hill country Tamils and Muslims) of the Sri Lanka second chamber or (ii) by a majority of the second chamber that will require the consent also of at least a proportion (for example, one-fifth) of the Tamil-speaking membership of the second chamber; this would mean that if the Tamil-speaking membership totals two-fifths of the membership of the second chamber, a resolution of this kind must be enacted by a four-fifths majority; the second limitation is in Article 250 of the Indian Constitution. In the event of a Proclamation of Emergency and while it is in force, the Parliament of India can enact legislation on any item included in the State List. Of course, the States have the right to amend, negate or reject such legislation once an Emergency lapses; the problem in Sri Lanka is that emergencies tend to be artificially made interminable.

All-India importance

4. The Union List in India consists of ninety-seven items which are deemed to be of all-India importance. These include defence, foreign affairs, banking, currency, broadcasting, the Supreme Court and the High Courts, the Union public services, among others.

5. The Concurrent List has in it forty-seven items and among these are civil and criminal law, social and economic planning, trade unions, social security, professional standards, etc.

6. Article 248 of the Indian Constitution provides for the Parliament of India to exercise exclusive power in respect of 'the residue of legislative

power unallocated'.

7. The Indian Constitution makes detailed provisions for the States to comply with, implement, execute and administer legislation enacted by the Central Government; this will only be in regard to matters contained in the Union List; the States, however, exercise executive powers in the fields in which they are empowered to make laws.

8. The Governor of a State in India is appointed by the Union Government in New Delhi; the Governor acts as a constitutional head of state; he appoints the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers in the State on the advice of the Chief Minister; the Governor has discretionary powers which are not of far-reaching consequence; under the Indian Constitution the Governor has the right to refer back a Bill for reconsideration and assent by the President of India; reservation of bills for the President's assent however are only those which in the view of the Governor do not come within the List of Powers assigned to a state.

9. There is the question of the appropriateness of the boundaries of a State in the Indian system; although the Indian constitution enables the Union Parliament to change the boundaries of a State, the realistic answer lies in the States Reorganisation Act passed by the Indian Parliament in 1956 based on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Nehru Government in December 1953; the Commission in its report of 30 September 1955 recommended the creation of States where boundaries will be coterminous with the region of a dominant language; the Commission recognised 'linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency' (page 46 of Report of the States Reorganisation Commission); on this basis the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka should be constituted into one unit; the Northern Province has a majority of Tamil-speaking; the same applies to the Eastern Province where the Tamil-speaking Sri Lanka Tamils and Muslims constitute a majority.

10. There is the question of finances;

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THE PROBLEM OF SINHALA-BUDDHIST CHAUVINISM IN SRI LANKA

by Jan Nederveen Pieterse

The levels of violence and atrocity reported in the conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka are of such intensity that one is led to wonder how to account for it. Since Sri Lanka became independent in 1948 the Sinhalese majority population has utilised electoral policies to step by step marginalise the Tamil minority. This process of marginalisation has included the disenfranchisement of the Indian plantation Tamils by the Citizenship Acts of 1948; the 'Sinhalese Only' law which made Sinhalese the official language; and colonisation schemes of Sinhalese in traditionally Tamil areas. These and other governmental measures have been taken in a context of recurrent outbreaks of anti-Tamil mob violence, condoned and at times assisted by police and administrative authorities (in 1958, 1977, 1983, 1984, 1985).

Racism? Ethnic violence?

Buzz words in the debate on this situation, in Sri Lanka as well as in commentaries abroad are: communal riots, communalism, ethnic conflict, minority question, racism, racist capitalism, Sinhala nationalism. At the same time there is wide agreement that the core problem in Sri Lanka is **Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism**, which derives its potency from the **combination** of 'race' and 'religion'. But in most debates the full scope of the problem does not come out: racism and similar terms all leave out the religious component.

Until the massacre of July 1983, debates among progressives in Sri Lanka were largely conducted along political and economic lines. July 1983 overturned the agenda, which has since then been headed by the 'ethnic question' or 'national question'. Still, there has been a tendency to continue the debate on this question within the same political and economic frame of discourse.

Manipulation of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism by the ruling UNP government; and its predecessor, the SLFP government, has, of course, been blatant, yet the problem itself cannot be reduced to political manipulation. For one thing, both the reformist SLFP government and the right-wing UNP administration have followed a similar

chauvinist line on the Sinhala-Tamil question.

Nor can the problem be simply reduced to economic dimensions — as a matter of competition for economic opportunities, an expression of petty bourgeois anxieties, or a by-product of the crisis of neocolonialism. Under the state capitalist policies of the SLFP governments as well as under the open door economic policies of the Jayawardene government has there been a Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinist tide.

These considerations may explain variations in intensity over time in the expression of anti-Tamil sentiments and policies; but they do not deal with the problem of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism itself. Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism may be considered as an undercurrent which is activated under certain political and economic conditions. Analysing these conditions, while important, cannot take the place of taking a thorough look at the root problem itself.

Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism

The following remarks are meant to serve as an alert, to make more people aware of some of the dimensions of the problem, rather than as a full-scale treatment of the question. The credo of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism has been summed up as follows:

Sri Lanka is the country of the Sinhala, the descendents of the North Indian 'Aryans', who are the original settlers of the island. Historically, they built a civilisation not second to any in the world, under the influence of Buddhism. The Buddha himself visited Sri Lanka, drove away the demon hordes and made it suitable for later Sinhala colonisation. The preservation of Buddhism is integrally connected with the preservation of the Sinhala nation. The country, although invaded frequently by the South Indians, was always a unitary state governed by an unbroken line of Sinhala colonisation. Today the whole future of the Sinhala nation, the custodians of Buddhism, is in danger. The only solution to this problem is a military one, the government should mobilise the armed forces and defeat the armed Tamil youth in battle. If necessary, military help should be obtained from whatever available international sources. No

further concessions should be granted to the Tamils or other minorities and the Sri Lankan state should continue as a unitary state with a pre-eminent position for Sinhala Buddhists.¹

Thus it is precisely the **interweaving** of racist thinking with Buddhism that forms the essence of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism. This has given rise to preposterous statements such as the following (from a 1981 publication): 'There is no Buddhism without the Sinhalese and no Sinhalese without Buddhism.'² This interweaving occurs not only on the level of ideology but also in actual practice, with Buddhist **bhikkus** playing an active political role at virtually every turn of the road.

Sinhalese resistance to colonialism developed in a context of religious revivalism. The riot between Buddhists and Catholics in Colombo in 1883 was generally designated a religious riot. But the Inspector General of police at the time characterised this and other riots as '**Politics under the cloak of religion**'.³ Around the turn of the century, Anagarika Dharmapala, the theologian of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, turned first against Christians and missionary education, and then against Muslims as 'infidels of degraded race'. This helped to create the climate for the anti-Muslim riots of 1915.

In the 1950s the new upsurge of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism was again stirred up by bhikkus. In the forefront of the 'Sinhala Only' agitation was the **Eksath Bhikku Peramuna** (United Front of Monks), an organisation set up for the purpose of intervening in the elections, in response to the findings of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress and its 1956 report, 'The Betrayal of Buddhism'. And where the monks were active — an observation repeatedly made from that period on — goon squads were seldom far behind. The 'Sinhala Army' which as part of the Tamil pogrom of 1958 drove Tamils from lands allotted to them earlier, was led by a monk. In May 1958 Prime Minister Bandaranaike was shot dead by a monk, reportedly at the instigation of the Rev Buddhakkita Thero, secretary of the Eksath Bhikku Peramuna. From the infrastructure of politics the Buddhist clergy had stepped into the forefront, a pattern that has continued into the 1980s,

when it has created the spectacle of Buddhist monks inciting anti-Tamil mob violence.

History of Sri Lanka since independence is replete with instances of direct intervention by the Buddhist clergy leading up to the present tragedy of ethnic conflict. Having ridden the Sinhala-Buddhist bandwagon to achieve power in 1956, the then Prime Minister Mr Bandaranaike sought to reduce the mounting tension between the Sinhala and Tamil communities by signing an agreement with the then Tamil political leadership. This agreement provided for a measure of autonomy for the Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces and the use of the Tamil language in the administration of these two provinces. But this effort was thwarted by a band of over 500 leading Buddhist monks who went in a demonstration and sat within the foreground of the PM's residence refusing to budge until the agreement granting 'concessions' to the Tamils was rescinded. The PM who was virtually held prisoner in his own residence eventually succumbed to the bullying by the Buddhist clergy and announced the unilateral abrogation of the agreement.

Again the response of the monks to the proposals announced by the present government following the All Party Conference held in 1984 to resolve the ethnic conflict was typical. They literally terrorised the President and the government to abandon the proposals. Thousands of Buddhist monks gathered in Colombo and threatened virtual civil war. At this meeting, Dr Walpola Rahula Thero, the Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha (Buddhist Order), 'vowed that as in history the Sangha was ready to lay down their lives . . . all possible peaceful avenues would be used to prevent it, failing which there is a weapon that Sangha has. Using this weapon the Sangha would wage a battle all over the country. The police, armed forces or any other force would not stop us.' Another monk, Madulawawe Sobitha who is also the President of the Sinhala Balamandalaya (Council of Sinhala Power) declared at the same meeting: 'If by some way these proposals are approved, then the Sangha will be prepared to sacrifice the lives of ten Theros (monks) for every clause (of the proposals). If we can die before we grow old that is also a comfort. We are ready to sacrifice our lives for the sake of our country, race and religion.'⁴

Bestowing blessings upon and invoking divine protection to the indisciplined and marauding security forces in their war against Tamil separatists has become a common pre-occupation with many monks in present-day Sri Lanka. Most disturbingly, many of them urge the government to train and arm Sinhala-Buddhist civilians and send them in their thousands as part of their strategy to 'colonise and settle' in predominantly Tamil areas. Recently, Chanananda Palipane Thero, the Maha Nayake (Archbishop-like position) of the Asgiriya Buddhist Order demanded of the President that the Sangha should have representation in the country's National Security Council, a right to sit at the same table with the chiefs of the armed forces to determine the security needs of the island and chart military strategy and tactics!

The content of chauvinist violence inherent in these utterances and actions demonstrates its deep-rooted nature.

In the ideological sphere, through their grassroots networks of influence, as mobilisers of popular opinion, as well as in the sphere of electoral politics, and as kingmakers in the backstage of power, the bhikkus form an integral part of the hegemonic bloc of Sri Lankan politics. In itself this is not an unusual position for an institutionalised religion to be found in. In Thailand, Burma, Laos, Buddhism is in much the same position. It is not even the notion of Buddhist monks acting as 'Roberto d'Aubuisson in safari robes' — as Dayan Jayatilaka phrased it — which is most disturbing. What is disturbing is the association of Buddhism with racism, with a 'chosen people' complex — which generally also implies a 'chosen target' complex. Buddhist monks inciting anti-Tamil mob violence is just a symptom of this association. More important is that this suggests a **pattern of responsibility** on the part of Buddhist clergy and Buddhist thought for the course of events in Sri Lanka.

This is disturbing, in fact baffling, from the point of view of Buddhist ethics, which is a universal ethics reaching out to 'all sentient beings'. More than many other religions in fact Buddhism militates against historical national exclusiveness. The embrace of Sinhala nationalism and Buddhism has generated expressions of political extremism and fanaticism which fall entirely outside of the — fairly wide — spectrum of the general record of

Buddhist politics in Asia. To gain perspective on it perhaps one has to look elsewhere.

Parallels

The situation presents us on the one hand with the problem of a 'crisis of civilisation in a Buddhist land' (Ian Goonetilleke), while on the other it forms part of the wider problem of the contemporary resurgence of religious fundamentalism.

Departing from Moses, how does one get to Ariel Sharon, or Rabbi Levinger (of Gush Emunim)? Departing from Christ, how does one arrive at Rev. Ian Paisley? Or Rev Jerry Fallwel? From Mohamed, to Imam Khomeini? And from Buddha, to Cyril Mathew, Dr Walpola Rahula and Chanananda Palipane?

What happened on these roads is perhaps the reverse of what happened to Saul on the road to Damascus. The notion of the 'routinisation' of religion, when charisma fades as religion becomes established, is familiar enough. But these instances belong in another class: they represent the perversion of religion, or more accurately, the **inversion** of religious values for political purposes.

With respect to Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism, **apartheid** and **Zionism** come to mind as the nearest parallels. Features they share in common are: (i) the **amalgamation of race and religion** — Jew and Judaism, white and Christian, Sinhala and Buddhist. (ii) **An island mentality** — Israel as 'an outpost of western civilisation in Asia' (Herzl), South Africa as a white outpost in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Sinhalese as a cultural island in the shadow of the Indian subcontinent. Under proper conditions, duly fostered for political purposes, the island mentality can develop into a siege mentality, along with its political psychology of collective paranoia. (iii) A **state-religion complex** — the special place of Judaism in Israel, and of Buddhism and the Sangha in Sri Lanka. In South Africa most of the Christian churches have already stepped out of the pact. (iv) The **oppression** of another people — Palestinians, blacks in South Africa, Tamils in Sri Lanka. They are a local minority or weak segment of the population which is taken to 'represent' the regional majority (Arabs, Africans, India) against whom a state of paranoia is cultivated. (v) Hence the development of a **national security state** — which curbs the human rights

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A BRIEF NOTE ON THE BHUTAN TALKS

It is evident that one of the most difficult points for commentators to grasp — and large numbers of Tamils also — is that the Sinhalese, as I have maintained since I first began to write on Sri Lanka, have *no intention whatever of reaching a 'negotiated' settlement* with the Tamils. So that not only was it a folly for Tamil representatives to take part in the Bhutanese charade with the absurd and scoundrelly Hector Jayawardene in the first instance; it is also humiliatingly wrong for Tamil spokesmen, now, to be wringing their hands over the 'military' solution' which Colombo allegedly 'prefers' to the path of a 'political' settlement of the 'Tamil problem'.

Such an analysis is based on entirely false premises, (and on entirely understandable wishful thinking). For the bitter truth is that a 'military solution' — that is, the random butchery of Tamil civilians, men, women and children — is the politics of Colombo; they have, and intend, no other. Of course, the rationalist, Tamil and non-Tamil alike, finds it hard to credit that this could be so; we would not be human ourselves if we were unable and unwilling to attribute human instinct and intentions even to our most intransigent and pitiless enemy. Yet, I state as an axiom, based on my knowledge of the parties — cheap criminals and pariahs beyond the pale of morality — that the Sinhalese politicians who presently misgovern what used to be Sri Lanka, do not intend, cannot embark upon, and will not concede, any real measure of devolution to the Tamils.

A hoax and pantomime

So that the first elementary steps to understanding the meaning of Colombo's actions (and they are as crude as their authors) are to recognise that even Sinhalese talk of negotiation, let alone its substance, is a hoax; that the cycle, or circus, of inter-ministerial visits and jaunts between Delhi and Colombo has throughout been a pantomime, comic if it were not so tragic; that there is no real distinction to be made between the intentions of the melancholy Jayawardene and the intentions of the *mafioso* Athulathmudali — with his bottle of acid hidden among the many Tamil skeletons in his cupboard — or any of the other third-rate crooks and liars who preside over the suicide of the island; and that disenfranchising, terrorising, disqualifying,

By David Selbourne

looting, expelling, and killing the Tamils are the governing purposes of Colombo's *realpolitik*. There is no need to put any finer point upon it; indeed, in order to match Tamil *realpolitik* to the demands of the moment requires that there be no illusions about what the Tamils are facing.

Liberal sentiment and the liberal media, self-serving Congress acrobats in Delhi, the cynical Sinhalese working towards their final solution, and Tamil 'leaders' dreaming of the presidency of Eelam, will, of course, go on talking in solemn terms of negotiation, shuttle diplomacy, devolution, Annexure C, the *bona fides* of the parties and the rest of it. But the whole of it, whatever its form, does not have the meanings which normal expectation seeks to attribute to such activity. What, then, you may ask, is real in the situation?

Three things: the need of Colombo to fill its begging bowl (for alms and arms) at the servants' back door of the Western mansion; the need of Colombo's bankrupt politicians to preserve their skins and their offices, and to keep their hands in the till of the island's exchequer; and, above all, the insatiable urge to *punish* the Tamils for their past and present 'misconduct'.

And if you can fit a 'negotiated settlement' of Tamil demands (for a sufficient degree of self-determination to protect their own lives, liberties and properties) into such a context, you deserve an Olympic medal for the gymnastic effort, or honorary membership of the Magicians' Circle. The truth is quite other; but, unhappily, only those who are free of humane illusions can know it. In such terrible circumstances, the agony of the Tamils, and the self-destruction of the Sinhalese, will continue.

WITHOUT COMMENT

FLOUTING THE TEACHINGS OF BUDDHISM

Burma's Buddhist leaders are launching a campaign against militant and undisciplined Buddhist monks and novices who violate state laws and religious tenets, by playing cards, taking liquor and cohabiting with woman. It has been decided that Burma's Religious Community should police its ranks, and ensure adherence to the Theravada, Buddhism practised in Burma.

A request has been made to the Home and Religious Affairs Minister to take effective action through the police, against unethical monks. Some monks have been declared illegal, bogus, imposters, and have been disrobed by an Ecclesiastical Court, after trial! Politics is completely out of bounds for Buddhist monks, on government orders!

The Burmese Government has responded by promulgating a new law, prescribing prison terms for monks who violate, neglect or disregard the precepts of Theravada Buddhism.

It is an undeniable fact, that in Sri Lanka, where Theravada Buddhism is practised, there are some Buddhist monks, in yellow robes, who openly flout the teachings of Theravada Buddhism; and are seen joining rabble-rousing demonstrators, and shout-

ing unseemly slogans, and squatting on roof tops! Many others are involved in litigation, and are seen often in Courts of Law in their yellow robes! We as Buddhists of Sri Lanka cannot forget that horrible crime, committed by a Buddhist monk, who assassinated a Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

It will thus be seen that an Ecclesiastical Court is an immediate and urgent necessity in Sri Lanka. It is the bounden and conscientious DUTY of the Venerable Buddhist monks who live religious lives, in accordance with the Buddha Dhamma; and also the bounden and conscientious duty of the devout lay Buddhists, to make certain that Buddhism remains pure and undefiled in Sri Lanka, and that the sacred yellow robes worn by Lord Buddha, the enlightened one, are not desecrated and demeaned, by these bogus, pseudo Buddhist monks!

To try to avoid the establishment of an Ecclesiastical Court, by arguing that there is no provision, in Buddhism, for the establishment of an Ecclesiastical Court, would be a childish and devious attempt to avoid responsibility and to openly aid and abet the evil-doers!

Shelton F.R. Sirimane
Mt. Lavinia

(By courtesy of The Island, Colombo)

SETTLEMENT OF SINHALESE IN TAMIL AREAS

By CHARLES ABEYSEKERA

The settlement of peasants on dry zone lands brought under irrigation has been one of the key elements in the policies for agricultural development followed by successive government in Sri Lanka since the 1930s; it has now also become an instrument in the ethnic conflict in the hands of the state. Actually the beginnings of this settlement policy lay in colonial history. After the peasant rebellion of 1848, the idea of 'reserving' or 'rehabilitating' the peasantry was enunciated by many British bureaucrats. They looked with distaste at the new emerging bourgeoisie — mainly the merchants and traders — who they felt were exploiting the peasants. They were lending money against land and were in the process of expropriating many of the peasants. This British view was shared by many members of Sri Lanka's landed elite; they argued for the revival of peasant communities as groups of 'independent producers'; in reality they were arguing for a social order that would preserve their elite status. G.H. Farmer has summarised this thinking: 'From 1927 it became the view of the Ceylon government and of many eminent Ceylonese that the peasantry had been weakened by the impact of new forces and ought to be preserved; and that individual independent peasant proprietorship was desirable.'

However, the land available for settlement by peasants was in the dry zone which had been the locale of the ancient Sri Lankan hydraulic civilisation. So the state had to undertake the repair or reconstruction of irrigation works which had gone into disrepair, clear the land which had gone back into jungle, construct houses and other basic facilities, eradicate the menace of malaria and then to establish on the land, selected allottees from areas where population growth and the thrust of mercantile expansion had created a landless peasantry.

Politically conceived

State-organised and state-subsidised land settlement on this scale was essentially a strategy of the preservation and extension of peasant production. Its motivation was the politically conceived need of the ruling elite to placate an impoverished peasantry suffering from a scarcity of arable

land and the lack of employment opportunities in other sectors; it was thus firmly rooted in electoral politics based on a universal franchise. It also had the advantage of stabilising traditional agrarian relationships in other parts of the country by relieving peasant pressures. The exercise was also justified in economic terms as one of increasing paddy production and making the country self-sufficient in its staple food.

The record of state-aided settlements has been impressive. Up to about 1981, about 400,000 peasant families have been settled in over a million acres — the majority of these in the dry zone areas. The record is also impressive in terms of production. 'In 1945 the dry zone accounted for 24 per cent of the island's population, 42 per cent of the acreage under paddy, and 50 per cent of the total production of paddy. By 1980, the share of population had increased to 28 per cent, that of paddy acreage to 59 per cent and of paddy production to 64 per cent. However, the costs of this achievement have been enormous; the settlement of one peasant family on irrigated land has, in most cases, cost the state 100,000 rupees.

Ethnic overtones

That this policy of settlement had ethnic overtones, became clear very soon. The dry zone districts in which there was irrigable land were those of Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa, which were predominantly populated by Tamils, Puttalam and Amparai which had mixed populations of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims and the predominantly Sinhala districts of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Moneragala and Hambantota. Given the demographic composition of the country — 75 per cent Sinhala — and that the pressures of landlessness were felt most among them, it was inevitable that the majority of the settlers were Sinhala. It was when irrigation schemes began to be established in the predominantly Tamil districts like Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu that the ethnic consequences of the state-aided settlement began to be felt. The im-

plications of such settlements for ethnic relations in the country were recognised by the political leaders of both the Sinhala and Tamil peoples. The demography of predominantly Tamil areas was being gradually changed putting into jeopardy the ability of the Tamil people to reproduce themselves an ethnic group with a linguistic and cultural identity of its own. This was one of the main grievances expressed at the convention of the Federal Party in 1956; it called for the immediate cessation of the colonisation of traditional Tamil-speaking areas with Sinhala people.'

Since then, this issue of land settlement has been one of the main sources of ethnic tension. Successive governments have, of course, denied its ethnic implications and have sought to defend the policy on other grounds — (i) that expenditure on irrigation and infra-structural facilities comes from the national budget and the benefits should therefore be open to sharing by all citizens irrespective of ethnicity and (ii) that there were not enough Tamil peasants in any case to take up all the available land.

Nevertheless, the importance of this issue in exacerbating relations between the Tamil and the Sinhala people was recognised; there was also an implicit recognition that the whole policy was unfair to the Tamil people. For example, the pact that was signed between Mr Chelvanayakam, the leader of the Federal Party and Mr Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, in 1957 dealt with this issue: 'It was agreed that in the matter of colonisation schemes, the powers of the Regional Council shall include the power to select allottees to whom lands within its areas of authority shall be allotted and also power to select personnel to be employed for work on such schemes.' The implicit understanding was that regional councils would be concerned with the preservation of the linguistic and cultural identity of their regions.

B—C Pact

The breakdown of this pact under the weight of Sinhala chauvinism actually led to a faster pace of settlement and made the problem more acute. Tamil grievances continued to mount and the Senanayake-Chelva-

nayagam pact of March 1965 was forced to be more explicit on this issue:

'Mr Senanyake further agreed that in the granting of land under colonisation schemes, the following priorities will be observed in the northern and eastern provinces:

(a) first, to landless persons in the district; (b) second, to Tamil speaking persons resident in the northern and eastern provinces; (c) third, to other citizens of Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil residents in the rest of the island.

This agreement too was aborted by extremist Sinhala elements but it is important in that intention to prevent changes in the demographic composition of the areas inhabited by the Tamil-speaking peoples was clearly expressed.

It is quite obvious that the Tamil people were conscious of the threat to their homelands, but since statistics of colonists have never been maintained on an ethnic basis, it is somewhat difficult to lay bare at a quantitative level, the basis of Tamil fears. However, some indirect evidence might be of some help.

Diminution of political power

Let us first look at the increase of population in the traditional Tamil districts that were exposed to colonisation. Between 1946 and 1971, the population increase in these districts was as follows:

Mannar	146.6%
Trincomalee	147.9%
Batticaloa	160.5%
Vavuniya	309.7%

The average increase for all districts was 90 per cent and the increase in the Sinhala districts was in the 50-60 per cent range. The factor responsible for the very high rates of growth in these districts was in migration from other districts. And as we have shown earlier, the major part of the migration was state-aided, though some encroachers did follow in the wake of establishment of colonisa-

tion schemes.

The nature of the increase in population in these districts can also be worked out; the ethnic percentages of the total population being shown in the table below.

It will be observed from the table that in Trincomalee District, the Sinhala population has increased from 4.4 per cent in 1921 to 31.6 per cent in 1976 while the Tamil population had declined from a majority 53.2% to 32.8%. In Vavuniya it declined from 77.0% to 65.8%, in Batticaloa from 52.8% to 40.2%, and in Mannar from 58.1% to 49.8%.

Settlement policies followed over the last 50 years have thus substantially altered the population mix in these areas; they have diminished the political power of the Tamil people through a dilution of their electoral base; and have also served to deny them a territorial basis for their separate identity. In fact, majority Sinhala opinion now denies the existence of any traditional Tamil homeland except maybe in the Jaffna peninsula. It is argued that in all other areas, the population is a mixed one of Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims, with no one group being able to claim hegemony.

Sinhala opinion also argues for the right of any Sri Lankan citizen to reside in any part of Sri Lanka and often points to the more than 200,000 Sri Lankan Tamils resident outside their traditional areas. They refuse to make a distinction between voluntary migration and a well-organised system of state-aided settlement, one of whose aims is the alteration of existing population patterns.

Present proposals

It is against this background that one has to consider the present proposals of the Sri Lankan government to settle 250,000 Sinhala peasants in the northern and eastern areas. This is a more naked continuation of previous settlement policies and appears designed to alter, for good, the demographic character of those areas.

The government proposes to give each of these families, two or three acres of land, subsidies to construct houses and allowances to tide them over until they can begin to live off the holding. Selections are being made on an electoral basis, with the MP of the area being responsible for the selection.

The ideology behind the movement has been made explicit. The President has spoken of the necessity for the Sinhalese to occupy the border; otherwise, in his own words, the border will come to us. The whole scheme is being presented as the re-occupation by the Sinhalese of lands once held by them. The presence of Buddhist ruins in these areas is cited as proof of this occupation; the state has also recently proposed to take under its care and protection all these ruins, renovate them and locate Sinhala Buddhist villages near their vicinity so that they can be properly looked after.

The further proposal to give these settlers some training in weaponry and to arm them is an indication that they are also being thought of as auxiliaries to the security forces in their war against the armed separatists. Selections of allottees from some areas have already been made and newspaper reports say that some of them are being given weapon training in centres that have been recently established.

There are those who argue that this proposal has been made merely for propaganda effect; they believe that it will not be possible to find settlers who will venture out into what are obviously hostile areas and that it lacks the political will to carry out this programme. However, it fits in too well with the obvious political strategy of the government to be so easily dismissed: namely the suppression of the armed separatists and of the Tamil people by military force, in which the new settlers will play a part; and then a watered-down programme of local government on a geographical basis

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	1921				1946				1971				1976			
	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT
Trincomalee	4.4	53.2	37.1	1.3	20.7	40.1	29.2	4.4	28.81	35.2	31.6	3.0	31.6	32.8	32.2	3.1
Vavuniya	11.8	77.0	7.1	3.1	16.6	69.3	8.7	4.2	16.2	61.6	6.7	14.9	14.7	65.8	6.5	13.3
Batticaloa	4.59	52.8	39.6	0.58	5.9	49.7	42.0	0.59	17.6	44.9	34.6	2.2	26.5	40.2	32.	2.0
Mannar	2.11	58.1	30.3	8.2	3.7	51.0	30.1	11.3	4.5	57.1	24.4	17.5	4.3	49.8	25.2	20.6

S = Sinhalese CT = Sri Lankan Tamils M = Muslims IT = Indian Tamils
1921, 1946, 1971 — Census Dates 1976 — Dates from Delimitation Commission Report

THE BANDARNAIKES FROM THE HOUSE OF NILAPERUMAL

By Dr James T. Rutnam

In its June issue, Tamil Times published the genealogy of the present President of Sri Lanka, J.R. Jayawardene, who descended from the South Indian Tamil family of Tambi Mudaliyar. To our surprise, a copy of an article by the same author, Dr James T. Rutnam, which appeared in the Tribune of 10 July 1957, reached the editor's desk by post from Colombo with a note from a leading government politician requesting that we should publish it. The note suggested that Tamil Times would be guilty of discrimination against J.R. Jayawardene if we did not publicise the fact that the Bandaranaiques too had a Tamil heritage. As we had waged a relentless campaign concerning discrimination against Tamils in Sri Lanka, we thought it right to accede to the request of this government politician, who incidentally, had pleaded not to disclose his name.

Anura Bandaranaike, the present leader of the Opposition, and who hopes one day to lead, or rather mislead, the destinies of the Sinhala-Buddhists of Sri Lanka, ought to be reminded of his Tamil ancestry particularly in today's context when he is making loud noises about saving the Sinhala race from being betrayed to the Tamils.

Our Prime Minister's direct male ancestor, of whose connection some members of this family used to take pride in (see e.g. 'Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon' edited by Arnold Wright, 1907, p.525) was Nilaperumal, a Tamil from South India who arrived in Ceylon in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. He was described as a 'High Priest' of a temple in Ceylon. He was the first Kapurala in his family of the Nawagomuwe Dewale, with the fortunes of which the Bandaranayakes were long associated. Kalukapuge was a name which the family used to affect in the past. It is the Sinhalese version of Nilaperumalage, the ge name of the Banadaranayakes.

Don Francisco (Franciscus?) Dias Wijetunga Bandaranayake, Mudaliyar of the Hewagam Korale, who was born about 1720, was a direct descendant of the male line of Nilaperumal. He was one of those who supplanted the 'original Mudaliyars', when the latter 'fled to Kandy' in 1760 to join the Sinhalese in the struggle between the Dutch and the Kandyan kingdom. The reward for this defection was the office of Mudaliyar of the Four Pattus.

Francisco first married Dona Maria Perera. They had six sons and four daughters. Their fourth son was Coenrad Pieter Dias Bandaranayake (Snr), a Maha Mudaliyar, who was the grandfather of another Maha Mudaliyar of the same name (except for Pieter being spelled Peter), who served under the British. Francisco's fifth son was Daniel Bandaranayake, Mohandiram of Siyane Korale. He was the father of Don Solomon Dias Bandaranayake, Mudaliyar of Siyane Korale.

Don Solomon married a granddaughter of Susanna Scharff, who died on the 15th June 1781 and was buried in the Dutch (formerly Portuguese) church in the Fort at the site of the present Gordon Gardens, but whose tombstone now lies in the Wolvendhal Dutch Reformed Church, Colombo. The Coat of Arms of the Scharff family is engraved on this tombstone, the distinguishing mark of which is a 'right arm holding a sabre'. This is part of the heraldic arms of the Bandaranayakes. Susanna Scharff was a daughter of Lieutenant Jan Christoffel Scharff, who served under the Dutch East India Company. The names of the Scharff family are given in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union, Volume 8, page 6. J.C. Scharff hailed from Sangerhausen, Upper Saxony, Thuringia, in Germany. He married at Colombo on the 21st March 1731 a lady by the name of Elizabeth de Saram. Susanne was baptised at Colombo on the 8th December 1748, and married in Colombo on 4th November 1759 the Rev. Henricus Philipsz (1733—1790) a Sinhalese Christian Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon. An account of this Minister appears in Dr Bruyn's 'History of the Reformed Church in the Dutch East Indies', written in Dutch. He died on the 19th May 1790. His tombstone now lies in the Wolvendhal Dutch Reformed Church, but not by the side of his wife Susanna Scharff's tombstone, by which evidently it was originally erected at the Church in the Fort of Colombo.

The Reverend H. Philipsz, who had his education in Holland was a learned and outstanding Christian scholar. He was a son of a Maha Mudaliyar under the Dutch, and a grandson of a school-

master of Cotta by the name of D. Philippe. Rev. Philipsz's brother Abraham Philipsz too was a Maha Mudaliyar under the Dutch. It was Abraham's son Johannes Gottfried Philipsz, one of Chief Justice Sir Alexander Johnston's proteges and interpreters, who was appointed the first Sinhalese Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon 1834. He died on the 4th July 1830.

First Tamil member

It is interesting to note that Philipsz's colleague, A. Coomarasamy, a Tamil interpreter under the British who became the first Tamil member of the same Legislative Council, was a son of Arumugapillai, an immigrant from South India who came to Garudavil in the Jaffna Peninsula. A. Coomarasamy was the father of Sir Muttu Coomarasamy and Sellatchi, the mother of the Ponnambalam brothers, Coomarasamy Ramanathan and Arunachalam. I have with me a long and somewhat obsequious letter written by Johannes Gottfried Philipsz to Sir Alexander Johnston whom he addresses as 'My Lord and Protector'. I discovered this letter among the collection of the Johnston Papers which I obtained in England in 1954.

It has been said that Governor Maitland 'feared' the Mudaliyars. But the word 'fear' in this context, apparently has been used in a special sense and does not connote fear as we ordinarily understand it. For the evidence of contemporary records shows that there was no class of people in Ceylon so addicted to fawning, flattering and sycophantising in its relationship with

its masters as that of the Mudaliyars. It must of course be borne in mind that the times in which they lived were different to ours. There was no middle class. There were the exploiters and the exploited, the foreign masters and their native subjects, the rulers and the oppressed. Into this pattern of political and economic society entered the Mudaliyar, using all the craft and cunning, the art and artifice of the adventurer and social climber, with his stock-in-trade of jealousy-ridden hypocritical flattery and sneaky ways. Little wonder then that we find most of the Mudaliyars 'professing Christians' because no one was qualified to hold office unless he was a Christian. And little wonder too if the authorities saw through this hypocrisy, and 'feared' the machinations of the enemy within their gates.

In this connection Hugh Cleghorn's 'Minute' or 'Memorandum on the Administration of Justice and Revenue in the Island of Ceylon under the Dutch Government' (1799) at a critical period of our history, at the very time when Dutch rule had ended and British rule began, is worthy of note. Cleghorn observed: 'If the poverty and indolence of the natives of this country were to be traced to their true cause, these would be found to originate in the insecurity of their little property which is at the mercy of the Moodliar. That few or no appeals have been made against his decisions is to me a stronger proof of the dread of his oppression, than of respect for his justice.'

Governor North too has left for posterity his observations on the Mudaliyars in his letter to the Marquis Wellesley dated 27th October 1798, the original of which is among the Wellesley Manuscripts in the Additional Manuscripts of the British Museum in London. Governor North states: 'The Maha Moodliar is always resident near the person of the Governor. He never sits down in my presence, nor appears before me in shoes, but is in fact the Grand Vizier of Ceylon. Every order I give him is immediately executed, and whatever takes place on the island is communicated by him to me. The only pecuniary rewards which he and the inferior Moodliars look to from the Government are small 'accomodessans'. Their great object is to gain marks of distinction, such as sabres, gold chains, medals, etc., of which they are highly vain and by which the Dutch governors well knew how to secure their attachment.' (Journal of the Ceylon Bench of the Royal

Asiatic Society, New Series, volume 3 (1953) p.143n:20).

The above is a faithful contemporary description of things as they were. Although these medal-collecting Mudaliyars went without shoes and bowed times without number before their Governors, the Mudaliyars too in their own turn exacted without any compunction or human consideration whatsoever a cringing servility from the inarticulate masses of the people between whom and the rulers they placed themselves as permanent barriers. Indeed they would seem to have donned jackboots when they went out and trampled on the rights of the dumb masses.

Relic of barbarism

The people were forced to approach these recently exalted brown slave-drivers, using the most self-degrading and abject terms of address. A relic of this barbarism could still be detected in certain households, happily fast disappearing, the members of which deluded themselves into believing that they had sprung from a high-born, low-country Sinhalese aristocracy which we now know was neither high born, nor Sinhalese. Some of these misguided souls still insist on being addressed as 'hamu' by their servants. Handsomely well are these servants paid for this performance. Unfortunately, the nouveaux riches and members of the other rival social groups and castes (which the earlier 'hamus' despised) too appear to have entered into this competitive trade of self-laudatory hamu-making, with disastrous results to all contestants. Hence the slow disappearance of the 'hamu' in the present social set-up.

As in other feudal societies the Ceylonese masses of the time had no rights. Generally, they were led, like dumb-driven cattle. When the Madras dubashes made themselves obnoxious during the brief period when the East Indian Company administered Ceylon from Madras, the displaced local Mudaliyars seized the opportunity to whip up a feeling among the people that after all the known devil was better than the unknown.

There were, however, Mudaliyars and Mudaliyars. The Philipszes had a tradition of learning inherited from their humble, nonetheless much esteemed, pedagogic origins, and a consequential understanding of true human values. They were also fortified by genuinely religious Christian

convictions, unlike most of their fellows who were bogus Christians who sold their consciences for messes of pottage. With these qualities ingrained in their character, the Philipszes contributed not a little to raise the tone of the small coterie of courtiers that danced attendance, albeit barefooted, round the gubernatorial throne. It is this tradition of public service, which was born apparently of the best in East and West and which distinguished the Philipszes, that has enriched the blood and lent lustre to the lineage of our Prime Minister.

The Rev. Henricus Philipsz and Susanna Scharff were the parents of some eight children, the eldest of whom was also a Christian Minister by the name of Rev. Gerardus Philipsz. There is a reference to him in Cordiner's 'Ceylon' volume 1, page 88. He married Johanna Adriana, the eleventh child of Petrus Van Dort, son of Cornelius Van Dort and his wife Johanna Paulusz. Johanna Adriana Van Dort's brother, Leonhard Van Dort was the father of Johannes Van Dort, whose son was the well-known artist J.L.K. Dort. Some of the sketches done by J.L.K. Van Dort were recently published by Lady Hildas Pieris, wife of Sir Paul Pieris. The sixth child of Susanna Scharff and the Rev. Henricus Philipsz, Johanna Elizabeth Philipsz, was born in 1772 and married on the 15th September 1799, Diederich Wilhelm Spittel, the father of Gerardus Adrian Spittel, whose son Frederick George Spittel was the father of our well-known surgeon and author Richard Lionel Spittel. Diederich Wilhelm Spittel's father John Lourens Spittel also came like the Scharffs from Germany, from Weimar in Saxony.

Holder of new office

Another daughter of Susanna Scharff, her third child, by the name of Cornelia Henrica (Henrietta?) married firstly at Colombo on the 27th July 1789, Adolph Martin Heyman, an Ensign in the Dutch Service, a native of Leuvenstein. A silver Tobacco Box belonging to this lady, with the name 'Heyman' inscribed on it was in the possession of Sir Paul E. Pieris. This lady lost her husband sometime afterwards and married secondly Christ-offel de Saram, Fourth Maha Mudaliyar, the holder of a new office then created by the British to exalt their

PLEASE TURN OVER

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

interpreter who worked in the office of the Commissioner of Revenue. A son of this union was Johannes Henricus de Saram who at the age of fourteen was taken by Governor Maitland to England in 1811 to study for the Christian ministry. He was described in a letter written by his companion Balthazar de Saram, a member of a different family of Saram, as one attuned by family upbringing to western ways and habits, 'having been from his infancy reared up in his own family whose only deviation from the manners, language, and costume of the Dutch was his father's native dress.' I have seen his correspondence in the original at the Public Record Office in London. Cornelia Henrica (Henrietta) de Saram, nee Philipsz, who died on the 9th April 1824, is also commemorated by a tombstone at the Dutch Reformed Church at Wolvendhal.

Before he left England the young Christian Minister, the Rev. Johannes Henricus de Saram, married a European lady by the name of Frances Treherne. The marriage was solemnised in London in the Church of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields on the 9th June 1820. It was this young man's sister Cornelia, a grand-daughter of Susanna Scharff, who married Don Solomon Dias Bandaranayake, Mudaliyar of Siyane Korale.

A great servant

Don Solomon's branch of the family of Bandaranayake from now onwards appear to spell its name as Bandaranaike. Don Solomon lived to a ripe old age. It should be recorded here that he was a great servant of the British Crown. It was this Solomon Dias Bandaranaike who received a government grant of one hundred and eighty acres of land. He was also the recipient of a medal from Governor Brownrigg with the citation 'as a reward for eminent service during the Kandian Rebellion A.D. 1818'. A renowned patriot of perfidious Albion, forsooth. Don Solomon's photograph appeared in Volume Two of Tennent's 'Ceylon'. He died on 15th September 1859.

Don Solomon's daughter Susan Elizabeth, a direct descendent of Nilaperumal and Scharff was married to John Martinus Pieris. Of this union was born the well-known historian and author of several books on 'Sinhalese Families', Sir Paul E. Pieris. Sir Paul's grandfather Johan Louis Pieris

L.T.T.E. WARNS

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has issued a stern warning to the Sri Lankan government that its guerrilla forces will be compelled to take defensive action if the Sri Lankan armed forces continue their hostile activities against its unarmed cadres and the Tamil civilian population.

The LTTE said in a press release that on July 17, the Sri Lankan police commandos opened fire on its unarmed members, travelling on a motorbike at Kottiyawalai, Batticaloa district. One of them escaped but the other was injured. When the injured cadre was surrounded by police, he swallowed cyanide. Yet the police mercilessly beat him to death before the poison could act. The body was tied to the jeep and dragged along the road in a display of crude barbarity, it said.

Tamil girl kidnapped: In another incident the same day, military personnel attached to the Vahari camp forcefully kidnapped a 14-year-old Tamil girl from Kathiraveli refugee

camp. The girl was taken to an isolated tile factory owned by a Sinhalese and was gang-raped in a most brutal manner.

In yet another incident, the Sri Lankan police commandos opened fire on a crowd at a temple festival at Thangalaisolai, Batticaloa. An old man was seriously injured and the rest fled in terror.

Search and destroy operation: On July 16, the army made a search-and-destroy operation in the villages of Kiran and Arampathi in Batticaloa district. Innocent people were assaulted and terrorised by the army.

The press release said the 'incidents of this nature happen almost daily in Tamil areas in flagrant violation of the truce agreement. Instead of promoting an atmosphere of peace and normality as a prelude for peaceful negotiations, the Sri Lankan government is deliberately creating conditions of tension, turmoil and insecurity in Tamil areas.

was the mace-bearer at the Supreme Court, when it was presided over by the Great Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnston. Johan Louis Pieris was the son of Wilhelmus Pieris, who died on the 24th August 1816. Wilhelmus Pieris's father was Louis Pieris, a Proponent in the Dutch Reformed Church. Louis Peris had a brother Dernigelle Pauloe Pieris Samarasinghe. Louis Pieris's father (Manuel?) hailed from Attidiya near Colombo. He was a member of the lascarins (Sinhalese foot-soldiers) under the Dutch, and was the recipient of several paraveni lands as a reward for his services. He (Manuel?) had a brother by the name of Dernigelle Joan (John) Fernando, whose grandson Abraham Pieris was also a proponent in the Dutch Reformed Church (see Dutch Hoofd Thombo under village Attidiya of the Pallepattu of the Salpitty Korale, Vol.8 fol.177-178, and the Land Thombo Vol.3 fol.198; see also Ambalangoda School Thombo File 7291 p.1a., quoted by E. Reimers in his 'Dutch Parish Registers of Ceylon', Colombo 1950).

Don Solomon's son, Don Christoffel Henricus Dias Bandaranaike, who was born in 1826, succeeded his father. He married a kinswoman, Anna Florentina Phillipsz, daughter of Phillipsz Gysbertus Panditaratne and grand-daughter of Johannes Gottfried Phillipsz, whose family had by then adopted for general use the cognomen Panditar-

atne. To this couple was begotten an only son who later became famous in the service of successive British governors. He has recorded an account of his intimate associations with Kings, Princes, Dukes and Governors and men and women distinguished in various orders of Chivalry, in his autobiography 'Remembered Yesterdays'. But unfortunately, his book does not make us any the wiser to his own family story. With remarkable extravagance of language he styled himself Sir Don Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George.

To this Christian Knight of St George, a scion of the House of Nilaperumal and a cadet of the families of Phillipsz and Scharff, was born Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike, our Present Prime Minister, who has determined for himself a new course in Ceylon History, having divested himself of the habits and habits and religion of his own immediate forbears. Well may it be said that he has the blood of all the major communities of this island. Well may we hope for a new Sri Lanka which would breed a race of true Ceylonese of which he would be our unchallenged leader. Well had the sage Rabindranath Tagore declared in his profound wisdom, 'Unity lies in the current of blood and not in the torrent of words'.

A VILLAGE THAT DIED IN A DAY

By Simon Winchester

The village of Tiriyai, a few miles north of the famous old Royal Navy base at Trincomlaee, is in normal times a contented and pretty little place, best known for its market where local farmers come to trade cashew nuts and cattle. Eastern Sri Lanka is dry and sultry, and the farms there are not especially prosperous, so none of the 2,000 villagers of Tiriyai has much money. But nobody starves. Everyone gets along. The village, in spite of its poverty, has an undeniable dignity, and serenity about it.

Once in a while, tourists arrive, although the drive is long and bumpy and there are enough stray elephants around to make a lone driver rather nervous. They come because Tiriyai has a monument well worth seeing: a Buddhist *vataadage*, built a thousand years ago up on a rocky bluff, from where among the pillared ruins you can see the Indian Ocean sparkling on the near horizon.

Almost totally wrecked

But no tourists visit Tiriyai today, and nor will they for many years to come. And since the terrible morning of June 15 last, hardly anyone lives in Tiriyai either. The village has been almost totally wrecked. Nearly every house, shop, farm has been burned. Cattle have been butchered in the fields. Such carts and motor-cycles as the villagers once owned lie rusting on the sandy roadsides, smashed to pieces, useless. Just a few people — old women, bedridden men and young children — remain, some still whimpering with the memory of what happened on that fateful Wednesday morning.

Just before eight, when the farmers were already out in their fields and the women were attending to their domestic routines, two army helicopters appeared in the sky. They flew low over the village, and, without any warning, opened fire with machine guns. Villagers ran, in wild panic, into the low scrub that passes for jungle in these parts. But as they did so, a convoy of army trucks and buses appeared on the road from Kuchchaveli — a town that in normal times is a seaside resort well known to German and Dutch holidaymakers but for the past year has been deserted, except for a monstrous new army base. Infantrymen, fully equipped for bat-

tle, spilled from the vehicles. Some were carrying jerrycans, others held flaming torches. Systematically, they went from house to house, pouring paraffin on to the grass roofs, lighting them, moving on. They set animals free, and shot them down. They stormed into the tiny library, pulled out all the books — no more than a couple of hundred at the most — and made a bonfire of them. They wrecked the half dozen International Harvester tractors, and set fire to their wooden trailers.

And all the while, the villagers looked on from the security of the jungle, watching with stunned amazement as their community was destroyed. Many of them started running, and ran and ran, deep into the forests, and have not been accounted for since. Fewer than a hundred waited until the marauders had gone at dusk, and then crept back to see what they could salvage. There was not much. A few sacks of paddy had escaped the inferno. A dozen houses were habitable, though burned. But the school had gone, and the post office. There was no food left in the two shops, which

had in any case been utterly wrecked. And, most terrible of all, the Hindu temple had been sacked, and the images of Vishnu and Shiva had been mutilated and broken.

Tiriyai, many years ago, may well have been a centre for those of the Buddhist faith. Certainly, it was when the *vataadage* was built, and in recent years monks, in their saffron robes, have been at work restoring the pillars and repairing the frescos. But that, to use an overworked phrase, heard all too often in Sri Lanka, was back in normal times. Today, Tiriyai is almost wholly peopled by Hindus — and specifically by the people of ancient Dravidian stock who are known by the name of the language they and their three million fellow Sri Lankans are wont to speak — the Tamils.

The soldiers who attacked the village on that blistering morning were members of the island's majority ethnic and linguistic group, the predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese. The attack, savage and tragic though it was, was a mere incident in a dispute of formidable antiquity, one that currently has the beautiful island of Sri Lanka caught in a vice-like grip.

An extract from 'The Sunday Times Magazine', August 18 1985)

TALKS TO BUY TIME?

The Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF), consisting of four militant organisations, has accused the Sri Lankan army of fresh ceasefire violations. Listing them, it said four persons belonging to Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS, one of the constituent units of the ENLF) were chased by the army personnel at Adamban in Mannar District on June 8, and one of them was arrested. A government-owned press building, which was under construction at Kumburumulai in Batticaloa district, was taken over by the army and converted into an army camp. The residents of nearby villages were forcibly brought in 13 army trucks and were used to build sandbag fortification around the premises.

For the past week, army personnel were seen moving around in the streets and lanes in villages near Kili-nochchi, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu and were keeping a surveillance. Police commandos travelling in a jeep at Kiran, off Batticaloa, chased two per-

sons, riding a motorcycle, who however, escaped. The civilians who were watching the incident were attacked by the commandos, the ENLF alleged.

The Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF) has alleged that the Sri Lanka government is preparing for a major onslaught against the Tamils.

'Pakistan is sending four helicopter gunships to Sri Lanka. 60 Sri Lanka army personnel have also gone to Pakistan for guerrilla training', said S. Maniraj of EPRLF in a statement in Madras. '18 gunboats from China are expected to arrive in Sri Lanka any time now. Sri Lanka has also ordered a number of Bill 212-50mm/7.62 mm guns. Eighteen gunboats are expected from China. SAS personnel are to train 10,000 men at Katukurunda police training school. According to the EPRLF, plans are also afoot to forcibly settle 18,000 Tamils in the Southern province. About 20,000 repeater shotguns are being purchased to arm the Sinhalese civilians in the border regions.'

GRUESOME AND HORRIFIC CRIMES

These pictures provide a pictorial illustration of the gruesome and horrific crimes perpetrated against our people by the Sri Lankan armed forces, the terror instrument of the racist state. The crime is obviously a blatant form of genocide. Genocide as generally defined has two aspects. One aspect refers to the gradual and systematic destruction and dismemberment of the basic foundations of a nation of people, their language, their culture, their history, their economic existence and their geographical entity. The other refers to the actual physical extermination of a national community. The Tamil nation of the island has been subjected to this dual form of genocide since the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948.

A calculated multi-pronged genocidal oppression was unleashed against our people by successive Sinhala chauvinistic regimes to up-root and undermine the national identity of our people. This genocidal thrust attacked simultaneously on the structural foundations of the Tamil nation, on the language, culture, economic life and geography the cumulative effects of which threatened the very survival of our people.

Overshadowing the cultural and economic destabilisation of the Tamil nation were the vicious and violent forms of genocidal practices aimed at the physical extermination of our people. State-organised riots, which erupted periodically and assumed as a constant phenomenon during the present regime, have the deliberate intent in the physical liquidation of the Tamil people. Thousands of our people have perished in these mad orgies of violence. The July holocaust of 1983 peaked this pattern of genocidal mass killings. Since this unprecedented upheaval of violence, the genocide of Tamils assumed a new dimension of which the armed forces and the commando police are directly and openly involved in mass murders. The killings became a well-calculated military strategy of collective punishment, or rather, collective mass reprisals, a notorious strategy inducted by the Israeli intelligence, the Mossad, aimed to contain the armed resistance campaign of Tamil guerrillas. Unable to contain the escalating guerrilla war, superbly organised and executed by the Tamil Tigers, the demoralised army turned their vengeance on the

innocent civilians unleashing a campaign of terrorisation to break the will of our people and force them to betray the freedom fighters. The armed forces adopted savage methods of mass extermination unheard of in contemporary times.

People are burned alive, buried alive, blasted alive. People are gunned down in cold blood in the market place, in their homes, on their farms, on the roads, on the sea, anywhere the armed forces choose to slaughter them. Innocent young men are rounded up, forced to dig their own graves and buried alive at gunpoint. Schoolchildren are mown down in their class-rooms. Villagers are rounded up, locked in buildings and blasted with explosives. Young women are brutally raped and murdered. The manner in which the Tamils are physically exterminated is so cruel, callous and brutal that it has shocked and enraged the conscience of the world. We document here three recent massacres that occurred at Kurikadduvan, Valvettiturai and Ariyalai.

Massacres on the ferry

On the 15th May 1985, the Sri Lankan navy personnel attacked a ferry carrying Tamil passengers from Delft to Kurikadduvan and massacred about 46 people. It was a savage and ruthless massacre. The navy men used axes, swords, knives and crowbars and hacked to death all the passengers including old women and children.

Valvettiturai massacre

On the 9th May 1985 Sri Lankan armed forces went on a rampage committing arson, looting, rape and mass murder in the coastal village of Valvettiturai in Northern Sri Lanka. About 50 Tamil civilians including children and women were rounded up and forcefully locked into the village library. Army men then planted high explosives around the building and blasted the people dead. About 25 people were rounded up in the streets and were gunned down in cold blood. In this bloodthirsty rampage more than 90 people were murdered.

Ariyalai massacre

On 29th April 1985 the army personnel attached to Navatkuli camp entered the village of Ariyalai about three kilometres from Jaffna City and rampaged the whole village. In this



mad frenzy of military terror about 60 people including women and children were senselessly slaughtered. Hundreds of houses were set ablaze.

The photographs published on this page provide authentic testimony of the heinous and horrid crimes committed by the agents of the Sri Lankan state. Sri Lanka now stands indicted for the crime of blatant genocide, for the crime against humanity. (By kind courtesy of LTTE)

FROM PAGE 1

offer of a 'Provincial Council with a high degree of autonomy' for the northern province of Sri Lanka with elections on a district-wise basis, said Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, at a press conference held in Geneva on 23.8.85.

He also said that a judicial inquiry by a High Court judge into the Vavuniya massacre of over 200 Tamils had already begun, when in fact what happened was an inquest held by Magistrate Vilvarajah into the death of 21 persons after which he returned a verdict of guilty. (A full analysis of his press interview will appear in our next issue).

SINHALA-BUDDHIST CHAUVINISM

FROM PAGE 3

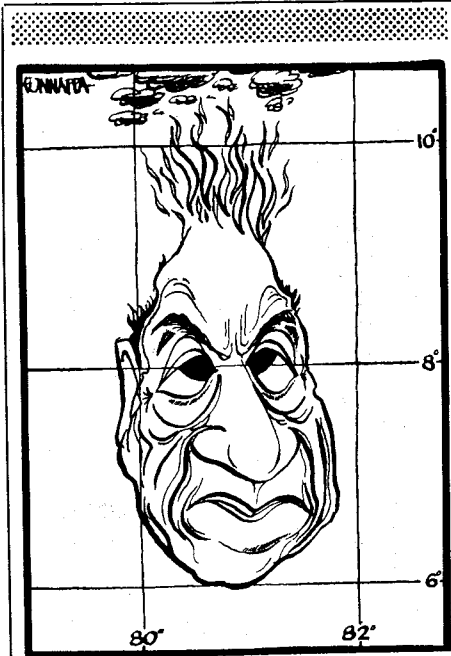
tory, while soldiers and civilians looted the rice mill where he worked.

'On Saturday afternoon I attended a funeral service for two Tamil victims — a mother and her teenage daughter, their faces scarred after being dragged along the ground. Even as the service was going on, two more dead Tamils were delivered on the back of a lorry with gunshot wounds bound up with rags. They had been shot that morning in an outlying village by troops who had landed in a helicopter as they carried out a search for guerrillas.

'All normal life in Vavuniya has come to a standstill. When I arrived there was virtually nobody on the streets. All the shops in the bazaar were shuttered. There were hundreds of Tamils at the railway station, loaded with possessions and jostling each other in a mad scramble to get out of town. It was the same scene when I left on Sunday morning. I travelled part of the way to Colombo with the local government agent, Mr K.C. Logeswaran. He estimated that not fewer than 200 people must have died in the army violence. Other Tamil sources put the total number of dead much higher.

Plainly confused

'The full facts will not be known until all those affected have filed sworn legal statements claiming compensation for relatives killed and property destroyed. Mr Logeswaran was plainly confused by the sheer scale of the mayhem unleashed around him. As a civil servant with no powers to inter-



DRUNKEN J.R.

All members of parliament who are 'drunk with power' will be debarred from contesting at the next election. This is not an arrangement by Alcoholics Anonymous, but by power-drunk Jayawardene. He made this announcement on 20th July at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the UNP Youth League, when he found that several Ministers of his Cabinet who were expected to attend were missing.

Soaked with power

President Jayawardene is justified in becoming furious. How dare these Ministers insult him by not attending the meeting, while he has the undated, signed letters of resignation of all the MPs, including the Ministers, in his pocket! Jayawardene is so drunk and soaked with power, he is unable to control himself. But nobody runs forever; or drinks forever. The fact that several Ministers had chosen to absent themselves at the same time may have deeper implications.

vene with the security forces, he had been forced to watch helplessly from his home as police burned some 20 houses near the Vavuniya hospital on Friday, forcing all of the hospital staff to flee for safety.

'Only two doctors and two paramedical attendants remained. Events like these seriously undermine the government's credibility as a force for maintaining even the rudiments of civil order.'

FROM PAGE 5

under the Division of Powers in the Indian Constitution, the Union Government has the greater share of revenue-raising powers and the States are therefore dependent on the Centre for financial assistance; the Indian Constitution therefore provides for a Finance Commission to be appointed by the President of India; the Commission is an independent agency; it recommends to the President how the quantum of revenue collected by the Union Government should be divided between the Centre and the States as well as the principles on which financial grants must be made to the States; the Commission may deal with any other matter on finances referred to it by the President of India.

11. The amending procedure in the Indian Constitution permits the major sections of it to be amended by (a) a majority of the total membership of each house of the Indian Parliament and (b) by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting; in Sri Lanka we have the problem of an aggressive and politicised Sinhala Buddhist majority; the way out will be to require that constitutional provisions safeguarding the rights of the Tamil-speaking people be enacted by (a) a two-thirds majority of each house of a Sri Lanka Parliament and (b) by a two-thirds majority of the total Tamil-speaking (this will include the Tamil-speaking Muslim community) membership of each house of the Sri Lanka Parliament (on the assumption that there will be established a second chamber of nationalities in an amended Sri Lanka constitution).

FROM PAGE 8

deserves a place on the global map of moral repudiation, with apartheid. For this to happen the 'still small voices' of enlightened opinion in Sri Lanka, such as the Committee for Rational Development, and particularly in Buddhist circles itself, deserve to be heard more loudly.

NOTES:

1. Newton Gunasinghe, 'Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Perceptions and Solutions,' *Frontline* March 23-April 5, 1985.
2. From *Sihaluni, Budu Sasana Bera Ganiwo!* ('Sinhalese, Safeguard the Buddhist Order!'), Seruwila Sacred City Development Committee, 1981.
3. Kumari Jayawardena, *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1972, 358.
4. *The Island*, Sri Lankan English daily newspaper, 24.12.1984.
5. Quoted in Kumari Jayawardena, 'Century of Ethnic Conflict — 1883-1983' (2), serialised in *Lanka Guardian*, Vol 6, 1984 and *Tamil Times*.
6. Same source as note 5, 'Century of ethnic Conflict — 1883-1983' (4).

WEST LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL PRIZE DAY

A well-attended annual prizegiving of the West London Tamil School was held on Saturday July 13. The guest of honour was Professor Leo Kuper, Professor Emeritus of the University of California, a distinguished figure in the field of human rights. Other distinguished guests included Mr Harry Greenaway, MP for Ealing; and Mr Michael Elliot, European MP for West London.

In his speech, the headmaster, Dr. R. Niththyanathan reiterated the original aims of the founder and expressed his pleasure that Mr Thamotheram could see, in the night's events, in the success of the school and the achievements of its pupils, the fulfilment of his inspiration.

Dr Niththyanathan expressed the sorrow of the community in the plight of their suffering compatriots in Sri Lanka who had been forced to flee in their thousands from land which had been theirs for centuries. He paid tribute to the superhuman courage they had shown in everything they had had to endure.

Leo Kuper, in congratulating the school and its students on their achievements, stressed the importance of maintaining knowledge of Tamil culture and language as an enrichment both for English society and the Tamil community. He suggested that English tolerance derived appreciably from the intermingling of many cultures. He would have wished that the prize-giving could have been an occasion for pure joy and celebration, but it was overshadowed by the oppression and massacres of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Human rights were indivisible. Gross violations of human rights against one group encourage



gross violations against all groups in the society. Human freedom contracts not only in the country which tyrannises over its subjects, but in the world at large. It was necessary to resist oppression wherever it arose. Hopefully, a solution might soon be found for the crisis in Sri Lanka, a solution which would enable the Tamils to live in peace, and freedom and justice.

Mr Harry Greenaway, MP for Ealing, said that the West London Tamil School and the Tamil community itself deeply enriched the life of the local community. He also said that he was in constant touch with the Home Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, over the unjust treatment of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Mr Michael Elliot, European MP for West London, said that the European Parliament was pressing governments to do more to encourage and support mother tongue teaching. He said the European Parliament had recently passed a resolution urging the British and other governments to deal more

sympathetically with Tamil refugees and asking the Sri Lankan government to be less harsh in its treatment of the Tamils on the island.

The ceremony opened with the traditional lighting of the lamp ceremony performed by Dr Hilda Kuper, wife of the guest of honour. After the singing of the school song, the prizes were presented by Professor Kuper.

After the speeches, the pupils entertained the large and appreciative audience to a concert of traditional songs and dances of the Tamil homelands in Sri Lanka.

JULY COMMEMORATED

A demonstration and rally organised by the Eelam Students Campaign to commemorate black July 1983 when thousands of Tamils were killed, their properties burnt and over 200,000 rendered homeless in Sri Lanka, were held on July 27, 1985. A procession of over 1,000 men, women and children started at Hyde Park Corner near Marble Arch, and proceeded to Waterloo, County Hall. Most of them carried placards and banners bearing slogans such as 'Trinco is our port, not an American base' and claiming that security forces are killing Tamils in Sri Lanka. The major casualties of the slogans fired by the demonstrators were President Jayawardene, Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali, Ceylon Tea and Sri Lanka itself. Several non-Sri Lankans from local socialist groups also took part in the procession.

The rally was addressed by some Labour MPs, delegates of the solidarity organisations and Vasudeva Nanyakkara, the NSSP leader who was in London at that time.



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LONDON SRI MURUGAN TEMPLE CAR FESTIVAL

The Annual Car Festival of the London Sri Murugan Temple took place on Sunday 11th August 1985 commencing at 10a.m. The diety of Lord Sri Murugan along with those of Sri Valli and Sri Deivayanai placed in the temple chariot was drawn along the roads around the temple in East London and brought back to the temple at 1p.m. A record crowd of devotees and well-wishers participated in the function.



NAVY KILLS THREE AT BUS STOP

The navy fired at people waiting for a bus at Karainagar and killed three persons on the 22nd July. This was not the 'usual rampage' after an attack by the militants. The act of the navy was unprovoked and those dead were civilians. Sulvamamian Sothinathan (26), A. Thambiah (16) and S. Tharmalingam (45) were killed on the spot and two others were injured.

An inquest was held by the Jaffna Magistrate, Mr S. Nagarajah, at the Jaffna Hospital. K. Lambotharanathan who was injured, testified that navy

personnel who had arrived in two armoured vehicles had fired at him and others waiting for a bus at the Alady bus halt in Karainagar. The naval personnel, he said, had got down from the vehicles and simply began firing without asking any questions. All at the bus stand had fallen flat on their bellies, but some were unfortunate.

The Jaffna Magistrate ordered that the bodies of those dead be handed over to their relatives after post-mortem.

FROM PAGE 11

for groups of ethnically mixed populations. It is a device for the continued hegemony of Sinhala Buddhist rule over the island.

It is, in this sense, not merely an attempt at a solution of the ethnic problem but really designed to dissolve the base upon which the Tamil identity rests. The Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) has issued a statement denouncing this proposal:

'We now wish to express our total opposition to the proposals for the state-sponsored and state-aided settlement of Sinhala people in the predominantly Tamil areas. We believe that this will only exacerbate the tensions between the two peoples and increase the propensity for violent clashes. It will postpone the date when the two peoples can live together in a harmonious relationship. We call upon the government to drop this proposal and to proceed forthwith to work out with the representatives of the Tamil people a political solution that recognises their territorial, linguistic and cultural identity.'

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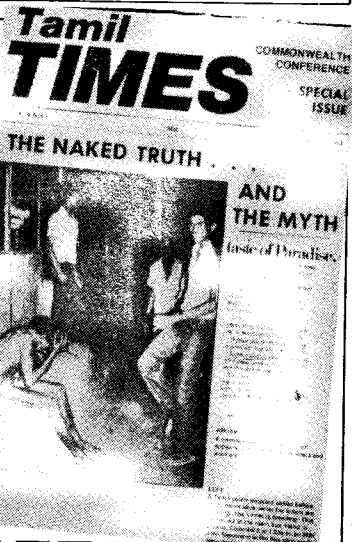
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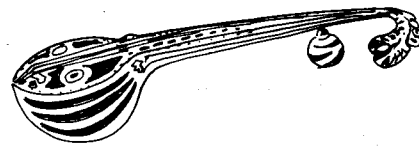
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MATRIMONIAL

Hindu parents seek suitable bridegroom for working graduate daughter aged 26 (British citizen). Box M42 c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu parents seek professionally qualified bride for chartered accountant son, aged 29. Box M43 c/o Tamil Times.

Mother seeks pretty, professionally (or part) qualified, Hindu, homely bride for son, 32 years old, accountant working in Middle East. Good family background. Replies treated in strictest confidence. Please write with horoscope to Box M44 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu Tamil parents recently migrated to Australia, seek professionally qualified groom, accountant or engineer, for their pretty, tall, well-accomplished daughter, 22 years. Details with horoscope or date, time and place in first letter itself. Box M45 c/o Tamil Times.

Parents seek suitable Hindu bride, graduate/professionally qualified, under 27 years, for electronics engineer son, 32 years, working in USA. Box M46 c/o Tamil Times.

Brother seeks Tamil Hindu Sri Lankan professional bridegroom in employment, for attractive sister in employment with UK passport. Horoscopes must match. Box M47 c/o Tamil Times.

Correspondence invited from professionally qualified (preferably medical) Sri Lankan Hindu Tamil groom for attractive, homely girl (UK citizen) working in the United States as computer software engineer. Groom's horoscope essential. Box M48 c/o Tamil Times.

St John's College mourns the death of its principal

A sea of mourners filed past the body of Mr C.E. Anandarajan, Principal of St John's College from 8a.m. on Sunday 30.6.85. At 2p.m. there was a public commemorative meeting, presided over by Rev J. Sarvanandan, vicar of St John's Church, Chundicuti. The speakers on the occasion were Father Francis Joseph, rector of St Patrick's College, Jaffna, Dr S. Vithianathan, Vice-Chancellor of the Jaffna University, Mr S. Kanagaratnam, President of the Welfare Association of St John's College, Mr T. Gunaseelan, Vice-Principal, St John's College, Jaffna and Mr M.V. Tissanayagam, President of the St John's College, OBA.

The remains were laid to rest at the St John's Church burial grounds on 1.7.85 at 11a.m.

(By courtesy of 'The Morning Star', Jaffna)

Seeking Hindu bridegroom for sister from Point Pedro, 37 years, B.Sc. teacher, dowry available. Box M49 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu family in Singapore seeks bridegroom for their pretty English educated daughter, age 36, engineer, doctor, accountant or PhD. Good dowry available. Box M50 c/o Tamil Times.

Brother seeks Hindu professional for engineer sister, age 29, from Valvettithurai, employed in Australia. Box M51 c/o Tamil Times.

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OBITUARY

The death occurred under tragic circumstances of Albert Chandra Mather in Kalmunai, Sri Lanka in early July. He was the youngest son of the late Mr & Mrs Wycliffe Mather of Manipay. Up to the time of writing, his body has not been returned to the next of kin by the army, who presumably killed him. A memorial service was conducted by Rev.R. Clutterbuck at the Wealdstone Methodist Church, Harrow, Middx, on Saturday 17th August 1985.



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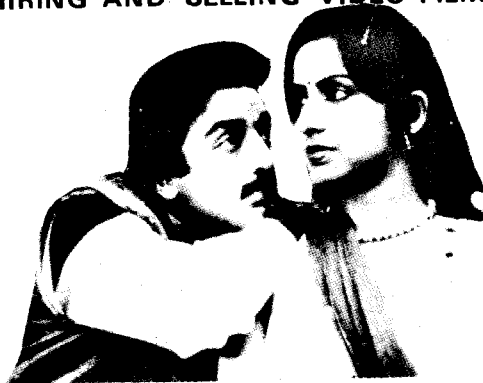
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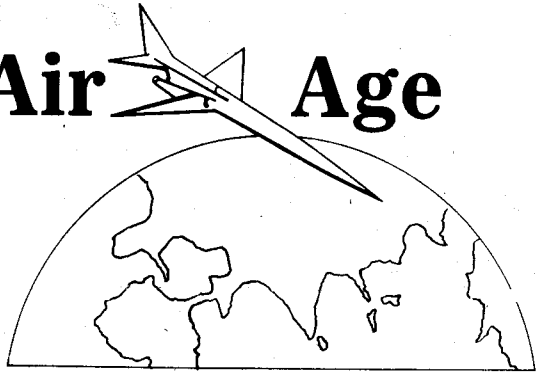
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