

HOT SPRING

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No. 16

INFANTICIDE ?

It is reported that the Jaffna Hospital has stopped giving polio vaccine to infants from the 25th of January

Reason - no polio vaccine is available at this hospital styled also the Teaching Hospital under a special Ministry of Teaching Hospitals.

INTENSIFIED - WAR AGAINST TAMILS

Valvettiturai CARPET BOMBED

In a fit of madness, the Sinhala Air Force completely ravaged the small coastal township of Valvettiturai in the North. The senseless act of bombing the civilians and their properties started around 3.30 p.m. on Sunday the 21st of January, 1991 and continued for four days relentlessly till the 23rd. of January and today the small but flourishing town is a heap of debris with not one of its estimated fifteen thousand population living there.

The reports received in this connection state that at about 12.45 on 20th January, a Sri Lankan Air Force helicopter dropped notices from the air. These notices bore no signature or even a date. They were separately cyclostyled in Tamil and English.

The cyclostyled notices gave peremptory orders asking the people to leave the town within 48 hours with all their belongings but just within three hours of the dropping of the notices around 3.30 p.m. four Sri Lankan Air Force bombers were sighted and they started bombing the town ferociously. Within minutes three other planes belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force - Avro planes and Y. 12 plane joined in the battle from afar in the air on the civilian population. The Avro planes and Y 12 plane dropped what

are called barrel bombs, home made and containing lot of fuel and other incendiary stuff meant to cause destruction not by mere impact only but to cease fire also. Within hours on the 20th a good portion of the Valvettiturai town was destroyed and still burning and all residents of Valvettiturai fled to adjoining areas for safety even leaving behind their dead.

As the town is still a debris at the time of writing this report and residents are away as refugees in adjoining villages in houses of friends, relations and others or at temples, the death toll is not correctly ascertainable. There may still be dead bodies underneath the debris. But so far at least 15 dead bodies were reported to have been recovered and buried wherever the bodies were found.

In one instance five dead bodies of civilians were recovered by accident when a passer-by noticed a human hand jutting out from the ground. On excavation to remove the victim it was found that there were four other dead civilians including two small children and surprisingly another person was found alive but injured.

He had escaped death miraculously though all of them had run for safety to one trench. The injured is now an indoor patient at the Point Pedro Government Hospital with serious injuries.

As stated above, the first day war started at 3.30 p.m. on the 20th January and Valvettiturai was bombed for one full hour. There was a lull between 4.30 p.m. and 5.00 p.m. but the war planes started their war mission of destruction at 5.00 p.m. and continued same for another hour till 6.00 p.m. and with the leaving of planes at 6.00

p.m. artillery shells were fired into Valvettiturai from the Army Camp at Palaly 10 Kilometres away. The artillery shell attacks continued till 6.45 p.m. Unable to bear any further the ferocious onslaught on the town, the residents started fleeing from the town about 7.00 p.m., as no planes were above their heads by this time and the firing of artillery shells from Palaly had ceased. The residents had to abandon their town and rush to nearby villages in the still darkness which had by then closed in.

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Air Attack at Iyakachchi, Kurunchathivu and Elephantpass

Chinese made Y 12 planes, avro planes and bombers belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force started widespread Aerial bombing of Iyakachchi, Kurunchathivu and Elephant Pass.

The attack started at about 7.00 a.m. on the

morning of the 11th January and continued for two hours.

Two persons who had come to buy provisions suffered injuries.

The Iyakachchi Maha Vidyalayam (High School) some houses and four shops at Iyakachchi Junction were severely damaged.

The Pallai market and shops were closed. Also Government offices were closed as the bombers were sighted in the Pallai area but Pallai was not bombed.

It is to be noted that this attack took place at a time when the public did not even know the Government's decision to continue the war but were hopefully awaiting a prolongation of the ceasefire according to indications given by Government officials.

What reliance can be Placed on Sri Lanka Government?

The Sri Lankan Government announced on the 11th of January its decision to continue the North East war with a proviso that it would observe a ceasefire on the 14th of January, the Thai Pongal Festival day celebrated by the Tamils.

But on the 14th January at about 11.30 am soldiers of the Sri Lankan army encamped at Kayts moved out of their camp towards Sinna Moolai where the LTTE had its sentry point. The Sri Lankan Army moved towards Sinna Moolai in armoured cars and trucks

shooting all the way they proceeded. Of course when the Sri Lankan Army reached Sinna Moolai, the LTTE sentry guards opened fire and after a battle that lasted 1½ hours the Sri Lankan soldiers returned to their camp, probably with losses which, however, are not known.

It is difficult to regard this as an isolated incident judging from the reports received from Kandawalai in the Kilinochchi District.

News received from Kandawalai state that on Thai Pongal day on the 14th January the Sri Lankan Air

Force planes dropped bombs in the residential areas in the vicinity of the market there. The air attack took place at Kandawalai around 9.00 a.m. on the 14th January. As usual it was the non-combatants who suffered by this aerial bombing. It is reported that many houses were damaged. A house belonging to one Ramalingam was completely destroyed. Can the Air Force attack also be regarded as a minor isolated incident? What reliance can be placed on Sri Lankan Government's assurances - even when they come out of the Government's bounty?

Havoc all over North

Sri Lankan Air Force planes of every description were out on the skies doing utmost damage to civilian life and property all over the North during the last two weeks. The reports received in this connection reveal that all victims of the Air Force rage were on-combatants.

Reports from Nedunkerny state that when Air Force planes hit Nedunkerny on the 12th January 4 civilians were injured.

On the same day at Vavuniya another civilian died when the Air Force planes bombed a village called Irai-nai Illuppai Kuiam.

Bomber attack on the 20th in Irai-nai Illuppai Kulam and

VillaKulam resulted in the hospital being completely damaged. Also about ten shops were damaged.

At Vidathathivu in Mannar 3 houses were demolished as a result of the Air Force planes dropping bombs.

Thunukkai was bombed on the 21st. January morning and public buildings, private houses and about 10 shops were damaged.

Velanai was also bombed on the same day but the targets were strangely the AGA's office, the Rural Hospital and Electricity Board Quarters all Government owned or rented outbuildings

Ponnambalam Arunachalam was the first Ceylonese to enter the Civil Service. That was way back in 1875. The second Ceylonese who entered the Civil Service was Paul E. Pieris. But that was several years later. In those days the educated Ceylonese exhibited much toadyism to the British masters, aped the Whites in every way and were ashamed to think of anything smacking of nationalism or their mother tongue. Arunachalam however had a keen sense of national consciousness and acquired a mastery of classical Tamil and Hindu philosophy. Even while he was in the Civil Service he wrote under pseudonyms several articles on political issues advocating more responsible Government for the people.

On one occasion when he was an official member of the Legislative Council he walked up to the Governor on the dais, told him that he would have to vote according to his convictions and that he would vote against the official resolution, came back to his seat and voted accordingly. That is perhaps the only occasion when an official member of the Legislature voted against an official resolution. He had the courage of his convictions in a remarkable degree.

After retirement he engaged in much social service as well as in political activity. It is generally acclaimed that a speech of his at Tower Hall in 1917 under the caption Our Political Needs led to the foundation of the Ceylon National Congress in 1919. The Founder-President was inevitably Ponnambalam - Arunachalam.

The British Government was obliged to expand the un-official element in the Legislative Council. The expansion of the un-official element in the Legislature brought to the surface some facts of life in the political world of which Arunachalam was not previously aware. While he pioneered with the concept of Ceylonese Nationalism the Sinhalese members in the Congress viewed and developed the concept of Nationalism as Sinhala Nationalism. When Arunachalam indicated his intention to come forward for the Metropolitan seat in the expand of the Legislative Council of 1921 his Sinhalese colleagues in the Congress made it known to him that they wanted the Metropolitan seat to be reserved for a Sinhalese. Arunachalam was disillusioned at the growth of Sinhala Nationalism, resigned from the Congress and along with him the bulk of the Tamils left the

National Congress. Muslims did not join the National Congress because it was generally supposed that the Nationalist urge among the Sinhalese was only a reaction to the collective levy imposed by the Government on the rich Sinhalese to compensate the heavy losses suffered by the Muslims in the Sinhala racial violence in 1915.

After leaving the Ceylon National Congress he founded the Tamil League but did not live long enough to see the organization take off the ground. In his inaugural

single community was in a position to out-vote all the others put together. This doctrine was known as the Devonshire formula after the Duke of Devonshire who was then the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In terms of this Imperial policy representation to the indigenous people was community-based and a proportion was maintained in addition to the above mentioned Devonshire doctrine. When the arrival of the Donoughmore Commission was announced the Tamil members under the leadership of Ramanathan

by the Ceylon National Congress which had really become the Sinhala National Congress.

G.G. Ponnambalam stated in his prefatory remarks in his contribution to the Reforms debate of 1939 that he joined the Liberal Party led by Francis de Zoysa and E. W. Perera on his return from England. In fact he contested the Mannar seat in 1931 on the Liberal Party ticket. He soon realized that the prevalent Sinhala thinking was racism and concluded that it was suicidal for the Tamils to join a political

days when the Ceylon Observer and other media from the Lake House whipped up a racist campaign against Ponnambalam on the score that he was taking all Industries to the North. There were no Industries to speak of when Ponnambalam took charge of the Ministry of Industries. None of the heavy-weight Sinhala politicians wanted to take over the Industries Portfolio before Ponnambalam took charge of that Portfolio and made Ceylonese become aware that heavy Industries were not outside the capacity of Ceylon. Prior to Ponnambalam the Industries and Fisheries Ministry was a despised one. But after Ponnambalam managed for a few years that Portfolio, it became a very attractive one for the heavy weights among the Sinhala Politicians. Phillip Gunawardene threatened to break up Dudley Senanayake's Government in 1965 if he was not given that Portfolio.

Trusting the politics of the Sinhalese

by Nestor

address to the Tamil League he bemoaned the fact that the Tamils could not present their point of view to the public even in defence of wild allegations against them. He died a disillusioned man while on pilgrimage to India.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan served all people irrespective of race, religion and caste with the same earnestness and zeal wherever there was cause for making protests or representations and seek relief from the Imperial authority. He fought for any cause he undertook without any fear; he never wanted to submit to Imperial authority when such authority was exercised unfairly or unreasonably.

British Imperial policy was to lump together various races, religious groups and people of diverse nationalities into a single unit of Imperial administration. India was never before a single polity. Britain not only put together India but even Burma into the same administrative unit. Indeed parts of Afghanistan was sought to be ruled from Calcutta. In lumping together various peoples, Britain strictly followed one policy. She never wanted to interfere in local customs, religious beliefs or to disturb the power balance of the different peoples whom she brought under one Imperial sway. When she reformulated her Imperial policy to one of progressive realization of full responsible Government, she took care to see that in the Legislative bodies of the Imperial unit she created, no

and the Sinhala members of the Legislature agreed among themselves for the maintenance of the existing ratio - two Sinhalese to one Tamil in making representations to the Donoughmore Commission. But when the Donoughmore Commission rejected this understanding between the Sinhalese and the Tamils as well as the principle of Constitutional safeguards the Sinhalese were unwilling to support the understanding they reached with the Tamils under Ramanathan. They ignored the fact that the Sinhalese and Tamils lived in the same Island and that an understanding with the Tamils ought to be honoured in preference to the adventitious aid of a whimsical recommendation of an Imperial commission. Ceylon was configured into a single political unit by the Imperial act of Britain; it was an artificial configuration; the population of the Island was non-homogeneous; an artificial polity warranted an unconventional constitutional set-up; decisions cannot be made by the counting heads. That is the theoretical explanation of the scheme of proportional representation as well as the Devonshire doctrine of balanced representation.

Apart from the Agreement between the elected Sinhala and Tamil Legislative Councillors, an agreement on the maintenance of the existing proportion between Sinhalese and Tamils was also reached between the Jaffna Association presided over by Dr. Isaac Thambiah and the Ceylon National Congress of the post Arunachalam era. This agreement was also repudiated

party which combined both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. He therefore pursued a policy of securing, Constitutional safeguard, checks and balances as would protect the Tamil minority from domination by the Sinhala ethnic majority.

In the era of Dominion Status he joined with the Sinhalese in working the Constitution because D. S. Senanayake gave an undertaking on the Floor of the House that no harm would befall the Tamils by joining with the Sinhalese to work the new Constitution. Further this undertaking was also reflected in Article 29 of the Constitution which was really drafted by taking into confidence the Sinhala Ministers particularly D. S. Senayake. Article 29 is a gesture on the part of the Sinhalese of that era in inviting the Tamils to join the Sinhalese in working the new Constitution. It ought to be viewed as a symbol of goodwill, gesture and assurance to the Tamils by the ethnic majority instead of as a handicap on them. It should be looked upon with pride as the corner stone of a political philosophy aimed at building a multi-racial population into a modern nation which would stand together through weal or woe.

But subsequent to D. S. Senanayake the Sinhala politicians preferred to promote and thrive on racism. Kotelawala who personally invited G. G. Ponnambalam to join his Cabinet and take charge of the same portfolio he held earlier, chose to dismiss him within a few

Arunachalam and Ponnambalam never thought of negotiating Pacts or Agreements with the Sinhalese. They chose to act on trust in the professions and policies enunciated by their fellow Sinhala politicians on the assumption that trust begets trust. But both were deceived and disillusioned by Sinhala politicians who believed in promoting and thriving on racism.

Suntharalingam is another stalwart who worked very closely with the Sinhalese and finally confessed that the greatest mistake he did was to trust the Sinhalese. Many Tamils felt that Suntharalingam's policy (until he broke off from D.S. Senanayake) was treacherous to the Tamils and he was really defeated at two by-elections when he sought to enter politics. It is necessary to reflect on the background in which Suntharalingam acted in close liaison with the Sinhalese politicians. He was a teacher, a distinguished Professor and one who had the welfare of his students at heart. A teacher is heavily influenced by the brilliance of his students; he could not think of them as a Sinhalese, a Tamil, a Muslim or a Burgher. He thinks of his students only as a brilliant student or otherwise. Suntharalingam took a lot of extra-curricular interest in his students and the Students looked up to Sun as the University. Whenever in their youthful exuberance they fell foul of the law, Sun was always there to redeem them from the Police. It was nothing unnatural for Suntharalingam, given the background in which he lived and worked, to look at all Ceylonese alike as one family. He could not think

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The Tamils have been betrayed

This is the third instalment of the Speech delivered in Parliament by late Prof. C. Suntharalingam, the M.P. for Vavuniya on the occasion of the debate on the Sinhala Only Official Language Bill.

Prof. Suntharalingam continues his charge against the Sinhala leaders and proceeds on the language question to give instances of such turn-coat activities and treachery.

Dark clouds on the horizon

The first intimation the country had of a dark and ominous cloud showing itself on the horizon was on 9th June, 1951—Mark the Date, Mr. Deputy Speaker, five years ago. On that date, the Sinhala Maha Sabha held its annual sessions at Madampe. One of my good Friends on the other side referred to the Madampe Session but skilfully avoided details. The Sinhala Maha Sabha was then affiliated to the U.N.P. That Sabha was during the years 1946 onward in a moribund state but it suddenly came to life. Do you remember that Mr. Prime Minister? In the issue of the 'Times of Ceylon' of Saturday evening 9th June, 1951, which I have before me, is a picture of its President appearing on the front page in the first column under the bannered caption "No threat to the U.N.P.". The first resolution of the Sinhala Maha Sabha—The first resolution passed by the Sinhala Maha Sabha—was on the language question and it is given in full. It is This:

"The Sabha is of opinion that Sinhalese be immediately declared the official language with a proviso that a limited time be given for the change over in case of special difficulty ..."

My Friend is anticipating today's events by five years and he says:-

"If there is a strong demand by the Tamil Speaking peoples of Ceylon that Tamil also be declared an official language, the Sabha has no objection to it".

After having followed from 1944 till 1951 the policy of Sinhalese and Tamil as the official language on an equal footing, my good Friend now comes and introduces Sinhalese only as the official language with a proviso about the time limit and a concession about making Tamil an official language if Tamil Speaking peoples wanted it.

For the first time my good Friend the Prime Minister changed his opinion on June 9, 1951. Mr. Prime Minister, would you kindly tell your friends in this House and

the country at large, why, in the month of June 1951, you changed your opinion and stirred up the placid waters of the language question in the matter of the use of both Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of Ceylon? Mr. Prime Minister, I wait for an answer. What were the reasons which compelled you to change your views and you expressed that change in the very first resolution itself passed by the Sinhala Maha Sabha? I am willing to give you an opportunity to give a personal explanation if you like. You are still silent. I will tell you the reason. Mr. Prime Minister from the very words which fell from your lips. I shall quote three passages verbatim from the speech which you delivered taken down in the first person. The first passage is this—

"In the absence of more than one powerful democratic party, therefore, it is necessary for that one party to be more sensitive and responsible to public opinion than any one party would normally be in a country where there are two or more parties. Indeed, in such circumstances, such a party would be entitled to reconsider its policies and programmes from time to time and fashion them to suit public opinion and changing needs to a far greater extent than would otherwise be the case. This is more or less the position that exists in our country today".

The second passage is a very significant passage which must be borne in mind in connection with the next General Election than anticipated. You see, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the anticipated General Election is now presenting itself before my good Friend's mind. He said—

"The next general election will be a very crucial one, and a great responsibility rests on all voters in the exercise of their votes. For, the good of our country for some years to come and the general direction and trend of our progress and development, may well be decided by the results of the next General Elections. Voters therefore will have to decide what precisely they

want and see to it that their Wishes are properly reflected in the manner they exercise their votes."

My Friend wanted the voters to exercise their votes on the changed views that he held:

The third passage is—

"I wish to make it quite clear that the Sabha is holding out no threat and is issuing no ultimatum. Members of the Sabha feel very strongly that the policy generally adumbrated in these resolutions is essential for the progress and well being of our country and they have no doubt that they will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of the U. N. P."

Prof. C. Suntharalingam in Parliament

Mr Prime Minister, were there any dark, dangerous, dishonourable, despicable, dirty thoughts passing through your mind which you wanted to hide in a flow of oratory? What was the ultimatum you had in mind when you said you did not want to issue an ultimatum? Do you know that 23 days later, on July 12, 1951, you were in a state of suppressed frustration, your ambitions thwarted, and you ceased to be the Leader of the House and heir to the Premiership and you crossed the floor of this House? Did you then relate the language issue to the impending General Election? You have changed your view on that date from two official languages on equal footing to one official language with concession to the other. What made you change those views? I wait for an answer, tell me. Your language issue was to be your first plank on your new bid for the premier stakes which you then felt you were losing.

The Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake: I have won it.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes, at what price? Do you remember, Mr. Prime Minister, that fateful day when you entered the Committee Room of the Opposition, presided over by my good Friend, the present Leader of the Opposition and telephoned to me? I was then absenting myself from Parliament on the issue of that ugly abomination, the fraud flag. I shall not say what transpired then, because it is improper and unparliamentary for me to do so. Yesterday, Mr. Prime Minister, you repeated in connection

with the present critical times of riots, looting, arson, marooning and blood-shed, the phrase: "fishing in troubled waters". I ask you, Mr. Prime Minister, who troubled the calm and placid language waters in 1951, and what was the fish that you were trying to catch? Was that fish a Prime Ministerial top hat?

The Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake: An old eel like you.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes, you have still not succeeded in getting hold of an old eel like me. But you have succeeded in getting hold of a Prime Ministerial top hat. Yes, Mr. Prime Minister, you had to wait five long years to put it on, and, to-

day, uneasy lies the head that wears the Prime Ministerial top hat: No, Prime Minister no. You want to prosper. You want to be famous by trying to commit genocide of a whole people, the Tamil Speaking people of Ceylon? Others have tried it before you, but Nemesis overtook them pretty fast.

The late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake gave you a chastisement in Parliament on 24th July, 1951, within 12 days of your resignation from your office as Minister and Leader of the House. My Hon. Friend the Member for Jaffna (Mr. Ponnambalam) quoted from that speech of D.S. Senanayake. I will quote from that speech. Said the late Rt. Hon. D.S. Senanayake—

"Now I will tell you what our objections are to that resolution. As it is it has been decided by this House that Sinhalese and Tamil should be the official languages. It is a decision of this House and as such we as Ministers are pledged to give effect to it".

You are a party to that pledge, Mr. Prime Minister. What made you break that pledge? Tell us. We would like to know how and why a gentleman changes his views and breaks his pledges. You were, according to the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, party to a pledge to make Tamil and Sinhalese the official languages. How did you break that pledge?—a simple question. Why did you change your view?—a simple question.

SLFP

The Maha Sabha died an unnatural death and was ingloriously cremated. In its place there arose like a phoenix from the ashes the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which was inaugurated, within 6 months, on the 2nd. of September, 1951, at the Town Hall, Colombo.

And what was their programme, their immediate programme? Item 3 B National languages—reads as follows—mark you, Mr. Deputy speaker, in May 1951, 2 official languages, In June 1951, one official language with concession to continue with the other official language if so desired by the Tamil Speaking peoples.

"It is most essential that Sinhalese and Tamil be adopted as official languages immediately so that the people of this country may cease to be aliens in their own lands, so that an end may be put to the inequity of condemning those educated in Sinhalese and Tamil to occupy the lowliest walks of life and above all that society may have the full benefit of the skill and talent of the people. The administration of the Government must be carried out in Sinhalese and Tamil"

What brave words. Mr. Deputy speaker: There was the great orator of all Asia in action.

I ask you, Mr. Prime Minister, you somersaulted publicly on June 9, 1951. Why did you somersault again on 2nd September, 1951? Did you use the phrase 'aliens in their own lands'? Did you say that those educated in Sinhalese and Tamil are to occupy the lowliest walks of life? Your Minister of Education has frankly admitted that Tamil speaking children are to be educated in Tamil while Sinhalese is the official language. In your own words, therefore, you want them to be 'aliens in their own lands': you want 'them to occupy the lowliest walks of life'.

I want to know, Mr. Prime Minister what made you commit the two 'kuthukaranams' in such quick succession, I will not weary the House with further details of history of this language problem, but I want this country to know that the

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The Tamils...

(Continuation of Page 3)

language problem which has so far created so much misery, and which is going to create still more misery, was propounded by plain ex-Minister Mr. Solomon W. R. D. Bandaranayake in the year of Grace 1951, for what reason?

Recommendation of the Official Languages Commission

Mr. Deputy Speaker, from 1951 till 1953 October, or rather from 1952, Mr. Dudley Senanayake was our Prime Minister. The General Election of 1952 had taken place early that year and my good Friend was not even a runner in the premier stakes of 1952. There were all kinds of people engaged in all kinds of scheming. Nevertheless, the Official Languages Commission made this recommendation. I quote from page 18 Sessional Paper XXII of 1953 item 54:

"Sinhalese and Tamil should both be the official languages in all Districts".

You see, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the principle that both Sinhalese and Tamil should be the official languages had been fully confirmed. The Chairman, however, Sir E. A. L. Wijewardena - the worst form of tyranny today in Ceylon is that which masquerades in the name of an ex-Chief Justice and some other ex-Justices of the Supreme Court - added this rider.

"In my opinion the replacement of English by swabasha would have been very much easier if instead of two swabasha languages as official languages one alone had been accepted in terms of the Motion introduced by Mr. J. R. Jeyawardena in the State Council on June, 22, 1943.

The ex-Chief Justice was falling in line with the ex-Leader of the House and putting the clock back to June, 1943.

The month of June, Mr. Deputy Speaker, seems to be an evil month for the language question. Thereafter, the trouble started. The problem snowballed when the Queen, Queen Elizabeth the Second of Ceylon arrived in April, 1954. On that occasion of the Queen's Address only two speeches were delivered at the Independence Hall, one in English and the other in Sinhalese. I could not restrain myself in the Independence Hall on that day. Then and there I had to say though sotto voce and not altogether inaudible a

dirty skunk to my good friend when he stopped his speech in Sinhalese.

My good Friend the present, Prime Minister boycotted the Queen's visit. He did not see her gracious person even from a distance. Is the pussy cat going to visit the Queen this month?

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: That is what you are going to do. You are going to London to see the Queen.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Does the pussy cat know that the Member for Vavuniya had the great privilege and honour of being invited, to talk and dine with the Queen on more than one occasion?

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: What did you do?

Mr. Suntharalingam: Oh, pussy cat, please listen. The Member for Vavuniya had the great privilege and honour being invited talking and dining with the Queen on more than one occasion. He does not want to go to London just to visit the Queen of England. That is what my Friend said I was going to do. The Member for Vavuniya does not want to go and see the Queen of England, he wants to go and see his Queen the Queen of Ceylon to whom he has sworn allegiance and to bring to Her Majesty's personal notice the misdeeds of her present Prime Minister of Ceylon and he does want to tell Her Majesty that there are defence agreements which justify the continuance of the British base at Trincomalee and the future of that base should not be decided without reference to the Tamil Speaking people of Ceylon.

A Separate State for the Tamil Speaking People

Having regard to the conduct of the present Government, the Tamil Speaking people of Ceylon ask for a separate dominion with Trincomalee as the base for their protection, and if they fail to achieve a Tamil Speaking people's dominion by Parliamentary means, they shall have recourse to extra-Parliamentary activities. Let us make no mistake on this question. We shall to the best of our ability see to it that in so far as the Tamil Speaking people are concerned, they will take all steps within their power to free themselves from such an iniquitous government like that of my good Friend.

Defence Agreements

You will remember, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I referred to the existence of agree-

ments and I stated that the conditions precedent to the conclusion of those agreements were raised before the Independence Bill was discussed by the Cabinet. In Sessional Paper No. XXII of 1947 is published the statement that was made in the Parliament of the United Kingdom and in the State Council on June 18, 1947.

"It was announced that as soon as necessary, agreements shall be negotiated and concluded on terms satisfactory to the Governments of the United Kingdom and Ceylon, immediate steps would be taken to confer upon Ceylon full responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Immediate steps were taken to take advantage of this offer and heads of agreements were reached for submission to the Cabinet. The Cabinet examined the documents at an early meeting and authorised Mr. D. S. Senanayake to send the agreements as soon as the text of the Ceylon Independence Bill had been settled to its satisfaction. On November 11, 1947, accordingly, His Excellency the Governor signed the agreements on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom and in accordance with the direction of the Cabinet Mr. D. S. Senanayake signed on behalf of the Ceylon Government."

If my Friend takes the trouble to read the news papers of the following date, he would find a photograph of the signatories to the agreements. You were, Mr. Prime Minister, a Colleague of mine, in the Cabinet. I raised my voice in protest against the defence agreement, while you, what did you do? Obviously you did nothing. I raised my voice in frank protest in the Cabinet against those defence agreements, but because I was bound by the Oath of Secrecy and Collective Cabinet Responsibility, I had to give just a hint of my dissenting view when I spoke in Parliament on the Governor's Address in regard to the Independence Bill. I hope, Mr. Prime Minister, you will mark what I say.

Prime Minister Kotalawala's Assurance

You will see Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Kotalawala Cabinet did not start the controversy on the language question. It is dishonest for any Member on the other side to attribute the language controversy to the defection of Sir John Kotalawala. It must be ascribed well and truly, to my good Friend the Prime Minister.

The controversy of the language question proceeded. Certain Tamil children were being shut out from Assisted schools. Tamil classes were being discontinued in the South of Ceylon.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotalawala, then Prime Minister went on a visit to Jaffna on the 29th September, 1954 about six months after the Queen's visit. The Reception Committee used these words:-

"At a time when unworthy attempts are being made to stir up racial and religious passions".....

Who were stirring up, Mr. Prime Minister, racial and religious passions? You were then engaged at the time in stirring up racial and religious passions.

Continues the address:-

"..... We welcome your statesmanlike pronouncement that Ceylon belongs to all communities. According to the chronicles the Tamils were living in this Island at the time of the visit of Lord Buddha, and they have been co-existing with the Sinhalese for well over 2000 years. We trust that in independent Ceylon all Ceylonese, irrespective of race, creed and caste, will be free to continue their peaceful co-existence and will make their respective contributions to the national life of this country, and that they will be assured that the declared policy of the Government is to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon. It is our hope that statutory provision will be made early giving effect to the declared policy of the Government in regard to the language question, thereby enabling all Ceylonese to achieve efficiency in the national languages."

To that address of welcome, Sir John Kotalawala read out a reply. With your permission, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have to quote two passages:-

"My visit to you today is for the purpose of removing any fears or misgivings that have arisen in your minds either through false propaganda or misinterpretation of the Government's attitude to the various problems which confront the people of Jaffna and the Tamil inhabitants of this country. The U.N.P. of which I am the Head stands for development through co-operation..."

How often has this word "Co-operation" been used by my Friends:

"... It eschews communalism and all forms of sectionalism in politics. It gives a clear indication of its mind on the language problem when we adopted the resolution that Tamil and Sinhalese languages should have identical status throughout the Island. This resolution has been adopted by the Government Parliamentary Party and my Government intends to uphold it steadfastly. I know that it is important that the

Prime Minister should not think of himself as the Sinhalese representative."

Mr. Prime Minister, how are you thinking of yourself today? You are the leader of a Parliamentary Party in which there is not a single non-Sinhalese representative.

An Hon. Member: What about Marikkar?

Mr. Suntharalingam: That is "Sinhala Marrikkar". He is a Sinhalese by upbringing, profession and everything he holds sacred. Why do you plead on his behalf?

Mr. M. P. De Zoysa: We should like to welcome a "Sinhala Suntharalingam".

Mr. Suntharalingam: You will have to wait for the next Buddha Jayanthi. Sir John Kotalawala went on to say:-

"As the late D. S. Senanayake, the Father of the Nation once said, 'The interests of one community are the interests of all'. We are one of another, whatever our race or creed. We have had enough of communal politics before independence and just when we had almost forgotten its existence there are ominous sings of its reappearance amidst us".

Mr. Prime Minister, who is responsible for reappearance of this communalism in our politics after independence? I ask you that question, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the man who reintroduced communalism into the politics of Ceylon after we achieved independence in 1948 is the Present Prime Minister of Ceylon. He reintroduced it in 1951, he disturbed our placid waters, for no reason other than that he wanted to wear a Prime Minister's Top Hat.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, we can now see that all this talk of clarifications about doubts and misgivings, about what some body thought and said and all the rest of it, are mere excuses to clear himself of even a suspicion and father other people with his own misdeed. Today the country is paying in blood and tears for that misdeed.

This was the position. Mr. Deputy Speaker, on that day that I mentioned to you, in 1954 September.

What did our friends do? Our friends now found that certain Bhikkhus in Anuradhapura started to question: What right had the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotalawala, to present to the people of Jaffna equality of status for their language along with the official language of the Sinhalese? The controversy on the language question began to snowball. Our friends of the U.N.P. were getting a little disturbed. On January, 13, 1955, the Kotalawala Cabinet tabled in this House a statement of Government policy in regard to the media of instruction and of administration.

(to be continued)

THOSE NOSTRUMS FROM THE ROSTRUM

We have always cherished with relish those nostrums - oracular utterances of the State Minister of Defence at his weekly rendezvous with Pressmen from his rostrum on the 'state of the nation' and performances of the Security Forces at the North Eastern theatre of war.

Needled by journalists both local and Foreign, avid for 'scoops' and news from the War front, that is the North East, he has shrieked, blurted and bawled but never bowled, 'all ends up'! One is some times left to wonder whether he is the re-incarnation of Aesop.

He certainly has well and truly hoisted the Army colours at all times and galvanised the war-weary Lankan soldiers and their other comrades-in-arms into action and tell the world time and again that the War is not Against the Tamil People but against the LTTE whose bunkers, hide-outs and war potential have been liquidated to the nth degree.

From these profound press pronouncements one could have reasonably presumed that the LTTE were at the end of their tether. But how come for the Army Spokesman, Hamilton Wanasinhge, to state that his Security Forces wanted another lease of six months to liquidate the 'tigers'. He certainly let the cat out of the Security Bag. Past performances of the Sri Lankan forces will bear witness that Army Commanders have come and gone and so too the IPKF (thanks to the temporary liaison of the Government with LTTE), but the 'tigers' do still seem to have their 'tails up'!

We, as a nation should be very proud that the State Minister of Defence has been like Casablanca on the nation's burning deck holding aloft the Lion Flag and injected courage into the flagging spirit of the nation. He has indeed been the nation's one-man band playing with consistency the 'Namo, Namo Matha'.

As we write and laud the patriotic fervour of our State Minister, we have just got a 'scoop' for our pressmen. "At a secret meeting of the UN Security Council, Sri Lanka has been chosen as one of the countries to monitor the Cease fire in the Gulf."

We hope that Sri Lanka will snatch this role with exact

avidity for our forces will gain invaluable experience in the operation of 'Patriot' 'Scud' and 'Cruise' missiles which should stand in good stead in their war in the North East which is going on with unabated fury. This logistic and aerial experience of the Sri Lankan Forces in the Gulf could well spell the doom of the LTTE.

So carry on regardless, to hell with the Gulf War! we have one month stock of fuel deprived for use in the North East from civilians. More stocks of fuel are in

the offing from Iran and other friendly countries by mid February. So let us finish the job once and for all!

By: 'A Free Lancer'

A BEGINNING TO AN END

We are fighting
For peace
We make noises shaking
The earth to
Bring in peace

POOR THINGS

Why did many who
Studied and got degrees
Fall by the way side
In social life?
Poor things
They were trained to
Sit only for examinations.

ONE-WAY TRAFFIC

I entered her heart
Through
The gates of her eyes.
But—
When I wanted to get out
No way did I find.
Only later
I Learnt that it was
One-way traffic.

— Free Thinker —

— VIVEK (Thadayangal)

What is the meaning of "Curfew"

According to the Dictionary, "Curfew" means —

1. Evening bell as a signal for people to go to bed;
2. Restraint placed on the movement of citizens.

Curfew is being imposed and lifted several times but neither of the above versions are observed. The version is observed to a certain extent only when bomber or Helicopter is seen overhead - whether there is a curfew or not.

Then I looked for the meaning of "cur" and "few"

CUR means a low born dog or a wretch.

FEW means - not many or small in number

I was made to wonder whether it referred to the few who propound a Curfew because they are few in number and not to the citizens!

Trusting...

(Continuation of Page 2)

himself as a Tamil until the Senanayake Government acted criminally in disenfranchising the Plantation Tamils. It was then that he realized that racism was inseparable from the Sinhalese.

S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, perhaps because of his Civil lawyer approach, believed in agreements, Pacts and understandings with the Sinhalese.

Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam who was once Mayor of Jaffna and a veteran leader of the Party led by S. J. V. Chelvanayakam made a count of the Agreements or understandings reached between Chelvanayakam's Party and successive Sinhala Governments and observed that there were ten agreements or understanding and that all of them were repudiated or scuttled by the Sinhalese. A good number of these agreements were secret Agreements. Shortly after he made this observation Dr. Tharmalingam who was well over 70 years of age was arrested and subjected to indefinite incarceration.

We shall observe what Diplomat Dixit had to say on this aspect of repudiation of Agreements by the Sinhala Government. This is what Diplomat Dixit had said in a three part speech before the Indian Defence Academy.

There were three major agreements signed between the Tamil political parties and the Sri Lankan Government between 1948 and 1978. Each one of them was between the existing Government of Sri Lanka and majority Tamil political parties whether it was a provincial party of Tamils or TULF. Each time an agreement was signed it was scuttled. Whereas the difference this time is that the agreement is guaranteed by us. The agreement is underwritten by India.

Dixit spoke of the Agreement of the Gandhi-Jeyawardene Agreement as constituting a guarantee and underwriting of the terms of settlement contained therein by India. But Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Diplomat Dixit misguided themselves completely. They reckoned without taking into account Sinhala Machiavellianism. The Accord is an agreement between two Governments. Throughout the tone is one of agreement and mutual understandings but in the Clause relating to the withdrawal of the Indian troops the provision, instead of saying that the withdrawal shall be determined by mutual agreement between the two Governments stated that the Indian troops shall be withdrawn at the request of the President of Sri Lanka. This is obviously the result of careless drafting or more exact

tly hurried drafting for the purpose of achieving an accord on the ethnic conflict between India and Sri Lanka in order to forestall a debate in the U.S. Congress on a bi-partisan resolution condemning violation of human rights in Sri Lanka scheduled for the 4th of August, 1987. President Premadasa and the Sri Lankan Government exploited the gap or error in the provision in the agreement and unceremoniously ordered the Indian troops out and India was made to suffer much humiliation. Indian humiliation was aggravated by the misconceived policies India pursued by fighting the LTTE and thus alienating the Tamils of Eelam. India intervened in Sri Lankan affairs for a functional purpose and that was to mediate and reach a viable political solution. President Premadasa's action in exploiting the careless drafting of the provisions of the Accord was a clear example of Sinhala capacity of Machiavellian repudiation of agreement when such a repudiation was of advantage to them.

Rajiv Gandhi's mistake in deciding to fight the Tamils for the benefit of the Sinhalese instead of functioning as an honest broker created a situation advantageous to President Premadasa. The Tamils were disillusioned with India's change of front and were prepared to reach a settle-

ment with the Sinhalese in order to get rid of the Indian military machine poised against the Tamils in Tamil Eelam. The Indian troops were not in Sri Lanka but only in Eelam and were a source of intolerable nuisance to the Tamils. Hence the L.T.T.E opened negotiations with President Premadasa's Government. The Agreement reached between the LTTE and Premadasa's Government was never made public but it was admitted by the Sinhala Government that they agreed to repeal the sixth amendment to the Constitution which militated against Eelam emerging as well as to withdraw certain Army Camps in the North-East but it soon became clear that President Premadasa intended to cheat the LTTE in respect of these agreed items. It is the position of Eelam Tamils that their presence in the Colombo Parliament serves no purpose. The Eros Parliamentary group retained their membership in the Colombo Parliament only in the hope that their votes would be necessary for repealing the sixth amendment. Since it became clear that President Premadasa intended to cheat the Tamils on the agreement in respect of the repeal of the sixth amendment, the Eros' members resigned their Parliamentary seats; Premadasa could not claim that there is a United Lanka under his Presidentship.

From the day Britain reformulated the Imperial policy of proceeding towards progressive realization of full responsible Government in 1917 Sinhala - Tamil political relationship was one of the Sinhalese misleading the Tamils under a cloak of nationalism and repudiating all agreements and understanding and pursuing a policy of racial chauvinism. The experience of every Tamil leader from Arunachalam to Pirabhakaran was the same; to be cheated of every understanding or agreement when Sinhala racism stood to gain by such a repudiation.

The Tamils have realized the utter incompatibility of the aspirations of the Sinhalese and those of the Tamils. The Sinhalese want an imperium over the Tamils whereas the Tamils seek Swaraj. Since the Sinhalese and Tamils could not operate in the same polity there is no alternative but to return to the pre-British situation; the Sinhalese and Tamils being two nations each operate their own polity. The demand of the Tamils is simple: LEAVE US ALONE. The reciprocal position follows automatically - the Tamils leave the Sinhalese alone. There is no more scope to talk of or negotiate about grievances, differences and other complaints. LEAVE US ALONE is the one and only demand of the Tamils.

HOT SPRING

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Practice is Better than Precepts

After becoming President, Mr. Premadasa has found an interesting hobby (or is it a vocation) in being a 'preacher' at temple ceremonies and other public occasions. Whenever he opens his mouth he starts to preach. One of his preachings was JUSTICE through observing ethnic proportions in appointments and opportunities for higher education. But a seven member BENCH of the Supreme Court has held that there is no justice in that doctrine so assiduously preached by the President. It is a pity that President Premadasa did not realise that when ethnicity is the unit for appointments it automatically becomes the unit for political governance, i. e. the polity.

Another doctrine preached with much vehemence by the President is Peace, Peace, Peace. One may cry himself hoarse by repeating the slogan Peace, Peace, Peace. But he will not get anywhere near Peace. Peace can never be an objective per se. Peace is the consequence or concomitant of something else and that something else is JUSTICE.

President Premadasa having achieved 'Peace of Disappearances' in the Sinhala country by causing the disappearance of nearly one lakh of youngsters and by maintaining a 'Heavenly Peace' in the N. E. through continuous aerial bombing shelling from camps and sea, economic sanctions and a murderous Home Guard service has now proceeded to secure Arabian Peace by resuscitating the non aligned movement forgetting that Queen Anne is dead. Non alignment was a strategy to secure self-importance only when Russia was pursuing a policy which was in conflict with that of America.

We hear no more of the CENTO and the SEATO. The NATO and the Warsaw Pact are expected to have their demise. But President Premadasa wants to secure Arabian Peace. Non-alignment only requires a decent burial President Premadasa is crying for peace in the Gulf, though at home he is engulfed in a battle of his own seeking but still carrying on the battle regardless.

Premadasa, of course, started politics from the grass-root level so to say. He entered politics first at the Local Government level through the long-dead Labour Party and has come to the highest position that any one can hope to achieve in domestic politics.

Considered in this light a craving for international reputation is a pardonable ambition especially when one sees some opponents getting such fame by mere accidents in life.

But of course the claim to a place in the hearts of men, is founded in the heart of the claimant himself - in that he should be true to his own heart - as laid down in Thirukkural, the famous work on Morals in Tamil.

How can President Premadasa who refuses to accept the peace offer made to him, preach to the others is a legitimate question that arises. The mere fact that neither the Iraqis nor the Americans would heed the appeals emanating from the Sinhala Rata does not per se make the appeal a joke as much as the fact that it does emanate from a person who carries on a war against non-combatant civilians even when the combatants offer peace. Isn't it therefore legitimate for someone to say to President Premadasa that practice is better than precepts.

For President Premadasa's consolation we reiterate that Peace emerges automatically when aggression ceases. When Iraqi aggression of Kuwait ceases, there will be peace, exactly as there will be peace on Lanka when Sinhala aggression against Eelom ceases by withdrawal of the Sinhala armed forces. Let President Premadasa withdraw the Sinhala armed forces from Eelom and allow peace to reign in this island so that he can talk peace in the Arab world with moral authority.

A Second open letter to big brother

Dear Aiya,

If not yet, at least in due course, you should be able to read my letter to you that appeared in the Hot Spring of 20th Sunday, '91.

Your Sia Marchettis seem to have the necessary fuel. Because they have flattened on the 20th to 22nd about 100 houses in the Vadamaradchi area, killed a good number and injured many. Even yesterday (22nd) they have dropped a bomb into a Girls' College premises at Manipay. The day before yesterday evening they dropped about 8 bombs at 5 p.m. in Kokkuvil. Your Air Force is supposed to bomb LTTE factories and camps. But be assured that 99% of the targets are civilian properties that have nothing to do with the Liberation Tigers.

His Excellency is advising the Gulf fighters to lay down arms and talk peace. We need not take him seriously, because his preaching and practice are poles apart. But imagine Mikhail Gorbachev requesting the Iraqis to withdraw, while attacking Lithuania in spite of the fact that, at least 'on paper' Soviet Republics have the right of self determination. India too is horrified at the

killing. India is a country where man is killing man because he belongs to another race. This is happening since Independence and there is no solution. China too is saying "Om Shanthi, Om Shanthi" after having sold hardware to the Premadasa government at "reasonable prices" for the massacre of the Tamils. Even today (23rd) the Peninsula is being bombed. Aiya, have you noticed another similarity between the Gulf and the Sri Lanka war? The American coalition forces fight it out in the air and here too it is bombing after bombing and little of face fighting!

Turkey is giving its bases to the Americans in the fight against Iraq but Turkey is "neutral". What logic is this?

Gananath Obeyasekera says in the book "Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis" that in 1983 Parliamentary speeches extended no sympathy to those affected most - the Tamils - and speeches were designed to placate the Sinhalese. He quotes Lalith Athulathmudali opening his speech to the nation thus: "A few days ago, my friends, I saw a sight which neither you nor I thought that we

should live to see again. We saw many people looking for food, standing in line, greatly inconvenienced, seriously inconvenienced." He continues to say that here was the leading intellectual (?) in the government speaking of the hardship faced by Sinhalese people queuing for food when 70,000 Tamils were in refugee camps (i.e. in 1983).

Today, Aiya our refugees number lakhs. Daily many queues are formed. But at the sight of an aircraft or helicopter, people scatter in all directions. Once they pass away, the queues are formed again.

Your Forces, Aiya, want to fight it out. So, is the government taking a back seat? If the Forces say, that they could manage without the Parliament as well, what is the position? Forces advise governments but never decide political matters in a DEMOCRACY.

Are we destined to get killed, maimed have our houses flattened, women outraged, bodies maimed and properties looted till your Treasury dries up?

"LIVE AND LET LIVE IS THE RULE OF COMMON JUSTICE."

Jaffna, small brother.

War...

(Continuation of Page 1)

They could not collect anything except what little they had in person. Where dead bodies were found, they just buried those bodies where ever they found them, on the sea beach, roadside or home compound where the dead body lay and ran for their own lives. Still the mad rage of the Air Force was not quenched and the planes returned at 10.00 P.M. and started bombing Valvettiturai in the night but fortunately all the people had fled and so there could have been no loss of lives. The night bombing continued intermittently and the Valvettiturai people heard only deadening sounds from their new places of refuge.

20th January was a Sunday. So there were no schools but a tutory was in session at the time the first air attack took place. There were about 300 students and teachers and one bomb fell on one side of the school building but as the students and teachers had collected on the other side they managed to escape death.

Worse was to follow the next day on the 21st. with the bombers and other planes active from morn till evening

coming in wave after wave - bombers followed sea plane, sea plane followed by Avros, Avros followed by Chinese Y 12 planes and they in turn followed by helicopters. The destruction and burning of buildings continued and by the 21st evening Sinhala Air Force planes had virtually completed the destruction of almost the entire town - the townsfolk watching from the distant refuges the performances of the planes in the sky over their town.

Prompted by an inexplicable madness the Air Force planes continued the attack on Valvettiturai on the two following days too - i.e. on the 22nd and 23rd of January, though by the 21st evening the entire town had been reduced to debris and ashes. What vengeance motivated the ferocious attack even after the town was deserted and all buildings had been destroyed or burnt, is difficult to say.

For three full days and a half Sinhala Air Force planes ravaged Valvettiturai and today it is a ruined and deserted town. One cannot walk the roads easily as dilapidated buildings are strewn all over. One cannot meet the residents of the town except here and there

one or two solitary men just trying to see if anything still is left of what was theirs once.

One is not, able to accurately tell the number of deaths or the number injured as the residents of this once lively town are bemoaning their losses from distant villages as refugees.

One person who had gone to Valvettiturai to see what had happened to his house confessed that no one could then assess the loss to life and property. There was carpet bombing and all buildings had been damaged - not excluding temples, churches, schools and hospital. So it would take some time before these damages are ascertained.

Asked whether any LTTE position was attacked or any Tiger had died he said he had not heard of any such incident and added "This a war against the people - Not against the Tigers. So why should any tiger die?"

It is also understood that infuriated residents of Valvettiturai are presenting a mammoth petition to the Secretary General of the UNO, other Heads of State including the Chairman of the Non-Aligned countries and British Premier pointing out the grave crime committed on Valvettiturai and its residents.