Vol 1

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No. 14 10th January -

Remembered Annually

On 10th January, 1974 - nine innocent lives were lost when the Sinhala Police under a Sinhala A.S.P. ran amok and opened fire into a Jaffna crowd, merely listening to speeches of great scholars on the Tamil language and Culture at the ground opposite Veerasingam Hall The meeting followed the research papers presented at the International Tamil Conference by scholars including non - Tamil European University Dons.

(Continued on Page 6)

## BOMBING AND ARTILLERY NUE CEASER

The SLBC announced on its noon news bulletin on the 11th January that the Government has decided not to extend the ceasefire for seven days announced by the Government on the night of 3rd January

Even before the Government's decision was made known Sri Lankan Forces began offensive operations all over the Tamil Territory.

Kilinochchi reports state that Sri Lankan Air Force Planes bombed many areas in the District.

The Army stationed in the Valikamam North Division started heavy shell attack which has resulted in injuries to civilians and damages to civilian property.

fire violations by Sri Lankan

Forces in the North East

were reported between the

4th January to 10th January

when the Government's

cessation of hostilities decis-

Not a single day passed

AT KOMARI

prohibited all forms of food

supplies to the Chena culti-

vators keep watch over their

cultivations both during the

ion was in vogue.

Reports received from other parts also indicate the armed Forces that stationed at Mullaitivu, Vavuniya and Mannar have started similar offensive operations. Military activities in Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Amparai Districts have

also been activated.

In the meantime the LTTE has said that it would continue its ceasefire decision but resort to armed action only as a defensive measure if Sri Lankan Forces take on them.

#### Two Tamils killed by Muslim Home Guards

News received in this connection state that on 14th December, 1990, the Muslim Home Guards hacked to death two Tamils in the village of Uppural. The It is to be noted that the murder took place at Toppur in the Mutur Division.

> The dead persons have been identified as P. Vijayanayagam (40) years and R. Thambirajah

Two Tamils were killed at Toppur in the Mutur by Muslim Home Guards Division.

#### Ceasefire Violations Over forty cases of cease- January without an incident of ceasefire violation by Sri Lankan Forces.

State Minister for Defence Mr. Ranjan wijeyaratne himself reported that the Forces killed 6 LTTE men after the ceasefire and started his inability to and Expressed from the 4th to the 10th keep the forces in restraint.

The Special Task Force day and night. Cooked food areas. Food is prohibited for stationed at Komari in the is taken to persons who keep these persons also by the STF. Amparai District are causing watch duty in their cultivauntold miseries to the poor tions by the women folk at home or other children. peasants in the village. The news received in this connec-The STF at Komari has tion state that the STF prohibited any food being stationed at Komari has

vators. Instances have been reported The Chena cultivations are that where attempts were made by some peasant families done outside the village limits in jungle areas. The cultivators to take food stealthily to their have, therefore, to keep watch menfolk in the cultivations, they were nabbed by the STF. over these cultivations to prevent animals eating up All food parcels and tea the crops or causing damage were confiscated and thrown to the crops by trampling and so forth. So chena culti-

Also peasants take their cattle for grazing to the jungle

taken to these chena cultiva-

tions - not even tea.

The STF prohibition of food to chena cultivators and shepherds has caused lot of difficulties to these peasants. Their cultivations are open to attack by animals. The shepherds are unable to take their cattle for grazing. Normal life of peasant families has thus been greatly hampered by the action of the STF and the peasants are in danger of losing the fruits of their labour.

Reports from Tirukovil and Akkaraipattu also state that the peasants doing chena cultivations in those areas are also subjected to the same harassment and diffi-

# Prisoners

The LTTE made arrangements for members of the ICRC to meet and talk to 43 Sinhlaese policemen taken prisoners by the LTTE at the commencement of the war in June, 1990.

The ICRC officials are reported to have met each of the 43 prisoners and talked to them individually.

It is to be noted that the State Minister of Defence, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne claimed that these policemen had been killed by the LTTE. Musings of Mr. Meddle



Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne has said that he cannot control the Army.

- News Item -

Why not join the LTTE?

## Eight year old girl loses leg

An eight year old Tamil lost one of her legs, when girl lost one of her legs, as she tread on a booby trap laid by the Sinhala Army.

News received in this connection state that an eight year old girl from the 6th Colony in the Mutur Division

a booby trap exploded as the hapless girl tread on it unknowing that the Sinhala soldiers had laid mines and booby traps along the road she was passing. This happened on 6th December

## Patient burnt to death

A patient who was on ment at the Mandur Hospital his way to take treatmen to Mandur was arrested and burnt alive to death by the by some Sri Lankan soldiers Sri Lankan Army stationed at Chavalaikadai.

The report in this connection states that Annamutu news further states that (23) of Anaikattiveli in the Annamuthu was burnt alive Batticaloa District was ill to death. and had gone to take treat- been used to burn him.

on the 7th of this month.

On the way he was arrested attached to the Army Camp at Chavalakadai who took him along with them. The Old tyres had

### Houses and Shops looted

The Sri Lankan Army Soldiers and Muslim Home Guards are engaged in losoting houses and shops belonging to Tamils in certain parts of the Batticaloa District.

Reports received from Batticaloa in this connection state that the Tamil residents of the villages of Eravur, Chenkaladi, Vantharumoolai, Kommanthurai, Mandur, Kokkatticholai and Vellaveli have abandoned their houses

and taken refugee elsewhere in the forests and refugee camps. Similarly the Tamil shopkeepers in these areas have also fled away closing their shops.

After the ceasefire was announced Sri Lankan Army personnel and Muslim Home Guards have broken open such abandoned houses and shops and taken away almost all the belongings of the Tamil owners thereof. in lorries.

#### AN OPEN Sinhala Desire for LETTER:

## Imperium over others

wealth signify? Obviously it is an association of certain polities which have something in common which they cherish and seek to uphold. The very notion of Commonwealth implies something that all members of the group wish to uphold. Necessarily it follows that they connot uphold the desire for imperium over others. Certainly the Commonwealth countries cannot cherish something unmoral or somesmacks of

What does the Common- be more than ample to get erring members to mend their ways and return to the correct path. The behaviour of the entity recently named Sri Lanka is something which the Commonwealth countries on the whole cannot approve or even ignore and turn their faces the other way.

> It is necessary to know the tacts before making up one's mind on the issue. It behoves one to know something of the history where political issues are involved.

### The Commonwealth cannot support Imperilistic Aggression or A Genocidal war

self aggrandizement. The Commonwealth cannot support imperialistic aggression or a genocidal war. The Commonwealth as a body must cherish certain norms and standards of conduct and all members of the Commonwealth should feel proud about this.

I think the above image of the Commonwealth is realistic.

The Commonwealth in the international context is analogous to a professional body which maintains norms and standards of conduct and erforces discipline among members. The Commonwealth may not have such rigidities or facilities or any enforcement machinery. But certainly the Commonwealth has the very powerful instrument of expressing disapproval. Certainly expressions of disapproval would

The Sinhalese and Tamils have lived from a period several centuries before Christ (the Dutugemunu Ellalan war took place in the 2nd Century before Christ) in the small island but they never merged into one polity. The first British Colonial Secretary, Sir Hugh Cleghorn assessed the situation thus: that the possession of the Island was divided between two nations the Sinhalese and the Malabars (Tamils) with clearly demarcated geographical (vide the Arrowsmith Map of 1803) and observed that the two nations differed entirely in race, religion, language and manners. Although the whole Island was unified by a British Fiat for Administrative purposes, the Britisher treated the Island's population as consisting of two nations until late in the middle of the twenties of this century.

Apparently alerted by the nationalist struggle which then escalated in India, the British Colonial authorities decided to impose a new Constitutional set-up which gave some taste of executive power to the people. Along with the grant of the executive power Britain made a drastic change in its view, attitudes on balances and power structure among the two major communities of the island. Even an agreerepresentation ment on voluntarily and willingly reached between the Sinhalese and Tamil legislators was set aside by the Donoughmore Commissioners. The Commissioners did, in reality axiom that reject the Constitution making is one of agreement. They imposed a Constitution which gave power entirely into the hands of the Sinhalese.

Obviously, in the eyes of the British, the Tamils were tainted with pro-Indian sentiment and suspected as likely to get aligned with Nationalist India. lhese reformed proposals, when placed before the Legislative Council, were vigorously opposed by all the Tamils barring one who was later found guilty of being a bribe receiver and expelled from the House. In reality the Constitutional changes were accepted in the House only by a slim majority of two votes. Britain ignored the well-known principle that Constitution making is a matter for consensus and rammed through the Constitutional changes in the teeth of the opposition of the The immediate Tamils. reaction of the Tamils was to boycott the Donoughmore (Continued on Page 5)

Thondaman & other so called independence from colonial bondage, that China with its teeming millions of starving mankind was relieved from the dictatorial bondage of that monstrous Dicatator Chiang - Kai -Shek. This release from miserable bondage followed the long, march of Mao -Tse - Tung and Chou-enlai, who very triumphantly marched into Peking whilst

Chiang - Kai - Shek and

THIS AND THAT

By "Rambler"

Considering that the Sinhalese held him in high esteem at that time dubbing him "Kawda Man"-'Thondaman'- which literally translated means 'Who is the man-'It is Thondman' he must have indeed played a significant role in current events.

Thondman the veteran

Parliamentarian who has a

'love - hate relationship'

with his Sinhala overlords

is reported to have explo-

ded thus- "Is my services

only needed to carry

messages to India''. This

statement is indeed very

intriguing and merits clari-

fication on the part of

Thondaman, because at

the height of the present

troubles, when Indian in-

tervention seemed apparent,

this individual did in fact

sojourn to India almost

daily and now from his

own admission carrying

messages.

Unionist

Now it is history that Indo-Lanka accord was a failure. Could it be that the intervention of Thondaman was the cause for such failure. Did Ihondaman poison the minds of the Indian leaders against the Tamils of this country? Did Thondaman allow bitterness towards Tamils of this country, because the Tamils of the past like G. G. Ponnampalam and others failed to stand up for the up country Tamils in the forties. If that should be so, then this man Thondaman should realise that the present Tamils are entirely different to the Tamils of the past. He should also realise "that many a ship has been wrecked on the rock of hatred" and that he would do well even at this late stage to rid himself of such poisonous hatred, as otherwise he too will be wrecked with the Tamils of this land.

It is time that Thondaman and the other Tamil Parliamentarians quit the present Parliament when Tamils in the North East are being decimated. Since their continued presence only goes to provide credibility to this bunch of rotters who are unfit to run a country let alone a boutique.

#### Yellow Peril

one whole year after this ortantly the local stooges island had obtained its of the yellow monster.

his stooges fled to Taiwan. But today after the splendid and near miraculous changes ushered in by Mao and Chou, we sadly witness the changes taking place in that vast country At first it was called the great REVIS-IONISM ERA when we witnessed the Chinese ridding themselves of everything Chinese including the Chinese tunic so proudly sported by Mao and Chou and going in for western style attire, in which the miserable Chinese who were trying to outdo the progressive Japanese looked ever so pathetic and defintely uncomfortable. Having taken on a new image, these once miserable starving nation of beggars and pimps, set about a game of flexing their military might with the aim of territorial expansionism, First it was little Tibet and then it was India, whilst the former succumbed without a whimper, the latter was able to offer stiff resistance. Then these yellow monsters switched to aiding proven dictatorships in the region, first it was that mad monster POL POT in Cambodia and very own our grown species home who are being given arms and ammunition, planes and ships to quell an internal civil war, in which the combatants are armed forces of the nation on the one side and baly faced teenagers with only the AK 47 and no more on the other. Could it not be reasonably deduced that these wretched yellow monsters with their slit eyes and tiny brains are in fact arming our local Demagogues to the teeth in the hope they will use this armour against India. One has to wait and see what these depraved yellow monsters will achieve in It was in 1949 exactly the end. And more imp-



"The Earth, that kindly Dame, will laugh to see Men seated idle pleading Poverty."

- THIRUKKURAL. 104:10

Milk white washing Powder washes whiter washes brighter - economical too.

100 Empty sachels fetch you a fabulous handkerchief.

MILK WHITE - JAFFNA

# amig

### Prof. C. Suntharalingam in Parliament

Mr. Suntharalingam: . In the present context, I can hardly forget Mr. F. R. Jayasuriya, the real author of this mighty little Bill in its present form, a friend who rightly feels frustrated at not being elevated to the top storey of the Planning Secretariat even by the new Prime Minister. He was a pupil of mine at Ananda, later a student and later still a colleague at the University, friend who sought assiduously, but without success, to recruit me to the ranks of his Sri Lanka Freedom Party, a party which te and others toiled so hard to found in 1951 under the leadership of the then plain Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, ex - Minister of Local Administration. Mr. Jayasuriya will go down in the history of satyagraha as the first oppressor who oppression more oppressive by seeking to fast unto death with glucosed orange juice.

Mr. Vanniasingam: And Milk.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I have known them and many more in all walks of life in Ceylon for a third of a century. I ask them in all earnestness, have I ever been charged with being a rank rabid communalist?

An hon. member: Worse.

Mr. Suntharalingam: "Worse". I am being rightly charged now since January 13, 1955. Mark the date January 13th, 1955. Indeed, my good friend the ex-Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake, whom we miss so badly in this House has borne ample testimony to my political character, conduct and reputation as being free of that most dangerous virulent political disease known not merely as communalism but as communalism complicated by careerism. Why only last week the Hon. Prime Minister charged me, not without good reason, as having. I quote his words "worked against my own community when I helped the late Rt Hon. D.S. Senanayake to back his Cabinet".

Indeed many years earlier I had joined W.A. de Silva, F.R. Senanayake and P. de S. Kularatne to help Ananda College to acquire position and prestige notwithstanding the fact that I was badly wanted at Jaffna Hindu Coilege. A number of my friends here could not have forgotten the frequent, the too frequent, visits D. S Senanayake made to their warden of the Union Hostel. The hostellers whose thoughts, aspirations and dreams of a a day were the thoughts, aspirations and dreams of the University College of the tomorrow and of the country at large the day after.

I have mentioned these because it grieves me to think that we are at the parting of the ways and should soon be engaged in a terrible srife involving riots, lootings, arson and loodshed is it even now too late to get together and come to terms?

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: Never too late.

Mr Suntharalingam: My good friend the Prime Minister in moving the Second Reading of the Bill began his speech by referring to the "history of this question in very recent years". I am afraid that does not make one see the language problem in its proper perspective, and even his history is distorted. I would appeal to you to go into the history as set out in the Mahavamsa, the Culuwamsa and the inscriptional literature. I would invite my Friends to read those historical records as I have done these last two weeks.

Mr.M. P. de Zoysa: We know them.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I know you are very superior people. But one thing is clear from those records, for hundreds of years, certainly from the 13th century onwards there were either three kingdoms or administrations under the Sinhalese and Tamil kings, and when Ceylon passed under the Western foreigners, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, it passed in three stages in three different times under three different flags as three separate and distinct kingdoms or administrations. In one of these three kingdoms or administrations in the area occupied to this day almost entirely by the Tamil-speaking people in the North and East of Ceylon, the traditional homelands of the Tamils from time immemorial. Tamil was until 1833, beyond all doubt, the official language. I defy any of my friends to disprove that statement.

Not only do I say it, if you want authority, look up the reports on constitutional reforms and even history books written by elementary textbook writers.

In Sinhalese areas Sinhalese together with Tamil probably was the official language. It may be that there were as Mr Julis de Lanerolle states, several Tamils in Sinhalese areas and that Tamils were occupying numerous administrative posts under the Sinhalese kings and making notable contributions to Sinhalese language literature, but he errs eggregiously if he suggests that the Tamil language at any time ceased to be the official language of the the Tamil speaking areas prior to 1833.

from 1833 to 1944 during the British period.

We have had 2,500 years. For 111 years only have we had his phenomenon. When the British unified administration of Ceylon into one whole, English became the official language not by legislative enactment but by mere administrative fiat.

The decision to make English the official language, in so far as our country was concerned, was merely a repetition of the decision, after much controversy between the occidentalists and orientalists in India. You will probally remember, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the reasons given in effect for the deci- available to displace the

Tamils except for 111 years Macaulay wanted the intelligensia among the indigenous population to be versed in the language of liberty-loving England, so that, among other things, they may grow out of their casteism and heathenism: Indeed, he looked forward to the day when after assimilating European knowledge and ideology and after working European institutions, the people would become insistent on their demand for liberty, freedom and self-respect.

> You will thus observe that when English was made the official language, British functionaries would not come out to fill the minor posts like those of clerks and peons. They were just not

The late lamented Prof. C. Suntharalingam, an ex-Minister and one who was intimately associated with the politics and personalities of his time was so utterly 'Ceylonese' minded that he unwittingly helped the Sinhalese leaders of his day to lead the Tamils up the garden path. In fact Prof. Suntharalingam was reputed to have advised the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake as to how the latter could form the Sinhala Only Board of Ministers in 1936.

The treachery and cut-throatism of the Sinhala political leaders ultimately led Prof. Suntharalingam to publicly lament that the only mistake he made in all his political career was to have trusted the Sinhulese leaders.

Professor Suntharalingam is of course, the progenitor of the Tamil Eelam demand. He first formulated the political demand for the restoration of Eelam with the credo-

> Eelam - Our Deity Eelam Struggle - Our Duty Eelam Victory - Our Liberty

We reproduce Prof. Suntharalingam's speech in Parliament on the occasion of the Debate in Parliament on the Sinhala Only Bill.

His speech was full of details of treachery and breach of faith on the part of the Sinhala leaders on the language question. Except the L.S.S.P. and the C.P. all other Sinhala parties were for Sinhala Only.

Mr. Suntharalingam's clear cut charges against the Sinhala leaders went unreplied and the then Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, who had no other reply, was compelled merely to say that he had changed his mind to which Prof. C. Suntharalingam promptly retorted: "Double - tongued treachery."

Though Prof. Suntharalingam's speech was full of facts throwing lot of light on the language controversy and politics in Ceylon it would be impossible to reproduce the whole of his speech in a weekly paper. However, we have taken the care not to delete matters that are most important

The political history of this island, at least from the twenties, bears ample testimony to one fact-viz that the Sinhalese political leaders can be depended upon for one thing-viz to be treacherous to the Tamils.

Therefore it is appropriate, just at this juncture, that all should refresh the memory of the not too distant past so that the Tamils may not be led up the garden path once again by pious promises and loud-sounding nothings.

I have not the slightest doubt, I have made most careful investigations. I have made the best historians make investigations, and everyone admits, that at no time did Tamil cease to be the official language of the Tamil - speaking people's areas in their traditional homelands. That simple historical fact must be kept prominently in mind, particularly by my good Friends the Hon. Prime Minister and the Members of his Government. The Tamil language, never throughout the whole history of Ceylon, lost its place as the official language in the traditional homelands of the an orderly in this House.

sion in favour of the occidentalists led by the famous Macaulay. He could not bring enough Britons including Scotsmen, Irishmen and Irish-Scotsmen like my good Friend Mr. Singleton-Salmon to man the entire Public Service from top to bottom of even a small colony like Ceylon. The Britons were to be conserved for better, richer and more profitable exploitation like the superior services, plantations and foreign trade which paid fatter dividends. One could not conjure up a vision of such a queer fish as a Single-Ton-Salmon moving about as a Peon or as

Sinhalese or the Tamils. Maha Mudaliyars of Mudaliyars, Dissawes or Ratemahatmayas. Maniagars Muhandirams, Vidanes or Arachchies or Clerks or peons or Attendants or Lascoreens-they had perforce to be all Sinhalese and Tamils. It was in the superior professional grades, the Civil Servants, the Judges the Doctors, the Engineers, the Surveyors and the Supermen that the Britishers were to be recruited. It was a long time, more than half a century, before an Arunachalam or a Paul Peiris could be admitted into the heavenly

(Continued on Page 4)

#### The Tamils...

(Continuation of Page 3)

service by open competitive examination held in London, through the official medium English. If Sinhalese is enforced hereafter as the one official language of all Ceylon. as this Bill is intended to do, worse consequences must necessarily follow as far as the Tamil-speaking people are concerned. It will take perhaps forty to fifty years for a Batticaloa Tamil or a Jaffna Tamil to be recruited to the Ceylon Civil Service through competitive examination held, probably Peradeniya, in Sinhalese I cannot understand my good Friends when they assure us that the Sinhala Government will want only a working knowlegde of the Sinhala bhasha from the Tamils, if by the Grace of the Sinhala Prime Minister they are admitted to the Sinhala public services to be recruited by open competitive examination in the medium of the Sinhala rajya bhasha. And what is unprecedented is, all the Punchi Singhos, Pereras and Punchi Bandas will swarm into the kachcheris, Government offices in the North and East of Ceylon as Rest House Keepers, Peons and attendants recruited on the existing practice that a knowledge of the official language will be an additional qualification for selection and preferment in the lower grades: Government Departments will be in charge of such eminent personalities as Mr. Bunkum Singho, CCS. Then all the Singhams, Nayagams, Amblaams, Lingams and Samys will have to prepare and present their humble petitions drawn up in the Sinhala basha, the rajiya basha, to the Hamuduruwanes. Bandara - Tilleke-Daha- Nayakes and Jaya and Wijeyawardenas. What a fate for the Tamil Speaking people of Ceylon does this Bill decree! The Sinhala Rajya Basha Act of the Bandaranayake Government would go, if unresisted effectively one better than the English official language fiat ot the British Government in so far as Tamils are concerned. While the Britons held only the top jobs, the Sinhalese would hold all jobs from top to bottom and the Tamils would hold the scavenging and cooly jobs as frankly desired by a Bhikku at a meeting at Trincomalee,

If the people of the East-India and Ceylon-learnt the English language it was because they thought that by learning that language ihey could get access to all the treasures of western literature and you here in this Heuse want us Tamils, who speak a Ceylon-Indian language, who have an excellent litera-

ture, to study in place of tilaka, that language a wealk Profess Language followed by 6 million people. Do you Profess realise what you are doing? Last year in this House I to mak pointed out the utter madness, utter idiocy of making Sinhalese only the official language of Ceylon.

Mr. M. P. de Zovsa: You want English

Mr. Suntharalingam: I want sense, good sense and not idiocy:

Today if you take the whole world, over 90 - odd per cent of the University students follow their course of study and instruction through the medium of the English language wherever they may be Throughout whole career in this country even in the Debates in this House for nearly a decade, I have always advocated that one must never take English away from the position of an official language. My good Friend the Hon. Minister of Education admitted that. I do not mince my words and I tell my Sinhalese Friends to go down to the Sinhalese villages and ask the Sinhalese fathers what education they would have for their children.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I will be taking too much of your time if I am to go through the history of the political movement in Ceylon which was associated with the language movement: I will be entering into too many details. From the year 1921 I have been intimately associated with these movements. From the time Arunachalam formed his Tamil League I may say that I have played most humbly and modestly perhaps a bigger part than any other politician in the political and educational history of this country.

An Hon Member: What about the Hon. Member for Jafina?

Mr Suntharalingam: He was later than myself and he never played as big a part - I can assure you of that.

We are now living in times which are most dangerous. Our leaders F.R Senanayake, Arunachalam, W.A. De Silva and Ramanathan quite realized the necessity for this purpose of associating political reform with mass education. My present Friends - I do not know whether they were born in 1923.

Mr. M. P. De. Zoysa; Just born.

Mr. Suntharalingam:
You were a kid then and
you are a goat now. In 1923
at the University College
Academic Committee Arunachalam, Ramanathan, Jaya-

Professor Marrs, Professor of the University College including Professor Suntharalingam had certain resolutions introduced to make the national languages part and parcel of the education scheme with a view to making them the official languages, in due time deliberately for that purposein order to bridge the gulf then existing between the English educated and the Tamil educated and the Sinhalese educated. What did we do? We passed a resolution that no student was to be admitted to the University College unless he had a knowledge of Sinhalese or Tamil up to the University Mitriculation standard and after admission to that college, he was not to be allowed to graduate unless he showed a working knowledge in Sinhalese or Tamil a working knowledge of a kind which enabled him to express his greatest ideas in his own way in either of the two languages. If that resolution had been given effect to trom 1923 - 24 onwards, today we would not be in this plight. The recommendation was accepted by the Riddell Commission in 1926 or 1927, and, would you believe it, its implementation recommended to be put into practical form by a Select Committee of the State Council only as late as 1946.

It is most unfortunate. But the fact remains that all the leaders and patriots of the day made a special point of realizing that reforms in the political field were of no avail unless they were accompanied by reforms in the educational field, and both the masses and the leaders were made to get together.

When we had this system of education going through, we had all our young Friends, who were then students of the University College, passing out into the life of the world. I must say crdit must be given to the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party, then under the very enlightened leadership of Dr.N.M.Perera, now our own Leader of the Opposition, and of the not too enlightened Mr Philip Gunawardena, now a somersaulting sama samajist and revolutionary Minister of State, for taking in 1937 the first steps in making the national languages the official langurages, at least in certain matters.

## First steps to make National languages Official languages

In 1943, the fact has been mentioned more than once, the first step was taken to make the national languages the official languages of Ceylon.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### NEW BOOK IN TAMIL RELEASED

'Basic Principles of Political Science' (Vol. I) written in Tamil by Ranjakumar, Lecturer in Political Science, University of Jafina, was released on 27-12-1990.

This function was chaired by Dr. S K. Shanmuganathan, Head. Department of Economics, University of Jaffna. Book review was made by Prof. N Balakrishnan, Dean, Faculty of Arts University ot Jaffna Prof. V. Nithiya nathan, Faculty of \griculture, University of Jaffna also spoke. on this occasian "We need more and more books in various fields especially about our History and Culture in our mother tongue". said prof. A. Thurairajah, Vice Chancellor, University of Jaffna, speaking on this occasion.

It is true and is the necessity of the time we live in. Most of the books on various fields are written in English or translated from English. Our Tamil students especially those who do their degree in their mother tongue find difficulties in getting appropriate reference material for their studies because of the very limited number of text books in Tamil Mr. K Ranjakumar realised this urgency and responded in this manner.

We hope more and more of our Dons will come forward to contribute their lot. We should also be prepared to patronize such endeavours.

- Arumugam A. Paul -

The Motion before the State Council introduced by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has been bandied about a lot. I would invite you to five points in that connexion.

specifically First, after addressing their minds to the subject and after due debate, the State Council in 1944 decided in no unmistakable terms that Sinhalese and Tamil should both be official languages "on an equal footing" "enjoying equality of status"phrases used in the course of that debate. The Minister of Industries and Fisheries made the mistake when he said that the phrase was coined in recent times.

Secondly, the Hon. the present Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon W.R.D. Bandaranaike took an active part in the Debate, and was a party to and accepted that decision having addressed his mind pointedly to the question whether there should be one official language, Sinhalese, or two official languages, Sinhalese and Tamil.

#### Meaning of 'Bilingual'

Thirdly, in the course of that Debate, attention was drawn to the proposal for reforming the system of education and that was debated immediately after and accepted, namely, the medium of instruction in the primary schools shall be the mother tongue, but English was to be a compulsory second language. The medium of instruction, in the lower department of the post primary schools, may be the mother tongue or bilingual. The word bilingual was defined to mean that English was of necessity to be one of the languages, while the other was to be either Sinhalese or Tamil. The medium of instruction

in the higher department of the post primary schools may be in English, Sinhalese, Tamil or bilingual.

I would ask our modern patriots here to address their minds to those decisions of the State Council in 1944 and 1945, and see how they worked our national languages through the schools without losing instruction, without losing knowledge, without losing advanced learning. They made higher education possible in English, Sinhalese or Tamil or bilingual. I would beg of them in all earnestness to go back to those decisions. Then only will they go for-

An hon. Member: We go forward.

Mr. Suntharalingam:
You go forward to hell that
is what you are doing:

Fourthly, it was decided by the State Council to appoint a Select Committee to report on all steps that have been taken to effect the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object - mark the words with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon?

Fifthly it must be noted that the decisions of the State Council were taken on May 25 1944 on the eve so to speak of the appointment of the Soulbury Commission on 5th July, 1944. That is important and significant. Perhaps, our young Friends do not know the importance of those dates. I need hardly add that if at the time there was any hint or suspicion that on some future date Tamil would be deliberately and treacherously robbed of its status as an official language of Ceylon, no self-respecting Tamil would have acquiesed in, let alone been a party to, the Reform of the Constitution.

(to be Continued)

# Year Nineteen Hundred and Ninety

# in Retrospect

All citizens who inhabit on the North Eastern parts of the Island of Sri Lanka invariably look back on the happenings with a deep sense of frustration and disappointment and ponder whether such acts of calculated violence could have been perpetrated on its own citizens by a Government which is predominatly Buddhist and and strong adherent of the Buddhist teaching of Ahimsa and Maitriya and whose politicians from the Executive President downwards, proclaimed to usher a Dharmista Society and look up to the Maha Sanga for blessings and advice.

The Acts of Commission and Ommission of the Government have, however, been always contrary to the preaching of the Great Budha and must certainly be held up as a "warning"

and not as an 'Example' for the practice and propagation of the Buddhist faith and the Bo-tree under which the Buddha attained Nirvana must be surely withering at these un-Buddhistic acts.

If the Editors of the Guiness Book of Records are hard put to fill their pages, they could with profit list some of these signal achievements which cannot find a parallel in any part of the Buddhist or Christian world. Here are some of the achievements which could fill their pages in Crimson:

- 1. Shelling, bombing, machine gunning its own citizens under the guise of liquidating enemy 'hideouts' and 'bunkers';
- Destruction of public buildings like banks, markets, Railway Sta-

tions, Co opertives, Bus Terminals and Schools;

- 3. Destruction of temples, churches, mosques and other places of religous worship;
- d. Dropping of human excreta in the precincts of a consecrated Cathedral merely because the Chief Incumbent, the Bishop had advocated a political solution to the on-going conflict;

#### Babbler

- 5. Dropping brickbats and other forms of chemical weapons with deliberate intention to harm its citizens;
- 6. Cutting of fuel and electricity supplies and imposition of a physical and economic embargo and deprivation of essential commodities while telling the world at large that it is tending and feeding its citizens;

- Firing blind Artillery
  Shells from a Camp
  nearly 25 miles away
  (Palaly Army Camp) into
  the heart of the town
  and at the dead of
  night;
- 8. putting its citizens to the sword and roasting them alive on old tyres.

Machiavelli who had failed to add to his political thesis 'The Prince' on how to solve the problem of the minorities may well add a supplement to his Thesis and take a leaf from the 'records' of the Sri Lankan Government. For after all the Great Parakrama Bahu was the re-incarnation of Machiavelli's Prince in action. Countries with minority problems like Russia, Yugo-Slavia may draw a lesson from Sri Lanka and consult on how best to solve the 'problem of Minorities' and seek advice from the Sri Lankan Government.

#### Post Script

This 'Do It Yourself' Handbook of practical advice has just been released to

the public and the world at large and cites practical examples on live situations in Sri Lanka on how to deal a knock - out blow to the ethnically different peoples from the rulers! Nations of the World with such problems could consult Sri Lankan Embassies Abroad and advice will be given gratis and the Sri Lankan Government may even send its armed forces who have been trained in China, Pakistan and India and the Sandburst Military Academy in the United Kingdom. The Sri Lankan pilots have been trained to bomb with pin - point accuracy so that not even a fly or ant will be hurt in the neighbourhood. They also have an international assortment of arms and ammunition -Y.12 from China, Avro Jets from Russia, Marchetti Jets from Italy, Helicopters from North Korea, and bombs and shells from Pakistan and the sinews for a war from the World Bank and the European Internationa Community. So come to Sri Lanka, if you want to have a 'United Nation' in your

## Sinhala..

(Continuation of Page 2)
Constitution by not seeking
to enter the ensuing State
Council. But since Britain
(reacting to Indian National
struggle) insisted on teaching
the Tamils in Ceylon a lesson
the boycott movement faded
out.

the Tamils Thereafter erroneously pleaded at the Constitutional level for balanced representation and other safeguards. Britain very much impressed with the Empire loyalism of the Sinhalese and particularly their leader D. S. Senanayake who gave unstinted co-operation to the British war effort (even to the extent of slaughter tapping of rubber trees) India threatened while Britain with a Quit India Resolution, granted Dominion status to the island under a Constitutional set - up which may be described as numerical imperium i.e. imperial sway by the ethnic majority over the ethnic minority under the Westminster pattern. But perhaps because of her conscience getting pricked Britain persuaded the Empire loyal Sinhalese to accept a Constitution with an entrenched non-discrimination clause which also limited the powers of the Parliament to make in laws for good government, peace and security. The Sinhalese accepted with both hands this Constitution with

its entrenched clause and hailed D.S. Senanayake as the Father of the Nation and voluntarily entered into a defence agreement with Britain under which the British admiralty maintained itself at Trincomalee.

Some years later the inherent racio-religious fundamentalism of the Sinhalese refused to remain beneath the surface, revolted and asserted its supremacy over the Sinhala nation, The resultant developments were in quick succession; the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 and racial violence against the Tamils; the tearing off of the Banda - Chelva pact and widespread racial voilence against the Tamils in 1958 and continuous harassment of the Tamils thereafter in every field of life resulted in most of the educated and qualified Tamils leaving the island.

when Srima Bandaranaike and her United Left Front (having refused to effect Constitutional changes through the normal machinery) sought for a Mandate to scrap the Dominion Constitution and create a Republic of Sri Lanka through a Constitutional Assembly composed by the members elected at the 1970 General Elections. The sought-for-Mandate was granted with much enthusia-

sm but only by the seven Sinhala Provinces. The two Tamil Provinces in the North and the East (corresponding to the Tamil territory of the Arrowsmith Map) refused to grant the Mandate; only 14% voted for the Mandate in the Tamil provinces. But the Sinhalese had the governmental machinery in their hands and proceeded to scrap the Dominion polity and created a Republic claiming to encompass the Northern and Eastern Provinces which rejected the call for the Mandate. That the Sri Lankan Republic is built on a false bottom if it claims to encompass the Northern and Eastern Provinces is obvious.

elected politicians The realized their complete impotence through parliamentary process. The Tamil youths inevitably took up the cause of the Tamil nation. It is the youths who face the problems of the future and inevitably they assume the responsibility for liberating the Tamils from stranglehold of the the numerical imperium of the Sinhalese. When the ballot has failed the bullet is inevitably resorted to. To call the freedom struggle of the Tamil youths as the path of violence or terrorism is nothing but the exposure of the workings of a perverted mind which hankers after the numerical imperium over Tamils gifted by Britain in

return for Sinhala Empire loyalism even at this time when the mighty communist imperium of Stalin has gone to pieces.

The Tamil youths have acted, with perfect legitimacy. The Dominion of Ceylon is nothing but a Conditional Polity the condition being that the ethnic majority will treat the Tamils as fellow citizens and not engage in racial discrimination by virtue of their numerical power. But the conditions were violated and the Tamil yonths quite legitimately proceeded to establish a Tamil sovereign state of Eelyom. There is no separation or partition involved. It was a Conditional Polity; the conditions were violated and the Tamils have opted out of the polity in question. The term separation has some meaning if only there was earlier a Union (as in the case of a wedlock). The Tamils never voluntarily or willingly agreed to associate themselves with the Sinhalese in the same polity. They are only exercising their undoubted right to opt out of the Conditional Polity.

The Sri Lankan Government unlawfully denies the right of self Government self determination to the Tamils by engaging in a war for which it has not been able to secure military hardware except from China. The Commonwealth countries

do not appear to have approved Sri Lanka waging the civil war, in that they have not sold arms to Sri Lanka Government to wage a war against the Tamits, They must pursue their disapproval to its logical conclusion and bring the war to an end.

land!

happenings in the The process of the war waged by Sri Lanka against the Tamils are too well known and adequately documented by the Amnesty International and other organizations to need any retailing or repetition in this letter. Suffice it to say that the People's Forum, Jaffna has in a statement dated September 1990 pin-pointed the nature of the attrocities and raised the issue whether the Commity of Nations should not evolve and formulate some international convention defining the limits and nature of the coercive authority of the State,

Aerial bombing, helicopter strafing, shelling etc, destroying thousands of civilians, public and private property, economic sanctions, murder and killing through agents is the order of the day. Since Sri Lanka claims all these attrocities as part of the process of the maintenance of law and order the question is automatically posed: can the Commonwealth tolerate one member (Continued on Page 6)

## O J D Q

VOL: 1 SUNDAY 13th JAN. 1991

#### Unfortunate Decision

The Government has stated that the ceasefire it announced for seven days will not be extended.

Even before the Government's announcement was broadcast, the armed forces of the Sri Lankan Government started their military operations from the early morning of the 11th

Reports from Kilinochchi stated that the Sri Lankan Air Force planes started bombing on the morning of the 11th in the Kilinochchi District.

Similarly the Palaly Army launced on shell attacks affecting various villages...

Shell attacks have no fixed targets.. Similarly bombing from the air is indiscriminate.

The war so far - a complete six months and more - has witnessed greater loss to the non-combatants - i.e. civilian life and property.

The loss of life to the LTTE has taken place only where there was direct confrontation between the Army and the LTTE, as in the case of the battles for the Jaffna Fort, Kokkavil or Mankulam camps, They have hardly any property to lose.

So far as the deaths to LTTE cadres are concerned. the LTTE as a military organization may even regard the losses as having been compensated by their military victories But what consolation does the non-combatant civilians h ve for the loss of their lives and property? Still the fact remains that the civilians have lost more than either of the combatants

It is in his sad situation the Government's decision not to extend the ceasefire defeats the Government's own claims especially that the war is not against the lamil people.

the reports so far received after the Government renewed mil tary operations clearly show that on the first day itself the civilian losses have been greater than the losses of the combatants.

This unfortunately has been the experience of the people of the North East from June 1990 and the Government's decision to continue the war in 1991 also will certainly be a continuation of last year's experience viz. we shall witness genocide taking place at the altar of Baudha - Sinhala imperialism imposed on the Tamils unlawfully and treacherously.

The Government's decision not to pursue peace but follow the war path should open the eyes of all concerned.

It is especially necessary for the international community to look up at least now and ask for themselves the question whether the current conflict is an internal matter or a case of genocide by the ruling Sinhalese against the Tamils.

Sinhala...

(Continuation of Page 4) of the Commonwealth indulging in genocidal civil war and remain passive spectators. Imperialist aggression in Kuwait has brought the world machinery into action. Russia's moves against little Lithuania's pursuit for Independence has brought forth adequate and appropriate cautioning from the correct quarters. But the Commonwealth at any rate the richer among them have given plenty of aid to the aggressor and given him the handle to claim that the aid giving countries have approved its murderous war against the Tamils by continuing to give increasing aid to Sri Lanka. c pproval for an or is the unkindest cut the ad giving countries,

several of whom are in the Commonwealth, could give to the innocent Tamils seeking the elementary right to achieve self-Government from the shackles of Sinhala imperium.

India has popularized a completely false philosophy of bilateral negotiations and settlement. There can be no settlement unless it is a correct solution and it cannot be found except by studying the merits and demerits of the case of the parties to the dispute. The Tamils are seeking nothing but the elementary right of self-government and the most that they can conceive to historical relations is nothing but a customs union.

wealth countries will wield their undoubted moral pressure to liberate the Sinhalese

task and mission. His solution to problems has been summed from Maya (illusion) of imperial grandeure of exercising imperium over the Tamils by virtue of their numerical strength. I also trust that the aid giving countries will suspend their aid till the Sinhala government ceases its aggression against the Tamils. In reality the Sri Lanka Government has no de facto status in the North - East, i.e. Eelyom,

Hoping that the Commonwealth will live up to the I trust that the Common- image of a Commonwealth.

Yours faithfully,

The Commonwealth countries

can easily regularise the de

facto situation and bring

about peace. Nothing more

than mere moral pressure is

Somasuntharam. Vanniasingham

## Thiruvalluvar and Schwetizer Remembered on PONGAL DAY

Pongal Day is significant up by him as Reverence for for three events.

- 1. Tamil Thai Pongal-A day of thanksgiving.
- New year for Tamilians -2022th New year after Thiruvalluvar who gave Divine THIRUKKURAL Tamilians and to the world.
- 3. 116th Birth Anniversary of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, one of the philosophers of the 20th century, whose statement of THIRUKKURAL drew attention of the world to the philosophy of world and Life Affirmation.

Dr. Schweitzer (1875 to 1965) was born to Swiss parents. When he was 21, he made a resolve - "I would consider myself justified in living until 30 for Science and Art in order to devote myself from that time forward to the Direct Service of of Humanity".

His academic career was brilliant. He became in order Doctor of of succession, Philosophy. Doctor Theology and Doctor of Music. Whilst in his twenties, he was recognised as one of the most powerful intellectuals in Europe. As an original thinker and philosopher, his fame amongst the intellectual elite was unique. When he reached the age of 30, he took to the study of medicine as a preliminary to a life of "Direct Service" to Humanity. After securing the Doctorate in Medicine, he left for Africa to his self - imposed

world

Life for All Life.

His remarkable life and work has earned him titles as: The World's Greatest Man, A Saint of our time, a Munivar of the 20th Century,

To crown a life well lived and dedicated to humanity, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

After a deep study of all Indian Philosophies, this great savant praises the Tamilian Philosophy contained in THIRUKKURAL as life Philosophy par excellence.

To quote a few examples-

"Ethics in the Kural are not as entirely dominated by the idea of reward as in Brahmanism and the Gita. We find here the 'Good must be done for its own sake. It shines out from various maxims. "Pure liberality asks nothing in return to the cloud that gives it rain" (Divine Kural 211)

"According to the Kural, duty is not confined as in the Gita to castes obligations but consists in general in "All that is good". Maxims about joy in activity such as one would not expect from Indian lips bear life on 10th January, 1974.

Oh! its our

its Centenary

Alma Mater on

witness to the strength of the World Life Affirmation present in Kural. In other words the creativity in One's work".

"Like like the Buddha and Gita, the Kural desires inner freedom from the world and a mind free from hatred. But in addition to this ethic there appears in the Kural the Living ethic of Love".

It should be a matter of considerable gratification to every Tamilian that this unsolicited tribute to Tamilian thought should have come from a European Savant of repute. Remembering Dr. Albert Schweitzer and his Works on this day is a token of gratitude to him.

If every Tamilian gives pride of place to Kural as his first Book and makes an effort to live accordingly and spread the message of Thiruvalluvar to others, we would achieve the three supreme aims of life, Virtue, Wealth and Happiness and promote the cause of world peace in furtherance of which the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

> A. N. Yohanathan Founder-President, The Divine Thirukkural Society & YMDA.

10th January.... Continuation of Page 1)

The erring Policemen were not punished. In fact the A.S. P. concerned soon received promotion as S.P.

The Tamils bring to memory anually this tragedy

## Ringing Bells Echo!

(A poem to commemorate the centenary celebrations of Jaffna Hindu College on 17th & 18 th January, 1991)

> engraved on history "Jaffna Hindu College" its Successful mission launched 100 years Ago. A brain child of few revivalists of Hindu Education in Jaffna Pasupathi Chettiyar Adv' Nagalingam & Nevins. A Great baby of Great learneds' labour embarked Produced leading personalities All walks of life, gloze Oh! ringing bells Echoes in memory Our sweet school days A blend of dignity proudness and praise A billow in our hearts. Oh! those ringing bells

Ever echo Ever be proud of Our Hindu College! On its Centenary

(KAITHAIYOORAN)

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