

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 25

7th September 1985

WELIKADE
DEATH FAST
—31ST DAY

JAFFNA VARSITY

SYMPATHY FAST—12TH DAY

FIGHT FOR TRINCO IS ON

The volcano that is Trincomalee has begun to erupt — and erupt dangerously.

The molten lava may spread all over Sri Lanka — unless President Jayewardene's Government reacts quickly.

Already, the lives of uncounted numbers of people have been smothered; so also thousands of houses.

The number of refugees (of all communities) is mounting daily.

It is useless at this stage to try to find out who went and lit the fuse.

The Mahaweli River ends at

Trinco. Let us pray that its life-giving waters would help cool the situation, the Government willing.

And let us not forget that Trinco, with its strategic port, holds the key to the resolution of the National Question.

In the meantime, fight on, brave soldiers of both sides.

UP IN ARMS

Mothers in their hundreds marched through Jaffna today to the venue of the hunger strike by University students at the Jaffna campus.

All members of the Jaffna Mothers Front, they were expressing solidarity with the Tamil Political detenus who are on a fast unto death at Welikade jail.

STOP TORTURE

— Mothers' Front

The Mothers Front has sent the following telegram, signed by Joint Secretary Nirmala Balaratnam, to President Jayewardene:

Mothers Front request your immediate intervention for the release of innocent youths held illegally in Welikade jail without indictment and prevent deaths of youths fasting unto death in protest. Fasting youth protest against detention without trial for over eighteen months. Such detention contrary even under the inhuman Prevention of Terrorism Act and civilised conduct. Stop brutal tortures of our children in the prisons.

EAST ERUPTS

In Trincomalee a 16 hour curfew was clamped down on Wednesday (4th September) following burning of shops and houses by 'armed men.' As a result about 4,000 people have been rendered homeless and have taken refuge in schools and offices. In this rampage many have reportedly lost their lives or were seriously injured.

The High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka, Mr. Dixit has met the President in this connection. Earlier at Sirimapura, a commando unit had run into a 'land mine'.

In an attack on the Eravur police station on 4th September, by Tamil 'militants' about 7 Policemen have been reported killed.

In another ambush on the Batticaloa-Polonnaruwa Road, a jeep carrying security personnel was reportedly hit by a landmine and about 8 personnel killed.

'Let Us Fight To Create Man'

The Jaffna University Students' Assembly, in a pamphlet issued yesterday, has strongly condemned those who were responsible for the killing of TULF parliamentarians Mr. V. Dharmalingam and Mr. M. Alalasunderam, for not claiming responsibility for the act and for not giving valid reasons for the killing.

It said that the TULF leadership at the start was the spearhead of the struggle of the Tamil people but this trust reposed in them by the people had been betrayed and it is now time to expose this betrayal by the mobilisation of the mass of the people.

The killing, on the other hand, has made them "martyrs" in the eyes of the mass of the people and has tended to sow distrust and push back the "mass struggle".

In this context, if any "political group" has done this killing, it has most certainly damaged the cause of the Tamil people in the long run.

The Eelam National Liberation

Front has denied any complicity in the killings and conveyed its regrets to the members of the bereaved families. PLOT too has condemned the killings. These five groups have thus admitted that the killing is a flagrant injustice. It is, therefore, the responsibility of these groups to trace the identity of these killers and take the mantle of responsibility, instead of giving fresh impetus to the waning powers of the TULF.

An interim solution has been rejected by the people but there is now a marked increase in the intervention by "foreign elements" to accentuate their interests and force acceptance of a 'half-baked' solution by the people. As much

as individual Sikh extremism or terrorism has tended to put back the struggle of the Sikhs, so also such unwarranted killings will be a set back to the Tamil struggle, and a retrograde step.

In the interests of winning our basic democratic rights and live as decent human beings, our armed struggle against the chauvinist Sri Lankan Government is justifiable.

We cannot remain 'mum' when our basic human rights are being trampled. The motives of the 'unseen killer' are suspect. It is time we expose this facade in the name of 'liberation' and build up a leadership among the people at large.

'BRUTUS' FOUND

"BRUTUS", IT APPEARS, HAS BEEN FOUND.

AT THE TIME WE WERE GOING TO PRESS, WE LEARNT THAT A NUMBER OF ARRESTS HAS BEEN MADE BY THE MILITANTS' GROUPS OF PERSONS SUSPECTED OF KILLING MR. V. DHARMALINGAM AND MR. M. ALALASUNDARAM.

(See also page 8)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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

Telegrams: SATVIEW

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Subscription Rates inclusive
of local postage and foreign
Air Mail Rate

Sri Lanka

Annual — Rs. 170/-
Half-year — Rs. 85/-

India

Annual — Rs. 225/-
(Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia—

Annual — U. S. \$ 30

All other Countries

Annual — U. S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to
New Era Publications Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 15/- per
col. centimetre
Casual — Rs. 20/- per
col. centimetre

Committee Appeals to G. A.

The Rehabilitation Housing Committee of Valanthalai, Karainagar, has appealed to the Govt. Agent, Jaffna, to pay a reasonable allowance to the people in its area made homeless by the action of the state forces on 3rd May this year.

The Committee Secretary, Mr. V. Rattai, points out, in his appeal, that the manpower of these people could be used in the construction work going on at the housing scheme in Palakoddai. Since the dry rations issued to them by the Government is hardly enough even for bare survival, the Committee suggests they be also paid an allowance which could serve as an incentive for construction work.

OLR FEAST

The annual feast of Our Lady of Refuge will be celebrated tomorrow. The novenas preparatory to the feast started on 30th August, with the hoisting of the flag. The evening ceremonies commence at 6 p.m.

S. R. Refugee Relief Fund

Contributions to the "SATURDAY REVIEW" REFUGEE RELIEF FUND stood at Rs. 3,15,657.02cts at 31st August 1985.

Disbursement up to this date totalled Rs. 1,16,250.05 cts. as published in the S. R. from time to time.

The latest donor is Mr. K. Mylvaganam of Norway who has donated Rs. 5,000. This brings the total contributions to Rs. 3,20,657.02 cts.

A number of applications for assistance is being processed.

There is no accurate figure of the number of people who have been affected by the disturbances in the Northern, Eastern and North Central Provinces in recent times, just as there is no accurate figure of the number of people (most of them innocent) killed in the various operations recently.

The Government may have the figures but would not dare publish them because of the embarrassment that would result.

Our own estimate is that well over one lakh of people have been reduced to the status of refugees by recent events.

In Trincomalee alone, as published in the S.R. of 10th August, there are 35,000 refugees.

In Vavuniya and Batticaloa, we have to confess that we do not know what really has happened and what is still rumoured to be happening.

The aid that the S. R. can render is minimal, despite the generous response of our readers.

In the first place, we are not a refugee rehabilitation organisation. We are simply not equipped to tackle rehabilitation work.

Secondly, we cannot divert our limited resources and energies to a field far removed from journalism.

All we can do is to give publicity to what is happening in Sri Lanka, particularly the Northern part, and awaken the conscience of people not only in our country but also throughout the world so that they may come to the rescue of the affected people.

We solicit further donations from Readers, especially those residing abroad, who are in a position to help. Whatever funds are made available will be diverted mostly to the supply of drugs and infant foods.

Our sincere thanks to all Readers who have contributed in cash and kind to our Fund.

— Editor

MI 5 Helping Eelamists?

This is not the kind of scoop picked up by jetting around the world staying in expensive hotels. But this is more in the line of Descartes who divined the nature of the Universe by lying in bed. This shocking information could have been discovered by a reasonably good 7th standard student of Euclidean Geometry. But it took the SR staff a sleepless night and several episodes in the annals of Sherlock Holmes to divine this truth.

The facts are:

1. Minister Anandatissa de Alwis has accused the BBC of aiding terrorists all over the world and "Eelam terrorists" in particular for reporting a purely fictitious massacre at Vavuniya.

2. The state controlled "Sunday Observer" in an editorial (25th Aug. 85) has deeply lamented the absence of editorial independence in the BBC in sharp contrast to the independence enjoyed by the journalists of the Lake House. The BBC journalists they say are vetted by the MI5 according to a recent report (not by Lankapuwath, but in the BBC). This the "Observer" takes to mean that BBC journalists are no better than lackeys of the MI5.

To us at the SR these two facts seem to imply that the MI5 is aiding the "Eelam terrorists".

We leave it to the bright boys of the Lankapuwath to jet about and go to town on this. Surely the Honourable Minister never told a lie. How can the "Observer" be wrong?

APPRECIATION

S. Ganesharajah

The tragic and sudden death of Mr. Sethunayagam Ganesharajah has shocked all those who knew him.

Mr. Ganesharajah was a third-year physical science student at the University of Peradeniya, who had gone with his fellow-students on a picnic to the Tissamaharama beach, where the tragedy occurred.

Even at a time as the present one, when feelings are strained between the two major communities, it is a tribute to the memory of the late Ganesharajah, and a triumph to the cause of Sri Lankan nationalism, that not only his Sinhala classmates, but Sinhala fishermen and even a Buddhist monk, extended their fullest co-operation in trying to rescue Ganesharajah and subsequently in their endeavours to discover his body.

Ganesharajah was the eldest son in a family of five. He was the son of Mr. V. Sethunayagam, Grama Sevaka Niladhari of Puloly East and Mrs. Sethunayagam, a teacher from Point Pedro.

A.N.S. THIRUCHELVAM
Point Pedro.

SOFTBALL CRICKET

Kalai Oli beat Red Diamond in a Soft Ball Cricket Match played at Jaffna Hindu College grounds on 27th August, 1985.

This was the second match in the Soft Ball Cricket Tournament conducted by the Silver Stars.

The scores are:- Kalai Oli 69 for 7 in 20 overs Karunakaran 18, Mohan 13, Peterson 5 for 8, Rohan 2 for 16 Red Diamond 60 for 8 in 20 overs Vijaya Kumar 14, Ravi 13, Peter Sow 20 Not Out, Kirubakaran 2 for 6, Dushanthiran 3 for 5, Ravi 2 for 12.

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Jaffna College Technical Institute

VADDUKODDAI

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Director

ARDUOUS JOURNEY

It was the 26th of August when the Intercity from Colombo clocked into Vavuniya at 10-00 a.m. The passengers were in a cheerful frame and were looking forward to arriving in Jaffna at 12-15 after an uneventful journey. Then came the news that the train was to wait for two hours in view of a hartal at Kilinochchi and Vavuniya. This was received calmly. The weather was good and a cooling breeze played along the platform. The passengers strolled along the platform in groups to discuss their daily concerns from marriages to politics. This was a time for some interesting eavesdropping.

Two retired army officers were holding forth in stentorian tones, 'I say, whom is this Athulathmudali trying to fool in Geneva by claiming that he has dismissed 300 men from the army for indiscipline? When he was asked if any had been courtmartialled for crimes against civilians, he says there was difficulty in getting evidence against any of them because people were not coming forward. Does he think that others are ignorant of soldiering as he is?' The old soldier looked at me in a manner which made me thank heaven that any resemblance I had to the said Athulathmudali was very remote. He clenched his fists and continued, 'under a platoon leader there is a sergeant, corporals and lance corporals who are responsible men. Should a man even breathe out of turn, the platoon leader can find out who did it. I say, in my time some soldiers beat up some plantation workers at Bandarawela. And we lost no time in catching the man in charge and putting him behind bars. Now they shoot innocent people. And we are asked to believe that they cannot find out who did it. This I say is tomfoolery. You cannot dismiss people without charges. Only the other day I met a young Sinhalese officer who was under me. He was disgusted with what happened in Vavuniya. I am telling you, These lower ranks will now even turn their guns on their officers.'

I moved along and met a businessman in his late middle age—a seasoned traveller in all weathers and in all shades of civil disorder by the look of it. He was saying, 'I was in Colombo before the '83 riots. Then people called us selfish for investing in Colombo rather than make an attempt at building up the economy of our homeland. When the riots came and we had to flee our burning establishments, we were told it served us right. We took it as a sign from the Almighty, went to Jaffna and started from scratch. I will not deny we did well. Providence smiled on us. We provided

employment for many, gave support to cultural and charitable enterprises and even advertised in the *Saturday Review*. Now we are being robbed by bandits and our employees are driven to starvation. But I must warn you. Our boys, the real boys will not do a thing like this. You wait, they will put a stop to this nonsense'.

CONSTERNATION

Then came the shocker. A claim had been apparently been made that bombs were placed on the tracks near Kilinochchi and the Controller had decided to recall the train to Colombo. It was expected that the passengers would get back to Colombo. There was utter consternation. After some hesitation all the passengers decided that if they could not proceed to Jaffna, they would remain in Vavuniya. It was

by

M. Ratnam

felt that dangers of going South on a day like that were even greater. There was fear of the 'Home Guards' at Madawachchiya.

It is said that if a home guard asks for your Identity Card you must move your hand at a speed no greater than one foot per minute. Any jerky movement may cause him to discharge the contents of his 303 or shotgun at you, the probable result of which will be grievous bodily harm to some one ten yards away.

Members of the Vavuniya Citizens' Committee promptly arrived at the Station and advised us that there was no food to be purchased at Vavuniya and that all services to travellers had broken down a month ago. But that if we wished to stay they would make arrangements with the refugee camp or the convent to put us up and will share with us whatever food they could scrounge. This gesture was much appreciated. It was anticipated that we might have to stay for two days at least and we were warned that the army could indulge in its usual antics anytime, a real or contrived bomb scare would be enough.

In the meantime two members of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee who were on the train had begun long drawn out negotiations on the Station Master's phone with the authorities in Colombo. The Engine driver and Guard, both Sinhalese, were willing to take the train to Jaffna rather than leave the passengers stranded, despite the fact that

people in their profession had experienced difficulty before. Finally thanks to help from the G. A. Vavuniya as well, one train was allowed to proceed to Jaffna. We waited for the Yarl Devi which was following, accommodated ourselves as best as we could, and proceeded North at 1-30 p. m.

At 2-00 p. m. the train stopped again at Puliyanakulam and the passengers resumed their peregrinations in the vicinity of the train. The driver, a plump and jolly man for all the stress and irritations, explained to me that the communications line between Puliyanakulam and Mankulam had been cut and that he had to await a pilot from Mankulam before proceeding. Their difficulties, he said, were seldom appreciated and that his home people would rather have him report sick and stay home when trouble is anticipated. Some railway

employees were debating whether to attack the buffalo curd in the luggage van and put the blame on the 'boys'.

CHEERY TIDINGS

The Station Master in his own amiable way gave us the cheery tidings that we may have to wait awhile, adding that if we experience difficulty now our later happiness will be all that much greater. The wait had its lighter side as well. A local lad obligingly went up a woodapple tree and began treating us. Some reflected philosophically that we urbanites who wanted an Eelam were so ignorant and were now by the will of heaven being given an enforced pilgrimage to its more obscure spots. I will personally recommend the tube well water at Puliyanakulam.

More phone calls and finally the clearance came from Vavuniya. We left at 4.00 p. m. reach Jaffna without further incident at 6-00 p.m. The bombs on the track were of course imaginary.

It was much later we learnt of the ordeal of the passengers who left Jaffna in the morning and had to turn back at Kilinochchi. Some youths came running to the train and told them not to proceed because there were bombs on the tracks. A little later the army came running firing into the air and asked the driver to proceed saying that there were no bombs on the tracks. The driver despite

pressure and strong words in all three languages declined the risk.

The terrified passengers not knowing which way the bullets may fly, put down their shutters and lay on floor. Passengers who had to get to Colombo urgently were distraught. Children were crying and expectant women were hysterical. Even old women had to crawl to the lavatory when the call became urgent. The army and the youths took turns in coming to the train. Finally when the army withdrew and a decision was taken to return to Jaffna, there was no one to stop some local vendors charging five star prices for the much needed bread and tea.

Many felt that if the army had not interfered and made the issue a challenge to the youths, the passengers could have talked some sense to the youths and proceeded on their journey.

As our train approached Jaffna, a tired old man remarked, 'Thamby, when you look at what happened, the government would have been happy to punish us by having us stranded anywhere to score a political point over the inconvenience caused to the public.'

The people who showed commendable civic responsibility and saw to our well-being were government officials on the spot, non-governmental organisations and train drivers and guards, two of whom were Sinhalese. When regimes change, people like them tend to be cast off as quislings or members of the old order. That is the irony of such situations—like what happened in Bangladesh!

During our journey, our sufferings were minimal in comparison with what is too common in these times. It was even hilarious and heart warming at times. But the forces that come into play are instructive.

Union Suggests Temporary Transfers for Displaced Teachers

The General Secretary of the Ceylon Teachers Union Mr. H.N. Fernando, has appealed to the Minister of Education to make arrangements to pay the July, July and August salaries of the displaced teachers from Anuradhapura through the Jaffna and Kilinochchi Education Offices. He has also urged the Minister to grant temporary transfers to these teachers to schools in the Jaffna and Kilinochchi districts, where there is an acute shortage of teachers.

Text of the Annual Lecture
1985, International Centre For
Ethnic Studies (ICES), Sri
Lanka.

REALITIES AND DREAMS:

I wish to speak of what I call separatism, but I must make plain what I mean by this term. I might have used instead 'ethno-nationalism' which has become popular of late, but nationalism conjures up a nation seeking to be an independent state and that is not always what is being sought. By separatism I certainly mean to include secessionism but I wish to refer to a much wider range of possible goals. Separatism, as I use it, does not necessarily entail a separate existence; rather it is a political claim for a distinctive (in that sense, separate) recognition in some form or other by the state. Normally separatism is associated with ethnicity — but not always. You can find separatism — even in its ultimate form of secessionism — without ethnicity: Western Australia contemplated going it alone in the 1920s and Newfoundland might have quit Canada, yet they had little or no ethnic distinctiveness, only a mainly economic grievance. You can even more easily find ethnicity without separatism. In many individuals of ethnic identity are so low that they are swamped by other loyalties — to class, to self, even to the larger state unit. There are those who are Welshmen for one day in a year, when they attend a St. David's Day celebration or watch their rugby team beating England. Some regimes take care not to allow their minority ethnics any political expression; the Soviet Union's allowance stops at folk costume and the like. Highly special of course are the Jews who for so many centuries never lost an intense awareness of being a distinct people (even those in Ethiopia), but never formulated any political claims, let alone ideas of a separate existence, until the last century.

The case of the Jews points to two features of ethnicity. In the first place ethnic groups, for all their political prominence in the modern world, have been with us always, the basic kinship blocks of human society, families writ larger into tribes and class, sometimes collected together into kingdoms or even empires, on the dissolution of which they would disperse or be re-grouped in new ways. However, typically with the Jews as one kind of exception — while the existence of ethnic groups has been universal, individual groups have not been permanent: over time they have moved territory, have merged or subdivided into new names and identities; over time the only constant is change. Ethnic iden-

ties even in historical time can become treasured or taken for granted, lost and rediscovered. This is 'ebb and flow' on the grand scale. In the second place ethnic groups are naturally characterised by a sharing of one or more distinguishing features or attributes. The list is familiar and each item needs to be qualified by the phrase 'more or less': common racial stock, language, religion, history (fact plus myth), a homeland territory. Each attribute reinforces the others but sometimes a single attribute will suffice to sustain a movement. Within Britain, Scottish separatism is built on history economics, there being no language to speak of, only a very particular way of pronouncing English; while Welsh nationalism is heavily cultural and embodies the crippling paradox that the language is at once precious and divisive.

From the viewpoint of our discussion of separatism the attribute of a homeland is perhaps the most interesting. For, clearly, ethnic movements will tend to make different sets of demands according to whether the populations for which they aim to

finally, some form of balance in recruitment to elites through quotas for college places, professional entry and so on. This great assorted bag of instruments has over the last couple of decades acquired a label, 'con-sociationalism' derived from an analysis of what has permitted certain European bi-or-multi-ethnic societies (Belgium, Holland) to function satisfactorily. But the bag of tools has been around for a long time and some approximation to their utilisation is characteristic of most of the viable multi-ethnic societies of the Third world such as Malaysia, Guyana and Fiji (just to mention the three of which Professor Milne has written.)

It may appear perverse on my part to use separatism to refer to both types of ethnic movements the territorial and the proportional. But I do so deliberately, in order to bring out the essential common element that what is being sought in all cases is a recognition of a distinctive — in that sense, separate — identity. There are further justifications for this use of the term. For one thing, the dividing line bet-

a distinct but related feature, the claims which they make go through phases of escalation and abatement. This prompts questions: do movements become dormant when they are weak or when they have been successful and thus reconciled? do demands escalate out of confidence or out of despair?

Before approaching such problems, I should like to make brief reference to a further couple of preliminary points both of them relevant to help those who are in the midst of ethnic conflict to set these in a wider context. The first is to pose the question — is separatism a new phenomenon? The brief answer is both No and Yes. It is No in that (as I have already mentioned) the making and unmaking of political units has been over present, the expansion and the contraction of kingdoms and empires continual, attended by the absorption and dispersal of peoples. Rome, Macedon, Persia, Maurya all illustrate the process. Separation was what preceded empire and followed from the end of empire. Leaving the ancient world, even the formation of the old nation-states of Europe entailed separation: the French separated from the English kings' rule in Aquitaine, the Castilians separated from Muslim rule in Spain, the Dutch separated from the rule of the king of Spain. But separatism is a different matter: an '—ism' implies a movement fuelled by ideas. Separatism arrived in the form of nationalism and it could only arrive with the birth of the modern state. That state was more a mere extension of a royal estate; it was a complex institution which ruled, not a court which simply reigned; it mobilised its citizens while it also invaded hitherto private areas of individual and group life; it could thus express one large nationalism but also could provoke resistance from smaller nationalisms. Catalonia tried to secede from Spain, twice. Greece and Serbia succeeded in breaking away from the Ottoman Empire, the Catholic Flemish and Walloons left Holland to form Belgium, preferring religious unity even with a linguistic division, Czechs and Slovaks, Slovenes and Croats sought to escape from Hapsburg rule. Poles in parts of Russia, Prussia and Austria wanted to come together in a state of their own. When the Tsarist Empire was toppled in 1917 many nationalities sought freedom but failed to secure it before the new red empire effected its own brand of integration. All

by W. H. Morris — Jones

speak are territorially concentrated or instead dispersed at large within the polity of which they are a part. If they are concentrated, demands can be located at a point on a fairly well-defined range which extends from the diminutive to the desperate, from some degree of merely decentralised administration through a measure of devolution of powers to regional autonomy, to federalism, to looser confederation, to the status of 'Sovereignty association' devised by Quebec to the end of the line at secession. If, however, ethnic groups are dispersed, these essentially territorial demands and concessions would seem scarcely to apply. Instead, reassurance will be sought and often given through a variety of representational or proportional devices ensuring, either formally or informally, some guaranteed sharing (not necessarily equally) of power: electorally, through reserved seats or even separate electorates; governmentally, through quotas for high office, for cabinet, for administrative services; politically, through coalition governments, reciprocal veto powers, party alliances or even the attempt to make each party (or the sole party) into an ethnic coalition:

between territorial — that is, 'devolutionary' — demands and 'proportional' demands is not hard and fast. South Asia knows very well that claims by even dispersed ethnic minorities — say the Muslims of India before 1947 — can nevertheless eventuate in a territorial secession, Pakistan, which had to be run for some time by what might be called 'refugee raj' and today has in it only half the number of Muslims to be found in India and Bangladesh. Similarly the line is found blurred from the opposite direction: Belgium provides a case where a territorially concentrated ethnic population find their reassurance through the satisfaction of proportion — type demands. Another justification for my separatism definition emerges as soon as we move from static to dynamic models, towards an explanation of the way ethnic movements move. For in this respect there is no clear difference between territorial and proportional separatism: the graphs of both tend to show a pattern of waves. This ebb and flow (of my title) has in fact a double aspect. Partly it appears that ethnic movements rise and fall, to some extent in broadly similar periods. And, as

EBB AND FLOW IN THE POLITICS OF SEPARATISM

these were struggles, as were the unification of Germany and Italy; only Norway's secession from Sweden to regain her independent status after 350 years was done by peaceful consent. Even the end of the nineteenth century saw no end to the territorial instability of the states of Europe.

The second point follows from the first; if the decay of empires—Ottoman, Spanish, Hapsburg—has often been the seed-bed for secession, does decolonisation since World War II account for the upsurge of the separatisms of our own day? There is not a simple answer. Obviously there is a sense in which most of the new states of the Third World were separatist outcomes of decolonisation: a weakened imperial centre confronted awakened identities, heightened aspirations and demands for independent statehood made in the name of new-wrought nationalisms. Even in this process there were often complications in the form of separatisms within separatism. Ireland, the first of the British decolonisations, produced separate Northern Ireland in the process, a problem unresolved after six decades and escalating into terror and blood for the last 15 years. Palestine too failed to emerge as one whole; this septic sore at the centre of the Middle East has proved so infectious that the delicately structured state of Lebanon faces disintegration or survival as a docile client of others. In South Asia a legacy from earlier imperial courtship of a 'counterpoise' minority Muslims, whose elite was aggrieved and whose masses were made fearful, combined with persistent shortsightedness on the part of the majority leaders, produced a fractured decolonisation and a bifurcated Pakistan. Each of these cases is different, as is also the contribution of French decolonisation to the partition of Viet-Nam with American assistance (also evident in the more lasting split of Korea). Even when fractured decolonisation was avoided, it was sometimes threatened. In Nigeria the East and West first sought early independence ahead of the North and then the West came close to asking for its separation from East and North. The Baganda and other divisions in Uganda, the Turks in the Cyprus of Makarios, the separate prongs of African resistance in the achievement of Zimbabwe were none of them wholly integrated, only

papered over for the lowering of the imperial flag, only to crack or break again at later dates.

So, the decolonisation process was, both in itself and in its sometimes fractured forms, a great begetter of separatisms. And, as just suggested, some of the colonial period internal divisions widened dangerously after independence. Nigeria's Biafran war was but one of the more dramatic examples. Force was used to decide that issue but it was the complete re-drawing of internal boundaries which perhaps put the matter completely to rest. Sudan's North-South divide has proved more intractable, reflecting as it does racial, religious and linguistic differences; even the 1972 regional autonomy agreement, which promised well, has not yet firmly prevailed. But there is a limit to which separatist problems can be adequately attributed to the decolonisation process or even, more generally, to the legacy of imperial divisions and the so-called 'artificial' boundaries bequeathed to successor states. At some point the analysis of the rise of separatist problems in new states has to focus instead on other factors including failures in conflict-management on the part of the new governments. One has to consider in this context the successful secession case of Bangladesh breaking away from the Pakistan which itself was a secessionist state. One might be tempted with retrospective wisdom to talk of the absurdity of a state with a thousand mile hole in its middle, but it would be more useful to recall that the original Lahore Pakistan resolution spoke not of one state but of states in the plural and also that many Bengalis, Hindu and Muslim, were warmly entertaining the idea of a United Bengal, well into 1947, until Nehru firmly killed that dream. In their euphoria at one liberation the Bengali Muslims swallowed the trickery over the plural states but it was blind madness on the part of the dying Jinnah to add to that injury the insult of Urdu as the sole national language. The persistent disrespect and insensitivity shown by West Pakistan adequately account both for the autonomy demands and their provocative rejection. From then a war was on and the point of no return was reached; the Indian intervention served to cut short the agony and stop the flow of blood.

Staying still within South Asia, it has to be said that even the new residual Pakistan is not without its separatist movements: Punjabi hegemony is hard to bear in Sind, Baluchistan and Frontier and autonomy demands are met, scarcely by accommodation, only by repression, either general in the shape of military rule or in the specific areas by punitive use of force. The lesson that such sores on the body politic, if not attended to, seldom clear of their own accord but only grow virulently septic, seems to be learnt with the utmost difficulty. Even India, with a more accommodating political system and with no clearly demarcated hegemonic ethnic group, has had experience of not less than four separatist movements, in Kashmir and Nagaland and for Dravidian and, most recently, Khalistan. Dravidian, at one time strident and fiery, was defused not only by its own failure to secure support from other southern areas but also by timely reassurances on the language issue and access to power in Tamilnadu. Nagaland is also a success story of accommodation, though some irreconcilables remain with the aid of frontier refuge. The other two cases are slightly different kinds of relative failure, partly no doubt because of their positions adjacent to Pakistan, Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state, has still to be firmly appeased, largely because its yearnings for autonomy beyond its special constitutional status have too readily been misinterpreted as pro-Pakistani—with the predictable consequence that the lie becomes a little more true that it would otherwise have been. As for Khalistan, it is a blatant case of a separatism that need never have come into existence; only crass political mismanagement, derived from the wilful deviousness on the part of a ruling party unwilling to engage in any sharing of power, can account for its rapid escalation to threatening proportions during 1983-84.

After this brief mention of a number of separatisms in some of the post-colonial states of the Third World, it may be clear that the postimperial factor is not a sufficient explanation of separatism phenomena even in those states, though it may carry responsibility for setting parts of the scene. But if one looks for a moment outside the Third World this factor is revealed not simply as not sufficient but even as not necessary. For the spread of separatisms since World

War II is almost as marked in old as in new states. The variety of situations capable of producing separatisms is astonishing. Consider a selection. In the politically quite tranquil country of Canada the 1960s witnessed the rapid rise of a vigorous movement among the French-speaking Catholic majority in the province of Quebec. They had become conscious not merely of their distinctive identity but also of what they called their position of 'permanent inequality' with the English-speaking bulk of Canada. They could see no solution short of independence or, more precisely, sovereignty which would simultaneously be accompanied by free association with Canada. De Gaulle's rhetoric about a 'free Quebec' gave encouragement certainly, but none was really needed. Yet by now, twenty years later the flow has ebbed, the movement has subsided—partly because of too many shades of multiple loyalties among the Quebecois, but partly too because the federal government under a French-Canadian Trudeau espoused multi-culturalism and in other ways also met many of the demands. Quite unreconciled are the militants among the Basques in the north of Spain. Cruelly treated under the long regime of General Franco, an autonomy movement among the Basques soon emerged with his death. Some concessions were made towards regional autonomy (also sought by the Catalans) and some elements were satisfied. But the new democratic regime, perhaps still somewhat unsure of itself after such a long period of authoritarian rule, has not yet been able to silence the militants. Terrorism continues, week in and week out—for the reason that the militants cannot be without the respect and even the support of many. Italy's too had two decades of authoritarian rule up to the death of Mussolini and Italy's several regions are no less distinctive than those of Spain. Its separatist movements have tended to be confined to geographically peripheral areas, but several years ago the government not only dealt with these early through specific concessions but then launched a bold programme of regionalisation throughout the country. Elected regional governments enjoy substantial powers, function on the whole very well—and separatism is virtually silent. France is of course one of the most centralised states. Yet certain regions are markedly distinct and there are separatist movements in Brittany, Corsica and Occitan. They are not yet powerful but one has to emphasise that 'yet' because they have received no concessions and they have grown. Nor should it be thought that communist regimes are without their problems. Yugoslavia marked its distance from the Soviet Union in

(Continued on page 7)

GOOD OLD 'DIVIDE AND RULE'

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Sri Lanka Government says it is impossible to link the Eastern province with the Northern province because there are Muslims in the Eastern province.

Muslims live all over the Island. There is a large presence in Galle and I have heard Galle called a Muslim Town. Nobody has suggested that therefore the Southern province is not a Sinhalese area. There are also Muslims in many parts of the South. Beruwela has a strong Muslim presence. All these remain Sinhalese areas.

The Muslims are an ethnic minority, not a national minority like the Tamils. This does not mean that ethnic minorities do not have their special rights and privileges. Any sagacious majority community will see that the ethnic minority living with them is properly looked after and their special needs provided. If there are sufficient children to justify their own school one will be provided to enable them to develop their culture and religion and their way of life. No discrimination against them will be allowed in education and employment, both in the public and private sector.

These things will be done not only in the interests of the ethnic minority but much more so in the interests of the majority community amongst whom they live. Because the development of the majority community depends on the co-operation of all ethnic groups and the prosperity of one will lead to the prosperity of the other.

It cannot be disputed that the Tamils have occupied the North and East of Sri Lanka for centuries. They are a separate race with a different language, religion and culture. To recognise this is not to divide the country. In a united Sri Lanka they can be permitted to look after their own internal affairs. If this can be done only through a federal form of government it is no super human task to amend the constitution of Sri Lanka; it has been changed often enough. But the Tamils will be satisfied with devolution of power in an autonomous region embracing North and East, within a unitary form of government.

An interesting development is the recent move by the Muslims living in the Eastern province to unite with the Tamils in their demand to link the North and East.

To separate the North from the East is to practise the good old device coming from the times of the Roman Emperors — divide et impera (divide and rule).

Dr. R.W.C Thambiah

Nallur

LAW OF PERCENTAGES

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Many of us, years ago, at school, studied about various (scientific) laws, such as Boyle's law, Dalton's law, etc. We never even heard of the "Law of Percentages". For those interested I may briefly state it as follows: "If we want a united Sri Lanka and we are all therefore Sri Lankans and hence enjoy equal rights (as individuals, groups or communities), then Religion, Language, Admissions, Employment, Etc., should be doled out, according to the percentage of each individual, group or community". The Corollary: "Merit, Hard work, Honesty etc. should be Ignored". To explain: If Group A forms 75%, B, 12% and C, 3%, members of B and C, should eat, clothe, get admitted or employed, only 12% and 3% respectively. Addendum: If Group B and C can mind their business separately (without enmity to Group A) and eat, clothe etc. 100%, it cannot be allowed — for that is the way to treat all equal!

N. P.

Jaffna

and its ancient history. But in this 'computer age' when science is rapidly advancing, the study of a foreign language is a 'sine qua non' for development. And what is the language best suited to Sri Lanka other than English?

Learning to speak English is very important in the study of the language. All four skills i.e. reading, writing, speaking and listening should be developed with equal care. For this reason use of English in conversation should be encouraged. To drive home to the students the need to speak English the Government has included in the new English text for grade 6 a poem entitled, 'Practise, Practise, Practise.' Some of its lines run as follows:

Yell English in the dentist's chair,
Practise while you wash your hair,
Teach your uncle — if you dare,
You can practise anywhere,

Let us therefore learn from history and not let ourselves be carried away by more emotions. Due place could be ensured for Tamil in the administration of the districts. But to neglect English will be disastrous, particularly to the minorities.

M. Thambipillai

Alvai

LETTERS

LEARNING FROM HISTORY

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

There seems to be a feeling among some in the North that the Tamil language will be the only language of importance in the North and East and therefore one need not pay much attention to the study of English.

It may be recalled that similar attitude prevailed among the Sinhala masses too when the Sinhala language was introduced as the only state language in 1956 following promises made on election platforms to make Sinhala the only official language within 24 hours.

Before long people realised the importance of English to a small country like ours. There is now much enthusiasm to learn this language. One could find English tutorials in every nook and corner of country.

Tamils may be rightly proud of their language, its rich literature

ON PAR, PLEASE

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Department of Education recently announced that Graduates in Science who are teaching the Science Subjects in the Advanced Level Classes will be placed on the scale offered to Graduates who have got Honours in the General or Special, irrespective of the University where they obtained the Degree Certificates.

Those teachers teaching in the A. L. Classes subjects like History, Tamil after having obtained a Bachelor of Arts (General) Degree are denied the salary and benefits a Science Graduate is to enjoy.

A cultural education, apart from a Scientific education though this is an age of Science, is a must to form a society that will tend towards perfection.

I, appeal to the Minister of Education to take the necessary steps to

place the Arts Graduates on par with the Science Graduates.
Pt. Pedro R. Rudra

PROBE NEEDED

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I think the Minister of Finance must be congratulated that he thinks it fit to have a Presidential Inquiry into the former Minister of Industries work. But that is not enough. There are many more who should be inquired into in the Cabinet. It is already too late for this.

For instance take the Ministry which is in charge of one of the biggest agricultural projects in the country. It has the biggest fleet of vehicles publicly owned. But staff officers cannot go about on routine work in Colombo because the Transport Officer will say, there are no vehicles. Why? The Minister concerned would hand them over to District Ministers, to lackeys who go about their private business. Yala, Katagarama, and so are their routine private trips. Then one corporation head will have two vehicles for himself, a new Peugeot car and a brand new 6 seater vehicle for the field.

The lowliest clerks in the administration are picking themselves from home and back, as far as Moratuwa. No other Ministry or Corporation has these privileges.

One CAS officer will bring in another friend who soon starts to use his vehicle for private trips, instead of posting his electricity bills with a 60 ct stamp he will send the official car. This is an unpardonable waste of public funds.

The project in the meantime is going to waste. Corruption is rife. But only the corrupt, largely unqualified officers are rewarded with trips abroad, and promotions. If a man is sent to represent an organisation at a seminar he should be of a calibre, which the organisation should be proud to send abroad. Not so here; only corrupt lackeys earn such recognition. I think it is high time that the Minister of Finance has the courage to call for an inquiry into all the corporations and organisations in this Ministry.

H. W. Senathirajah

Panadura

On Par With Grads

Teachers who hold a Diploma Certificate in Music or Dance of the University of Jaffna, will be placed on the graduate teachers scale, according to a press release issued by Mr. T. Mahasivam, General Secretary of the Ceylon Tamil Teachers Union.

The press release also states that the Ministry of Education has agreed to place teachers who have the Diploma in Commerce Certificate of the Polytechnics on the graduate teachers scale.

According to an internationally-famed psychiatrist, the diversity of human behaviour in the fields of health and disease results from the individual's unique organisation of personality traits which in turn determines his behaviour. This diversity of human behaviour provides for medical men one of the most interesting aspects of their work.

In medical parlance, personality consists of a sum-total of interactions between many different traits of the individual. And certain traits are so prominent or pronounced that they exert a major influence on his thinking, feeling and behaviour. A paranoid patient poses a problem not only to clinical practice but very often to society itself.

It is time, however, that we in Sri Lanka took note of the fact that a new type of paranoid patient is fast emerging. I mean the political paranoid. And if no proper controls are exercised, the number of people that may be afflicted by this malady might soon reach epidemic proportions, especially in a small country like Sri Lanka which is being threatened with a crisis of a teeming population.

The symptoms of political paranoia are basically the same as that of ordinary paranoia, though the two symptoms manifest themselves in varying degrees. A paranoid patient is unsure of himself and his mood is one of tension and anxiety. In the political paranoid, there is suppressed tension and anxiety and also a limitless degree of exuberance and garrulity.

POLITICAL PARANOIA

Although a paranoid patient has little cherished hopes, aspirations or ambitions, the political paranoid has an unhealthy and sometimes an uncontrollable excess of it. It is a pathological tendency for a paranoid patient to keep aloof or remain in seclusion. Potentates afflicted by political paranoia keep not aloof but aloft and drift in the dizziness of the clouds without as much as a look at the things below them.

"Ego-centrism" is a trait common to both the ordinary paranoid and the political paranoid. While the ordinary paranoid is ego-centric in that he holds the conviction that the universe centres in him, the pol-

grunted revolutionary. But in the political paranoid the attainment of a cherished goal makes the paranoia more dominant and destructive. Hitler of former Germany is an example.

If an ordinary paranoid projects his personality sometimes, the political paranoid projects his personality at all times. Although many paranoid patients come within the ambit of medical practice, there are several who remain outside it. The political paranoid, of course, is clearly outside the ambit of any kind of medical practice, and that is more a misfortune to the people than to his own self.

Then of course both the ordinary paranoid and the political para-

amount of criticism will have any effect as his hide is impenetrably thick and therefore insensitive to any kind of feeling.

A paranoid not infrequently carries himself to the top of the world in flights of his own imagination. A political paranoid carries himself to the top of the world on the wings of his voters after which he starts to "look in the clouds scorning the base degrees by which he did ascend." No amount of persuasion thereafter can bring him back to earth.

And lastly, a paranoid sometimes is co-operative. But the political paranoid seldom or never is. He is supreme and infallible. His actions are always right and beyond questioning. His word is often law. If he changes his political colours like a chameleon, we have only to admire his feat. If he decides that a free press is bad for a democracy, it is the unassailable truth; or if he decides that a little bit of totalitarianism is good for democracy or even a dictatorship is better than democracy, we dare not challenge him.

We have certainly had quite a number of political paranoids almost from the time that Sri Lanka obtained Independence, and thankfully they had been effectively treated at successive elections.

I believe there is in Sri Lanka a Mental Health Act which obviously was introduced to look after the health of paranoid patients. There is certainly a way of treating the ordinary paranoid. But there is certainly no way of treating the political paranoid. He can only be treated at the elections that follow.

by Augustine Saverimuttu

itical paranoid holds the same conviction but to a lesser or humbler degree in that the country (and not the universe, thankfully) centres in him.

The ordinary paranoid patient has no beliefs or ideas. The political paranoid professes beliefs which he never practises, while his ideas are inscrutable and far-fetched. Needless to say that many of the ideas of the political paranoid ultimately end in defeat and disillusionment.

The ordinary paranoid, even when a goal has been attained, remains a disenchanted and dis-

noiac have their delusions. In the political paranoid they may thankfully disappear at the next elections. In the ordinary paranoid they may persist. Again the ordinary paranoid usually changes medical practitioners. But the political paranoid only changes political parties when it suits him and that with the facility of a coquette who will flirt with half a dozen lovers in succession.

A paranoid patient is hypersensitive and often displays a hostile reaction to questioning. In the political paranoid any questioning is treated with contemptuous disregard and persistence might lead to dangerous consequences. No

REALITIES AND DREAMS...

(Continued from page 5)

many ways but these included constitutional recognition of its different nationalities and some genuine, more-than-formal attention to their claims. The single party is of course a disciplined and crucial integrative force but it is wise enough to take note of, for example, periodic Croat restiveness.

You will not expect me to be totally silent about Britain, least of all about Wales. Northern Ireland is of course the major, and seemingly intractable problem. When in 1921 Britain bowed to the ferocious intransigence of the Northern Protestants and allowed them to escape incorporation into a united Catholic Ireland, one strand of Irish nationalism could not accept this as final. Yet a 'settled fact' Northern Ireland became: a part of the UK with its Protestant majority ruling

over a permanent and mainly subdued Catholic minority - until the 1960s when the Catholics found leaders who stood up in a civil rights movement for a change towards a fairer share of power. The frustration of that movement led at once to wide-spread terrorist activity which continues and occasionally extends into England. Violence has become a way of life and a negotiated settlement proves elusive not only because of intense mutual distrust between the two communities but also because two governments, in London and Dublin, are involved. Welsh and Scottish nationalism are currently much less pressing matters. They were feeble young plants in the 1920s, though there had been earlier talk of 'home rule' autonomy alongside the main issues of Irish nationalism. But both witnessed an upsurge in the 1960s and the British Government eventually offered a modest devolution of

powers to Scottish and Welsh Parliaments - subject to a strong favourable vote in referenda held in the two countries. Internal divisions and hesitations caused such a vote not to emerge; Whitehall and Westminster were content and the nationalisms retreated with minor concessions into wounded silence, for the time being.

Oakeshott in his famous Inaugural Lecture said; 'The sin of the academic is that he takes so long to come to the point. But at least what he has to offer is not unripe fruit and to pick it is but the work of a moment'. What then can explain this wide range of ethnic assertions which have made separatisms such a major problem of the post - '45 world? Can we be (as historians are!) content with a host of individual explanations for individual cases? What general theories are on offer? We may be tempted to look

in the direction of theories of nationalism, but I am doubtful if there is much help from that quarter. Two outstandingly ingenious contributions have issued from the LSE in recent years. Professor Kedourie would seem to have us believe that the world is stricken by a poison of nationalism which escaped from a laboratory in Germany where philosophical alchemists had accidentally concocted a portion called self-determination. Professor Gellner does not accept this approach and finds instead that nationalism is essentially a feature of the transition from agrarian to industrial society, arising from the latter's 'structural requirements' of state-wide, uniform, standardised monoculture and educational system. Neither theory directly addresses our question but the latter may contain useful pointers.

(To be continued)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

FIND BRUTUS

This was the demand made by the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW at the funeral of Tamil United Liberation Front stalwart Mr. V. Dharmalingam, ex-MP for Manipay, at Kothiyalady on 5th September.

Paying a tribute to a politician he had known closely for 25 years, the Editor said it was very easy to kill and destroy but so difficult to build and develop.

He said, "Dharmalingam, my friend, was a decent human being. He didn't deserve this tragic ending."

Condemning whoever was responsible, he said that this action had done immense harm to the national liberation struggle of the Tamil people.

"The crucial question is: Are there enemies within the movement itself?"

He said, "The only way the militant groups can redeem themselves in the eyes of the world — because the news of the killings of Mr. Dharmalingam and his colleague, Mr. A. M. Alalasunderam, ex-MP for Kopay has spread far and wide — is by ensuring that those responsible are brought to book".

The Editor's challenge: "FIND BRUTUS....."

Mr. Dharmalingam and Mr. Alalasunderam had been abducted from their houses on the night of 3rd September by an armed gang and shot dead.

The brutal manner in which their lives were snuffed out has raised widespread indignation in the North.

There were large crowds at the funerals of both politicians.

Mr. Alalasunderam was cremated at Chemmany.

All the main Tamil militant groups have denied having anything to do with the killings.

The Jaffna University Students' Assembly has voiced its strong protest at what happened and asked for the "reason" for it.

The Tamil Eelam Students' Organisation has issued a statement demanding that those responsible for the killings should "own up".

A hartal was observed in Jaffna on 5th September as a token protest at the killings.

Mr. Dharmalingam's son Sitharthan, was one of the PLOTE spokesmen at Thimpu.

Mothers March Again

The Mothers' Front will today stage a protest march starting from the Central Bus Stand, Jaffna, and ending up at the Jaffna University Campus, where the marchers will join in the sympathy fast by undergraduates and others in support of the political detenus on a death fast in Welikade.

Here is the text of an appeal issued by the Joint Secretaries of the Mothers' Front:

In recent months, many hundreds of innocent youths have been arrested and taken into prisons and army camps as "terrorists" without any charges brought against them. Among those who were taken in are women and children as well. Since the beginning of last year, the arresting of innocent civilians by the army as 'terrorists' has been on the increase.

Many of those who were taken in have been in the prison for over 18 months, brutally tortured

without any reason and have not been afforded the basic facilities of prisoners in custody. Even the inhuman "Prevention of Terrorism Act" demands that they should not be detained without trial for over 18 months. All those who are concerned about justice and human rights should condemn the detention without trial of more than a thousand innocent civilians.

We appeal to all of you to support our just demands:

★ Release all information about the persons held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. ★ Stop all forms of torture on them. ★ Give them the basic facilities and treat them as political prisoners. ★ Release information about the condition of the youths who are on hunger strike at Welikade Jail. ★ All innocent persons should be released unconditionally without any further delay.

Protests Accelerate

Protest fasts in sympathy with the Tamil political detenus on a death fast in Welikade for the last one month have begun to snowball throughout Jaffna. (See SR, 31st August)

While the sympathy fast of the Jaffna University undergraduates is almost a fortnight old now, hundreds of people, including women and children, staged fasts and demonstrations all over Jaffna throughout the week to express their solidarity with the death fasters at Welikade Jail.

Daily there were protest demonstrations. Hundreds of students walked out of their schools to join these protest marchers. On Wednesday (4th September) there was a hartal

throughout Jaffna. The Tamil Eelam Students' Organization (TESO) organised a silent protest demonstration that day.

Sympathy fasts are going on in almost every village. In the Jaffna town area there are fasts at Colombogam, the Kachcheri area and other places. Yesterday there was a sympathy fast at Valvettiturai, Point Pedro and Uduppiddy.

Sympathy fasts and protest demonstrations will continue till the main demand of the fasting detenus at Welikade is met. They have demanded that they be either released or brought to trial immediately.

UNDERGRADS' APPEAL

The Students Assembly of the University of Jaffna has sent the following appeal on behalf of Tamil political prisoners in Sri Lankan jails to foreign missions in Sri Lanka, organisations in the South and human rights organisations abroad:

In the past few days, you would have read or heard about some more tragic developments connected with Sri Lanka's burning ethnic problem.

The latest are the killings of six political prisoners at the Tangalle jail (reminiscent of the massacre at Welikade Jail in July 1983), the fast unto death by Tamil political detenus, namely, Sellathurai Ganesharatnam, an undergraduate of the Peradeniya University; Karunakaran alias Vadivel of Vavuniya; Don Cyril Anthony; Poopalapillai Yogendrarajah and Manoharan alias Pirapu, at Welikade Jail, Colombo, from 8th August, 1985 as a protest against their continued detention without trial.

The students of the Jaffna Uni-

versity began a relay hunger strike today in support of the demands of the Welikade Jail protesters, among whom are several undergraduates of the Jaffna University and the Peradeniya University.

We appeal to you to convey to Your Government the great sense of injustice that the Tamil people of Sri Lanka feel because of the ill-judged and discriminatory policies of the Sri Lankan Government and its ill-treatment and torture of Tamil political detenus.

We urge you and all Human Rights Organizations in your country to bring moral pressure to bear on the Sri Lanka Government to release Tamil detenus who have been in custody for more than 18 months without being brought to trial contrary to even the draconian provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Students' Assembly

University of Jaffna,
Jaffna, Sri Lanka
27-08-1985

Norwegian Tamils Federate

Expatriate Tamils in Norway who have organised themselves on a county basis, have now formed an apex organisation to coordinate and consolidate their activities.

The apex organisation is called Federation of Tamils in Norway and its main aim is to publicise the plight of the Tamils and the events taking place in Sri Lanka.

The Federation comprises the following: Far North Norway (in the arctics), Mid Norway, West Norway, Rogaland, Far South Norway and

East Norway. Bergen (in West Norway) functions as the Head Office.

The Federation is keen to contact expatriate Lankan Tamils living all over the world to form an international umbrella organisation for purposes of coordination. Already some organisations have been contacted.

Interested organisations and individuals should contact Mr. K. Mylvaganam, Coordinator, Federation of Tamils in Norway, Vestre Sikthauger 7, 5033 Fyllingsdalen, Norway.

Printed and published by New Era Publications Ltd., 118, Fourth Cross Street, Jaffna, on 7th September, 1985. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka, under Q J 101.