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# July 1983 and the national question in Sri Lanka: a bibliographical guide

## Introduction

'If we believe in absurdities, we shall commit atrocities.' *Voltaire*

The month of July in 1983 witnessed an unprecedented communal holocaust in which the Tamil community in Sri Lanka suffered enormous destruction and loss of life, besides large-scale destitution and homelessness. Sinhalese chauvinism has deep historical, cultural, social and psychological roots which, in turn, have bred an equally determined and militant stance on the part of the Tamils for the assertion of their cultural identity and fundamental rights, as well as aspirations to self-determination and regional autonomy. Since Independence the deepening hostility between the Sinhalese and Tamils has become a depressing fact of political life, but the repeated outbreaks of violence after 1956 seem minor upheavals compared to the scale and ferocity of the carnage, arson and looting in 1983. The resulting exposure and comment in the foreign media have seriously embarrassed the government and despoiled the conventional image of Sri Lanka as a paradisiacal haven of democratic peace and harmony in the Indian Ocean. A stringent censorship imposed on a largely pliant domestic press has proved an insufficient barrier to the escape of truth in the international media. Strenuous attempts at covering up continue to be made, in order that the true dimensions of these sad and tragic events may be concealed or thwarted in their discussion. The techniques of double-think and double-talk are in full flow, and the current binds on the freedom of expression have transformed Sri Lanka into a less than informed society.

To diligent and discerning observers of the degenerating trends in public life since 1977, the massive haemorrhage did not come as a surprise. The

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democratic process had been eroded by a combination of ad hoc constitutional amendments and legislative enactments; demagoguery accompanied by overt and covert forms of thuggery had virtually institutionalised political violence; while the electoral process received its final *coup de grace* in 1982. But most menacing of all, perhaps, was the open incitement of racial prejudice at the highest levels. The well-heeled conscience of the stricken bourgeoisie was stretched on the rack, but too few among them reacted with shock, revulsion, horror and concern. Well-meaning efforts at reconciliation and contrition abound, however, and sincere exponents of moral rearmament are busy building bridges of national unity and communal concord. But, in the end, their work, as in the past, is likely to be as inconclusive as their clichés. As the emotions of the July crisis recede, the harsh realities and stark questions reassert their claim for resolution. The grave underlying implications of what has taken place cannot be concealed by proclamations of 'normalcy'; neither can caricatured versions of history serve the purpose of confirming old prejudices and reinstating congenial racial myths. The politics of manipulation and terror, parading as democracy, need to be exposed so that some intelligent, civilised, rational perspectives, permeated by fresh convictions and new energies, may be restored. The values of justice, equality and civility have virtually to be exhumed.

It is not far from the truth that a high degree of political pusillanimity and moral cowardice have contributed largely to this 'crisis of civilisation' in a Buddhist land, hitherto reputed for its tolerance of other faiths, and respect for human rights in theory and in practice. If the President now keeps repeating, as he is wont to do, that an 'irreconcilable and unbridgeable gulf' exists between the Sinhalese and Tamil positions, then it is to be feared that little, if anything, has been learned and even less forgotten after the tragic catastrophe of July 1983. A Round Table Conference, promised since 1977, and subject to prolonged misgivings, misconceptions and false starts, got off the ground at last in January 1984. It has raised more problems than it originally agreed to solve, and frequent adjournments and changes in dramatis personae have neither increased the climate of accommodation nor diminished the potential for conflict. The continuing reliance on a military solution, repressive legislation, and a near-permanent Emergency has vitiated the arena of reconciliation and mutual trust. The conduct of the Conference itself appears to have favoured the exacerbation of conflict positions and inflexible attitudes without advancing, in any significant measure, an acceptable approach to an enduring political solution of the problem of an oppressed national minority, through institutions of genuine devolution of power.

As this bibliography lays bare, dispassionate and collected appraisals continue to collide with frenzied expressions of a narrow bigotry, while the quixotic bravura of a national minority duels with the arrogant hauteur of a national majority. A serious lack of self-awareness seems evident in both combatants, and a failure to face up to the realities of their respective situations in the real world, within and without the national borders. But this is not to deny to the Tamils the right to espouse their legitimate demands for the satisfaction of national self-respect and dignity, and the freedom to pursue the same privileges and opportunities which the Sinhalese now seek to proclaim as their sole prerogative. This latter deviation from the accepted norms of the Sri Lankan identity in a multi-ethnic society constitutes the classic imbroglio of late

twentieth century Sri Lanka. Only Sri Lankans acting as a whole in defiance of present tendencies, and mindful of their past and future destinies can deliver the country out of its current nightmare. That possibility cannot be allowed to remain a remote dream. Until then, however, the spate of resentment and recrimination is unlikely to cease, because the issues seem further away from a settlement than at one time they appeared likely to be. The stage settings in this macabre and squalid drama need to be changed, else the main actors are fated to keep repeating their lines, entries and exits, while the unhappy and captive audience on both sides of the Palk Strait become less hopeful of a happy ending to what is already the longest running 'Theatre of the Absurd' in Sri Lanka.

It is a dismal truth of recent times that the public and private conscience has been threatened by an environment of intimidation, and insensitised by a climate of fear. The perverse insanity of racial terrorism and the obscene variations of communal animosity have been encouraged thereby. The culture of fear and silence, in which intellectuals and writers have become their own policemen, has extended the opportunities for more, and not less, authoritarianism. The stage has been reached in the words of Bertrand Russell of 'fascinating fools and muzzling the intelligent by emotional excesses on the one hand and terrorism on the other'. The decay of language into a variety of Orwellian 'newspeak' reflects the political disintegration around us - a return to sanity and commonsense cannot do better than begin with verbal precision and consistency. The state-controlled media in Sri Lanka operate on the principle that the common people are easy prey to deception, and even the intelligent-sia can be rendered knowledge-proof. But continued censorship in a democracy is an affront to the collective intelligence of the community. Hope lingers, perhaps, in the heartening glimmer of optimism that the conflict has not yet infiltrated the hearts and minds of all the people. The prevailing body politic, rotten and effete at the core, may still contain the canker of racial antagonism, becoming both its cradle as well as its coffin. The fatal next step can only be averted by a decisive and statesmanlike blow for justice and equality - but the present social and political formations, which provide the current leadership of Sri Lankan society, appear sadly to have shot their bolt. The communal problem, though crucial, is only one of the many-sided consequences of the national crisis which is still unfolding.

This bibliography represents an attempt to provide a cogent, comprehensive, and concentrated array of documentation on the national question in Sri Lanka and the sanguinary outrage in July 1983. While it is primarily intended to supplement the purposes of the volume in which it appears, it has also been designed with less temporary objectives in view. It may, therefore, be consulted with profit by all those curious enough to contemplate the excesses of racial hate on a historic island, renowned for its ancient civilisation derived from India, and the culture of Buddhism.

The bibliography is basically in two sections: A 'The national question: perceptions and performance', and B 'July 1983: outrage and outcome'. Part A is preceded by a brief list of 34 basic historical works which provide a broad framework of historical understanding for the initiate into the main strands of Sri Lanka's evolution from a pre-feudal society into a modern nation state. Part A, which comprises 167 entries, constitutes a significant and relevant point of entry into the intricacies of the Tamil question in Sri Lanka vis-à-vis the impact of the Sinhala-Buddhist majority. Part B, containing 405 entries,

represents a wide range of responses to the cataclysm of July 1983. The entire spectrum of views and evaluations of the 'national question' began to be re-aired in urgent and pointed fashion (in the columns of the English press in Sri Lanka and abroad) and the intelligentsia have been fortunate to be educated all over again on the evolution and contemporary import of the racial issues which threaten to tear the fabric of Sri Lankan society apart. An earlier version of this part was done for Human Rights Day (10 December, 1983), and the same motives have impelled the compiler into this more complete and definitive exercise.

Books, articles in periodicals, contributions to newspapers, official documents, and material of a fugitive or unpublished nature have been included, but there is, admittedly, no desire to approach exhaustiveness. The principal purpose is to offer an appropriate and representative selection of literature, to which the average reader may not have easy access, to enable the twin demands of study and enlightenment to be met. The entries are arranged alphabetically by author, or title (in the absence of an author) in each part, and enough data for identification are supplied. The constraints of space, the swift tenor of preparation, and the prevailing censorship restricted the design of the bibliography. Annotations to highlight, clarify and discriminate between entries had to be eschewed, and the motif of enumerative documentation took precedence over the demands of commentary. Users of this bibliography who wish to read more widely on pertinent dimensions and facets of this central issue in the Sri Lankan racial divide may consult the relevant chapters or sections of H.A.I. Goonetilleke's *A Bibliography of Ceylon (Sri Lanka)*, Volumes 1-5 (1970-83), especially the literature concerning history, religion, social organisation, nationalism and revivalist trends, ethnic cleavages and conflicts. Volumes 6 and 7 are in preparation and will contain the literature on the 'national question' as it unfolded in painful sequence from 1979 to 1984. The annotations, excluded here, may be encountered in these volumes in the future.

It is in the nature of any bibliographical exercise, whether retrospective or current, that time imposes its inescapable bar at some point, even though the literature on the subject keeps flowing. The collection of material for this work terminated in the first week of May 1984, and it is regretted that some important literature after that date has had to be omitted. It is necessary to mention two significant contributions later in the same month in this connection, and readers are advised to consult these as well. (1) *Ethnicity and social change in Sri Lanka. Papers presented to a Seminar of the Social Scientists Association* (Colombo, 1984). The twelve essays by various hands throw a revealing light on the issues. (2) *National identity in a multi-ethnic society. Seminar held at the Marga Institute, 7th-11th May 1984* (especially the papers by Nihal Jayawickrama, 'National identity - a human rights approach'; C.R. Hensman, 'Sri Lankan identity, racism and the people's solidarity in the contemporary world'; S. Tennekoon, 'Sinhala and Tamil identity formation: an historical review from earliest times till 1848'; L. Kurukulasuriya, 'Self-image of the Tamil community: a brief sketch'; R. Siriwardena, 'National identity in Sri Lanka: problems in communication education'; and, Jehan Perera, 'National identity, opposition, war and peace'). In addition, the unpublished transcript proceedings of the Round Table Conference, which began on 19 January, 1984, are bound to offer many insights on all sides of the ethnic fence. The terse, even cryptic, official press communiques issued after each session serve to provoke

speculation rather than to inform. The apparent futility and depressing outcome of this much-vaunted exercise can only be clarified by access to the record of proceedings.

In conclusion, I wish to thank those friends and colleagues who helped in various ways, offering specific assistance and moral support, in the course of compilation.

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## B. July 1983: outrage and outcome

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