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BEGINNINGS
OF
FREEDOM STRUGGLE

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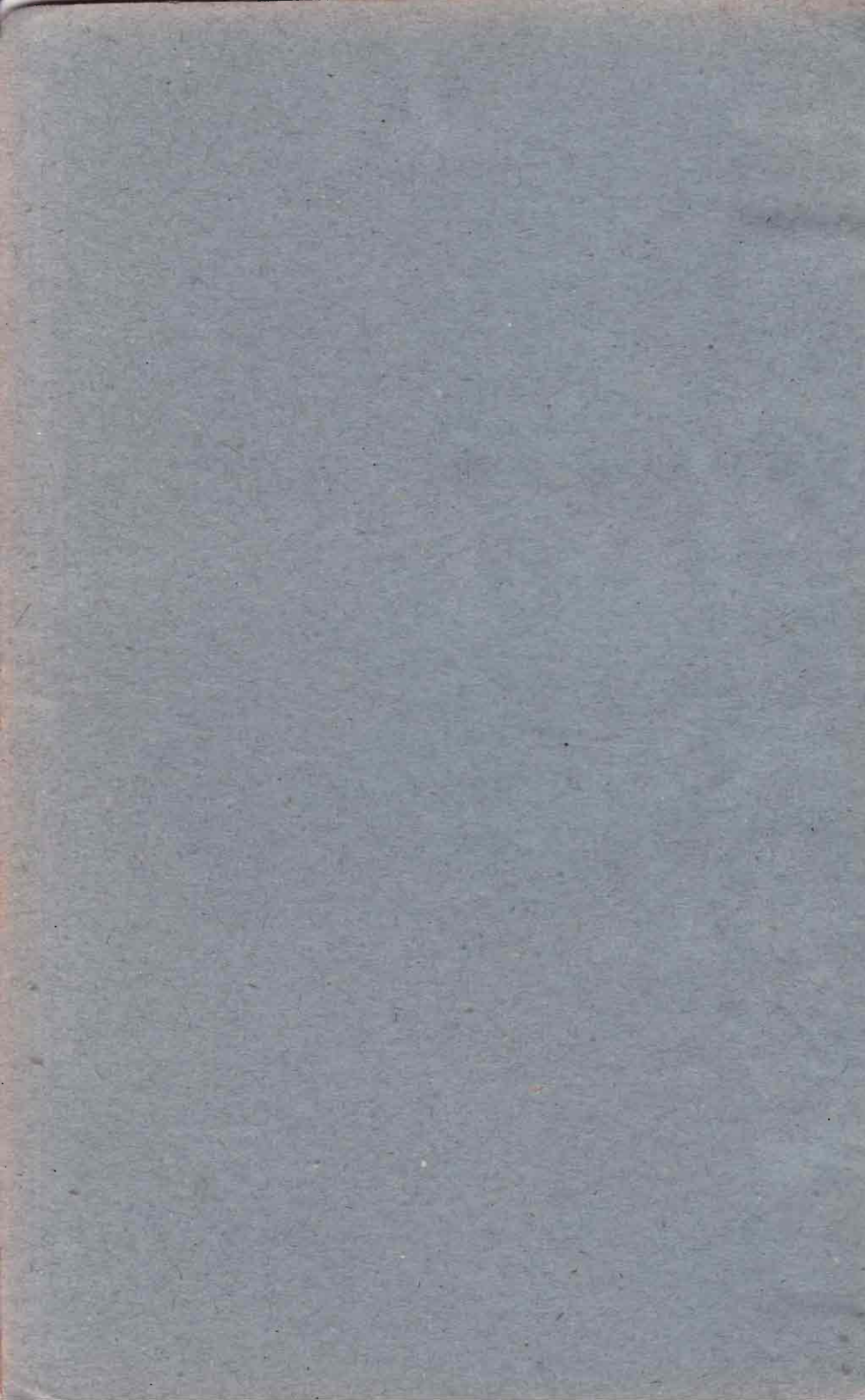
C. SUNTHARALINGAM

WITH

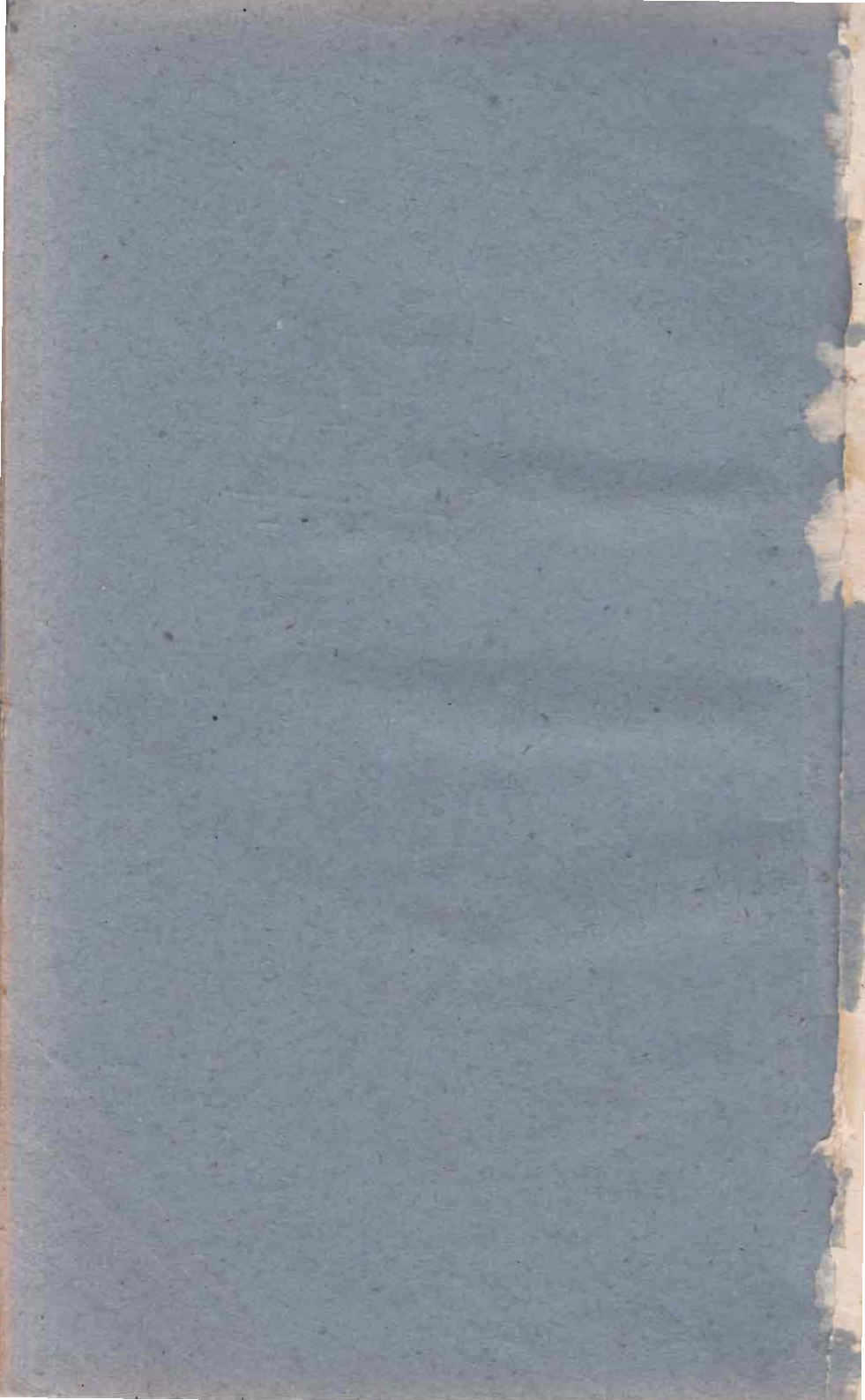
"CANDID COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS"

BY

LORD SOULBURY



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C. SUNTHARALINGAM

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"CANDID COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS"

BY

LORD SOULBURY

M. RAJANAYAGAM
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COLOMBO-3

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EYLOM :
BEGINNINGS OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE
DOZEN DOCUMENTS

Dear Reader,

In view of what is happening in Ceylon today, I have thought it desirable to publish the 'Dozen Documents' and the Postscript that follow. The Documents have appeared in print before. In some instances, mutilated or garbled versions appeared in sections of the Press. I have reproduced the original 'unexpurgated' Letters and Statements.

The Documents were written during each of the years 1955 to 1962, inclusive, except 1956. The events of that year, when the 'Sinhala Only Official Language Act' was passed, have been dealt with in detail by me in Parliament and are just referred to in the Documents.

Some repetition in the later letters, of what was written in the earlier, was unavoidable. I have generally refrained from deleting the repetitions as that would have been prejudicial to the reasoning and the text of the later documents.

The 'Dozen Documents' set out the justification, for the title of the book 'Eylom—Beginnings of Freedom Struggle.'

I shall welcome from you, Dear Reader, corrections of errors in the facts as presented and any comments or criticisms you may wish to offer, so that in a second edition suitable amendments and alterations may be made.

I hope to follow up this book with another, on the same subject, containing selections from my speeches in the Parliament of

“இலங்கை—கேள்—Ceylon”

Yours truly,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

POSTSCRIPT

When the Dozen Documents were ready for the printer, Lord Soulbury arrived in Ceylon to report to the World Wild Life Fund in regard to Ceylon. I took the opportunity of inviting him to favour me with his "candid comments and criticisms, not for publication unless His Lordship wished". The correspondence which followed is published at the end as a SUPPLEMENT. In view of what he desired about the publication, I have delayed it up to now. I have had no reply to my letter dated May 15, 1967, though I have invited His Lordship's attention to it. In the absence of prohibition I have presumed his permission. I apologise to him if I have advanced the timing of the publication.

C. S.

"Thiru-Lingam-Kamam",
Vavuniya.
August 19, 1967.

House of Representatives,
Colombo, August 17, 1955.

KOTELAWALA GOVERNMENT DESTROYS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

My dear Fellow-Citizens,

Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon, in my humble view, stand in jeopardy at the present moment; their fundamental rights, conserved by concerted action, have been violated—they are being denied what is their birthright. It is not a question of sensing or anticipating dangers to come; it is a case of dealing with dangers that have in fact arisen and are looming large.

One reads in the Press reports of several Public Meetings addressed by my fellow Members of Parliament in which it has been stated that if the Tamils demand their fundamental rights, then it will result in the inevitable reaction of Sinhalese communalism. I would beg of my friends, whether of the North or of the South of Ceylon, to realise that I have to take immediate action to arrest the growth of discontent and disaffection, if I am not to betray the trust reposed in me by the Constituency of Vavuniya. If I do not take suitable steps to safeguard their rights and privileges, with the concomitant duties and obligations, I would be failing in my duty as their representative in a democratic legislature.

My good friend, Dudley Senanayake, ex-Prime Minister of Ceylon, said in Parliament that I have had in the past a clean record in the matter of communalism, and my good friend, W. Dahanayake, M. P., charges me as being a 'rank communalist' today. The cause must be laid at the door of Sir John Kotelawala and his Government. I must, therefore, set out in detail what the grievances are which now exist, but which did not exist before he assumed power in so far as the Tamil-speaking peoples are concerned.

Linguistic Discrimination

In the first place, the Kotelawala Government have formulated a new policy in regard to the media of instruction and of administration. Two points of the policy are:—

- (a) every child who is born of Sinhalese parents must be taught in Sinhalese, every child born of Tamil parents must be taught in Tamil, every Burgher child in English and every Muslim in English, Sinhalese or Tamil; and
- (b) from 1958 onwards examinations for recruitment to the Public Services, like the Clerical Service, will be in Sinhalese or Tamil, and from 1962 onwards no recruitment can take place in English.

The effect of this policy would be to deprive parents of their fundamental right 'to choose the kind of education that should be given to their children'. No Tamil parent will accept any system of education which prevents his child from acquiring modern knowledge, particularly of Science, Mathematics, Western Medicine, Engineering, etc., through the English medium. If the language of examinations for recruitment to the Public Services is either Sinhalese or Tamil only, the practical result of the policy would be, as my good friend Mr. Wilmot Perera, M.P. pointed out in Parliament, that for services in what are now said to be Sinhalese-speaking areas in Ceylon, Sinhalese candidates will be recruited, and for the so-called Tamil-speaking areas, Tamils. This means that there would be discrimination on linguistic grounds for recruitment to the Public Services. In places like, for example, Colombo, where the majority are not Sinhalese-speaking, or Kurunegala, where 40% of the ratepayers are Tamil-speaking, they will be forced to accept the compulsory official language, Sinhalese. The Tamil-speaking peoples will not be able to agree to being deprived of their rights to have all correspondence addressed to them in Tamil to be replied to in Tamil. Whatever my Sinhalese friends and parents may feel in regard to the good and proper education of their children, no Tamil parent will agree to any system which prevents his child from acquiring a good fluent knowledge of both Tamil and English through their being used as media of instruction. Further, every Tamil will insist on impartial recognition of merit by examinations conducted in Tamil and English or Sinhalese and English, according to the subjects offered. A Public Servant must be required to possess within two years from recruitment a minimum working knowledge

of the third language, Tamil or Sinhalese, as the case may be. The placement, however, of personnel immediately after recruitment should be independent of linguistic considerations, to any and every part of Ceylon.

Discriminatory Recruitment

Secondly, in recent times, in regard to the recruitment to the Public Services and in respect of merit promotions, I have received a number of complaints which can be summed up in a characteristic statement that was spontaneously uttered by an old student of mine who is holding a high staff appointment: "I am languishing Sir, because I am a Tamil". This feeling of frustration is prevalent among practically all Tamils in the Public Services. I find that there is some justification for that feeling, as the following figures of selection by competitive examination for the General Clerical Service will show:—

	Numbers Selected					
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Sinhalese	208	108	433	226	Reported	358
Tamils	150	114	325	94	no exam-	181
Muslims	7	1	23	11	ination	19
Burghers	1	0	4	0		1
TOTAL	366	223	785	331		559

	Percentages					
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Sinhalese	57%	48%	55%	68%	Reported	64%
Tamils	41%	52%	41%	29%	no exam-	32%
Muslims	2%	—	3%	3%	ination	4%
Burghers	—	—	1%	—		—
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%

For using these figures in Parliament, my friend W. Dahanayake, M.P., for Galle had some hard things to say about me. My reply is that if there is even the slightest suspicion of discriminatory selection on linguistic grounds, nothing can be more heart-burning or distressing to an unsuccessful candidate, whatever his community.

Civic Discrimination

Thirdly, a number of Tamil-speaking people, particularly in the up-country areas, have been deprived of their civic rights because

they bear Tamil or Muslim names. It has been estimated that over 30,000 Tamil-speaking citizens have been denied their franchise rights. Not a few Ceylon Muslims and Tamils have been put to great trouble and expense in getting their passports as citizens of Ceylon to travel to India merely on the ground that their names resemble those of Indian nationals. Under an amendment of the Ceylon (Constitution) Order-in-Council made by the Kotelawala Government, minorities who should have weightage in representation have been denied that right, whereas the Sinhalese majority has been afforded extra over-representation.

Discriminatory Land Alienation

Fourthly, grave discontent has arisen in regard to the alienation of Crown land to Tamil-speaking peoples. Under the Land Development Ordinance, in selecting applicants for permits or grants of Crown land, the Government Agent is enjoined to have special regard to applications received from persons resident in the neighbourhood of the land proposed to be alienated at the Land Kachcheri. In practice this meant that landless peasants in the vicinity of the land to be alienated were given preference; thereafter, middle-class persons of the area; then, landless peasants and middle-class Ceylonese from the District and finally from the Province. The Kotelawala Government have already interpreted the rule and changed the practice to mean that they apply only to Village Expansion Schemes and not to Colonisation Schemes. This interpretation had not been given effect to until the year 1953. Up to date peasants from the Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts have not been allotted lands under Colonisation Schemes outside their respective Provinces. From 1952, starting with the Gal Oya Scheme and followed by the Allai and Kantalai Schemes, persons from outside the Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts have been allotted land while landless peasants and middle-class Ceylonese who were living in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the schemes have been ignored. It is also in the implementation of that policy that landless peasants from Galle, Matara and Hambantota Districts have not up till 1953 been allotted lands under schemes in Provinces other than the Southern Province. Unless the principle and policy, both of law and practice, in regard to land alienation are honourably followed, Tamil-speaking peoples must necessarily entertain the feeling that they are not only being denied the rights they enjoyed near their own homes all these years, but also deprived of the possibility of expansion whilst they have to view with resignation the occupation by others of what is rightly theirs.

Suppression of Liberty

Finally, the most repulsive act of creating a new Department of Public Security without powers and functions defined by law and outside the Police Ordinance, has resulted in the overt suppression of the liberties of the people.

Redress Grievances

These grievances undoubtedly must be redressed if the Tamil-speaking peoples are to feel that they form honoured and honourable constituents of a composite nation. There must be, all over Ceylon impartial recognition of merit, of equality of language, of parity of status, of right to land and living, of basic civic rights, and above all, of untarnished self-respect: these must be guaranteed by specific amendments to the Constitution of Ceylon.

Voters Must Decide

It is thus a matter for the Voters of Vavuniya to decide in the first instance whether, as their Member of Parliament, I should tolerate or acquiesce in policies, in legislative and administrative acts of the Kotelawala Government as have the effect of depriving the Tamil-speaking peoples of their rightful place as sons and daughters entitled to equality of treatment by their Mother Lanka.

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JAFNA.
Yours truly,

C. SUNTHARALINGAM,
M.P., Vavuniya.

Colombo, August 17, 1955.

P.S. I should add that this statement of policy has been formulated in close consultation with, and with the active co-operation of, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, M. P., President, Tamil Congress, and of Mr. C. Vanniasingham, M.P., President, Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi.

C.S.

Colombo

November 18, 1955.

SRI LANKA OF 1955! WHAT NEXT?

My dear Fellow-Citizens,

My seat, as Member of Parliament for Vavuniya, becomes vacant from today, owing to the fact that I have absented myself, with malice aforethought, 'from the sittings of the House during a continuous period of three months'. At the third reading of the Budget 1955-56, I announced my decision to absent myself, and in a Statement I released to the Press, I set out my reasons. I then opined:- 'The Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon stand in jeopardy at the present moment; their fundamental rights, conserved by concerted action, have been violated—they are being denied what is their birth-right' I detailed five specific standing grievances:- (1) Linguistic discrimination; (2) Discriminatory Recruitment; (3) Civic Discrimination; (4) Discriminatory Land Alienation; (5) Suppression of Liberty—all on the only ground that the Tamil-speaking peoples were not Sinhalese !!

Since the publication of my Statement, events have moved in the direction I expected but they have moved much faster than I had hoped. The public mind has become gravely agitated from Point Pedro to Dondra Head, from Batticaloa to Colombo. The upsurge among the masses, both Tamil and Sinhalese, is amounting almost to mass-mania. A Minister of State is reported to have said, 'Events are getting out of hand'. There have been looting, rioting, use of tear-gas, break-up of meetings. The villagers of Vavuniya and the Northern areas are being deprived of their licences and guns. What next ?

Parliament has pending before it an unfinished Debate on Dr. N. M. Perera's motion calling for an immediate amendment of the Ceylon Constitution Order-in-Council 'to provide for the Sinhalese and Tamil languages to be State languages of Ceylon with parity

of status throughout the Island'. During the Debate, the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotelawala, read out what he claimed was 'a statement of fact' but what is, as I shall establish later, a **crass travesty of truth**.

By way of preface, before he read out his statement, the Prime Minister uttered these words:-

'People go mad and rabid when communalism or religious issues start. When they start you cannot stop them. When the Hon. Member for Vavuniya spoke about these things on the floor of this House, I told him: 'Please do not start this Communalism; please do not start this Tamil business and say that you will do this, that and the other, because you may not be able to hold against it'. I said that I may not be able to hold it. I warned him. I told him not to shout 'Wolf'. But he did so, and the 'Wolf' has now come !. (Uncorrected Hansard of October 19, 1955, Vol. 23, Col. 649.)

These words were uttered in my absence when I was still keeping myself away from Parliament; but his reference to what I 'spoke' was to my bitter and acrimonious speeches in Parliament in connection with the last address of His Excellency the Governor-General, and on the Budget—Second Reading, Committee Stage and Third Reading. On those occasions, I did not mince my words in regard to the sly, sneaky, surreptitious manner in which the Kotelawala Cabinet had started on the treacherous process of liquidating the Tamils of Ceylon. Frankly, I plead guilty to two charges; (1) that in Parliament I uncovered the **Sinhala 'Wolf'** which Sir John Kotelawala's Government had stealthily introduced, dressed in a goat's skin, through the back doors of Government; and (2) that I showed to the world that the tyranny of the majority vote was being dishonourably used in Ceylon to deprive the minorities in a so-called democratic state of their fundamental human rights. If by removing the goat's skin in which Sir John had clothed the 'Wolf', I have made the 'Sinhala Wolf' 'rabid' and stampede through the front door of the House of Representatives, I confess I am not sorry for what I have done. If the 'Wolf' must perforce be dealt with suitably, Sir John Kotelawala has only himself to thank for thinking and feeling that he and his Cabinet can fool and cheat all the peoples of Ceylon, especially the Tamils, even for a while.

I have already alleged that Sir John Kotelawala's statement is a 'crass travesty of truth' and I must establish my allegation.

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In his statement, Sir John Kotelawala referred to the 'first decisive step to make the National Languages of Ceylon, namely, Sinhalese and Tamil, the official languages of the country, was a resolution passed by the State Council on May 25, 1944'. The resolution, as recorded in the Hansard of the State Council, reads as follows:-

"That with the object of making Sinhalese *and Tamil* the official languages of Ceylon within a reasonable number of years, this Council is of opinion:-

- (a) that Sinhalese *and Tamil* should be made the media of instruction in all schools;
- (b) that Sinhalese *and Tamil* should be made compulsory subjects in all public examinations;
- (c) that Legislation should be introduced to permit the business of the State Council to be conducted in Sinhalese and *in Tamil ALSO*;
- (d) that a Commission should be appointed to choose for translation and to translate important books of other languages into Sinhalese *and Tamil*;
- (e) that a Commission should be appointed to report on all steps that need be taken to effect the transition from English into Sinhalese *and Tamil*.

I have used capital letters for the word 'also' because English was not to be excluded at any time, from the Legislature, from Education and from Administration.

You will observe that the words '*and Tamil*' are associated with the word 'Sinhalese' wherever that word occurs. The italics are found in the Hansard itself to indicate that the words '*and Tamil*' were introduced by way of amendment by the State Council to the original motion as sponsored by Mr. (now the Hon.) J. R. Jayawardene.

When he gave notice of the motion calling for Sinhalese as the only official language of Ceylon, I was in the thick of electioneering at the second bye-election at Vavuniya, pitted against the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress who were campaigning very vigorously for a fifty-fifty representation in the legislature, in the new Constitution, the reform of which was the subject of active correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the British semi-colonial

Government of Ceylon of the day. Indeed the announcement to appoint the Soulbury Commission was not made in the British House of Commons until July 5, 1944, that is, about six weeks after the Debate in the State Council on the official languages was concluded. I telephoned Mr. J. R. Jayawardene from Vavuniya and told him that the cry at the hustings that, if returned at the election, I would sell the Tamils to the Sinhalese had been enforced by his motion. He apologised to me and said that it was an oversight on his part and that he would amend the motion to make both Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country. As this undertaking of Mr. Jayawardene was not publicised in the Press and as the cry against my candidature was becoming more and more virulent, purely on communal grounds, I had to interrupt my electioneering and proceed post-haste to Colombo. I saw the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the Leader of the State Council, and explained to him the position. He confirmed what Mr. J. R. Jayawardene had said that the omission of Tamil from the motion was purely an oversight and that the proposed amendment would be brought to the notice of the public and the voters of Vavuniya-Mannar, through the Press. This was done, and notwithstanding the Press report, I lost the Bye-election because I was deemed an anti-Tamil and a pro-Sinhalese !!

When the Debate on Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's motion in the State Council took place, my successful rival, Mr. J. Tyagaraja, representing Vavuniya-Mannar, gave explicit expression to the following sentiments, *inter alia*:-

'The Hon. Member for Matale (B. H. Aluwihare) said that national unity and cohesion can be produced if Sinhalese is the official language in this country.....

I fail to see how national unity or national cohesion can be brought about by suppressing one of the languages spoken by at least 2,000,000 people in this country.

"The mover of this motion (Mr. J. R. Jayawardene) also stated that on second thoughts he desired to amend his motion by including Tamil as an official language in this country. But he expressed certain misgivings even in regard to his second thoughts. He said that he feared that if Tamil was made an official language in this country, it might occupy a place of predominance, a higher state than Sinhalese, as Tamil is spoken by 40,000,000 people across the sea in South India. It seems to me that the attitude taken up by these Members is most unreasonable when they clearly desire to make Sinhalese the only official language.....

It is an unreasonable motion; it amounts to the suppression of a language spoken by 2,000,000 people.....

So that the motion as it stands amounts to the suppression of a language spoken by a very large section of the people in this Island and, on the other hand, if it is given effect to, it would result in making a language spoken by only one section of the people the official language of this country. I am afraid that I cannot subscribe to the principle underlying the motion, and I propose to vote against it'.

(State Council Hansard 1944, Vol. 1, pages 756 *et seq.*)

Finally Mr. Tyagaraja voted for the motion as amended, and because it was amended.

I would invite the attention of my readers to the utterances in the course of the Debate of those politicians who are playing, or are about to play, a very prominent part in the present controversy, particularly to what was said by the Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Mr. B. H. Aluwihare, Mr. (now Hon.) A. Ratnayake, Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Mr. V. Nalliah, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Mr. Dudley Senanayake and the Hon. (now plain) Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike—they afford most interesting reading.

With your indulgence I would like to cite the following extracts:

Mr. J. R. Jayawardene

.....'I wish to speak a word of explanation with regard to **my desire to include Tamil also**. I had always the intention that Tamil should be spoken in the Tamil-speaking provinces and that Tamil should be the official language in the Tamil-speaking provinces. But as two-thirds of the people of this country speak Sinhalese, I had the intention of proposing that only Sinhalese should be the official language of the Island; but it seems to me that the Tamil community and also the Muslim community, who speak Tamil, wish that Tamil also should be included **on equal terms with Sinhalese**. The great fear I had was that Sinhalese being a language spoken by only 3,000,000 people in the whole world would suffer, or may be entirely lost in time to come, if Tamil is also placed **on an equal footing** with it in this country. The influence of Tamil Literature, a literature used in India by over 40,000,000 and the influence of Tamil films and Tamil culture in this country, I thought it might be detrimental to the future of the Sinhalese language; but **if it is the desire of the Tamils** that Tamil also should be given an equal status with Sinhalese, I do not think we should bar it from attaining that position.....

(State Council Hansard 1944, Vol 1, columns 748—749).

(The Roman and Capital letters are mine.)

.....‘and we want the Tamils also to co-operate with us to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages in this country !.
(*Ibid* column 815.)

The Hon. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

‘.....if we adopt one or more of our languages should it be, as this motion says, Sinhalese or should it be Sinhalese and Tamil, as one amendment suggests, or perhaps some other language ? It has also been suggested by a Member that Sinhalese, Tamil and English might be considered official languages.

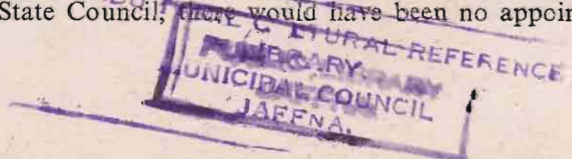
Now, let us bring our minds to bear on that.....

.....I do not see that there would be any harm at all in recognising the Tamil language also as an official language. It is necessary to bring about that amity, that confidence among the various communities which we are all striving to achieve within reasonable limits. Therefore, I have no personal objection to both these languages being considered official languages; nor do I see any particular harm or danger or real difficulty arising from it’.

Nevertheless, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had the hardihood to pretend in Parliament during the Debate on Dr. N. M. Perera’s motion, that the State Council, including himself, ‘did not bring their minds to bear on the question of Sinhalese versus Tamil’, as the ‘minds were really fixed at the time on the question of English versus Swabasha’. This pretence is in keeping with the Sinhalese opportunism for which he has rightly become notorious !

Your readers will note that it was the Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the present acting Prime Minister and the Leader of the House for the U. N. P. Government who was the first to use the phrases ‘on equal terms’, ‘on equal footing’ and ‘an equal status’, anticipating the present-day phrase ‘parity of status’.

If that equality of treatment for both Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages had not been conceded in 1944 by the very large majority of the State Council, there would have been no appointment



of the Soulbury Commission, No Reform of the Constitution, No Dominion Status for Ceylon and No Independence for Lanka ! The Tamils to a man would have opposed, tooth and nail, even any talk of reform !!!

There would have been no occasion even for the fifty-fifty cry of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, led by Mr. G. G. Ponambalam and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam on behalf of the Ceylon Tamils and the late Mr. Motha on behalf of the Indian Tamils of Ceylon. It is pure perfidy on the part of the Kotelawala Cabinet to have back-slided from the incontrovertible position of parity of status in all matters of state granted to the Tamils and to the Sinhalese by the State Council and by the Government of the United Kingdom.

One must not suppress the fact, as the Prime Minister has done, that when the debate on the official languages on Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's motion was taking place, there was before the State Council the motion of the then Hon. Minister of Education Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara regarding the Reform of the System of Education, on the Report of the Special Committee on Education. Sessional Paper No. XXIV of 1943. The *supressio veri* of Sir John Kotelawala is unpardonable. In regard to the language question, the following were specifically referred to in the course of the official languages debate and the motion was accepted having prominently in view the ultimate acceptance by the State Council and the country (which was done) of the following:—

- (7) The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the mother tongue, but English shall be a compulsory second language;
- (8) The medium of instruction in the lower department of the post-primary schools may be either the mother tongue or *bilingual*;
- (9) The medium of instruction in the higher department of the post-primary schools may be English, Sinhalese, Tamil or *bilingual*.

(State Council Hansard 1954, Vol. 1. column 752). The italics are mine and bilingual refers to English and one of the two languages, Sinhalese or Tamil.

Sir John Kotelawala in his statement has deliberately omitted all reference to the policy in regard to the medium of instruction

which was to precede and which was inextricably involved in the implementation of Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages all over Ceylon 'on equal terms' and 'on equal footing' and with 'equal status' This policy of parity of status was reaffirmed in unambiguous terms by the U. N. P. Government Parliamentary Party on April 3, 1950, when Mr. D. S. Senanayake was still alive ! The perfidious conduct of the Kotelawala Cabinet now stands out clearly.

The statement of Government Policy in regard to the Media of Instruction and of Administration as set out in the Education Minister's statement dated January 6, 1955. and placed on the table of the House of Representatives on January 13, 1955, is a gross betrayal of the policy formulated by the Board of Ministers and by the State Council in anticipation of the grant of Dominion Status and which was being honestly and honourably implemented under the Governments of the two Senanayakes, Father and Son—and implementation which did not place the Tamils., Burghers and the Tamil-speaking Moors in peril in their own mother land.

The latest move of Sir John Kotelawala, now that the 'rabid wolf' is roving far and wide, is to have that policy re-opened and 'considered by a full session of the U. N. P.' and thus to secure confirmation of his Cabinet's surreptitious conduct since he assumed the reins of Government. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike is rightly egging him on ; and even the one-time recalcitrant Tamils like Mr. V. Kumaraswamy, M. P., Mr. Thambiayah M. P., (I hear *sub rosa* even the Tamil Ministers) and others know what the decision is likely to be. I am aware that they are also Tamils and that they will act as Tamils in a national emergency which affects generations of Tamils still unborn.

It is thus clear that whatever the reasons and emotions, good or bad, right or wrong, the Sinhalese-speaking peoples, by an overwhelming majority, are determined to make Sinhalese the only official language of Ceylon with possibly, or perhaps a left-handed concession to Tamil as a regional language in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. No Sinhalese politician, unless he wishes to uphold publicly a principle, can dare contest a seat in the South and West of Ceylon without the certainty of losing it if he does not acquiesce in and accept the dominant desire of the Sinhalese people.

The Tamil-speaking people, on the other hand, are equally determined that they will have nothing short of a separate independent

Tamil *Ilankai* in the Commonwealth, with freedom to federate with the Sinhalese Baudhdha Rata or any other country or dominion, provided the Tamil-speaking peoples so decide by a plebiscite. What shall it profit a people if they gain the whole world and lose their own soul ! Indeed there is indisputable evidence all round of a very large majority of the Sinhalese-speaking people, led by the *Bhikkus* anxiously longing for a Sinhala Buddhist State, and they feel that no better opportunity than that afforded by the *Buddha Jayanthi* can occur for the inauguration of such a State.

The issue is thus crystal clear. If I present myself for re-election by the Voters of Vavuniya—the Adangapattu of History, the ‘unsubjugatable’—not a negligible percentage of whom are Sinhalese (in fact one out of the four Divisional Revenue Officer’s Division is entirely Kandyan Sinhalese), it is to afford an opportunity to Sir John Kotelawala, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the leaders of other parties, if they are so minded, to test out their relative strength on this vital question and on the cognate matters for which I have forefeited by Seat in Parliament.

When Vavuniya decides, it will be time enough to consider what steps should be taken—peaceful, persuasive, ahimsa, satyagraha, or otherwise, to partition Sri Lanka into two separate states.

No proud, cultured people ever obtained freedom or retained their self-respect, except though suffering and sacrifice and the Tamils have before them and their progeny for the immediate future, only toil and tears. I have no doubt, with Providential help, in a truly righteous cause, the Tamils must attain their goal of a free, self respecting, prosperous, Tamil *Ilankai*— தமிழ் இலங்கை.

Yours truly,

Colombo, November 18, 1955.

C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

Vavuniya,

May 28, 1957.

SINHALA POLITICIAN TODAY

My dear Prime Minister,

I have just studied the Press report of your statement to the House on the 'reasonable use of Tamil'. That statement has reminded me of a case of a peculiar criminal. He had inflicted a serious injury on his enemy with a view to murdering him. The victim, fortunately, survived. The criminal, thereupon, invited his victim for a conference to devise a formula about the reasonable terms on which the victim should be permitted to live ! You have done, and are doing to the Tamils precisely what the criminal sought to do and did with his victim !

You are aware that until the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in 1505, Ceylon was divided throughout the full course of its chequered history of over 2,000 years, into two or more kingdoms of which one was always the Tamil Kingdom—except for two short periods aggregating to about 22 years, under the reigns of Parakrama Bahu I and Parakrama Bahu VI. The Tamils, as a whole, were not ruled by Sinhalese kings; and even Dutugemunu when he defeated Elara, could not secure sway over the North of Ceylon ! You are also aware that before the British conquered Kandy in 1815, Sir Robert Brownrigg, in or about 1813, recommended to the Secretary of State that the whole of the area to the North and East of a line drawn from Puttalam to Batticaloa should be administered in the Tamil language. The new town of Anuradhapura was then in jungle which had grown up since the Sinhalese Kings were driven out by the Tamil invaders and conquerors, from Anuradhapura to Sigiriya and thence to Polonnaruwa. If my memory is correct, I believe in his Despatch, Sir Robert Brownrigg wanted Tamil to be used in this area just as Sinhalese was to be used in the Southern part of Ceylon. Until recently the Nuwara Kalawiya portion of the Anuradhapura District was administered in Tamil from Jaffna and all the earlier deeds and official acts were executed in the Tamil language.

It was not until 1932-33, after the Colebrook Commission made its Report, that the administration of Ceylon was unified as a whole and administered through the medium of English as the only official language. This, as you know, was done by administrative fiat. You will thus appreciate that when Ceylon passed under the foreign domination of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English in succession, the Tamil Kingdom never passed under that domination because of the over-lordship of the Sinhalese over the Tamils.

From 1947 until 1954, we have proclaimed that Ceylon had ultimately secured independence from foreign masters after nearly 350 years. But the Tamils say now with justification that they have passed under the domination of the Sinhalese in place of the British.

You know only too well that if the State Council had not passed the motion permitting the use of Sinhalese and Tamil as the Official Languages along with English, a debate in which you took part, and voted in favour of the treatment of these two languages on an equal footing, not a single Tamil leader would have joined in the struggle for Ceylon's Independence from British Imperialism.

You and I were members of the Cabinet which negotiated the Independence Act of 1947 passed by the British Parliament. You are aware how in the Cabinet I resisted the desire of Mr. D. S. Senanayake, you and others to foist on Ceylon the Sinhala Kodiya as the National Flag of Ceylon. Do you think that if I had the slightest suspicion that the Tamil language, and, therefore, the Tamil people, would be relegated to a position of subordination in official life, I would have continued for a day in the Cabinet or the Cabinet would have negotiated successfully the Independence of Ceylon? When I twitted you in Parliament during the debate on the Sinhalese Only Official Language Bill, all that you could say was that you had changed your mind. I promptly retorted that it was 'double-tongued treachery', though I had to withdraw these words as they were held by Mr. Speaker to be of unparliamentary. I find that the Journal of the Commonwealth Parliament has spot-lighted this episode. Up to now you have given no reason why you changed your mind. Make no mistake, the only "Reasonable Use of Tamil" which any true Tamil would recognise is the repeal of the Official Language Act and the withdrawal of all your surreptitious, insulting, administrative orders, e.g., the use of the Sinhala 'Sri' on motor vehicles which was maliciously intended to humiliate the Tamils.

I have noted that the Federal Party has stated in Parliament sometime back that if you agreed to a Federal set-up for Ceylon, the Federal Party would not mind the use of Sinhalese as the only Official Language in the Central Government. I do not believe that the majority of self-respecting Tamil-speaking people will acquiesce in such a compromise. Much to your annoyance and that of your friends, I have once in three months appeared through the main door of the House and disappeared through the Opposition side door because I do not recognise the authority of the House and your Government to make laws for the Tamil-speaking people which amounted to a negation of their fundamental human rights. The Federal Party members continue to attend Parliament and since the passage of the Official Language Bill, your Government has heaped insults upon insults on the Tamils.

I have already referred to the Sinhala 'Sri' for motor vehicles. In the recent issue of your stamps, you have printed the Tamil word 'Ilankai' which no ordinary man can read, and you do not even state in Tamil words what the denomination or value of the stamp is! I am told your Government has issued coins or are about to issue coins entirely in the Sinhalese language.

You have taken pride in what you have authorised should be done in regard to the signing of the credentials of Ceylon's Ambassadors abroad and for the first time Her Majesty the Queen is being advised by Her Prime Minister of Ceylon to attach Her Sign Manual in English to documents in the Sinhalese language. You do not seem to be aware that for a long time past the Canadian Ambassadors who happened to be of Canadian French origin had their credentials in French while those of English origin had them in English. Hereafter, no Tamil can be appointed Ambassador or High Commissioner because he will not be able to carry his diplomatic credentials or conduct his correspondence, in Sinhalese.

You have now directed that all new recruits to the Public Services, including clerical servants, engineers and others should have in their letters of appointment a condition that they should be proficient in Sinhalese to be able to keep official files entirely in the Sinhalese language. This means that all Tamils, Burghers and Muslim new recruits must secure such proficiency in Sinhalese, after recruitment and within three years, so as to use it for all

official purposes ! Under the British Colonial system you and I had to study the English language from our childhood days. In fact, you had specially to be taught by *pukka* English private tutors to become so proficient in the English language as to be able to compete with our English masters. I admit that the Tamils are very intelligent and industrious but I doubt whether they are so intelligent and industrious as to secure such proficiency within three years as will enable them to write out minutes, memoranda and reports in the Sinhalese language.

Your Government has by administrative fiat embarked on a policy of depriving the Tamils of even their economic welfare. You have stopped the development of the Kankesanturai Port. You have stopped the second kiln at the Kankesanturai Cement Factory. You have stopped the installation of the plant at the D. D. T. factory. You have stopped the opening of the Sugar industry in the Thunnukai area and your Government pretends that because Sugar Factories are to be opened in Kantalai and Gal Oya, you are having the factories in Tamil-speaking areas; but I know only too well that these factories are being erected in those areas of the Eastern Province—Kantalai and Gal Oya—where Sinhalese colonists have been planted to the exclusion of Tamils, notwithstanding that there are many landless Tamils in the area and its neighbourhood. Your Government is going to divert the waters which flow into the tanks in Tamil areas so as to feed the tanks in the Sinhalese areas.

In fact, your Government is carrying on in a more wicked and dishonourable manner what the U. N. P. did, viz: to violate the laws of the land and to settle Sinhalese people in the homelands of the Tamils. Your Minister of Education has, in defiance of the Constitution Order-in-Council, discontinued Tamil teachers from what he has called 'Muslim majority schools' and replaced them by Muslims. This action is, in my humble view, a flagrant violation of the Constitution for which your Minister is liable to be fined and/or imprisoned. The Attorney-General has declined to prosecute and the Public Service Commission is sufficiently supine as not to enforce the law. In fact, there is no Rule of Law in Ceylon today in your democracy in so far as the Tamils are concerned. Indeed, in the democratic process followed by you, the Tamils have reached a stage when instead of acquiescing in the counting of heads, they must have recourse to cracking them !

On the international plane, you are mouthing grandiloquent phrases about 'peaceful co-existence' while you are arranging to send detachments of your Army to keep the peace when the Federal Party launches its Civil Disobedience campaign in August and thus prevent the 'co-existence' of the Tamils with their self-respect intact ! I do not know whether the public are aware that on the 4th February this year when the Sinhalese celebrated Independence day and the Tamils observed their Day of Mourning, you thought you could intimidate the people of Vavuniya with a display of your armed might. Please do not deceive yourself ! Not all your military might will keep the Tamils in subjugation ! At the last General Election, the slogan I used on the hustings was: '*Thani Arasu Tamil Ilankai, Samastio Suyachaio Selvakinpadi*—,*An autonomous Tamil State, federated or separated, as decided by the people.'

The conduct of your Government has made it perfectly clear to me, whatever my friends in the Federal Party may say or feel, that neither your Government nor any other Sinhala Government in the South will consent to a Federal Union. I have taken a vow that I shall say nothing disparaging about the Federal Party in regard to its policy, plan or programme which they have, though in general terms, set out in their Trincomalee Resolutions last August. This is not the time for Tamils to fight Tamils. I do earnestly hope that they will not make it more difficult for the Tamils than what they have to put up with now.

You know, my dear Prime Minister, that of all the politicians in Ceylon today, not excluding yourself, I have been, though from behind the scenes, most intimately associated with the politics of this country for over a third of a century from the time of Ramanathan, Arunachalam, D. B. Jayatilaka, F. R. Senanayake, James Peiris, Wille, Akbar and D. S. Senanayake and I am now convinced, that the Tamils of Ceylon have been tricked and betrayed ! I now hold the view that if one scratches a Sinhalese politician today, one uncovers a cut-throat or a traitor, or both !! I shall in all conscience tell my fellow Tamils not to trust themselves to the tender mercies of any Sinhalese Government, not even yours ! They must go all out and save themselves and their posterity from Sinhala colonialism and establish in the first instance, an independent Tamil Ilankai.

“தனி அரசு தமிழ் இலங்கை: சமஸ்தியோ, சுயேச்சையோ, செல்வாக்கின்படி.”

The Regional Councils which you have proposed, are in my view only a modern version of the mid-Victorian British Colonial Councils and you hope thereby to perpetuate Sinhalese Imperialism instead of British Imperialism, in so far as the Tamils are concerned, by establishing these Councils.

You have in your statement referred to an amendment to the Constitution to provide guarantees for minorities. Have you forgotten the Ministers' Memorandum in the preparation of which you played such an important part when the Soulbury Commissioners were to come to Ceylon? We all fondly hoped that Article 29 in our Constitution was a palladium of minority rights but as your predecessor Sir John Kotelawala, has admitted, all constitutional safeguards can be circumvented! For my part, I will not advise any Tamil to rely on any guarantees that may be embodied in a Sinhala-framed Constitution worked by a Sinhala Government like yours! I do earnestly hope that no self-respecting Tamil M.P. will agree to serve on the Select Committee which you have proposed should be appointed to make recommendations for the Revision of the Constitution.*

The Tamils have only one task before them. Through toil and tears, come what may, they must live and fight to regain the greatness and glory of their ancestors and restore the Tamil State that existed for over 2,000 years, before Ceylon passed under Western domination.

Yours sincerely,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM,
M.P., Vavuniya.

The Hon. S. W. R. D Bandaranaike,
Prime Minister,
Colombo.

**Notwithstanding this expression of my view, Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam insisted with Premier S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike that he and he alone should be a member of the Select Committee to represent the Tamils. In 1958, when he wanted to resign from the Committee, I prevented the resignation by filibustering in Parliament and had him foisted on his own petard'!*

The Hon. Mr. C. P. de Silva,
Minister of Lands and Land Development,
Colombo.

SINHALA COLONISATION OF TRADITIONAL THAMIL TERRITORY

My dear C.P.,

I have received by post the following communication:-

'No. LC/P.10
The Kachcheri, Anuradhapura.
19th June, 1957.

"D.I.E., N.D., Vavuniya.

Padaviya Scheme—Transport of Colonists

About 700 colonists selected from the labourers engaged in the development works with satisfactory service of 500 days in the Irrigation Department, Survey, Land Development Department, Agricultural Corps and the Anti-Malarial Campaign will be settled in the Padaviya Scheme in the middle of July next.

2. A further batch of 434 colonists from the Colombo District will arrive with their baggage and their families in about August next. All of them will arrive at the Vavuniya Railway Station and will have to be transported by lorry to the Scheme over a distance of about 60 miles. I shall be glad if you will please release the lorries at your disposal for the purpose.

3. The date and time when the lorries will be required will be intimated to you by telegram in due course.

4. I shall be glad if you will please advise me early the number of lorries you will be able to release for the purpose.

HINDU TAMIL CULTURAL REFERENCE
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MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
JAFFNA.

Sgd.....
for A.G.A.

C. Suntharalingam Esq.,

Dear Sir,

Copy of the letter sent to D. I. E., Vavuniya is forwarded for your information I have to mention that the above 1134 colonists and their families are Sinhalese and members of the Volunteer Force working under Mr. S. D. Bandaranayaka and Philip. Not a single Tamil is among those who are selected as colonists. The application forms for the selection of labourers were sent to only Schemes where Sinhalese are in plenty. Many Schemes where Tamils are in plenty are not sent forms, thereby Tamil labourers could not apply, e.g., The Kilinochchi Scheme was not sent any forms but they say forms have been sent. I. E. Kilinochchi has wired for forms."

I have already, in the course of my interview with you at the Ministry, in the presence of your Permanent Secretary, brought to your notice that, in my humble view, your Ministry is guilty of flagrant violation of the laws of the land, as they stand in the Statute Book, and that, by administrative action you are seeking to squeeze out the Tamils.

To my mind the land question in relation to colonisation schemes, being one of the four fundamental demands of the Federal Party is of greater import to the Tamils than even the Language Question. There is a Tamil saying சுவரிருந்தால் தான் சித்திரம் கீறலாம்.

Translated into English— 'There must be a wall before there can be a painting on the wall'. The Tamils must live, eat food and keep their body and soul together, before they can talk any language, be it Tamil, English or Sinhalese.

I am sorry to have to state categorically that the present Government, through the agency of your Ministry, is depriving the Tamil-speaking peoples of the land in their traditional homelands in order to deny them their food.

You are aware of the legal position. The Land Laws provide thus:-

Section 20 of the Land Development Ordinance reads- "No lands shall be alienated by grant except at a Land Kachcheri". Sections 21, 22 and 23 provide, inter alia, the procedure to be followed in alienating lands under the Ordinance.

In Parliament last Wednesday, you quoted Section 23 (2) which reads as follows:-

“In making any selection under sub-section (1), the Government Agent shall have special regard to applications received from persons resident in the neighbourhood of the land proposed to be alienated at the Land Kachcheri”.

I interrupted you with the remark, ‘Which Government Agent’. You would not give me any reply, but diplomatically and skilfully skipped over a difficult question. You then quoted Land Order No. 40,* but I know you were quoting only a part of it—text out of context. I got your copy of the Land Manual and I was going to use it to show how your Government is indulging in *suggestio falsi and suppressio veri*. I do not have the Land Order No. 40 to quote it in full here.*

I was going to assign to this most vital matter a good portion of my speech the ‘violent speech’ according to your Prime Minister Bandaranaike, which the Member for Vavuniya could not deliver.

You know yourself, as you have worked the Land Ordinance as a Civil Servant for a number of years, that what is meant by the phrase ‘neighbourhood’ has been set out by your Ministry in that ponderous volume, the Six Year Plan of the U.N.P. Government. As I am writing this letter to you from the Bambalapitiya Police Station, a copy of this volume is not available and I am unable to quote it. I have brought the passage to the notice of your Permanent Secretary, C. B. P. Perera Esq., C.C.S.

You know the facts. The Public do not. They are:- “Padawiel-kulam” of the Tamils or Pathaviya, as it is now known, that is the tank itself, is today within the N. C. P. boundary. About 14,000 acres of irrigable lands under it fall under the Trincomalee District on the Right Bank. According to law as it stands, I repeat, the alienation of these 14,000 acres as well as some highlands must be vested in the Government Agent. Trincomalee, who should hold the Land Kachcheri. It is he who should call for applications. It is he who should select the allottees and he who should carry out all the administration connected with the settling of the colonists. The law enjoins that he shall have special regard to “applications received from persons residing in the neighbourhood of the land proposed to be alienated at the Land Kachcheri”. The law also provides, in explicit terms the right of appeal, from any decision

* Please see Land Manual

by the Government Agent made in this regard to the Land Commissioner. I charge you—*You have deliberately and maliciously violated the express provisions of the law. By defying the procedure set out by the Land Development Ordinance, you have prevented the Government Agent, Trincomalee, from proceeding under the law. You have made a valuable part of the Trincomalee District a part of the N.C.P. You have asked your Permanent Secretary, your Director of Irrigation, your Heads of the Lands and Land Development Departments, and the Government Agents other than the Government Agent concerned, who is vested with the necessary power under the law, to dispose of the land in a sly, sneaky and slimy manner.*

It is true that you have acted rightly in regard to Pavatkulam which falls within my Vavuniya Electorate. You have not taken the liberties that your predecessors wanted to take and did take in Gal Oya, Allai and Kantalai. But that will not permit my conscience to condone your diabolical conduct at Pathaviya.

I now propose to take steps, in consultation with my fellow-Tamils, including the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, to prevent your violating the laws of the land and introducing a grave menace on the boundary of my Electorate.

You know that the main access to the Pathaviya land is through my Electorate; the letter I have cited makes this quite clear. Your so-called colonists, about 700 of whom are really the thugs and hooligans who constitute the S. L. F. P. Volunteer Army, will have to be taken through my Electorate. There is a jungle tract through the N. C. P. and through the Trincomalee District to the Pathaviya fields, but for some time to come that path may not be easily usable by the Pathaviya population. At present, for practically all their requirements, provisions, pictures, etc., the labourers and others living at Pathaviya come to Vavuniya Town.

Last year, after the Gal Oya murders, it was all that the people of Vavuniya Town and I could do to prevent a clash between the inhabitants of Vavuniya Town and District and the Pathaviya labourers. It was the timely action of the then D. R. O., Vavuniya South, Tamil Division, the Vavuniya Police and others which prevented an armed invasion by the Pathaviya labourers and averted an armed conflict in the Vavuniya District between the Tamils and Sinhalese. Mr. C. B. P. Perera knows of the ugly incident which might well have led to conflagration.

I now feel that the time has come to ask you to cry halt to your illegal directives and to your unlawful administrative orders. In this matter the Federal Party must not wait till August 20, because by that time unless effective action is taken by all of us, the lands which must belong to and be occupied by the Tamils would have been colonised by the Sinhalese and the fate that befell the Tamils at Allai and Kantalai will befall them at Pathaviya. Why wait to close the stable door after the steed is stolen ?

In this case it is not a question of sathyagraha, because *Sathyagraha* implies disobedience of the law. I want you to conform to the law, It is you and your Government who are violating the law and I propose to take all action as is necessary to see that you do not violate the law any further, that you do not engage yourself in official civil disobedience, and that you do not issue instructions to your officers any longer in violation of the laws. It is your Government which is practising *Surreptitious Sathyagraha* and we want to prevent it.

Very few people, including many Tamils, realise that of the four demands of the Federal Party set out in the Trincomalee Resolutions, the demand in regard to Land and Colonisation is the most vital.

I beg of you not to proceed any further with the settlement of the lands or even with the work connected with the provision of irrigation facilities under Pathaviya. You and I know what the public do not seem to know, that the expenditure on the Pathaviya Scheme is not met in Ceylon rupees by the Government of Ceylon, but in Australian pounds by the Government of Australia under the Colombo Plan.

If by July 2, 1957, that is within ten days, you do not issue the necessary instructions to stop all activities in Pathaviya until the question of alienation of lands under it to colonists is finally decided, we, Tamils, irrespective of party affinities, shall take all steps to have all roads leading to Pathaviya closed before the middle of July next, the date specified in the letter I have cited. No Tamil can wait with folded arms and see 1,134 Sinhalese families settled in the traditional homelands of the Tamils when there is so much land hunger among them and they are crying out for fields in which they could grow their basic food—rice—for themselves and for their posterity.

Make no mistake, the Land Question is more diabolic than the Language Question, and unless you quieten the Devil whom you are raising, against the express law of the land, in Pathaviya, you will be compelling us to deal with the Devil ourselves.

I hear *sub-rosa* that our mutual friend, and your colleague and my good old student, Philip, is at the bottom of this bad business.

Please do not take this letter as a threat. Kindly tell your Prime Minister that it is not a threat. I am anxious as you are I know, to avoid blood-baths and I appeal to you in all humility in the name of humanity you shall not proceed against the law in the way in which you are proceeding in regard to Pathaviya.

Believe me, my dear C.P.,

Yours sincerely,
'SUNTH'

Police Barracks,
Bambalapitiya, June 22, 1957.

'Shantam'

19, Milagiriya Avenue, Colombo.

July 28, 1957.

S. J. V. Chelvanayagam Esq., Q.C., M.P.,

INTO WHAT A SORRY PASS HAVE YOU LED THE TAMILS ?

My dear Chelvanayagam,

Into what a sorry pass has the Tamil cause come ? I am addressing this letter to you, and through you, to the Tamil Nation of Ceylon in great sorrow. You will, therefore, bear with me if I recapitulate to you certain facts.

On August 19, 1955, when Sir John Kotelawala and the U. N. P. were at the height of their power, I ceased to attend Parliament in order to force a Bye-Election. I gave my reason for that step in an Open Letter to the Tamil-speaking people, among others, which, as you know, had your concurrence and that of the other Federal Party leaders and of G. G. Ponnambalam, the President of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress.

Five Grievances due to U. N. P.

In that I set out five grievances for which the U. N. P. were mainly responsible:-

- (1) U. N. P. Language Policy which would result in dangerous discrimination against the Tamils;
- (2) Recruitment to the Public Services Policy which would result in manipulation of examinations against Tamil competitors; no equality of opportunity; no impartial recognition of merit;
- (3) The Civic Rights Policy which would have deprived the Tamil-speaking people of their fundamental rights;

- (4) Land Policy under which Crown land was being alienated in Tamil areas to non-Tamils against the express provisions of the Land Ordinance and that while Tamils were suffering from land hunger in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, etc., steps had been taken to bring in Sinhalese colonists;
- (5) That the liberties of the peoples, including Tamils, were being suppressed. There was no rule of law for the Tamils.

1956 Vavuniya Bye-election

Thereafter, I contested the Bye-election against a candidate who had been sent specially by Sir John Kotelawala, with freedom to spend as much as he wanted, to defeat me and he was informed, that in case I won, a General Election would follow.

1956 General Election

Within a week of my 'resounding success' as the Press described it, at the Bye-Election, Sir John, true to his word, dissolved Parlimentaent. At all public meetings which he addressed on the hustings, he had nothing but scathing comments to make about me and my communalism !

Unity Attempts

You are also aware of how I endeavoured to bring about unity in Tamil leadership in the face of the grave crisis to the Tamil Nation. Ponnambalam, you and I, with or without others, would have met at least thirty times in my house. When pre-election and election unity talks failed, I appeared on public platforms in Jaffna in support of the candidature of Members of your Party, of G. G. Ponnambalam and of A. L. Thambialayah, ex-M.P. At all these meetings we were all agreed on one matter. We wanted an Autonomous Tamil Linguistic State whether federated according to your Party's policy, if possible, or separated according to my policy, if necessary.

After the General Election, I tried my level best and nearly succeeded in making you the Leader of the Opposition. But for an unfortunate slip in political strategy on your part, the Tamil Nation of Ceylon would have been the Official Opposition in the present Parliament.

Sathyagraha—5th June, 1956.

We then had the Sathyagraha on June 5, 1956. You will remember how when Amirthalingam and I appeared in Parliament

on the evening of that day with Amirthalingam's head bandaged (due to two bad stone-struck wounds) and with my neck swollen (due to a Sinhala thug blow), the Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike jocularly exclaimed 'Honourable Wounds of War'. Many a truth is spoken in jest! You will thus see that the Honourable Mr. Bandaranaike had no misgivings as to the events and the repercussions of June 5, 1956.

Sinhala Only Official Language Act.

A bitter Debate behind the barricaded doors of Parliament House followed. Sinhala Only Official Language Act was passed. Tamil shops were looted and Tamils were manhandled in all parts of the Island by Sinhalese hooligans and thugs, culminating in the blood-bath at Gal Oya. You are aware of the number of innocents who were murdered in cold blood! About 300 all told!

Trincomalee Convention, August 1956

Thereafter, your Party had the Trincomalee Convention at which you passed a Resolution which concluded in these terms:—

“This Convention demands.....(four demands are set out) and THIS CONVENTION FURTHER DECLARES THAT UNLESS THE PRIME MINISTER AND PARLIAMENT OF CEYLON TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO CONSTITUTE A FEDERAL UNION OF CEYLON BY THE 20TH OF AUGUST 1957, THE KADCHI LAUNCH DIRECT ACTION BY NON-VIOLENT MEANS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE”. (The block letters are mine).

Four Demands

The four demands the Convention made were shortly:—

- (1) “Establishment of one or more Tamil linguistic states.....as a federating unit or units enjoying the widest autonomous and residuary powers consistent with the unity and the external security of Ceylon”.

I differed from your Party in this regard, to the extent that I wanted an Autonomous Tamil State which would constitute a Commonwealth Dominion of Tamil Ilankai as set out in terms of a motion that I moved in Parliament by way of Amendment to the Throne Speech of 1956. I was all-in-all with your Party in regard to an “Autonomous Tamil Linguistic State”. I repeat, while

your Party wanted Federation, I wanted Separation, because I am convinced since 1955 that no Tamil should trust a Sinhalese politician and certainly not Prime Minister Bandaranaike, to protect Tamil interests.

The Convention's Second Demand was—I give it to you in full:

“The restoration of the Tamil Language to its rightful place enjoying absolute parity of status with Sinhalese as an Official Language of the country”.

In this demand all of us were in complete agreement and we had declared more than once that we would tolerate no detraction from this just and reasonable demand which would conserve the self-respect of the Tamils.

The third demand was the conferment of full civic rights to all Tamil-speaking people. This would prevent their being reduced to second-class citizens in Ceylon or stateless persons. It was on this issue affecting the Indian Tamils resident in Ceylon that I was, as you will remember, dismissed by D. S. Senanayake from his Cabinet and your All-Ceylon Tamil Congress split into two.

Your fourth demand was ‘the immediate cessation of colonising the traditionally Tamil-speaking areas with Sinhalese people’. You will thus see that your Demands except in regard to a Federal Union of Ceylon, were practically on all fours with the Statement of Grievances with which I faced the Bye-Election, followed immediately after, by the General Election of 1956.

Since your Trincomalee Resolutions, the following acts stand to the ‘great credit’ of the Bandaranaike Government and to the utter discredit and disgrace of all Tamils:—

- (1) Sinhala Sri numbers for new Motor Vehicles;
- (2) Metallic Coins in Sinhalese only;
- (3) Currency Notes having only the words ‘Rupees’ or ‘Cents’ in Tamil;
- (4) Ambassadorial Credentials in Sinhalese only;
- (5) The Throne Speech in Sinhalese first, English second, Tamil nowhere and your Party walked out of the Assembly Hall !

In the economic sphere, the Ministers in Bandaranaike's Cabinet have the following achievements to their ‘credit’ in their Tamilo-phobia Budget:—

- (1) No Second Kiln at the Kankesanturai Cement Factory after World tenders were called, closed and scrutinised about the middle of last year; (I now understand *sub-rosa* that there is a possibility of this urgent work being revived.)
- (2) Stoppage of work of the Kankesanturai Port development after the U. N. P. Government started it with a big *tamasha*—a project which would have brought great prosperity to the Tamil Nation when considered in the light of the Sethu Samudram Scheme of the Government of India, by which the Palk Strait would be made navigable to all ocean going steamers;
- (3) Discontinuance of the installation of the D. D. T. plant at Elephant Pass on a pretext which is unworthy of any Government;
- (4) The deprival of sugar cane cultivation and a sugar factory in Thunnukkai, in the Jaffna District, and establishing a Government concern in the Sinhala colonised areas at Gal Oya and elsewhere;
- (5) Slowing down of all development works in traditional Tamil territory;
- (6) Diverting waters which normally irrigate paddy fields in Tamil areas. (I wish I could explain to the public with maps and drawings the diabolical conduct of the Hon. C. P. de Silva in regard to lands which fall under the Giant's Tank, Ahathimurippu and Pathawielkulam, alias Padawiya).

Sinhalese Colonisation.

- (7) Notwithstanding the Open Letter which I addressed to the Hon. C. P. de Silva from the Bambalapitiya Police Barracks about Pathawiel-kulam, steps have been taken to your knowledge to send nearly 1,000 hoodlums to Pathawielkulam since the third of this month after your talks commenced. I have apprised you of these facts over the telephone and by telegram. Arrangements have already been made to select 700 colonists from Anuradhapura and 434 from Colombo District by the Government Agents of those areas. These selectees will occupy cottages and lands which have been cleared in Tracts 1 to 6A under the Scheme. In these Tracts there are only 735 acres of paddy lands in the Anuradhapura District and 1,266 acres in the Trincomalee District. For Tracts 6B and 7, although the houses are not built and the lands are not cleared,

100 persons are to be recruited from the Anuradhapura District and 600 persons by the Anuradhapura Government Agent from among those labourers of various Government Departments. Allegations have been made to me as to why nearly 1,000 hoodlums were sent to the Pathawielkulam when your talks were going on. I have received by post a number of diabolical allegations against the Minister concerned. It was to verify these that I wanted to inspect the Pathawielkulam Scheme. You and the public are aware of what happened there. In tracts 8B and 7 there are 357 acres of paddy land in the Anuradhapura District and 1,875 acres in the Trincomalee District. You will thus see that out of a total of 4,233 acres of excellent paddy land which are to be alienated before the end of September this year, only about one-fourth falls in the Anuradhapura District and nearly three-fourths in the Trincomalee District. Not a single Tamil, unless he happens to be a labourer, will get a chance. In other words, about 4,000 to 5,000 Sinhalese will be settled in the Trincomalee District and on the borders of Vavuniya before September. This is being done in flagrant violation of our land laws.

Diversion of Waters.

(8) Most diabolical of all: Surveyors who were carrying out engineering surveys under the Left Bank Scheme which would irrigate 18,000 acres as was done under Pathawielkulam by our ancients, have, after July 7, been ordered by the Minister to carry out engineering surveys as would divert the waters, by cutting deep through a large ridge, to irrigate lands in the N. C. P. I have had an explanation over the Minister's signature for this strange and sneaky directive and I would be loading this letter if I pursued this matter further here.

If the waters which go to irrigate paddy fields in Tamil areas are diverted and if Pathawielkulam lands are colonised before the end of September this year, what is the tank or what is the colonisation scheme which will come within the purview of the talks you have had with the Prime Minister ?

Demands versus Settlement.

I want to know in all sincerity how does the agreement which you have reached with the Prime Minister grant any concession to any part or any fraction of your four demands. I shall be only too grateful to you if you will answer this question in detail.

I repeat, what I have already stated publicly, that in my humble view your agreement has been a 'most contemptible capitulation of the Tamil cause' as propounded in the four demands made by your Party at the Trincomalee Convention.

Sathyagraha Call Off.

Having regard to the behaviour in recent times of the Sinhala hoodlums of whom the Press reports that over 15,000 have been recruited, and having regard to my own personal experience with the Police, the Sinhala mobs and Tamil non-Sathyagraha opponents, you were extremely wise, whatever the pretext—cr is it bluff, as some Sinhala Bhikkhus called it, in calling off your Sathyagraha as declared in your Trincomalee ultimatum.

I should like to know how your agreement with Mr. Bandaranaike will 'palliate', for example, the use of Sinhala in new Motor vehicles or the Throne Speech in Sinhalese. Will your Party attend the opening of Parliament next year?

You are entitled, as a General leading a political war, to call off a battle if you felt you could not enter it with any reasonable chance of success, but you are not entitled to repudiate the causes of the war. This is now an international question and I do not wish it to be recorded that the Tamils allowed themselves to be fooled or tricked or betrayed a second time by Prime Minister Bandaranaike.

You know the present plight of the Tamil Nation of Ceylon, a Nation which existed as a separate nation until 1802 and which lost its freedom on the field of battle.

Referendum

You will remember that during the many talks Ponnambalam, you and I had, we agreed that the Tamil nation is the final and sole judge of its future. I would, therefore, invite you to have a Referendum carried out as is done in Switzerland, Australia, and other countries, to find out whether the Tamil Nation of Ceylon are in accord with your agreement with the Prime Minister. The only issue before them would be whether they accept your Agreement or whether they would want an Autonomous Tamil Linguistic State, Federal, if possible, Separated, if necessary. If the Referendum decides in favour of your agreement with the Prime Minister, I shall be only too happy to retire from public life.

Pending this Referendum which will take, if it is to be properly organised, about three months, I want you not to accede to any legislative measures intended to give effect to what I feel is a disastrous agreement to the Tamil cause.*

Most important of all, I would also beg of you to make Prime Minister Bandaranaike prevent his Minister of Lands and Land Development, Mr. C. P. de Silva, from persisting in his diabolical policy of diverting the waters which irrigate Tamil paddy fields and of colonising with Sinhalese colonists the lands which fall within the traditional homelands of the Tamil people. You have in Percival's Ceylon, a map drawn before 1803, and which, when read with his observations and the famous Cleghorn Minutes of 1799, gives what constitutes the Traditional Tamil Territory.

I must apologise to you for the length of this letter, but I address it to you from the bottom of my heart, to bring to your notice and to the notice of the Tamil Nation of Ceylon, the irreparable, the irretrievable damage that would be done to generations of Tamils still unborn if we of this generation failed in our duty: we must fight to conserve our birth-right, our human-rights.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM,
M.P., Vavuniya.

**Effect has in fact been given to the Language Part of "B-C Pact" by Act 28 of 1958 "The Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act"*

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

THAMIL THUKKA THINAM

DAMILA THUKKA DHINAYA

“You see, Sunth, the Lion faces the North”.

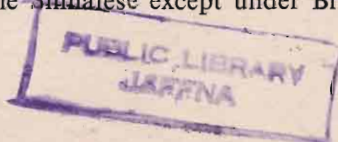
“Rightly so, D. S., your successor will unveil another Commemoration Column of another New Town of Anuradhapura in due time”.

This encounter in jest between the late Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake and me, in 1949, immediately after he had unveiled the monolithic column, crowned with the Sinhala Lion, sword in paw, is pregnant with much historical truth—past, present and future.

In the Elara Sohana, in the Old Town of Anuradhapura, there is more uniqueness and inspiration than in any other ancient ruin the world over. From Kurukshetra of the Mahabharatha to Hiroshima of Modern Japan, there have been victors and vanquished but never a parallel to the conquering Sinhala Dutugemunu erecting a memorial to a conquered Tamil Elara and decreeing that for all time no man shall pass the memorial except on foot and in solemnity.

It was only the other day, Vihara Maha Devi, the Mother of Dutugemunu, was rehonoured and a replica of her statue, seen at Ruanwelisaya, installed in the Park named after Victoria Regina. Vihara Maha Devi and Victoria Regina ! What a combination of names in the same sentence !

The time has now come for the Tamils of Ceylon to erect a statue to the memory of the Great Unknown Tamil Warrior who, within a few centuries of the Death of Dutugemunu, devastated and destroyed the Dagoba studded City and rewon it for the Tamils, not to be reoccupied by the Sinhalese except under British aegis.



It was Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, as Minister of Local Government under the Donoughmore Constitution, who initiated the steps to conserve the glorious ruins of Anuradhapura and to save the monolithic magnificence of the old and ancient from the *Takarams*, and the Tinsel of the new and modern. History will record that it was the same Prime Minister Bandaranaike who formulated the policy which inexorably resulted in the restoration of the separate ancient Tamil State in Ceylon and in the ruination of Sinhala Rule in the Mahawanni.

Mahawanni, one must not forget, the granary that fed fourteen million souls, extended as far as Maho in the South, if not beyond. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in the year 1505, there were then three distinct and different kingdoms one Tamil, the second, Low-country Sinhalese, and the third, Kandyan—Sinhalese. These three kingdoms passed under foreign Western domination, Portuguese, Dutch and English, in different ways, at different times and under different flags. In 1813, two years before the eighty-seven-and-a-half per cent Tamil King, Sri Wickrema Raja Singha, was betrayed by the Sinhala Ehelopola, and the Kandyan kingdom fell, Sir Robert Brownrigg, Governor of what were once the Kingdoms of Jaffna and of Kotte, wrote (I quote from his Despatch of 10th July, 1813) thus:-

“The Tamil Language.....which with a mixture of Portuguese in use through all the Provinces, is the proper tongue of the inhabitants from Puttalam to Batticaloa northward, inclusive of both these Districts. Your Lordship will, therefore, I hope, no objection to my putting the Tamil on an equal footing of encouragement with the Sinhalese”.

To this day, the early parent deeds of many a private land in the Anuradhapura District can be seen to have been written in Tamil.

Centuries before, the only two occasions, that is, under Parakrama Bahu I and Parakrama Bahu VI, when the Tamil Kingdom was entirely conquered and overlorded by Sinhalese Kings, they deemed it prudent to have the homelands of the Tamils administered (according to the Chronicles) by *Damila Adikarins*, Tamil Viceroys!

In 1944, when the State Council debated the question of the indigenous languages supplanting English as the only official language, and even though pointed attention was drawn to having one

language, Sinhalese only, as the official language, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike deemed it prudent to urge the placing of Tamil on an equal footing with Sinhalese along with English as an official language of Ceylon. If that decision were not taken, I for one, as a Minister of the D. S. Senanayake Cabinet, which negotiated the Independence Act with the British Cabinet, would have torpedoed it without any hesitation as I in fact torpedoed, much to D. S. Senanayake's chagrin the proposal to re-glorify the Sinhala *Kodiya* as the National Flag of Independent Ceylon. Mr. Bandaranaike, then not yet a renegade of the U. N. P. and a colleague of mine in the Cabinet, has first hand knowledge of these facts. The same Mr. Bandaranaike has since admitted that he has completely changed the views which he held until 1955—a *kuthukaranam* which I characterised in Parliament as 'double-tongued treachery !!

Without the consent, concurrence and co-operation of the Tamil Leaders of 1947 and before, no Independence was possible or could have been achieved for Ceylon. Now that Mr. Bandaranaike of the M. E. P. has gone one better than even Sir John Kotelawala of the U. N. P. of the pre-1956 General Election, and is seeking to enslave the Tamils and destroy their national self-respect, the Tamils have no alternative but to resist and retaliate: Resist and Retaliate and Win, they shall, as the day follows the night !

Since the M. E. P. came into power, the Tamils have become the victims of a deliberate, dishonest and dishonourable anti-Tamil Administration. There have been blood-baths, notwithstanding Buddha Jayanti !

The Bandaranaike Government has already implemented its Anti-Tamilism in these matters; besides what were given in my letter dated July 28, 1957, addressed to S. J. V. Chelvanayagam:-

- (1) Stop the employment of Tamil Teachers in what are nefariously described as Muslim Majority Schools;
- (2) Stop the continued employment after 1960 of Tamil Public Servants who do not conform to the Treasury Circular about the knowledge of the Sinhalese language and allow them to retire without compensation for loss of career;
- (3) Stop the order for heavy earth moving machinery, especially agricultural, proposed under the American Aid Programme for the Mahawanni;

- (4) Stop the Tamils from buying and using new Motor vehicles by insisting on the insulting 'Sri'!

Along with these acts of aggression, there have been a number of legislative and administrative pin-pricks which were unheard of in the hey-day of British Jingoism.

How can the Tamils then, consistently with their National Honour, observe the Fourth of February except as a day of Mourning a *Damila Dhukka Dhinaya*, a *Tamil Thukka Thinam*.

In this resolve to resist, come what may, all self-respecting Tamils, from the humblest to the highest, whatever their party or political affinities, are in full accord.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the ancient Tamil Kingdom will be recreated and reborn, that the proud Tamils will not tolerate for long the replacement of benign British Rule with sly Sinhala domination and that they will in the near future have occasion to celebrate a new Day of Tamil Freedom—a New Day of the Founding of an Independent Tamil Ilankai.

C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

M.P., Vavuniya.

Lingam Thottam,
Vavuniya.
February 1, 1958.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BE WARNED !!*

I have received an urgent message from my Constituency in Vavuniya that some of the Labour Force of the Government working at the Pavatukulam Colonisation Scheme made a raid on Vavuniya Town with tar and brush. They were accompanied from place to place and from public office to public office by Police Officers. While the Police Officers looked on and grinned, the hooligans applied tar with brush over Tamil names and sign boards. At one important Tamil store, an employee is reported to have come out with his gun and the hooligans were told to the effect that if they dared they would have to bear the consequences. The employee is also reported to have asked the Police Officers present whether they could do anything. As they would not, they were asked to get away from the scene lest any shots fired might hit them. Promptly both the hooligans and the Police dispersed.

I had information that at the Post Office the hooligans were daubing the Tamil letters with tar. I rang up the A. S. P., one Mr. Goonewardhene, who pretended that there were only stray cases and everything had quietened down. I told him that if he stepped on to the road from the Police Station, he could see what was happening at the Post Office. He seems to have gone and, after telling something to the hooligans and the Police present, appears to have threatened the Postmaster for bringing official information to my knowledge. The Postmaster in fact had told me nothing. I have warned all the people in Vavuniya that they cannot look to the Police for protection and that they can exercise their legal right of private self-defence, under the law by using their firearms. Immediately after, I rang up the I. G. P., Mr. Osmund de Silva, and told him what had transpired and what was transpiring at Vavuniya. I told him about the Police looking on and grinning and about my conversation with Mr. Goonewardhene. The I. G. P's reply was, in his very words, "We are following the same policy everywhere".

*Although signed copies of this statement were sent to all the Newspapers, only the Ceylon Observer and the *Thinakaran* published it. The Federal Party Leaders spread the propaganda among the Tamils living in Sinhalese areas that the statement was an exhibition of my innate insanity. Within two months the Race Riots, 1958 broke out.

I thought I would be failing in my duty if I did not bring these facts to the notice of His Excellency the Governor-General. I have telephoned him about 5.00 p.m. today to Nuwara Eliya and I have apprised him of the situation.

It has now become quite clear that following a particular policy, entirely in conflict with the law of the land, the Police are unable to prevent breaches of the peace committed in their immediate presence and are incapable of maintaining law and order in the country.

The victims are the Tamils. A train of events has been set in motion and I will be untrue to the Tamils of Ceylon wherever they may live if I did not warn them that from now onwards they should take every step to protect their person and property. If they do not have sufficient numbers or adequate strength they must immediately evacuate the places where they live or transact business and get into Tamil areas. They must not be heard to say hereafter that they were not warned and that they were not in a position to return to their homelands.

BE WARNED !

C. SUNTHARALINGAM.
M.P., Vavuniya.

Colombo,
6.00 p.m. April 3, 1958.

B—C PACT: FEDERAL PARTY FOLLY

My dear Fellow-Tamils,

Fellow Tamil ! What O' the Night ?

Never in the history of Ilankai has the Ceylon Tamil been in a worse plight.

Until the year 1832, for over 2,400 years, there was always one part of Lanka which was in the dominion of Tamils. The area was administered in the Tamil language. The Nagadwipa of the Chronicles and 'Nagadiboi' of Ptolemy's Map of 150 A. D., was undoubtedly Tamil territory. Strangely enough, making due allowance for the undeveloped state of cartography of the period, the area shown roughly as being occupied by Nagas, that is the Tamils, in Ptolemy's Map is more or less the same as the area shown in the French and Dutch maps of Ceylon as in the possession of the Tamils.

Even Robert Knox's map of 1681 indicates the area occupied by Prince "Coylot of the Wanees' contrey", the Kingdoms of "Jaffna, Cottiar, Batticaloa and Panova". inhabited by Tamils. Robert Knox's map states specifically that the "Coylot of the Wanees' contrey" was not under the Dutch but was in the dominion of the 'Malabars', that is the Tamils.

In the map that was published in England on the 1st January, 1803, in connection with the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, read with the famous minutes of Cleghorn and Robert Brownrigg, the first Colonial Secretary and Governor of Ceylon respectively, the area which constituted the traditional homelands of the Tamils is unmistakably shown to extend from Chilaw, northwards and eastwards to a point near Madawachchi, thence South of Padaviel Kulam to comprise the present Trincomalee District, Batticaloa District right down to the mouth of Walawa Ganga. This area was ceded to the British by the Dutch after the Tamils, especially the Wanniahs of Adangapattu, were defeated on the field of battle. To this day there is at Kachchilamadu, in my constituency, a commemoration tablet which shows the spot where Pandara Wanniahn died on the field of battle. against the British before Vanni passed finally under their dominion

TRADITIONAL TAMIL TERRITORY

The indigenous Tamils of Ceylon went under British imperialism independently of the other inhabitants—the Low-country Sinhalese or Kandyan Sinhalese. They went under British rule a few years after the Low-Country Sinhalese but at most thirteen years before the Kandyan Sinhalese. According to tradition, however, even after the Treaty of Amiens, the *Wanniahs** and *Wannichchis* of Adangapattu endeavoured for a number of years to turn out their new foreign masters by guerilla warfare.

It is this area depicted in the 1802 Map that the Tamils of Ceylon are entitled to claim as their own—the Traditional Tamil Homelands !

ENGLISH ONLY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

After the Colebrooke Commission's Report was implemented in 1833, Tamil as well as Sinhalese ceased to be the official languages of Ceylon and English became the only official language.

In 1944, for the first time after 1832, Sinhalese and Tamil were made the official languages, along with English, by a resolution of the Ceylon Legislature; both the languages were to be on an 'equal footing'. Contemporaneously with this resolution, the Soulbury Commission was appointed. No Tamil, whatever his political leanings or ideology would have even considered in 1947 any Independence Constitution for Ceylon which did not provide explicitly for the self-respect of the Ceylon Tamils by accepting their language on terms of parity with the Sinhalese language, although the majority of the people of Ceylon spoke that language.

There is a common error prevalent in the country that all matters in a parliamentary democracy are decided by a majority vote. I have stated more than once in Parliament, on Public Platforms and in the Press, that 'democracy means counting of heads within certain limits and cracking of heads if those limits are exceeded'. For example, by no majority vote in Parliament can the present Mr. Speaker (Mr. Ismail) be ordered not to wear his fez on ceremonial occasions; by no majority vote of Parliament can a Hindu be asked not to wear the holy ash; by no majority vote of Parliament can a Catholic be ordered not to wear the Cross. In the same way by a majority vote of Parliament no Tamil can be told

*Tamil Chieftains, Male and Female, in the Wann

not to speak or study the Tamil Language, nor can any restrictions, on the ground of language be imposed on equality of opportunity. In Ceylon, the Sinhala politicians have still to realise that in matters like religion and language—the soul of a nation—there can be no raising of hands, but that is precisely what happened when by a counting of ‘Ayes’ the Parliament of Ceylon passed the Sinhala Only Official Language Act in 1956. No wonder this was utterly opposed to the basic concept of Democracy. This was followed immediately by cracking of heads and loss of lives (about three-hundred) all over Ceylon, especially in the Gal Oya valley.

The aftermath of the Sinhala Only Official Language Act continued and in the past few weeks there has been a recrudescence of bloodshed and loss of lives, though not on the Gal Oya scale. Worse incidents might have occurred in Vavuniya but for the jungle firing at Cheddikulam !

Some days back certain Sinhala democratic nationalists led by an ex-member of Parliament took a vow before the statue of Dutugemunu at Anuradhapura dedicating their lives for ‘Demala Sangara’—liquidating of the Tamils. Though a march on Vavuniya, following on the vow, was promised by another ex-member of Parliament, better counsel prevailed in view of the immediate real threat which was gossiped about widely that the ‘jungles of Vavuniya may still shoot again’.

Today the Ceylon Tamil has been deprived of equality of opportunity, of impartial recognition of merit, of his right to live in South Ceylon even as a boutique keeper.

A Tamil woman has been disgraced and humiliated with Sinhalese Sri painted on her bodice-torn body; in many places the Tamils of Ceylon are warned to quit, even in places like Wellawatte and the City of Colombo where the Tamil speaking people are in a majority. It is into this plight that the Federal Party, the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi as it calls itself, has led the Tamils.

In the statement issued by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam soon after the abrogation of the so-called B-C Agreement, he spoke about the ‘correct lead’ that had been given to the Tamils by the Federal Party. From the day the Sinhala Only Official Language Act was passed until the announcement of the conclusion of this Agreement in July 1957, Tamil Members of Parliament like myself, who differed in essentials from the policy and plans of the Federal

Party have 'held our tongues' so that the impression might not gain ground that the Tamil leaders were divided among themselves. In fact it was for this very reason I abstained from attending meetings of Parliament.

FEDERAL PARTY'S ELECTION MANIFESTO, 1956

One must not forget that the Federal Party went to the hustings in the 1956 General Election, *inter alia*, on four well defined policies:

- (1) Absolute Parity between Sinhalese and Tamils as Official Languages of Ceylon, all over Ceylon;
- (2) Federal Constitution for Ceylon;
- (3) Non-colonisation by the Sinhala people of the traditional homelands of the Tamils;
- (4) Restoration of civil rights to all Tamils, especially plantation Tamil labour.

After two years of Federal Party leadership what have the Tamils achieved in respect of these four essentials of policy? I will take them *seriatim*:-

LANGUAGE

In regard to Language, the Federal Party agreed with the M. E. P. Government under the so-called B-C Agreement as follows:-

(a) Tamil children to start their schooling in Tamil and continue up to and through the University in that language entitling them to have their examinations, including examinations for recruitment to the Public Services, conducted in the Tamil medium; some years later there would be a paper or two in Sinhalese 'for recruitment to the Public Services'.

(b) Tamil children 'would be taught Sinhalese as a second language' probably from the 3rd standard onwards.

(c) After recruitment to the Public Services the Tamils would be appointed on probation for a period of three years within which they would be required to secure sufficient proficiency in Sinhalese on pain of their being discontinued if they did not attain the stipulated standard. It was for this purpose that examinations for recruitment after some years were to have some papers set in Sinhalese and, therefore, presumed to be answered in Sinhalese.

(d) Any private person who wrote to a Government or semi-Government authority in the Tamil Language was to get his reply in the Tamil Language until 1960. For some years thereafter, the reply was to be in the Sinhalese Language, with a 'copy for convenience in Tamil', and some years thereafter the translation in Tamil was to be dropped.

(e) Local Bodies like Municipalities, Urban Councils and so on, even including the proposed Regional Councils, if ever they came into existence, have to follow, in so far as the Sinhala Only Act was concerned, the same policy as private persons in regard to the official correspondence.

This was the official interpretation given in respect of the Language part of the Agreement by the Prime Minister, the Honourable S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, one party to the B-C Agreement, on August 14, 1957. They were read out in the course of a Debate in Parliament on the Revision of the Constitution. Neither Mr. Chelvanayagam, the other party to the Agreement, nor any other member of the Federal Party repudiated this interpretation. Silence meant acquiescence. I want to know whether the Federal Party have in agreeing to these terms in their Pact with the Prime Minister carried out the mandate which they asked and received from the Tamil voters. Have they been true to the trust reposed in them by their constituents?

FEDERAL STATE

In regard to the question of a Federal State of Ceylon, the declared policy of the Federal Party is an 'Autonomous Tamil Linguistic State within the framework of a Federal Union'. Not a single non-Tamil leader whatever his Party affinities—the L. S. S. P., V. L. S. S. P., C. P., S. L. F. P., M. E. P., etc., has even sympathised with the Federal ideas. On the contrary, most of them have denounced it.

As I said in the course of a speech in Jaffna, federation means union; union means consent; without consent there can be no union and, therefore, no federation. No consent has been forthcoming from the Sinhalese—not even a show of willingness to discuss and condone federation!

It is high time the Federal Party and the Ceylon Tamils gave up the idea of a federal state; it is utterly unreal and altogether visionary in the political climate of Ceylon. We may win or try to win a federal state without negotiation and agreement with the Sinhalese. Even if there was agreement by one Sinhala Government,

what is there to prevent the agreement from being abrogated or repudiated by another Sinhala Government, as indeed the resolution of 1944 recognising equality of status for Sinhalese and Tamil was repudiated by the U. N. P. and Mr. Bandaranaike in 1955 ?

COLONISATION

In regard to Colonisation, today under Padavielkulam, Allai and Kantalai, colonists have been recruited and Land Kachcheries held, not in the Trincomalee Kachcheri, in respect of lands which fall within the Trincomalee District but in Land Kachcheries held mainly in the Western Province. This has been done both by the U. N. P. Government and the M. E. P. Government in flagrant violation of the Land Development Ordinance. Quite recently, in view of the pressure brought to bear by Tamil Members of Parliament, 400 persons, mainly persons discontinued from the Trincomalee Naval Base, were selected as colonists at a Land Kachcheri held in Trincomalee. On the 5th of last month and on many subsequent days the Sinhalese colonists and others under the Padavielkulam Scheme have met and passed resolutions insisting that the Tamil colonists selected be not allowed to go into possession of their allotments on pain of being kept out by violence and if they dared, on pain of losing their lives. All that the Minister of Lands and Land Development could say was that he hoped that a 'reasonable arrangement' could be reached. Today his orders are of no effect in Padavielkulam and Sinhalese hoodlum rule obtains ! All Tamil shops have been closed down in Padavielkulam area. One night last month all Tamil officers were given one hour's notice by the Police to quit if they had any regard for their lives; and the Press announced that a rally of the colonists of Allai, Kantalai and Padavielkulam, who have no dealings whatsoever with any land or have any interest at all in Vavuniya, is to be held in Vavuniya itself on the last date of the Federal Party's Convention—25th May, 1958. Presumably they intend a "*Demala Sangara*" ! (Tamil Liquidation)

The people of *Adangapattu* who have some regard for self-respect and who have perfectly sound ideas in regard to their right of private self-defence under the law, will protect their person and property at all costs according to law, and will no doubt take the necessary steps as they did at Cheddikulam and as they did in anticipation of the "*Demala Sangara*" vow. They will keep Vavuniya free, come what may, from the procession—or is it invasion—that is to precede the rally ? The people of Vavuniya may have to devote all their attention to the new combination of Allai, Kantalai and Padavielkulam colonists.

TAMIL CIVIC RIGHTS

In regard to the Restoration of Civic Rights to plantation labour, not all the wooings of the Federal Party chiefs have succeeded in preventing the leaders of plantation labour from dissociating themselves entirely from the recent Anti-Sri campaign and its aftermath. The B-C Agreement dismissed the question of Ceylon Indian civic rights as one which did not concern the Federal Party.

It is thus clear that the Federal Party has not achieved a jot or tittle of the expectations held of them when they were returned as the major Tamil Party to the Ceylon Parliament. To add insult to injury, the two Muslims who were proclaimed as giving strength to the Tamil Federal Party cause have left the Party and become either their open or secret foes!

ISSUE BEFORE THE TAMILS

It is now a matter for Ceylon Tamils to decide whether they should put up any longer with the loss of their right to live and have their living in every part of Ceylon, with the loss of their freedom from fear, with the loss of their self-respect and with the insult and humiliation that is heaped upon them on all Sinhala sides. It is a matter for them to decide whether they can get a federal state of Ceylon or whether they should not aim at a State of Eylom as a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is for them to decide whether they should follow the path of *Sathyagraha* and *Ahimsa* only or whether they should not also follow the other paths which history, modern or ancient, has shown to achieve their freedom and their fundamental human rights.

LET THE TAMILS DECIDE

The country is aware that on two previous occasions I vacated my seat in Parliament in order to have my views and my policies confirmed by my constituents—the first in regard to, the Fraud Flag, the Sinhala Kodiya, which to this day flies with a slight modification over Parliament, and the second, in connection with the Language Rights of the Tamils.

I propose to take the present plight of the Ceylon Tamil to the hustings. I propose to cease to sit in Parliament and to take the necessary steps to have my seat declared vacant. If my constituents decide that a federal state is to be preferred to the State of Eylom and that *Sathyagraha* and *Ahimsa* alone should be followed to the exclusion of other methods in achieving our salvation, I shall retire from public life.

If, on the other hand, my constituents confirm my views as against the views of the candidate sponsored by the Federal Party, then after contest I would invite the Federal Party not to divide the ranks of the Tamils and to ask for a fresh mandate from their constituencies.

No nation struggling for freedom should enter the field of battle with divided ranks. It is not possible for me to unite with the Federal Party in its present policies and methods.

Unless, therefore, the Federal Party at their forthcoming Convention reorientate their policy, I would in all humility appeal to them to put to test their policy, plan and programme by contesting the Vavuniya seat at the bye-election which will be forced by my absence from Parliament. The Tamils cannot continue divided for all time; nor should the Tamils acquiesce in a weak, vacillating and unsuccessful leadership. A new Dominion of Eylom has become a logical necessity and the only salvation of the *Eyla Tamil Inam* !*

C. SUNTHARALINGAM,
M.P., Vavuniya.

Vavuniya,
May 13, 1958.

NOTE:

Within a few days of this letter the horrible Racial Riots of 1958 started; on the very day the Batticaloa Delegation were to leave for the Federal Party Convention, Emergency 1958 was proclaimed. In connection with my motion to reduce Premier Bandaranaike's salary to one cent for the financial year 1958/59, I delivered a speech in Parliament setting out in detail, in diary form, the events as they transpired in Eylom—Vol. 32, August 18, 1958 Col. 78 to 146—Hansard of the House of Representatives.

C.S.

* Eylam Tamil Nation

FREEDOM FROM SINHALA IMPERIALISM

I owe an explanation to the public for the step I have taken in resigning my seat as Member of Parliament for Vavuniya. They are aware that I have become more than a 'habitual' for resignations, retirements, interdictions, suspensions and dismissals, in each case for good reason as proved by the event.

I resigned from the Indian Civil Service in 1920 in order to serve Ceylon in a manner that I thought might help to free her from British Imperialism. I feel gratified that whatever part I played, incurring on occasions the opposition, nay, the odium of fellow Tamils, I promoted, in my own fashion, the cause that was nearest my heart. It has been publicly acknowledged by those who were in the know of things that had I not along with two or three others been so intimately associated with D. S. Senanayake in his political education and activities during the period 1924 onwards and had I not joined his Cabinet in 1947, Independence would not have been achieved so smoothly. Ceylon would have been forced to tread the weary tortuous path leading to 'Dominion Status' in a 'space of time' as set out in the first Ceylon Constitution Order-in-Council, 1946. The policy of Divide et Impera would have run its full course in a colonial rule. As I said recently in Parliament, even though my conduct has not resulted in the two Nations in Ceylon obtaining complete freedom, at least I am proud to feel that it has helped the Sinhala Nation to shake off the shackles of foreign domination after nearly four centuries.

If I have resigned my membership from Parliament last week it is in the earnest belief and hope that I may be able, by whatever activities I may be engaged in hereafter, to assist the Tamil Nation of Eylom to secure freedom from Sinhala Imperialism. Since 1955, Sinhala chauvinism has installed itself in the seat of Government of this country. As a Sinhalese Minister frankly admitted some time back, in so far as the Tamils of Eylom are concerned, the Sinhalese have taken the place of the British and what was British Imperialism has been transferred into Sinhala Imperialism for them.

I have used the phrase 'The Tamil Nation of Eylom', and I must explain my meaning. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon there was a Tamil Kingdom well established in the Island, just

as the Kandyan and Kotte Kingdoms were. The Tamils had their own kings for over two thousand years, with only two breaks of sixteen and six years under Parakrama Bahu I and Parakrama Bahu VI respectively. The kingdom of Kotte fell first in 1597 to the Portuguese then the Kingdom of Jaffna two decades later in 1619; but not that of Kandy. In Robert Knox's *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, there is a map of the 'New Kingdom of Candé Uda in the Island of Ceylon', published in 1685. It depicts the several territories under Dutch, Tamil and Kandyan rule. The territory north of a point 'Ccrunda Wy river' near Madawachchi and right up to Elephant Pass, bounded on the west and east by the seas and the 'Cotiarum Regnum' round Trincomalee is described as 'Coylot Wanee's Contrey' and is indicated to be where the 'Malabars live' (meaning thereby the Tamils) ruled by 'Prince Coylot Wannea'. When the Dutch surrendered their territories to the British under the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, an official map was prepared for the Commissioners for India showing distinctly the area subject to the rule of the King of Kandy. When this map is viewed in the light of the despatches of the early British Colonial Secretaries and Governors, it becomes apparent that 'there are two distinct nations from time immemorial inhabiting the Island'—the Tamils and the Sinhalese, and the traditional homelands occupied by the Tamils are indicated to be from 'Chilaw to Walawe'. It is thus apparent that the Tamil nation went under successive Western foreigners at different times, different from the Sinhalese nation, and that the Tamils never went under the Western foreigner because they happened to be under the subjugation of the Sinhalese. When, therefore, Ceylon received Independence from the British, if the Tamil leaders had any reason to suspect that the Sinhalese leaders would go behind their undertakings and promises, or to doubt their bona fides, they would have acted differently during the whole course of the country's struggle for emancipation. Indeed when the Independence resolution was introduced in the first Parliament of Ceylon not a single Tamil Member, including plantation Tamil Members, cast their votes against the resolution at the division even though a section of the C. P., including the present Premier Dahanayake did.

Times have changed. Since June 1953, we have had a quick succession of miserable, sometimes sordid events and incidents which the Tamils of Eylom can neither forgive nor forget:-

- (1) The introduction of the Sinhala Only Official Language Bill in Parliament in June 1956 behind barricaded doors;

(2) Sathyagraha organised by the Federal Party on Galle Face Green in which practically all Tamil Members of Parliament joined and found themselves risking their lives under the very eyes of the Police; Members of Parliament appeared with bandages in the House; "Honourable Wounds of War", exclaimed Premier Bandaranaike. "Yes", retorted the M. P. for Vavuniya. The war had begun on June 5, 1956.

(3) Communal disturbances in many parts of Ceylon, especially in Colombo and Gal Oya resulting in over three hundred fatal casualties besides minor casualties, arson, loot and the declaration of a State of Emergency;

(4) The anti-Sinhala Sri campaign early in 1957;

(5) Observance of the Fourth of February in the Eastern and Northern Provinces as a 'Tamil Thukka Thinam' (Tamil Day of Mourning);

(6) Threat of Sathyagraha on a large scale by the Federal Party in mid-1957—the country was 'on the brink of a catastrophe', in the then Premier's own picturesque phraseology;

(7) The Bandaranaike—Chelvanayagam Pact late 1957

(8) The resumption of the anti-Sinhala Sri Campaign by the Federal Party to be countered on an all-Ceylon scale by the anti-Tamil 'Tar and Brush' Campaign in March/April 1958; Eyla Tamil ladies subjected to indignities while travelling;

(9) The abrogation of the "B-C Pact" brought about by certain Buddhist Priests practising Sathyagraha near the then Premier's residence, April 1958;

(10) The Cheddikulam incident in which a hoodlum crowd of Government employees of the Land Development and Irrigation Departments, numbering nearly three hundred, on their way to attack a Tamil and Muslim village were put to flight by four Tamils firing with three guns from jungle: 'bush-whacked', as Minister C.P. de Silva said;

(11) Bogawantalawa shooting;

(12) Kahawatte stabbing;

(13) The taking of the Oath of *Demala Sanghara* before the statue of Dutugemunu by certain Sinhala chauvinists, including an ex-M.P. Boycott of Tamil shops sponsored by the *Eksath Bhikku Peramuna*; Eravur shooting and stabbing;

(14) The Federal Party Convention in Vavuniya from 23rd May to 25th May 1958, notwithstanding the advice of the M.P. of the area of grave potential danger;

(15) The refusal by the Government to afford protection to the Tamil Federal Party Delegation which was to proceed by train from Batticaloa to Vavuniya on 22nd May, 1958, under the leadership of Mr. Rajadurai, M.P.

(16) The outbreak of Sinhala hoodlumism on 23rd May, 1958, in the Hingurakgoda and Polonnaruwa areas, spreading all over Ceylon, followed by reprisals by Tamil hoodlums in the North and East and shootings both by the Police and Military; fatal casualties stated in Parliament to be nearly 1,600 from all communities, besides rape, especially of Indian Ceylon Tamil women, loot, arson, 'human torches' and other atrocities; loss of property estimated to be over 30 million rupees; Tamil evacuees going to the North and Sinhalese refugees coming to the South using all means of transport, including commandeered foreign ships and said to involve over a lakh of human beings;

(17) Declaration of Emergency, 27th May 1958;

(18) House detention of member of the Executive of the Federal Party under the Public Security Acts;

(19) Chasing away of Tamil students by Sinhala students from the Government Kundasale Farm School in August 1959;

(20) Declaration of Emergency on 25th September 1959 as it was feared that there might be a flare-up of racial and religious riots.

In the economic field, the following acts of discrimination have been committed against the Tamils of Eylom by the Pan-Sinhala Government:

(These are detailed at pages 33, 34 ante.)

The new Premier Dahanayake in his very first message to the Nation delivered only in Sinhalese, has declared his determination to

promote the cause of '*our* nation' and '*our* religion'. (The italics are mine). He has expressed his adherence strictly to the principles and the policies of his *Bodisatva* predecessor.

It has consequently become necessary for the Tamils of Eylom to decide—

(1) Whether they want to be under the Sinhala Arasu (Sinhala Government) as supported by leaders like Mr. Ethirmanasingham, M.P; or

(2) Whether they want a Sinhala-Tamil Arasu (Federal Government) as advocated by Mr. Chelvanayagam and the Federal Party. (Note: Not a single Sinhalese leader or a Party has expressed willingness for such a Federal Union); or

(3) Whether they want a Thani Tamil Arasu (A Pure Tamil Government)—a separate State of Eylom as proposed by me and which in my humble view is achievable without Sinhala consent or concurrence. It was only last year that the Cypriots, much smaller than us in number and occupying a territory not as large as the Northern Province, were able to wrench out Independence and freedom from the British Imperialists. It cannot be more difficult for Eylom Tamils to deal with Sinhala Imperialists.

Whatever the decision of the Tamils of Eylom its implementation must be vested in undivided and trustworthy leadership. A nation in distress, in the throes of losing its livelihood and self-respect cannot be engaged successfully in a struggle for freedom under the command of quarrelling generals. Even if the struggle is to be restricted solely to constitutional methods, the Tamils can have no influence in the next Parliament of Ceylon unless they stand together as one united indivisible group. They will be political nonentities otherwise. In a Parliament of 157 members not more than about 17 will be Tamils of Eelam. They will be a negligible factor in political computations unless on a balance of majority and minority of the Sinhala Parties, like S. L. F. P. or the U. N. P., or the Sinhala-dominated parties like the L. S. S. P., or the C. P., the Tamil group finds itself in the fortuitous position to make or unmake Sinhala Governments.* The Tamil representation in Parliament must constitute an effective and respected solidarity if the Tamils are to hold their heads high.

*This anticipation proved right after the First General Election of 1960.

It is to secure this objective of undivided Tamil leadership and Tamil solidarity even during the rest of the life time of the present Parliament that I have accepted the verdict of the voters of the town of Vavuniya cast under Federal and Communist propaganda; I quit politics for the time being—perhaps. Let the Federal Party deliver the goods to the Tamil Nation of Eylom whom they alone have claimed and still claim to represent. The Tamils will no doubt follow their contributions to the Debates in Parliament and their extra-Parliamentary activities.

Up to date the Federal leaders have achieved nothing but misery, degradation and loss of self-respect and of fundamental rights for the Tamils. They have to take their share of blame and responsibility for the killings and missings of 1,600 persons in 1958. They have not even shown their willingness to rebel as the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights provides in certain circumstances.

In due time I shall publish a full and detached factual statement of their misdeeds, blunders, acts of deception, of dishonesty and of sanctimonious Johnsonian Patriotism, all under the guise and pretence of honest leadership.

Parliamentary representation for the Eylom Tamils should not be motivated by kudos or careerism or sympathetic sorrow (*anuthapam*)* for departed leaders. Nor should it depend on pandals or garlands or high-faluting Tamil speeches. A member's life would be full of toil and tears, possibly jungle-living and flea-bites and, above all involving risks to person and family. The Tamils will have only themselves to thank if they entrust their leadership to the weak and to wailing widows in their present tribulations.

I feel that I would be acting against my conscience if I subscribe to or took part in, the implementation of any policy other than that which would necessarily steadily and surely lead to the founding of the State of Eylom by the partition of Ceylon and the renaissance of the EYLOM Tamil Nation.

Past history, present day atrocities, future freedom from fear make EYLOM inevitable. In my humble view there can be no Peace in Lanka for its two nations of history—Sinhala and Tamil without a reborn Tamil Nation-State of Eylom !

C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

Lingam Thottam,
Vavuniya, October 2, 1959.

* அனுதாபம்

Lingam Thottam,
Vavuniya, March 1st., 1960.

Fellow-Tamils of Eylom,

THAMIL NATION STATE OF EYLOM SHALL BE REBORN

It is with justifiable pride I must remind you that in Ceylon today I am the only person engaged in active politics since 1920, whether publicly or privately. I met Arunachalam in London in 1920 when he came as Leader of the Ceylon Reform Deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was then that I became intimately acquainted with the Leaders of the day of all communities—F. R. Senanayake, Sir. H. M. Fernando, D. B. Jayatilaka, Francis Molamure, W. A. de Silva, H. A. P. Sandrasegera, H. J. C. Pereira. I was then a member of the Indian Civil Service and later of the Ceylon Civil Service. I had met Ramanathan as early as 1915 in London when he was entertained by the Ceylon students: he had come to save the Sinhala people from the atrocities of the British jingos during the Martial Law days of 1915 when the Sinhala hcoligans murdered a few innocent Moors, arising out of the Buddhist Temple incident in Kandy. The toast of Ramanathan was proposed in a most felicitous speech by H. V. Perera. I became intimately associated with Ramanathan from 1922 when I had to serve in Committees along with him, Arunachalam, D. B. Jayatilala and a host of other leaders.

I remember an occasion when at a meeting of the Academic Committee of the Ceylon University College I found myself seated between Arunachalam on my right and Ramanathan on my left. The Principal, Robert Marrs, had submitted a memorandum on the importance and value of having a Department of Music at the College. He was expatiating on the educational value of musical training. I whispered to Arunachalam, "What music is he referring to—Eastern or Western?". He replied, 'We will see.' A few minutes later, while Marrs was still continuing to expatiate on the subject, I turned to Ramanathan and whispered to him, 'What is he about—Eastern music or Western music?'. He whispered back, with a twinkle in

his eye, 'Put the question'. I thereupon put the question openly, Marrs turned red in the face! His expatiation faded out and the subject was deferred and never taken up later. There was nothing that Arunachalam, Ramanathan or James Peiris did in matters educational or political without discussing them with me. It was in connection with the discussion on the Donoughmore Report with Ramanathan that I brought to his knowledge a great inherent defect of the possibility of a 'caucus' creating the Board of Ministers. It was when I used the word 'caucus' that Ramanathan asked me what that word meant and what its origin was. I gave the meaning but I did not know the origin. He insisted on my referring to the Dictionary. The Oxford Big Dictionary was taken from the shelf and to the surprise of both of us I read the word 'caucus' had been derived from the Indian word 'Cau-Cau-Asu'. '*Ithuthan engal kusu kusu kootamo*',¹² said Ramanathan in Tamil. '*Appadi polthan irukkinrathu*',¹³ I replied in Tamil. Soon after, that word 'Kusu-kusu-kootam' was proclaimed from the Legislative Chamber and has since been in current use in our political vocabulary.

All of us were at that time engaged in the struggle to win freedom from the British. By that time F. R. Senanayake had brought his brother D. S. Senanayake to my house and introduced him to me, saying that I should be a friend, philosopher and guide to D. S. Senanayake in his political education and activities. There was nothing that D. S. Senanayake did those days which I had not inspired, initiated or taught him. There was not a single day in certain months, when burning questions of the day were agitating the public mind, that he did not come to my house, every morning and often in the evenings as well. It was to my breakfast table when I entertained a distinguished visitor he brought N. U. Jayawardena who later well deservedly became the Governor of the Central Bank.

I persisted, at the expense of losing two bye-elections, in opposing the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, then under the leadership of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam. I deliberately joined D. S. Senanayake's Cabinet as an Independent Member in order to secure the culmination of our struggle to win freedom from British Imperialism. If I had not joined the Cabinet, there would not have been that unity between the two major communities of Ceylon without which the British would never have granted Indepen-

12 இது தான் எங்கள் குசு குசு கூட்டம்.

This is our Kusu Kusu Fraternity.

13 அப்படிப்போல் தான் இருக்கின்றது.

It seems to be that.

dence. I find that in a speech I delivered about the year 1942 at the Jaffna Youth Conference held at Chulipuram, I had hinted that if after joining the Sinhalese and getting freedom from the British, they proved false, there might be a resumption of the shuttle-cock warfare of 2,000 years. It was with the full realisation of the implications that I sought to achieve the ambition I had in mind when I resigned from the I. C. S. and later from the C. C. S.—an ambition which had germinated in the debating Society of St. Joseph's College, and the Darley Literary Union, the members of which Union were all Tamils.

Times have changed. Today Mr. Philip Gunawardene is proclaiming to the world that the majority community in Ceylon has the right to determine what official language Ceylon should have and perhaps what the State religion ought to be. He has undoubtedly forgotten the basic principle of democracy 'counting of heads within certain limits and cracking of heads if those limits are exceeded'. It was he and C. P. de Silva who ran away from the Chamber of the House when I began to show photographs of the 'cracking of heads' and the burning of living bodies at Polonnaruwa during the fateful days of May, 1958. Mr. Philip Gunawardena seems to delude himself by the belief that the Tamils of Eylom are all of the Sinhala-Tamil *Arasu Kadchi* persuasion and policy relying on *Sathyagraha* and *Ahimsa* to resist Sinhala chauvinism and to prevent the replacement of British Rule by Sinhala Rule and retain their freedom. He has no doubt had occasion to discuss in the Bandaranaike Cabinet the Cheddikulam incident for which I have taken full responsibility when four Tamils kept at bay and put to flight a crowd of armed Sinhala hoodlums, nearly 300 strong. For my part, I know there are many Tamils who believe the Three Fundamental Teachings of the *Baghavat Gita*:-

Firstly: When Dharma declines and Adharma prospers, Providence intervenes to persecute the wicked and to protect the weak;

Secondly: To labour is one's right but not to the fruits thereof;

Thirdly: A person who does not fight and is not prepared to shed blood and lose his life in a just cause is a coward.

Outside the influence of the Sinhala-Tamil *Arasu Kadchi*, there are many Tamils who are ready to follow and put into practice the Teachings of the *Baghavat Gita*. Mr. Philip Gunawardene must remember that notwithstanding his activities as a Minister and those of some of his fellow-Ministers since 1956, over 2,000 have

died or are missing in consequence of their attempt to subjugate the Tamil people by enacting the Sinhala Only Official Language Act, other Legislative Enactments and committing discriminatory administrative acts. Of the 2,000, nearly 1,600 are Sinhalese. Providence has, indeed, intervened to protect the weak Tamils and to persecute the wicked Sinhalese. History is now repeating itself.

This is a testing time for the Tamils of Eylom. If they fail on this occasion and if they do not elect as their leaders persons who can truly and sincerely undergo suffering and sacrifice themselves, the Tamils of Eylom will be lost for a generation or two, if not longer, and Sathyagraha and Ahimsa of the Sinhala-Tamil Arasu Kadchi would have destroyed the Tamils as has already happened by the upsurge of Sinhala hoodlums. It is for these reasons that at all meetings I **APPEAL TO THE TAMILS OF EYLOM TO VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES OF THE ADANGA THAMILAR OTTRUMAI MUNNANI NOW THE EYLA THAMIL OTTRUMAI MUNNANI**. In the electorates where there are **NO SUCH** candidates to vote for the **L. S. S. P.**, in the alternative.

I have no doubt, sooner or later, there shall be reborn a Tamil-Nation-State of Eylom.

Yours truly,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

Lingam Thottam,
Vavuniya, January 1, 1961.

"COUNT HEADS OR CRACK HEADS"

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

My attention has been drawn during the week-end to your broadcast to the Nation last Wednesday night (28.12.1960) on the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Bill. You state:-

"It has been passed by an overwhelming majority of Members of both Houses of Parliament. Parliamentary Democracy would be a mockery if the laws passed by Parliament are allowed to be openly flouted or violated. The sovereignty of Parliament must be upheld".

This passage from your broadcast, I am sorry to state, reveals an abysmal ignorance of the postulates, principles and practices of Modern Parliamentary Democracy. You are aware that the Parliamentary Democracy of Ceylon is modelled entirely on the Parliamentary Democracy of the United Kingdom. Our constitutional Order-in-Council and the Standing Orders of our Houses of Parliament expressly envisage the customs and the conventions of the British Parliament unless otherwise provided by special enactment or usage.

Indeed Section 41 of the Ceylon Constitutional Order-in-Council, 1946, provides,—'In the matter of summoning, proroguing and dissolving Parliament and the appointment and dismissal of Ministers, the Governor shall, except as otherwise provided by this Order, act in accordance with the constitutional conventions applicable to the exercise of a similar function in the United Kingdom by His Majesty'.

The very Oath of Honourable Conduct that you take on your appointment as Minister of State is modelled on the Oath taken by Ministers of State in the United Kingdom.

If you refer to the uncorrected Hansard Volume 21, proceedings of 19th July 1956, Column 1276 *et seq.*, the following passages will be found to occur:-

“Mr. Suntharalingam: Make no mistake. The Honourable Member for Polonnaruwa (Mr. C. P. de Silva) spoke about Democracy. Let him read books on Democracy. Let him read books on ‘Declaration of Fundamental Rights’.

Democracy does not mean anything more than this. You, Mr. Deputy Speaker (that was Mr. Ismail), you wear the fez. Five of us cannot, for matter of that, all of us together in this House cannot, by the raising of our hands, say ‘The Deputy Speaker shall not wear a fez’.

The Hon. Mr. Jayawardena: Why not ? They can !

Mr. Suntharalingam: You can ! Oh, I see that is his idea of Democracy ! Let it go on record. You can by a vote in this House, according to the Democracy of the Honourable the Leader of the House, (Mr. J. R. Jayawardena himself), ask you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, not to wear a fez hereafter ! If my good friends by their majority vote ask me not to come to this House wearing the ‘Holy Ash’ on my forehead, I shall use my fist on them. Let us make no mistake about this matter, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I have read out here in this House, the Fundamental Rights of Man.....,

In the true name of Democracy you shall not do anything undemocratic. You shall not, for instance, violate the Fundamental Rights of the Minorities, The moment that is done, the minorities have the right to use whatever weapon they have at their disposal to counteract the situation. On many an occasion in Parliament I have given expression repeatedly to this dictum of mine:-

“Democracy means and implies the counting of heads within certain bounds and cracking of heads beyond those bounds”.

On the Language issue, already about 2,001 ‘heads’ have been broken fatally. On the school issue, the tally is three ! I noted some months back with pleasure that Mr. J. R. Jayawardena himself was quoting this dictum in practically so many words. You, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, you and your colleagues have still to realise the truth of the dictum

and put it into practice. D. S. Senanayake who was then your Prime Minister, at the time of assuming the reins of Parliamentary Government, in his first broadcast to the Nation said very categorically that his Government was of 'All' the people, for 'ALL' the people, by 'ALL' the people—the word 'ALL' in the transcript of the message to the Press, had been underlined. I ask you most earnestly, Is the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges Bill a Legislative Enactment of 'ALL' the people concurred in by 'ALL' the people, and for the good of 'ALL' the people? If your answer is not in the affirmative, your statement about Parliamentary Democracy being reduced to a mockery exhibits an utterly fallacious notion of the scope of Parliamentary Democracy.

In my citation from the Hansard I referred to the Fundamental Rights of Man. The UNESCO Committee on Human Rights submitted a Draft for consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Article 14 of the Draft reads as follows:-

"14. The Right of Rebellion or Revolution: In the event that the Government of his Nation operates contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, and the basic human rights in such fashion that no redress is permitted by peaceful means, man has the right to set up a Government more nearly in conformity with justice and humanity".

The General Assembly of the United Nations, however, toned down these provisions and, instead, provided in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights thus:-

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse AS A LAST RESORT, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that Human Rights should be protected by the rule of law....."

Ceylon is today a full fledged and, through its representative, an active and alert member of the United Nations Organisation and your Government is committed to implementing the Declaration of Human Rights.

Will the Tamils of Eylom or the Catholics of Ceylon be committing an act of Parliamentary Mockery, 'if they seek to put into practice those principles 'AS A LAST RESORT' ?

Please do not forget that it was the Parliamentary Democracy of Great Britain that made possible the 'Sinn Fein' Rebellion in Catholic Ireland during and after World War I, and the I. O. K. A. Movement in Cyprus quite recently after World War II to achieve for their countries and peoples Freedom, Independence and Birthrights.

Your Parliamentary Democracy is making an armed camp of Ceylon. I have seen during the last few days movements of troops. Are you expecting a repetition of Emergency '58? May I humbly ask you why up to date you have not explained in Parliament why you ran away from the Chamber of the House of Representatives when I displayed some photographs about the Emergency, 1958?

Is not the conduct of your Government not merely a mockery but an utter Travesty of Democracy? Are laws made for men or men made for laws?

You may perhaps succeed for the moment by the show and the shooting of the 'Sinha' Sten Guns. But do not forget the writing on the wall! Sovereignty of Parliament can never be upheld by the baton or the bullet or the bayonet for all time. Nemesis, as I once told your late lamented leader, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in Parliament, was hard on his heels; and it is perhaps now hard on his successors' heels!

Be Warned by this—my humble New Year Message to you and your Government!

Yours very sincerely,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

The Hon. C. P. de Silva,
Deputy Prime Minister
Senate House, Colombo 1.



‘Lingam Thottam’,
Vavuniya, Vesak Day, 19/20. 5. 62.

EYLA THAMILS ! DEDICATE YOURSELVES FOR A FREE INDEPENDENT THAMIL NATION-STATE OF EYLOM

My dear Chelvanayagam,

‘Honourable wounds of War’, exclaimed Premier Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, as the Hansard reports his words, when I and Mr. Amirthalingam entered the Chamber of the House of Representatives—he with a bandaged head and I with a bandaged neck, wounded at the Galle Face Green Sathyagraha that morning. That very day, June 5, 1956, the ‘Sinhala Only’ Official Language Bill was introduced into Parliament.

The hostilities in the ‘war’ thus commenced when Premier Bandaranaike defied the resolution passed in 1944 by the State Council under the leadership of Mr. D. S. Senanayake granting Parity of Status to English, Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of all Ceylon.

Since then the Government of the country by ordinary law has been superseded by Government by Emergency Powers.

The five freedoms of Worship, of Association (especially through the Press), from Want, from Fear, and, above all, of National Self-respect have been lost to the Thamils of Ceylon. Many of the fundamental human rights as set out in the Charter of the United Nations Organisation have been denied to them.

Lands in traditional Tamil territory have been and are being alienated in violation of enacted and existing laws, to non-Tamils.

Tamil children are made to study the Sinhalese language. Higher educational facilities for them are being curtailed. They are being denied Equality of Opportunity and Impartial Recognition of Merit.

The Thamil public servants have been deprived of their legitimate aspirations and, unless they pass the prescribed examinations in Sinhala they will earn no increments and win no promotions. They may also be compulsorily retired without compensation.

Development schemes and industrial enterprises among the Thamil people are being thwarted or ignored. The Thamil are being squeezed out of their living with dignity in Ceylon.

Since 1956, in the Committees, Councils and Cabinets of Governments the Thamil have no effective voice. The Pan-Sinhala homogeneous Board of Ministers has been put to shame by the Pan Sinhala-speaking Cabinet. One L. S. S. P. Member of Parliament was heard to say that the Thamil are now a discarded community, they do not count! The progressive subjugation, degradation and humiliation of the Thamil proceed apace.

The Ceylon Independence Act of 1947, was enacted by the British Parliament on the basic assumption that the peoples of Ceylon had been integrated into one nation, irrespective of linguistic, racial, cultural and religious differences. Indeed, Ramanathan the very first elected Member of the Ceylon Legislature, was known as the 'Ceylonese' member. The unification of Ceylon achieved by, and under, the British has failed completely. The Independence enjoyed by all Ceylonese between the years 1948 to 1954 (inclusive) has now been lost to the Tamil nation of Eylom and British Colonialism has been superseded by Sinhala Colonialism for the Eylom Tamils. It is now patent that the so-called polyglot Ceylonese nation has disintegrated.

Federation and Federal State for which the Tamils voted by returning the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi with you as its leader, at three consecutive General Elections has received no support whatever from any of the Sinhala parties, politicians or leaders. Instead, the pursuit and conduct of Federal policies during six years of 'war' until now has resulted in nearly 2,001 fatal casualties. Military rule, disillusionment and despair have overtaken the Tamils.

To resolve this plight what is the solution that you now propose in your appeal? You restrict your appeal to the Language Problem and ignore the no less important Land Problem and Fundamental Freedoms. You indulge in 'high-sounding nothings about limits to the sacrifices we could make in our struggle' and philosophise on our reaching those 'limits' before freedom from slavery is attained and on our 'fight faltering and failing.'

You ask those Tamils in the Government and semi-Government Sectors, who were recruited before October, 1956, not to study Sinhalese and pass Sinhala examinations but to forego their increments and promotions. I have been giving precisely this advice in trains and in private conversations for the past two years. But few have followed this advice. Over 700 are reported to have taken the Sinhala examination last year, held in Jaffna alone. You have overlooked one aspect, however. A time limit has been set within which those public servants who wish to retire on the official language issue should exercise their option. I would advise such public servants to be circumspect, not to retire or resign if they can help it. 'Work to rule', give no room for 'dismissal', 'grin and bear' but smile and draw your salaries!' Above all, before you relinquish office, stabilise your personal and family economy and use your savings in the development of the great and rich natural resources of Eylom.

You ask the 'new entrants' to do exactly what you want the 'old entrants' to do. I differ entirely from you and I trust that no single new entrant will follow your advice in this regard. The new entrants were recruited on the condition that within the probationary period, they should qualify in the official language in the prescribed manner. Most of them come from very poor families. If they commit a breach of the condition they must suffer dismissal, become unemployed and be reduced, with their families, to penury. You seem to contemplate this prospect with equanimity but I view it with alarm.

My advice to the 'new entrants' is that they MUST—it is a MUST—study Sinhalese well, become proficient in that language in order to please their Sinhala masters in the hey-day of their Chauvinism as you—Chelvanayagam, and I, Suntharalingam had to become versatile in English to please our British masters in the hey-day of their colonialism. The new entrants must earn their increments and win their promotions—merit, special or otherwise. In Bengal, the Bengalee Public Servants played a very great part by their fifth columnist activities in the 'War' against British Imperialism. The new entrants may have to do likewise.

Your colleague, Dr. Naganathan, is right in this matter when he rejects your advice in practice (whatever his utterances on ITAK platforms) in regard to the appointment of his daughter to the Ceylon Foreign Service and the potential appointment of his son to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

In your advice 'to Parents', you state, "it is impossible for a Sinhalese knowing child to compete with a Sinhalese child in the latter's mother tongue". Have the intelligence and mental powers of the Eyla Tamils suffered under your leadership ? Did not Premier Solomon Bandaranaike, your political guru, G. G. Ponnambalam, you and I and hosts of others who were not English-knowing children compete with distinction with English children in the latter's mother tongue altogether alien to us ?

My grand-children are being taught Sinhalese in the schools they attend, whether they be Private or Government schools, in accordance with the instructions issued by the Department of Education. Can I prevent them ? All that you do is to advise their parents. But that would be wrong advice. If my grand-children are prevented from attending Government-recognised schools, I can visualise Minister Badiuddin Mahmud ordering the nearest Attendance Officer to prosecute my sons and sons-in-law for the offence of failing to send their children to recognised schools. We will then have fine fun in Court—"Child Sri cases", like the "Car Sri cases", and Thiruchelvam and you will, no doubt, have more "Q.C. Cases" !!

My advice 'To Parents' is: "Parents, your children are caught up in the vortex of your own creation, occasioned by your reposing confidence in Chelvanayagam and his Party, their Policy their Programmes and their Plans. You are in a position similar to that in which your forebears were in 1833, long after they lost their freedom on the field of battle. English was by administrative fiat made the Official Language of all Ceylon after the Colebrooke Commission's Report. All Ceylonese then had English Masters; today Eyla Tamils have Sinhalese Masters everywhere. Did not Philip Gunawardena say publicly that as far as the Tamils in Ceylon are concerned, Sinhalese has taken the place of 'Ingirise'. 'Lump it' and act with prudence as your forefathers did. It will be immoral and unconscionable for me to give you any advice which I cannot give my grand-children having regard to Realism".

In your advice 'To all Tamil-speaking people', you want the Sinhalese Only Act to be revoked in all its aspects and forms. You have, in giving this advice, ignored the fundamentals of the Democratic Parliamentary process. You should know that any M.P. or Party, who after debate and vote in Parliament on any Motion or Bill of vital national concern, returns to the House, is deemed to acquiesce in and accept the decision; thereafter, they look

passively on its implementation by the Government. In 1956 when you declined to join Ponnambalam and me to refrain from participating in the proceedings of Parliament and to engage ourselves in out-of-Parliament activities of resistance, you committed a grave error of judgement.

You appeal for resistance at the present juncture should first and best be addressed to yourself, During the last Sathyagraha your fellow leaders, in your hearing, shouted these slogans:—‘*Siraichalai—Poonchola*’:¹³ ‘Prison House: a Flower Garden, ‘*Thuppakki Kundu-Vilaiyadum Panthu*’:¹⁴ ‘Gun-ball a Play-ball’ ‘*Thookku Medai—Panchu Meththai*’:¹⁵ ‘Gallows Platform: A Cotton Mattress’; ‘*Kundanthadi-Muruganthadi*’:¹⁶ Police Baton—a Murunga Stick.

How did these slogans end? I will give only two instances. The ‘Gun-ball’ which you wanted the dhoby at Point Pedro to play with, ended in the wailing of a Tamil widow: A ‘Gun-ball’ at Kaithady ended in the wailing of a Sinhala widow in Kalutara. These ‘Gun-balls’ under your Sathyagraha have become curious, murderous play-balls indeed!

You must have been told that when your Lieutenants sent out lorries at dead of night on the very first day of Emergency 1961, blaring forth the clarion call: ‘*Apaiyam, Apaiyam*’!¹⁷ ‘Peril, Peril! Come one, Come All—Fill the Jails! ‘not one Tamil man or woman bestirred himself or herself from his or her bed.

Is it for this very ‘Heroic Manner’ in which they conduct themselves, you, as their *Tamil Arasu Thanthai*,¹⁸ gave your congratulations? Was I wrong when I described you in Parliament as a ‘Sanctimonious Johnsonian Patriot’? Please, I beg of you, do not persist any further in your Shameless Sanctimonious Sathyagraha Sham, which is bringing ruination not only to the Tamils of Eylom but to many innocent Sinhalese south and west of Eylom.

It now behoves me to suggest my solution:

13 சிறைச்சாலை—பூஞ்சோலை

14 துப்பாக்கி குண்டு—விளையாடும்பந்து

15 தூக்குமேடை—பஞ்சுமெத்தை.

16 குண்டான் தடி—முருங்கை தடி.

17 அபாயம்! அபாயம்! !

18 தமிழ் அரசு தந்தை,—Tamil State Father

“Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island. First the Cinhalese, inhabiting the interior of the country in its southern and western parts, from the river Wallouve to that of Chilow, and secondly the Malabars, who possess the northern and eastern districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners”— so wrote the first British Colonial Secretary in his Despatch of 1799, known as the famous ‘Cleghorn Minute’. (Malabars means Thamils).

Sir Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon, wrote on 10th July, 1813, to the Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon. Earl of Bathurst in a Despatch from Queen’s House Colombo, thus:-

“As to the qualification required in the knowledge of the native languages the Portuguese and Sinhalese only being mentioned (in your Despatch) excludes one which is fully as necessary in the northern districts as the Sinhalese in the south. I mean the Tamil language, commonly called the Malabar language, with the mixture of Portuguese in use through all the Provinces, is the native tongue of the inhabitants from Puttalam to Batticaloa northward inclusive of both these districts. Your Lordship will, therefore, I hope, have no objection in my putting the Tamil language on an equal footing of encouragement with the Sinhalese”.

It is acknowledged by all impartial historians today that when Vijaya and his followers, the founders of the Sinhala Race arrived in Ceylon on the *Parinibbana* Day of the Lord Buddha nearly two thousand five hundred years ago, the Tamils lived as a civilised people, practised the fine arts, had orderly government, and were devotees of the Shaiva Sect of the Hindu Faith in Ceylon. After the vicissitudes of history and in the light of the events and incidents which have transpired since 1955, the time has now arrived when the Tamils of Eylom, whether they be Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Catholics or other Christians, have to decide whether it has not become inevitable to have a Nation State for themselves.

The democratic choice between a Uni-Nation or Federation or Restoration has to be made by them, through the process of Self-Determination.

I feel I will be failing in my duty if I do not, in this fateful period in the life of the Tamils repeat and re-assert my carefully

considered conviction in which since 1955, I stand fully confirmed that the Tamils can have No Freedom, No Peace with Honour unless they unite in their demand for a Separate State within the Commonwealth.

I humbly ask all Tamils to subscribe to a Solemn Resolve that, until we regain our lost liberty, we shall dedicate ourselves to the task of promoting the cause and prosperity of a Free, Independent, Tamil Nation State of Eylom.

Yours very sincerely,
C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

POSTSCRIPT

The year 1963 is drawing to a close. On January 1, 1964, number of Public Servants will be retiring on account of the 'Sinhala Only Official Language Act'. Mr. Samuel Chelvanayagam's Party are alleged, according to Press reports, to be preparing for direct action as from that date. What form that direct action will take has yet to be disclosed. Previous steps such as threatened Mass Civil Disobedience, Sathyagraha, etc., have not only proved to be complete fiascos but have brought greater and greater insult, humiliation, danger, frustration and fear among the Eyla Tamils.

The grievances which have been set out in the 'Dozen Documents' have multiplied, except that the construction of a second Kiln at the Kankesanturai Cement Factory, though it should have been completed before the end of 1957, is now in hand—and that for the reason that the Government has been compelled on account of the balance of payments position of Ceylon, to conserve foreign exchange.

Wherever I go or travel, the wail is heard, "What are we to do next, Sir?" My answer has been simple and straightforward.

"You have by your vote cast at three General Elections, besides at a number of bye-elections, to Parliament entrusted your present, your future and your destiny to Mr. Samuel Chelvanayagam. If in your view he has failed to give you satisfaction or 'to deliver the goods, you have the power to change your Leaders'. But a number of educated Eyla Tamils tell me that whatever their own personal feelings or views may be, there is still a tendency among the illiterate Eyla Tamils to continue to repose their confidence in their '*Thamil Thanthai*' and their 'Eyla Gandhi', as they have fondly styled Mr. Samuel Chelvanayagam in the recent past. If this is true, the task for the educated and enlightened sections of the Eyla Tamils is to carry on a crusade among the ill-educated and ignorant Eyla Tamils.

I propose to invite those of the Eyla Tamils who accept the policy that the time has come for the Partition of Ceylon and for the Restoration of the Tamil State that existed before the Treaty of Amiens of 1802, to come forward and join in the fight for the Freedom and Independence of the Eyla Tamil Nation.

As a first step, and for the immediate future, all constitutional methods have to be tried and the Eyla Thamils must be persuaded at the next General Election to send as their representatives to Parliament only those who will endeavour to secure a Free and Independent Tamil Nation State of Eylom within the Commonwealth. Eylom will want a number of candidates to contest each and every Seat which may be in Eylom territory. They must be prepared to undergo personal and financial sacrifices. If they fail, they will only have themselves and the Eyla Tamil people to thank.

I am satisfied that if the Federal Party under Mr. Samuel Chelvanayagam continues to claim that their Federal Policy and their *Sathyagraha* and *Ahimsa* and '*Patha-Yathirai*' plans are alone acceptable to the general body of Eyla Thamils, the Eyla Tamil Nation will take a long time to be reborn. The sufferings and tribulations of the rising generation can hardly be described. But what future generations will have to undergo cannot be imagined!

It is the next General Election that will decide whether the Eyla Thamils are to survive or perish in Eylom.

Will the public servants who are retiring and other Thamils who bemoan their present fate and the future of their progeny, enter into the Freedom Struggle of Eylom? Eylom wants them! Do they not hear the *DRUM TATTOO OF EYLOM MURASU*!

C. SUNTHARALINGAM.

Lingam Thottam,
Vavuniya.
December 20, 1963.

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SUPPLEMENT

Precis of the early Correspondence between Lord Soulbury and Mr. Suntharalingam

Mr. S. to Lord S.—20th January, 1964.

“This letter of mine may be a surprise to Your Lordship—and the enclosed documents a greater surprise. I trust Your Lordship will be able to read through the documents and favour me with Your Lordship’s candid comments and criticisms, **Not** for publication unless Your Lordship wishes”.

Mr. S. to Lord S.—February 24, 1964.

“I have noted with pleasure that Your Lordship will be able to study my documents on board the ship and favour me with your comments. No doubt Robert Burns’ lines about mice and men will come to Your Lordship’s mind.”

Lord S. to Mr. S.—April 23, 1964.

“I apologise for being so long over my perusal of the documents you entrusted to me.....I will study your documents and let you have my comments before long.”

Lord S. to Mr. S.—28th April, 1964.

“I enclose a few comments and criticisms on the papers you sent me and hope they may be of some use”.

Comments and Criticisms

“Dear Mr. Suntharalingam,

I have read the dozen documents in the folder which I now return to you—with much interest and also much sorrow.

During my tenure of office as Governor-General of Ceylon I never expected that there would be such a bitter cleavage between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities—and you are quite right when you say that the cause must be laid at the door of Sir John Kotalawala and his Government. But if he chastised the Tamils with whips, the late Mr. Bandaranaike chastised them with scorpions. The Sinhalese behaviour to the Tamils has been excessively short-sighted and foolish. When as Chairman of the Commission on the

reform of the Constitution of Ceylon in 1945 I studied the relations of the two communities. I was much impressed by the important contribution that the Tamils had made and were making to the economy of Ceylon—and I was aware that the Ceylon Tamils were better educated and more industrious than the Sinhalese—in many ways they were playing the part that the Scots had played and still play in the economy of England. In fact during the 18th and part of the 19th century—the English were rather jealous of the Scots—who were getting a greater share of the jobs going in England than their population warranted. The reason, I think, was that the Scots were better educated and more industrious—Northern folk often work harder than Southerners; the climate and soil compel them to do so. But the English were never so stupid as to antagonise the Scots. Had they behaved like the Sinhalese to the Tamils Britain would never have achieved a tittle of her prosperity at home or overseas in the Empire.

If at the time of the act of Union between England and Scotland at the beginning of the 18th century the English had insisted on “English only” as the language of the two nations, every Scot would have hung on to Gaelic, but the English had more sense and every Scottish Mother had her Children taught English because it was England that offered the greatest opportunity of employment.

If the Sinhalese had been as sensible, every Tamil Mother would have been anxious for her children to learn Sinhalese—for the same reason. I do not know what is now the best solution, or if there is any solution.

In the Constitution which I recommended—there seemed to me at the time to be ample safeguard for minorities—but section 29 has not been as efficacious as I had hoped — and I now wish that that I had recommended a “human rights” clause as in the Constitution of India—and elsewhere. But I do not believe that either federation or an autonomous Tamil State will work. Federation is cumbersome and difficult to operate—and an autonomous Tamil State would not be viable.

I am afraid that I can only counsel patience — and vigorous participation in the work of the House of Representatives. You might imitate the Irish party in our House of Commons before Ireland was separated from us. Incidentally the Tamil Members of Parliament were, in my opinion, very unwise not to support Dudley Senanayake. They could, I believe, have kept him in power.

The position of the Tamil workers on the estates is also very disquieting—it is deplorable that such a large body of men and women should be voteless.

I can understand the reluctance of the Sinhalese in the area of Kandy to an enfranchisement of numbers large enough to swamp the electorate. But a reasonable solution would be to create four or five seats available to Tamil voters only—no matter what part of the Island they lived in; outside, of course—the Northern and Eastern provinces.

Well—I feel very sorry for you and your Community and I wish I could provide some acceptable solution.

Were I in your shoes I would do all I could to support the U.N.P. and secure the defeat of the present Government.

(Sgd.) Soulbury.

30. 4. 64.

Mr. S. to Lord S.—May 6, 1964.

“In the covering letter Your Lordship expresses the hope that the “comments and criticisms” “may be of some use”. Certainly they would prove most useful in Ceylon today if they are published along with the annexed observations on them.....

Indeed Your Lordship’s comments and criticisms would be a valuable supplement to Your Lordship’s Foreword to Farmer’s recent book “Ceylon—A Divided Nation”— (Should the title not have been “Ceylon—A Disintegrated Nation” ?)

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s ‘Comments and Criticisms’ were most interesting.

I agree with Your Lordship (in fact, I informed the Leaders of the Federal Party at the time) that political expediency required that Dudley Senanayake should have been allowed to continue in office in 1960, if not with active Federal support, at least without hasty Federal opposition.

I notice that the only objection that Your Lordship appears to have to an Autonomous Tamil Nation State of Eelam is that it "would not be viable." When I broached the matter with Syers (Sir Cecil) when he was High Commissioner here, he too gave expression to the same objection. I have gone into the matter very closely and I am satisfied that if Eelam is reconstituted according to the Arrowsmith Map of January, 1803, and in terms of Cleghorn's Minute of 1799, not only would Eelam be viable but it would be more self-reliant than Sinhalam financially and economically. Indeed, as conditions are at present and likely to be in the near future the progress of the prosperity of the traditional Tamil territory in Ceylon is being deliberately retarded by surreptitious acts of the Sinhala politicians.

I am longing for the day when the Eela Tamil voter will vote against Federation and strongly for Separation. In the meanwhile, the resources of Eelam are being developed as best as could be done especially in respect of the cultivation of paddy and other food crops. It may perhaps interest Your Lordship to know that the amount of paddy produced in the Vavuniya District alone has jumped from about 50,000 bushels during 1948 to 1,250,000 bushels during 1963. If we are given a free hand we should be able to push our paddy production much further and faster.

There is ample scope for new industries but we are without adequate aid. We should be having now, with the assistance of U. S. A., a fine port at Kankesanthurai to serve the Sethu Samudhram Scheme of the Government of India but the perversity of the Sinhala politicians stands in our way.

In regard to the plantation Tamils, Your Lordship is probably aware of my attitude. There is a saying in Tamil that a "mouse not knowing which way to escape began to drag a broomstick as well". We Eela Tamils have been, in the words of Cleghorn, 'A Nation from very ancient times in possession of our own traditional territory. The same cannot be said of the Indian Tamils; willy-nilly as they are in Sinhala soil they have to devise their own ways and means to regain their human rights. In my view, they can do so if their Leaders would undergo some sacrifice.

I do not believe that even if Dudley Senanayake is returned to power the Eela Tamils will stand to gain. As I say in one of these Dozen Documents, the Eela Tamils must seek and secure

their own salvation; and I hope the day will come when we may expect a helping hand from Great Britain and U. S. A. in the struggle before us.

After all, we went under the British independently of the Sinhalese and frankly we feel we have been wronged by Britain in handing us over, though unwittingly, to Sinhala chauvinists who boastfully proclaim that the Sinhalese have taken the place of the British in Ceylon. We worked with the Sinhalese to win our Independence from the British but we now find that we have been foisted with bad masters in place of good.

Surely the Mother of Parliaments should not be prudish about the Statute of Westminster as not to enact suitable amending legislation. Must She not restore direct to us by Act of British Parliament the liberty which we lost direct to the Western Foreigners in the fields of battle—the last being under the British, as late as October, 1803, when the Eela Tamil Chieftain, 'PANDARA VANNIAN' finally fell?

Otherwise, I suppose Eela nationalism must tread the path taken by Irish nationalism, as Your Lordship hints, through 'Black and Tan' and Sinn Fein and De Valera's methods or take the course more recently taken by the Cypriots through E. O. K. A. and General GERVAS' methods, to wrest freedom from Sinhala Imperialism.

Vavuniya,
Ceylon.
6th May, 1964.

I remain, My Lord,
Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) C. SUNTHARALINGAM."

Lord S. to Mr. S. — May 20, 1964.

"Many thanks for your letter of May 6, which I have been carefully considering.

I still doubt whether you can make a viable state out of Eelam. But assuming the continuance of Sinhalese 'persecution' your countrymen might be driven to separate as Ulster has separated from the Irish Republic and federate with South India. The relation of Great Britain and Ulster would not be dissimilar. I have no idea as to how you would regard such a development. but the suggestion of it

would certainly put the wind up the Sinhalese. I occasionally mentioned the possibility of it to D. S. Senanayake when I was discussing the report on Ceylon's Constitution in the Spring of 1945 and it put the wind up him.

I'm afraid that my "comments and criticisms" must be regarded as '*highly confidential*' at the moment at any rate but if Dudley ever gets into power, I would reconsider it."

Mr. S. to Lord S. — 6th July, 1964.

"My Lord,

I am sorry I could not reply earlier to Your Lordship's letter of May 20.

I shall deal with this correspondence as confidential until such time as Your Lordship grants me permission to bring them to the notice of the Public. As Your Lordship suggests, the secrets that the Ballot Boxes will hold at the next General Election will determine the future of Ceylon, for salvation or for damnation. Already the Press speaks about the non-holding of the next General Election and Dudley Senanayake starting up a revolution! I begin to wonder whether Sinhala difficulty may not be Thamil opportunity!

I am afraid the parallel of Ulster and Great Britain is not quite apt in the context of Ceylon conditions. Whatever the fears of the Sinhala Chauvinists, having regard even to the history of Pandya, Chola, Chera invasions of Ceylon, the Thamilis of Eelam will not, I trust, seek the aid of South India, if at all, except after, as I hinted in Parliament, the aid of the Devil himself failed.

D. S., in his day, merely trumped up the 'bogey' of South India and North Ceylon alliance for the purpose of magnifying the Indo-Ceylon problem. Of course, S. W. R. D. B., used the 'bogey' to prevent the plantation Thamilis from getting their legitimate civic rights, and holding the balance of political power in the Legislature.

I wonder whether Your Lordship has had access to the "Ceylon Daily Mirror". The paper is serialising "Eelam Grandfather's (that is my) Letters to his Grand-children". The letters are historical in perspective, not of the nature of 'hearsay history' as some looks

rae: they are recent history of Ceylon as I have lived it. I hope to be able to send Your Lordship the first series of twenty letters as soon as their publication is completed.

I remain, My Lord.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) C. SUNTHARALINGAM".

Mr. S. to Lord S. — May 15, 1967.

"My Lord,

Your Lordship will be pleased to remember the correspondence which passed between us concerning my "Eylom: Beginnings of Freedom Struggle—Dozen Documents".

Your Lordship's last letter dated May 24, 1964, concluded with these words:— "My 'Comments and Criticisms' must be regarded as 'highly confidential' at the moment at any rate, but if Dudley ever gets into power I would reconsider it."

I now write to beg Your Lordship's permission to release me from the ban. Dudley, as Your Lordship is aware, is in the saddle for the past two years, but the 'horse' does not appear to give him a safe, peaceful, political 'ride'—the reason, some of his Cabinet Ministers are riding too, hugging Dudley from behind for their own safety and twisting the animal's tail to fool the voters.

Adversity continues to make strange bedfellows among the opposition led nominally by Sirimavo Bandaranaike; and Parliamentary Democracy after the British model which Your Lordship helped to bestow on Ceylon may become a dismal failure, to be replaced by what may possibly prove better, a Bhikkhodom of Lanka !!!

I anxiously await Your Lordship's kind and early permission.

I remain, Your Lordship,

Yours truly,
(Sgd.) C. SUNTHARALINGAM".

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