

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 34

9th November 1985

KLEEN KHUT

FOR

1. LADIES & CHILDREN'S DRESS MAKERS,
2. PHOTO COPY & RONEO SERVICES,
3. TYPING WORK.

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..SOS...SOS...SOS...SOS...SOS...SOS...SOS..

..REFUGEES...REFUGEES..

Help, please. Help immediately.

This is our fervent appeal to all the foreign diplomatic missions.

Please move your Governments to provide aid in cash and kind to the thousands and thousands of people of all communities who have been displaced from their home and hearth because of the continuing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The magnitude of the problem can be gauged from the fact — an official fact (the Jaffna Kachcheri provided us the statistics) — that nearly 20,000 refugees from Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts arrived in Jaffna District in September and October alone. (Please see table.) Add this number to the countless numbers of people reduced to the status of refugees since the July 1983 Holocaust.

There is a gigantic problem of rehabilitation on Sri Lanka's hands, a problem which appears to have not been realised fully as yet by President Jayewardene's Government, a problem which has not been highlighted sufficiently so far by any of the Colombo-based newspapers.

As journalists, we are ashamed of the latter fact. The Colombo-based media have failed the people of Sri Lanka yet again.

We at the SATURDAY REVIEW have been trying our best to help the hapless people.

The Refugee Relief Fund launched by us has netted about Rs. 400,000 so far.

But this is a drop—a tear-drop—in the ocean compared to the immensity of the problem.

How much is needed to provide food alone to over 100,000 refugees at the bare subsistence level of Rs. 10 a day?

It is a mind-boggling situation.

The Government can spare Rs. 835 million for additional defence expenditure this year.

But it has little money for refugee and rehabilitation work.

The Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. V. M. Panchalingam confessed at the conference held at the Kachcheri on 8th October to discuss this problem that there was not enough money to look after the needs of the refugees.

He stated (according to the minutes of the meeting) that "the refugee problem had grown to such magnitude that it had become

necessary to seek the helping hand of the non-governmental agencies in order to look after the welfare of those displaced persons effectively. What was made available by way of aid by the Government was hardly adequate to meet the basic needs of the refugees."

But how much can the voluntary agencies do in the face of the vast numbers who have to be fed, clothed and housed? Almost all the affected people left their houses with only the clothes they were wearing.

They have to get into their birthday suits to have a "change of clothing"—tattered shirts, banians

sarongs and undies washed and hung to dry while they sit in their corners pondering their cruel fate.

The women need even basic things like sanitary pads. But how many women in the South care, even though large numbers of Sinhalese women have also been affected? (The numbers of Sinhalese refugees in Trincomalee district alone, according to a report by the Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, is 11,457).

Please help, we again appeal to foreign Governments, through their diplomatic missions in Colombo, to come to the succour of all the helpless people—of all the communities—who have been caught up in a vicious grip.

(See also Page 8)

REFUGEES FROM VAVUNIYA AND TRINCOMALEE DISTRICTS IN JAFFNA DISTRICT (AS AT 20TH OCTOBER 1985)

	Location	Number of Families	Number of Members
1.	Camps in Jaffna A.G.A's Division.	363	1,947
2.	" " Nallur " "	353	1,530
3.	" " Pt. Pedro " "	1,145	3,979
4.	" " Karaveddy " "	407	1,529
5.	" " Tellipalai " "	169	739
6.	" " Kopay " "	358	1,472
7.	" " Uduvil " "	206	932
8.	" " Chavakachcheri " "	254	1,101
9.	" " Chankanai " "	186	998
10.	" " Sandilipay " "	276	1,373
11.	" " Velanai " "	491	1,964
12.	" " Delft " "	25	104
13.	" " Kayts " "	301	1,323
		4,534	18,991

Deepavali is here. We appeal to the Security Forces to let the people observe this traditional Festival without any hindrance.

Saturday Review

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Nedumaran Speaks Out

"Tamil Nadu will oppose any decision taken against the consent of the Liberation fighters. If the situation worsens Tamil Nadu is sure to cross the sea! The Sacrifice March postponed earlier will continue" states Nedumaran, leader of the Kamaraj Congress in Tamil Nadu, in a press release.

Here's the text of his statement:

"Acknowledging JR's invitation, I came here on a fact-finding mission. I have stayed here for 20 days and have gone to all regions where Tamils live.

"I have seen with my own eyes the pathetic conditions in which our people live. I have witnessed personally the atrocities of the Sri Lankan Army in the border regions, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi. I have seen Tamils living in terror, waiting death at any moment! I have seen overcrowded refugee camps! Here I have heard gun-fire every now and then. Even in the refugee camps people feel they are not safe and our brethren are practically starving without food supplies. I heard from them their tragic stories of how they lost the members of their families, their property and their homes. I have seen the horror of death hanging over these poor souls.

"Tamil-speaking people are murdered, tortured brutally and chased out of their homeland and birth-places and Sinhala thugs are brought in to colonize these areas. The Tamil regions face the danger of losing their identity as the areas are systematically being colonised and turned into a Sinhala area. Almost all the areas where Tamil-speaking people lived are seen deserted.

"I could notice the complete breakdown of civil administration in the Tamil regions. There is no link at all between the Tamils and the Government except the atrocities of the armed forces. All industries have collapsed. The education of our own blood relatives has been damaged. There seems to be a well-planned attack on the economy of the Tamils. They are virtually facing starvation.

"All these have compelled the Tamils to the conclusion that no other solution except a free Tamil Eelam is the only remedy for all their ills. The contradiction between the two nationalities are so aggravated that there can be no compromise at all except Tamil Eelam.

"The JR administration has made a laughing stock of the ceasefire. The war against the innocent Tamil-speaking people is continuing.

"There is no guarantee for people's surgery even at refugee camps. The Army goes to these refugee camps, arrest people, kill them and label them as

'terrorists.' A large number of innocent people have been killed during the said ceasefire than during the confrontation. This is
(Continued on page 7)

NOT THE NEWS

UNCOMPANIONABLE

Knowledgeable sources say that the leader of the Sri Lankan team which negotiated with Tamil terrorists at Thimpu is to appear in the dock beside Fr. Singarayar, charged likewise with 'withholding information' under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The leader of the team has however said that he phoned the Sri Lankan Police from Thimpu not suprisingly they first wanted him to come to Colombo and make an entry. Fr. Singarayar commenting on his prospective cell-mate has said that he will make boring Company as his chief talent, for which he was sent to Thimpu, was the propensity to play the same record again and again.

SILENT GUNS

Mr. Nedumaran, M.P. has complained to the Sri Lankan authorities after his recent visit to Ceylon. He said he had been told that he would receive a tumultuous twenty-one gun salute from the Navy upon entering Ceylon's territorial waters. In this he was disappointed. He considers himself to have been insulted considering that his station entitled him to such an honour.

CUSTER AWARD

The head of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces is to leave for the West Point Military Academy in the USA to receive the General George A. Custer Award for 1985 for his forces' brilliant three pronged attack on the refugee camps at Nilaweli and for other spectacular attacks such as against the civilian populations at Vavuniya and Chettikulam. Last year's recipient of this prize was General Ariel Sharon of Israel who is considered responsible for the massacres at the Palestinian refugee camps at Sapra and Shatilla.

Custer graduated last in his 1861 West Point class and was an instrument in Washington's genocidal policy against Red Indians. Custers Superior, General Sherman, put, it in these terms: "We must act with Vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination, men, women and children. Nothingless will reach the root of the case". Custer became a hero after his idiotic last stand at Little Bighorn in 1876.

NEW SECURITY MINISTRY

In keeping with its policy of proliferating Security Ministries,

the government of Sri Lanka has decided to establish a Ministry of Trans-mortal Security. Letters have been sent to all religious leaders in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu, beseeching them to apply. For, it is believed that several members of the cabinet are concerned about Security in the life to come. Subject to IMF approval, the successful applicant is promised all the Security in this life. Flash: Mr. Mathew has offered to rejoin the cabinet if he will be made Minister for Financial Security.

ONE — UPMANSHIP?

Heads of State instinctively feel they are omniscient. American President Cowboy Reagan is no exception. AFP reports him as having cast doubt in a radio interview that the word 'freedom' existed in Russian. The report says: "Mr. Reagan contrasting the difference between the U.S. and Soviet systems had told his BBC interviewer 'I am no linguist but I've been told that in the Russian language there isn't even a word for freedom.'"

Perhaps Reagan was consciously trying to out-Stalin Stalin. Uncle Joe once had to intervene against a by-now forgotten linguist called Marr who held that language is a super-structural element. Controversy raged for a while till Stalin issued his Papal Bull: language belongs to the base, not the superstructure (a view which is virtually a commonplace now).

Reagan's bull prompted Russian speakers to point out later that indeed there was a word for 'freedom' in Russian: Svoboda.

The moral? A cow-puncher (even if he happens to be the President of the mightiest country in the world) should stick to his lasso.

GREAT MINDS AGREE

President Marcos ("U.S. Senator Paul Laxalt visited the Philippines last month partly to see if I'm a doddering old man who can barely issue orders") and our own President are, by all accounts, two of the brightest stars in the democratic firmament. And, like all great minds, they agree on two things: both are very confident that they can wipe out the 'terrorist' movements in their respective countries within one year. And both Presidents think the 'terrorists' are red devils.

A wag quips: Famous last words.

CONVERSATIONS — 2

Mr. K. Nesiah talks to Rajan

'CONFRONTATION WITH MEN OF CHARACTER IMPORTANT IN DEVELOPMENT'

(Continued from last issue)

In those days even the English lecturers used to sit crosslegged on the floor with us and have vegetarian meals off plantain leaves. The Warden used to conduct prayers in the evenings and his Christian prayers would be taken by the senior hosteller Ganeshan, a Hindu Brahmin. Rev. Williams used to take the English literature classes which I much enjoyed. One day I disagreed with something he said about Walter Scott. I got myself excused, went to the library and brought the reference which he had previously read. He read it out to the class and commended me in a very sporting spirit. You know, confrontation with men of strength and character is important in our development. Ceylon was helped by its contact with a civilisation on the march—we were helped to be ourselves."

"On the St. John's staff my association with the principal Henry Peto was a happy one. There were two other vegetarians besides me Kadavul Subramaniam and later my nephew Rajasekaram on the staff. Mrs. Peto used to serve us a special eggless fruitcake for staff meetings while the others had only plain butter cake. When Mr. Peto found that I was doing a good deal of work outside, like in the co-operative movement, he told me that I can use the services of the school typist Mr. Manuvelpillai, provided it was after office hours. My friends, the late Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam, orator Submaniam and Bishop Kulendran had come together in the mid-twenties and were in the Youth Congress. In the wake of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya's visit in 1931 we launched our famous Boycott resolution against the Donoughmore Constitution on the grounds that it did not offer us poorna swaraj. I was on the safe side because Mr. Peto had told me, 'I stand by every word you said. If my country can be independent, why not yours? I may mention in connection with Mr. Peto's character, and graciousness that he once gave a boy two cuts with the cane. The boy was upset and told me that he wanted to leave the boarding. When I mentioned this to Rev. Peto, he told me that he had heard the boy use the word bugger which is a vulgar word in England and that he wanted to convey to the boy that he would not like boys going through his school to use such a word. In view of the boy being hurt, he then called the boy and explained this to him. And the boy became reconciled."

Mr. Peto died in a swimming accident off Thondaimanaru while

trying to save another lady in 1940. The other lady escaped. I recall saying in a speech of appreciation, 'His grave which is in our midst shall forever be a bit of England, reminding us of this Englishman with character.' We in Jaffna were privileged in our contact with Englishmen of such calibre in those days."

"Mr. Chelvanayakam was undoubtedly the great Tamil leader. Ponnampalam Arunachalam had thought in terms of the Ceylon's self-government within the Empire and of the culture of the Ceylonese. Ananda Coomaraswamy wrote about the rightful place of the mother tongue in 1906 when even Ananda College did not teach Sinhalese. Arunachalam too wrote in a similar vein. No doubt Chelvanayakam was nowhere near Arunachalam as a scholar. Arunachalam later in his career thought in terms of some communal representation for the Tamils. But it was Chelva who first thought in terms of Autonomy, National Consciousness and the territorial integrity of the Tamil Nation."

"By the way, the government for its purposes tries to pass off the Muslims of this country as people of Arab origin. It was Swami Vipulananda who told me that 95% of the Muslims in the Eastern Province are of South Indian Tamil origin. I knew the first secretary to the Pakistan Embassy in the early days of independence. He told me that the majority of Muslims in India are of Hindu origin. He had traced the lineage of several families including his own. Jinnah he told me was of Brahmin origin."

He then looked out into his front garden nostalgically, "you know when we were married we did trips to all sorts of places, not quite a honeymoon as people call it these days. We then went to Batticaloa and I could not miss visiting Swami Vipulananda who was in charge of the Ramakrishna Mission School a few miles outside. I had known him well in Jaffna. One thing I remember distinctly is how he eagerly took us into the kitchen and showed us the fireplace he had designed and constructed to conserve heat. He was a first-class science graduate, you know."

His wife Pushpam had all the while been seated silently near us. Her memory was weak due to illness. They had been companions for 52 years. When she heard the last piece of conversation she broke into a ready smile. "She too remembers", smiled Mr. Nesiah in turn,

"memories like this have been a great source of happiness to me".

On the militants he said, "the militant movement came up not because of discrimination in jobs and employment as people seem to think, but because of humiliations visited repeatedly on the Tamils since the International Tamil Research Conference in Jaffna on Jan. 1974. In fact it was the late Mr. Dharmalingam who told me that three young men took an oath of honour at the scene of the atrocity of Jan. 1974 to avenge this humiliation. The militants have saved Tamil honour since 1974. Gandhi himself had said that you must stand up to oppression violently if you cannot possibly stand up non-violently. But I must say that it is good that the militants be associated with any settlement. But the settlement must be reached with the acknowledged leaders of the Tamil people, and must have the approval of the entire community. I would like the Tamil people to pledge themselves more fully to the Tamil cause instead of running away to foreign places from their fellows in travail or of each man or family ploughing its own furrow. I am very happy that the three senior men in the Government-Tamil dialogue are Amirthalingam, Sampanthan and Sivasithamparam who had been close to Chelvanayakam and has been in the Tamil movement all along. I am also happy that the militants are working closely with them."

Turning to the issue of the handicapped, another of his lifelong concerns, he said, "The Blind School at Ratmalana was founded by a group of Missionary pioneers led by Mary Chapman in 1912. Mary Chapman had first come to help her sister who was the principal of Hillwood School, Kandy,

and had been moved by the lack of any facilities for the handicapped. She wrote in the course of an article: "Can you realise what it means to live in perpetual silence? Not to know your name? Not to know things have names? If you did, I am sure you would not hesitate to ask the Lord of Love and Mercy, who unstopped the deaf ears and loosened the dumb tongue, to help the Deaf of Ceylon."

Archbishop Temple has said, 'would that we realised that our society will partake of the Kingdom of God only if the disabled too participate, and even afford leadership in our collective life?' Today there are some 10 schools for the blind in the Sinhala medium, some of them preparing for the GCE (OL). As far as the Tamil children in this country are concerned they have only one Blind section at the Nuffield School at Kaithady with only elementary grades (1-VI). In the educationally advanced Jaffna district there are only ten or eleven gifted pupils distributed over four or five secondary schools with not a single specially trained teacher in any one of them. The University of Jaffna has also a responsibility to train graduate teachers for work in Special Schools and to promote research studies in this field."

I would like to add a final note that the Tamil freedom movement is not a movement against the Sinhalese people as such. The extent of group prejudice in this country is something that gives me great pain and sleepless nights. How can I entertain such prejudices after enjoying the close confidence of men with such lofty ideals as Wilmut Perera, a disciple of Tangore, S.A. Wijetilake, former Principal of Ananda College and Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe? I hope and pray that I would seek Sinhala-Tamil reconciliation behind and beyond the Tamils winning their self-determination within the bosom of Sri Lanka."

(Concluded)

JAFFNA LIONS CELEBRATE

Lions' Club of Jaffna celebrated its 12th Charter Anniversary on 3rd November. Over the years this Oldest Club in the North has steadily grown in stature and its services.

Mr. G. Yugendran, President of the Lions' Club of Jaffna presided. Mr. Muthukumaraswamy Deputy district Governor Lions' Clubs International and Mrs. Y. Muthukumaraswamy were the Chief Guests. Mr. S. Mahendra Vice-president, Lions' Club

of Jaffna and Mr. J. S. David also spoke. New members were inducted during the celebrations.

In October alone, the Jaffna Lions have sponsored Free Computer Programming Courses for 18 deserving school-leavers, have inaugurated a massive tree-planting campaign at various places, organised Eye Clinics at Home for Elders and a Hearing Intensity Testing Project at Gurunagar where 38 factory employees were screened.

Sri Lanka took to the use of antibiotics in the late forties during British rule. The use of allopathic medicine and hence the use of antibiotics was introduced by British medical personnel. Hospitals were built, medical college was established and, as in most of the developed countries, medical laboratories were set up at district level to assist in diagnosis and treatment.

The para-medical personnel were trained by them. However after independence when gradually the British medical personnel were replaced by nationals the para-medical section was neglected step wise and by early 980 the laboratories attached to various state medical hospitals offered very little contribution towards therapy.

Surprisingly with the free import policy of the government many mushroom private medical laboratories bloomed in the island where the operation credibility of such laboratories are questionable. What is fishy is that there are no training courses for laboratory technicians conducted either by any of the Universities or Medical Institutions in Sri Lanka. Though many technicians have been recruited they are being trained in the early 1950s by British medical personnel.

In this respect we are glad that we still preserve the ancestral practice of preaching the medical secret down the generations. How can recent developments in clinical medicine find their way to our laboratories in Sri Lanka? Can these technicians understand and adapt new findings in clinical medicine?

ASTONISHING

What is more astonishing is that local medical personnel are "treating" without any contribution from such new findings. The medical courses which last for about five years pass through a substantial period of para-medical courses. More than 99% of the medical graduates opt to follow clinical medicine such as Medicine, Surgery, Paediatrics or Gynaecology and Obstetrics. As a last alternative, a very few graduates take up to medical pathology. Here again the majority or almost all specialise in histopathology. Therefore areas such as clinical bio-chemistry, microbiology are neglected. In most of the developed countries such areas as microbiology, biochemistry, immunology etc. are mostly followed by non-medical graduates and they specialise in these fields.

Hence the medical laboratories were given a step-motherly treatment in Sri Lanka and left in the hands of technicians who have perfect skill of repetition but not initiation. As a matter of fact there are at least 30,000 antibiotic prescriptions made in Sri Lanka per

day when a maximum of 500 could accompany a biological report.

RESISTANT BACTERIA

Studies carried out by me with the collaboration of the University of Uppsala Sweden, show that 95% of the bacterial strain isolated from hospitals in Sri Lanka are resistant to more than one of the present day antibiotics. Out of them more than 25% carry transferable antibiotic resistance genes. Further it was noted that pathogens such as *Shigella* too carried transferable resistance genes. The normal pop-

ulation was found to carry a similar pattern of antibiotic resistance among their normal intestinal flora. This indicates that the incidence of antibiotic resistance genes are independent of the selection force (antibiotic therapy). The main reason for such an incidence is the spread of such bacteria carrying resistance genes via contaminated water. An *E. coli* isolated from a drinking water sample exhibiting resistance to ampicillin, tetracycline, sulphamethoxazole, chloramphenicol was found to carry five R-plasmids. Further a stable R-plasmid mobilised among different bacterial strains and different patients were isolated. Patients on admission to hospitals were found to carry a high incidence (90%) of an antibiotic resistance strain in their intestine. Further, these patients also carried a high (25%) of transferable resistance genes. The main source for such high resistance is the pre-hospitalization antibiotic therapy.

Thus there is a high influx of resistance bacteria into the hospitals. Poor sanitary and hygienic conditions prevailing in the hospitals facilitate the spread of these resistant bacteria and R-plasmids among other patients and medical personnel. Further, patients during hospitalization were found to pick up specific R-plasmids. Studies carried out in a farm show that bacterial strains isolated from animal sources carry specific R-plasmids and antibiotic resistance patterns that have

not been so far isolated from human sources. This indicates that the animals could be a source of new R-plasmids which could be mobilized to human source under poor sanitary conditions via farm products, handling etc. The main reason for such selection of new R-plasmid among farm animals is the indiscriminate use of antibiotics as prophylactic agents or as feed additives.

The main reasons for the high incidence of antibiotic resistance are (a) Increased load of antibiotics in

Antibiotics should be used rationally in human and veterinary medicine. (a) All antibiotic prescriptions should be accompanied by a bacterial report. Further, adequate facilities should be made for laboratory testing in all state hospitals. Frequent training should be carried out at our medical schools laboratory technicians. There should be a control over the private medical laboratories on the quality of the work as well as the fees charged by them.

(b) The private pharmacies must be manned by trained para-medical personnel and there should be a strict check on the sales of drugs without any prescription. Though there are rules preventing the sale of antibiotics without a prescription, one could still buy any amount from most of the pharmacies or even tea boutiques in Sri Lanka.

(c) Prophylactic use of antibiotics in animals and antibiotics as feed additive should be prohibited.

(d) Proper sanitary and hygienic conditions should be maintained at the state hospitals, farms and eating houses as well as in the community at large.

(e) Continuous maintenance of antibiotic resistance of bacterial strains among clinical sources should be carried out.

Though it is impossible to eradicate the amount of resistance bacterial strains it is possible to control such an increase. The initial money spent on these remedies will be substantial but in the long-term perspective it will be economical to save man-hours and lives. We hope humanity will have a chance to extend its survival on this planet at least for a few more years.

ANTIBIOTICS AND SRI LANKA

By Dr. T. Vinayagamoorthy

human and veterinary medicine. Sri Lanka imports large quantities of tetracycline every year to be used in human medicine. However, the Sri Lanka import is less when compared to other developed

countries such as Philippines, Egypt, Mexico etc. (b) The poor sanitary and hygienic conditions prevailing in the hospitals, farms and the community which facilitate the spread of such resistant traits to other animal and human hosts.

Consequences of being Deaf and Blind

"Anyone who is acquainted with the events happening in our country cannot but feel that we are at a turning point in our country's history. These sad occurrences are no mere accidents, they are the inevitable consequences of a policy that not only turns a deaf ear and a blind eye to the genuine aspirations of the people, but even fans the wind of suspicion and hatred." said Fr. Michael Joseph, Rector, St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, at the Annual prize giving of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna held on 19th October.

The Prize-giving was chaired by the Bishop of Jaffna, Rev. B. Deogupillai and the Bishop of Mannar, Rev. Thomas Saundaranayagam was the Chief Guest.

The Bishop of Mannar, Rev. Thomas Saundaranayagam in his address noted, "Who can deny the truth that sound education is the foundation for the building of our nation, our people our land. Achievements of various skills are essential for future development. We need learned men and women for the upliftment of our own people. The so-called developed countries are now what they are because of the learned men those countries produced and the love and care they bestowed on their education. Let us bear in mind, that Education, in an unbroken tradition, has been the rich heritage of the Tamils of the North. And we cannot afford to lose it under any circumstances, however trying they may be. It had to be preserved, cherished and provided under all trying conditions."

SRI LANKA TAMILS — 2

MARRIAGE OF TAMIL NATIONALISM
AND FREEDOM STRUGGLE

(Continued from last issue)

And for the Tamils of South India and Sri Lanka, who were after all, colonial servants of an imperial ruler, the thrust for political power sought to marry a rising Tamil nationalism with the immediate and larger struggle for freedom from the foreign ruler — a struggle which encompassed the whole of India and Sri Lanka.

In South India, no one exemplified the marriage of this duality more effectively than Subramania Bharathy whose songs in Tamil stirred the hearts of millions of Tamils, both as Tamils and as Indians. The words of Bharathy's Senthamil Nadu Enum Pothinale, continue to move the hearts of the Tamil people today. It was his salute to the Tamil nation that was yet unborn. His Viduthalai was the joyous song of Indian freedom and there he reached out beyond the Tamil nation to the day when Bharat would be free. To Bharathy, freedom was not a mere cliché, to be parroted by the elite few. He sought to raise the consciousness of his own people by his ceaseless campaign against casteism and for women's rights. The Bharathy birth centenary celebrations of 1982 served to underline the permanent place that Bharathy will always have in the hearts of the Tamil people, whether in Tamil Nadu or in Sri Lanka, because Bharathy reached out to that which lies deep down in their consciousness — a feeling in their hearts, in their being, that they were Tamils but they also belonged to India.

And, in the years after the first World War, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawarhalal Nehru reached out to the underlying unity of India and sought to weld together the many nations of India into a larger whole. It was an attempt to reach out to an unity which was deeper than the superficial unity created by the territorial boundaries imposed by the imperial ruler, which was deeper than the unity of expedience that the freedom struggle dictated, and which was derived from the larger unity of a Hindu way of life.

...but there is a difference between the unity of convicts seeking to escape from jail and the unity of free men...

But the attempt to unite the nations of India did not entirely, succeed. The assessment of Pramatha

Chauduri who wrote in Bengali in 1920 is not without significance today:

"...You have accused me of 'Bengali patriotism'. I feel bound to reply. If it's a crime for a Bengali to harbour and encourage Bengali patriotism in his mind, then I am guilty.

"But I ask you, what other patriotism do you expect from a Bengali writer? The fact that I do not write in English should indicate that non-Bengali patriotism does not sway my mind. If I had to make patriotic speeches in a language that is the language of no part of India, then I would have had to justify that patriotism by saying it does not relate to any special part of India as a whole. In a language learnt by rote you can only express ideas learnt by heart..."

"It is not a bad thing to try and weld many in to one but to jumble them all up is dangerous because the only way we can do that is by force. If you say that

riotism, not just in words but in reality..." (Pramatha Chaudhuri: Bengali Patriotism — Sabui Patra 1920: Translated and Reprinted in Facets: September 1982.)

DRAVIDA KALAGAM

In Madras Presidency, which was the largest province of British India, and which included parts of that which is Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala today, the Suya Mariyathai Iyakam (Self Respect Movement) of E. V. Ramasamy Naicker which started initially, in the early 1920s, as a social reform movement aimed at a casteless society developed later into a vehicle of a rising Tamil consciousness which sought to link together the people of South India into a Dravidian federation. In 1927, Ramasamy Naicker took over the leadership of the South Indian Liberal Federation, commonly called the Justice Party. The establishment of Annamalai University and later the Tamil Isai Sangam were linked with the

gam marked a watershed in the literary heritage of the Tamil people.

In Sri Lanka, too, in the early 20th century, the increasing togetherness of the Tamil people came to be subsumed under the imperatives of the struggle for independence. Tamil leaders such as Ponnambalam Ramathan and Ponnambalam Arunachalam worked together with their Sinhala counterparts in the Ceylon National Congress but it was not long before the growth of a separate Sinhala nationalism and a separate Tamil nationalism came to be reflected in the political arena.

The thrust of Sinhala nationalism led in the mid 1930s, to the formation of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, in some ways, not dissimilar to the Self Respect Movement of Ramasamy Naicker in South India. And the leader of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, stated in 1939:

"We, the Sinhala Maha Sabha saw differences amongst our own people—caste distinctions, up country and low country distinctions, religious distinctions and various other distinctions — and we therefore felt that we should achieve unity, which is the goal of us all."

BALANCED REPRESENTATION

At the same time, the thrust for the exercise of social power by the Tamils, led in the early 1940s to the formation of the Tamil Congress with the demand for balanced representation. It was not a demand for a separate state. It was not a demand for a federal constitution. It was a demand for weightage for Tamils in elections to a legislature constituted within the frame of an unitary state. It was a demand, intended, not merely to protect the Tamil minority but to secure a constitutional frame which would permit the selection of a Tamil as the Prime Minister. It was a demand that failed and many years later, the leader of the Tamil Congress, G. G. Ponnambalam remarked: "If I were a Sinhalese, I would have been the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, but as a Tamil, I can only aspire to be President of the United Nations Organisation." It was a statement jocularly made, but it focussed attention on a perceived line of separation.

(To be continued)

by

N. Satyendra

this does not apply to India the reply is that if self-determination is not suited to us, then it is not suited at all to Europe. No people in Europe are as different, one from another, as our people. There is not that much difference between England and Holland as there is between Madras and Bengal. Even France and Germany are not that far apart. If you ask why this simple truth is not evident to all the answer is: because of circumstances. The whole of India is now under British rule... therefore, the main link between us is the link of bondage and no province can cut through this subjugation by its own efforts and actions. So today we are obliged to tell the people of India, 'Unite and Organise' People will recognise the value of provincial patriotism the moment they attain independence... Then the various nations of India will not try to merge, they will try to establish a unity amongst themselves... To be united due to outside pressure and to unite through mutual regard are not the same. Just as there is a difference between the getting together of five convicts in a jail and between five free men... Indian patriotism then will be built on the foundation of provincial pat-

increasing political influence of the Justice Party in Madras Presidency. The students at Annamalai University were to become the political leaders of the Tamil people in the years to come and as early as 1926, Sankaran Nair, a nominated member of the Council of State in Delhi, pleaded for self government to the ten Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, with its own army, navy and air force.

At the Justice Party confederation held in Madras in 1938, Ramasamy Naicker put forward his demand for Dravidanad. This was two years before Mohamed Ali Jinnah set out the formal demand for Pakistan at the Lahore conference, and in 1944, the Justice party changed its name to Dravida Kalagam and C. N. Annadurai functioned as its General Secretary. These were the early manifestations of a Tamil nationalism which influenced Tamils outside India as well. Ramasamy Naicker visited Malaysia in 1929, and his visit led to a proliferation of Tamil associations, dedicated to religious and social reform—associations which were often led by journalists and teachers. And the writings of Annadurai and the leaders of the Dravida Kala-

CHUNNAKAM MPSC DOES NOT GIVE A DAMN

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I wish to bring to your notice that lorry No. 24 Sri 2252 belonging to the Chunnakam, M.P.C.S. crashed into and knocked down the bus-stop shelter and also the cemented boundary wall of my compound, demolishing both completely. The accident took place on 2.11.80 at the Uppumadam Junction, Kondavil West.

This accident has not only caused immense loss to me but also the travelling public who take shelter at this bus halt. My house is situated on the main K. K. S. Jaffna Road and there is no proper security for my house and compound unless this boundary wall is re-built.

This bus-stop was put up by us in memory of our late parents at a fairly high cost and there is a sentimental value attached to it by us.

Even though several letters were sent to the Chunnakam M.P.C.S. to re-build the boundary wall and the bus-stop, no action has been taken in this matter. On the other hand, when a private mini-bus crashed and knocked down the wall, the damages were completely repaired within 3 days.

Mrs. S. Balasubramaniam
Kondavil West

SADISTIC RAGGING

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

We are writing on behalf of ourselves and other student colleagues of ours who might have gone through a similar ordeal.

We are sure everybody is aware of the untold difficulties the Tamil students of this country underwent during the past couple of years.

The affected student population includes the freshers who have entered the University of Jaffna this year. When we sat the GCE Advanced Level in August 1984, several areas were experiencing the height of ethnic trouble. Ever since then incidents of arson, murder and looting have increased, as also the arrests and harassment of Tamil youths—nowdays a daily occurrence in many places. Many of our student colleagues too have undergone these ordeals.

After facing so many hazards, we somehow made it to the University. Thus it is only natural for us, the circumstances, to expect some friendly treatment from our

seniors. We did get this from many of them, which we greatly appreciate. However, we regret to say that many of our colleagues have been badly mistreated during the so-called 'ragging sessions'. The traumatic effects of such mistreatment are likely to remain with us for a very long time, and in many cases for the rest of our lives. We are shocked to find that even at times like these, there are people in our society who take a sadistic delight in harassing others. Many of us have suffered so much already at the hands of our enemy, that we just can't take anything more, especially from our own people.

Affected Fresher

University of Jaffna
Thirunelvely

ONLY SOLUTION

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Jehan Perera's contribution published in S. R. of 26.10.85 is yet

would not be facing the present crisis.

The only way to preserve the unity of Sri Lanka and yet satisfy every strata of society is a federal from of Government for all nine provinces (not for North and East alone).

A. R. S. Nathan

Kopay

PASSPORT WOES

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I refer to Mr. K. Kanagasabapathy's statement appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW on 5th October 1985, in regard to passports.

The Controller of Immigration who earlier held office rejected the application made for passport and issued me with an Identity Certificate, to which I never produced my application, only produced for passport affixing revenue stamp to the value of Rs. 200.

LETTERS

another of the author's unbiased and objective analyses of the National Question. However, his view that the Sinhalese are reluctant to seek devolution of power is not proven by popular expression, e.g. by a provincial referendum.

When the Federal Party put forward proposals in the mid - 1950's, the Sinhala parties, both in Government and in Opposition, carried on propaganda that federalism is division of the country. The late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam prophetically warned the then Prime Minister "Banda, if you fight against federalism now, you will be fighting against separatism in twenty years".

The chief reason why all governments are side-stepping devolution is the reluctance of the elites in the centre to part with even a little of the power they wield. The central elites have exercised a measure of power during the State Council days and have wielded enormous power for the last 30 years.

If not for the anti-federal campaign of the 1950's and 1960's, we

This illegal act brought before the eyes of Hon. Ministers in Defence and to His Excellency the President, which matter falls within his purview, produced no action.

This wrong pattern of Justice advocated in my case, resulted in myself losing employment in Sultanate of Oman in the year, 1974. Hence as to His Excellency the President, all those who have been born in Sri Lanka, no matter what area, all being considered Sri Lankan, and Hon. Minister for National Security informing national Status, not marked either on race or Community or on the District all remains a mockery before the officials of Immigration and Emigration.

The Immigration and Emigration officials claiming my late father's Certificate of Birth, which remains untraceable in Kandy Kachcheri, to identify my National Status as Sri Lankan, subjecting myself denial of employment a very great injustice is done to human cause.

It said that father's Certificate of Birth, a vital document for identifying my National Status, because, I have been born in Badulla, said to be a legislation of law, only for Up-country born Tamils? Hence it is very appropriate to question those in office, what law authorised a prominent singer, not born in Sri Lanka, to offer his national Status, as Sri Lankan. I presume, that profession or influence I cannot make the Existing law changed, for individual benefit, if such does not apply equally for everyone then it amounts to injustice.

I have now produced all legal documents as instructed by the Department of Immigrations and Emigration firstly to identify my National Status, for qualifying for my passport, thinking this would be met with humane concepts by those in office, at the Department of Emigration.

However, it is very clear that the present Controller and few deputies were very justifiable and genuine in their theories to identify my cause, extending true action to place my foot for finding my National Status as Sri Lankan. It is very regrettable that after forty five years from the time of birth, I now note that still I remain a man not belonging to any country.

It is a shocking state of affairs to note that repeated submissions to His Excellency, the President and those in higher offices, citing section 14 (1) of Sri Lanka Constitution and Citizenship Act Sec. 6 (2) authorising passport for Employment reasons to persons who has not produced any response.

I have made repeated appeals to Hon. Minister, Mr. S. Thondaman, who really opposed Tamils producing relevant documents for CITIZENSHIP, when it introduced by the previous Ex-Premier, known as Srimala-Sastri Act and Indo-Pakistan Act, and he is not making any attempt with the Government in office, to remove injustice proves he is for himself and what he preaches always ends with no result.

D. Sivapragasam

Colombo

RETRIBUTION

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

An Indian Cricketer challenged the umpire on the first day and the very next day; this very cricketer was ousted in the first ball itself.

(Continued on page 7)

A POINT OF VIEW

THE RULE OF LAW: METAPHOR OR REALITY?

The purposes of this article are, firstly, to scrutinize the metaphor the Rule of Law, secondly to point out that this metaphor is meaningless today in any modern parliamentary democracy and, thirdly, to go further and argue that this metaphor is so mischievous and misleading that it will be to the lasting benefit of Constitutional Law in particular and of Political Science in general, if it is abandoned. In the name of intellectual honesty, for the sake of clarity of language and, above all, in the interests of progressive or helpful legislation, it is high time we throw out this outdated concept.

Many a zealous reformer is hamstrung by political opportunists who whip up public opinion against very necessary and urgent changes in law of the land by an appeal to this outworn doctrine of the Rule of Law.

MISFORTUNE

When metaphor are abused, their hearers or readers not only think

incorrectly, they also prevented from ever thinking correctly. This misfortune has overtaken Dicey's metaphor of the Rule of Law. When the famous Vinarian Professor of English Law, used the metaphor 'the Rule of Law', he used it to pinpoint the Englishman's deep, abiding and traditional respect for the law of his land from which according to

only by the unthinking, by the pompous, by the posturing politicians or by the crafty. In all such uses, the net result is to mislead the reader or hearer.

I have heard a Governor-General declare "We must all support the Government and the Rule of Law." All that the GG simply wanted to

By **Kandiah Navarendran**

Dicey, even the general principles of the British Constitution are derived. Dicey, felt that the resources of ordinary or literal language were inadequate to convey what he thought was a unique characteristic of the British constitution, a characteristic which may be traced to mediaeval times. Hence Dicey used a metaphorical or figurative expression to which he gave a technical meaning.

But today Dicey's interpretation is no longer accepted and the doctrine of the Rule of Law is used

say was that all citizens should help the Government in its attempts to maintain law and order. But he was not entitled to tack on to his message the metaphor of the Rule of Law. For by doing so, he knowingly or unknowingly identifies the Rule of Law with the will of the Government and asserts that it is the business of every citizen under all circumstances to support the Government of the day. Such an argument in a parliamentary demo-

cracy where the legal fiction of Parliamentary Sovereignty is tolerated only because of the prior admission of the political sovereignty of the electorate, is preposterous and pernicious. It is a plea for totalitarianism and subversive of all genuine democracy.

KO'S

In Great Britain the Rule of Law seems certainly used to frequent KO's. Witness the case of Rab Butler who granted asylum, over-riding the decision of the House of Lords, the Supreme Judicial Tribunal for Great Britain!

The question arises: Why do such eminent men talk through their venerable hats when it comes to the Rule of Law? As Lord Keynes said "Practical men who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist (and one may add, or political scientist). Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back."

The mark of a civilised — as distinct from a savage mind is or should be its ability to distinguish between metaphor and reality. Otherwise confusion will be worse confounded.

Nedumaran....

(Continued from page 2)

how the JR Government implements the ceasefire!

"On my return, I will submit an information report to the people of Tamil Nadu, the rest of the Indian people and to the Indian Prime Minister.

"One thing is sure. The crave for Tamil Eelam will never die! Unable to bear the quit order move made on the three Tamil freedom fighters, the whole of Tamil Nadu erupted like a volcano which made possible the return of the fighters to India. Therefore, there won't be any more wrong decisions taken by them hereafter."

Note by Editor:

For the information of the state-controlled "Daily News", a person calling himself "P. Nedumaran" visited the SATURDAY REVIEW office on 28th October.

He must be a "double", as the "Daily News" stated (on 31st October)—how could any one cross the Palk Straits secretly when our Navy is in full command, as Lankapuwath would say.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 6)

How did this come to Pass-Retribution-Deduction by the ISLAND a Sri Lankan daily from Colombo!

Don't laugh at this esteemed journal, I am enumerating below certain concrete happenings to make all know what retribution is:

In 1956 peaceful satyagrahis including our revered leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam was assaulted by thugs led by Buddhist Priests.

Retribution: In 1957 devastation by floods-Act of God or Nature.

In May 1958, Tamils were burnt alive under the S.W.R.D. regime.

Retribution:- The very force which was let loose by him put an end to him. Was it a Miracle?

When Mrs. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike came to power—Thus spoke our Revered Leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam 'God save the Tamils'.

Retribution:- Not only was her party's strength in Parliament reduced to 8 but the T.U.L.F. Leader Mr. Amirthalingam emerged as the Leader of the Opposition.

Will the ISLAND describe this as retribution or a Miracle of our times? Now we are experiencing the worst, any people in any civilised society can dream of.

We trust in God and do the right.

Retribution-Beware the idea of March-it can be another floods, Plague, Land Slides, earth quakes or even World War.

Every action has a reaction-Every trough has a crest.

P. Kaylasan

Chavakachcheri

SOVIET PEACE EFFORTS

The very first decree adopted in 1917 by the soviet state, under the leadership of Lenin, was the Decree on Peace. It offered peace to all nations and appealed to the governments and peoples of all the countries involved in the first World War, to cease hostilities immediately and begin negotiations for a universal and democratic peace.

Today the Soviet Union, as one of the world's most powerful states, still fulfils its historic role in the fight for peace among nations. No other country has made as many important suggestions for strengthening peace, ending the arms race and for disarmament, as has the Soviet Union.

To get a basic knowledge of Soviet peace efforts, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-law T. Duraisingam, a veteran member of the peace movement of our country and a member of the World Peace Council.

Sinhala, Tamil, and English editions of the book are available at bookshops.

PRICE. Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies
31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

C.J., PLEASE RESIGN

This is the text of an open letter to the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka by Krishna Vaikunthavasan of United Nations fame:

My Dear Sarva,

As a good friend of yours for the last 45 years from the time we were classmates at the Jaffna Hindu College in the late thirties and later on right up to our frequent meetings and chats as advocate colleagues of the Supreme Court in the Colombo Law Library, I am writing this open letter because of the most traumatic, severest Tamil crisis-ridden situation under your jurisdiction as the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka.

Of course everyone, realises that no Chief Justice has any effective say, especially when it comes to such emotive and controversial matters in a country like Sri Lanka where the basic ABC problem is how to share power in a just manner in the administration of the Island as far as the Sinhala and Tamil-speaking peoples are concerned.

As you are too aware, the crux of the matter is that the Sri Lankan Government continues to exploit and mislead world opinion by saying that there is no discrimination against the Tamils and, in trying to prove it, it cites you, the present Attorney-General, Mr. Shiva Pasupathy and some other Tamils occupying high position in its service.

In order to jolt the Sri Lankan Government to a realisation that world opinion cannot be fooled by propping up a few Tamils in high posts, (you of course reached your position by merit and seniority), will you, my dear Sarva, urgently consider resigning your post as Chief Justice?

Once you give the lead others, such as Mr. Pasupathi are bound to follow. This will result in the devaluation and deflation of the Sri Lankan chauvinist regime's image.

Sri Lanka will then be more inclined to come to some acceptable solution of the Tamil crisis may be at further talks again at Thimpu or some other place.

If you think I am asking you to sacrifice too much, please for a moment consider the thousands of innocent lives already perished—all for the sake of our people.

Yours sincerely,

KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN

London

VACANCIES

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Director

'21 GUN SALUTE'

They came (members of the Cease-fire Monitoring Committee).

They saw (just a little bit of Jaffna, because they did not travel about much.)

They conquered (the Fort of Jaffna, where they were ensconced in comfort and safety in King's House).

They were given a right royal welcome—virtually a 21 gun salute!—the traditional way in which some people are welcomed in Jaffna.

The explosions on the morning of 5th November around Ashok Hotel, where the CMC was to meet the public, was deafening.

As a consequence of the "warm welcome", the monitors failed to turn up on schedule at 9 a.m.

The representatives of the Jaffna, Valvettiturai and Point Pedro Citizens' Committees were not willing to enter Ashok Hotel—because the Army was around.

Following their protests, the Army kept away during the next two days and a number of organisations made representations. (A report will appear in our next issue).

The militant groups also had their say—over loudspeakers fixed near Ashok Hotel. A tape record was played over and over again. The gist of the message: "We do not have much faith in the Monitoring Committee. Yet we are willing to co-operate by providing escorts to the Monitors while in Jaffna. Why did you come with the Army?....."

It was all in perfect Sinhala!

NEW HOSPITAL

The contract for the construction of a five-storied building for the Jaffna General Hospital at a cost of Rs.28.5 million, was finally signed on 7th November.

The Contractors are Samacon Ltd.

The contract was signed at the Jaffna Kachcheri in the presence of the Government Agent, Mr. V.Panchalingam. Among those present was Dr. Nachchinarkiniar, Medical Superintendent of the Jaffna Hospital.

Mr. Sivathasan, Deputy Director of Planning, and Mr. Kanaganayagam, Superintending Engineer. Mr. Rudralingam represented Samacon.

The SATURDAY REVIEW appeals to all militants groups to ensure that the construction work is not disrupted.

For Eelam or no, the Jaffna Hospital needs to be developed.

CEASE-FIRE OFF

Ten civilians were lined up and shot dead by the Security Forces at Mulangavil Pillaiyar Temple, on the Pooneryn-Mannar main road this week.

In two separate incidents, 11 service personnel were killed in the Eastern Province.

One landmine blew up a jeep with seven policemen on the Seruvila-Kantalai Road while they were on their way to Trincomalee.

At Vakarai, four soldiers were killed in a landmine blast while they were on patrol.

REFUGEES..... REFUGEES.....

As we were going to press, we received the following reports:

MANNAR: Dysentery and diarrhoea is fast spreading at the Pesalai refugee camp. Children are the most affected. At the Thirugnanasambanthar Maddam camp, in Tiruketheeswaram, a four-month baby, Subajini, died of diarrhoea.

The Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation and the Lions Club of Mannar are doing the best possible in the difficult circumstances.

Lion Dr. M. Kathirgamanathan is leading a medical team providing voluntary services, aided partly with a donation of Rs. 10,000 from the SATURDAY REVIEW RELIEF FUND.

But more help is needed. Besides the Pesalai and Thirugnanasambanthar Maddam camps, other camps have been set up at St. Xavier's College, (Mannar) Madhu Church and Sivarathiri Maddam.

VAVUNIYA: "There are 14 refugee camps in the Vavuniya district.

There is a problem of flies in all the camps. We don't have knapsack sprayers to spray the camps.....Drugs are also in short supply. This is the frantic appeal we have received from Vavuniya.

Our grateful thanks to the Eelam Tamil Association of Quebec, Canada, whose President, Mr. S. Sabanadesan has sent a further donation of \$ 850. The first donation was \$ 550.