

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THE PLACE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's Speech Continued

Again, it is a matter of recorded history that for over 2,000 to 2,500 years Tamil has been an indigenous language of this country and spoken in this country. I say that because I think that that alone should establish the claim for it to continue as a national language on terms of complete equality with the Sinhalese language. Quite apart from its position in Ceylon, need I really remind my hon. Friends opposite that this language of a race, this living language of a race which is today spoken by over 40 million people, is a classical language which for over 2,000 years has retained its virility? Let us not forget that when we propose to legislate, I mean to eradicate, to remove it from this Island, that this language which claims to be equal to the ancient classical languages like Latin, Greek and Sanskrit is today, after 2,000 years, a living and young language spoken by over 40 million people.

The virility of the Tamil language is evidenced by the fact that not only has it and is being spoken by 35 odd million people in South India but also is spoken today by 2½ million people in Ceylon. It is also spoken in Malaya and I believe it is spoken in such distant places as the Fiji Islands and Mauritius. The influence of Tamil literature on world thought and letters is, I believe, fairly well known to need any detailed recapitulation. It may not be out of place to remind my friends on both sides of the House that a classical work Manimekalai was a Tamil contribution to Buddhist thought. That may not be known by

anyone. Apart from that a great Western scholar pays tribute to the contribution of Tamil literature to world thought. A person no other than Dr. Albert Schweitzer refers to the maxims of the Thirukkural thus.

"There hardly exists in the literature of the world a book which contains such lofty maxims."

"Dr. Marion Winslow in that very compendious Tamil English dictionary states. 'Tamil is more polished and exact than Greek and in its dialects more copious than Latin.' In a preface to that same work Dr. Taylor says that Tamil is one of the most copious, refined and polished languages spoken by man. Might I be permitted to quote in Tamil the words of a scholar?"

"யாழ்ப்பாணம் மொழிகளிலே தமிழ் மொழியோல் இனிதாவ தெற்கும் காணும்"

I would now refer to its influence in pre-modern times. The influence of Tamil civilization is evidenced today in the Architecture of Cambodia in the sculptures of Tourains and in the systems of religion once practised in Indonesia and Indo China. In the dances of Cambodia and Bali one sees the kinship of Bharatha Natiyam. Even today in the Tamil sacred verses recited by priests at the coronation of the Kings of Thailand there is extant direct evidence of Tamil influence. In the presence of tribal names in Sumatra such as Chera, Chola, Pandya and Pallava one sees the extent to which Tamil and Tamil civilization had infiltrated. In the temples of Angkor one sees once again Tamil influence.

Coming to more recent history, I do not think it will be denied by the neo-historians opposite that, when in the 17th century the Portuguese landed in Ceylon, there was in existence a Tamil kingdom which covered what is today known as the Northern Province and Wannie of the North and Eastern province as they exist today. That was an Indian Tamil Kingdom with a Tamil king and Tamil was the sole language of the rulers and the ruled. That is not all. I wish to recall with pride that at the same time Tamil occupied an honoured position, shall I say, almost an official status, in the courts of the kings of Kotte.

And it is also a matter of recorded history that the Portuguese soon after their advent to Ceylon started establishing Tamil schools in areas which today can be identified in the Western and the North Western Provinces.

After printing was first introduced into Ceylon during the Dutch era the Dutch published books not in Sinhalese only but in Sinhalese and in Tamil. That is the history, in brief of the position the Tamil language has occupied in this country in the recent past and beyond the recent past for a period of over 2,000 to 2,500 years. It is that language which the Government of today seeks to suppress. I hope I am not overstating it when I say that what is supposed to be done by this Government is a virtual suppression of the Tamil language in this country. No language can flourish, no language can be created, no language can produce any work of

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Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam's Speech Continued

In other parts of the Amendments that are being moved to the Address of Thanks, attention has been drawn to the fact that certain portions of the Eastern Provinces which are traditionally Tamil-speaking lands are being encroached on by Sinhalesespeaking people. It is going on at such a rate that very soon, if the colonization is not checked, the Kalmunai electorate and certain other electorates will cease to be areas populated by Tamil speaking majorities.

By reason of the fact that the Tamil-speaking people in this country have no adequate powers under this Constitution and the Government of this country, we are facing the next item of what we call injustice in the position that is going to be allotted to our language in this country. That is a matter which is brought out in a number of other Amendments by various parties in the Opposition. It is only sufficient for me to draw your attention to this fact as something that results from a concentration of power in the hands of the majority community under a unitary system. This power under the unitary system was something that was feared by the Tamil politicians and the Tamilspeaking people ever since there was the question of constitutional changes in the Government of this country.

At one time the solution that was suggested was that the minorities should have weightage in representation. That remedy and that cry have both failed.

We need not refer any more to it because nobody now advocates weightage in representation. In other countries once weightage failed minorities have tried to adopt one of two solutions. One is adjustment of the conflicts by provision of a federal system of government; the other by completely cutting the country into two parts. My Friends on the Government side, and some of my Friends on this side, will probably say that that is not possible. No doubt that is not possible. But the mere fact that such a situation does not arise, cannot arise or may not arise should be no reason for the party in power to continue to inflict their rule over an unwilling minority. The position that the Tamil people are slowly but steadily adopting is to show this country and the world that under the present unitary system of Government the Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon—certainly those people living in the Northern and Eastern Provinces—are being ruled without their consent. To that extent I, speaking on behalf of my party, fully appreciate the Hon. Prime Minister manning the Cabinet in the way in which he has done. That is a true reflection of the constitutional picture that obtains at present in the country.

Under the 1947 Cabinet, and the 1952 Cabinet, the Tamil-speaking Members were taken into the Cabinet as show pieces.

They were taken in for the purpose of showing that the Government of the day was ruling the

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Hindu Organ

FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1956

Treasure These Thoughts

The only means of attainment, of gaining the Truth, is not to be caught up in the shelter of half-truths.

PRAYER PROTEST

POWERSEEKERS have created problems both for themselves and others. The resulting confusion and discontent cannot but disintegrate the unified existence of mankind and eventually tend to destroy it. This dreadful picture is becoming patently true particularly of our Island.

It is said that scientific knowledge is being exploited to destroy the world. But the more deadly danger is the desire to dominate over others. This has become so virulent that disputes have arisen among the people on racial issues in a spirit of intolerance. Here in this country the chaotic situation that has been created by those who have just won political power threatens to bring disaster to the entire nation unless the intelligentsia make bold to meet the crisis in an enlightened manner. The time has come for a reconstruction of political ideologies to be effected in keeping with the cultural eminence of the glorious past of Sri Lanka. The preposterous claims of power-minded statesmen for peculiar privileges and 'most-favoured' treatment to the exclusion of others can only lead the nation to the wilderness of self-liquidation.

In this hour of dismay and despair we draw the attention of all those who have been driven into the unfortunate situation of strife and conflict to the need for a return to normal thinking where spiritual guidance is the deciding factor. Prayer, that

With my experience in this honourable House during the last seven years, I cannot recall an occasion when such an important matter affecting this nation has come up for debate in this House. Much has been said and more has been written both in newspapers and journals, in and outside the other places during, before and after the elections, on what they call this burning language problem. One does not know how

panacea for all ills of mankind alone can rescue the people from this disastrous turn of events. The path of prayer is the path of sincerity and steadiness toleration and truthfulness, solace and security.

The dissatisfaction and discontent of the individual will naturally become the problem of not merely the individual but the whole nation. The problem of official language that is being threatened to be imposed on the Tamil-speaking people cannot remain a problem of the minorities only. Ultimately it will end as a national problem.

The Saiva Saints who enriched the world with their sacred hymns, the inimitable *Thirumurais* of divine glory, had laid full emphasis on the potentiality of prayer. And so had the savants of other religions. The crisis that has been precipitated by a curious change of events, presents itself as a special call upon the people compelling them to respond to the request in the only manner which the spiritual philosophy of this country prescribes, the method of prayer and devotion. That is the path of fearlessness and courage, inspiration and hope, truthfulness and victory. The Gurupoojah days remind us of this special significance. All religious institutions and associations must be awakened to the need for observing these occasions in a spirit of earnest devotion and humble prayer.

this problem arose, but it has arisen, and two of the strongest political parties which this country has seen since independence have been vying with each other as to who would run the Government after the last election. In this great hurry, in this great desire for power, both the U. N. P. and the newly-formed M. E. P.—I do not know the Sinhalese for it, is I believe the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna which some members of the U. N. P. say is not a party but a conglomeration of several groups; but whatever that may be, from what I have gathered in and outside this honourable house, having watched certain speeches made in the other place and the different transformations and views expressed or half-expressed of persons who think that what they call the equality of status of both the languages is a *sine qua non* for the continued prosperity and unity of the people, it has become difficult during the past one month or two to distinguish friend from foe on this language question because it has appeared to me that good and honourable men with very sincere convictions who know the science of politics and the art of Government, who have on very important occasions expressed their views on the *status quo* or the equality of both the languages, the two important indigenous languages in this country—have time and again changed their views and spoken with tongue in cheek, not for the purpose of future prosperity and unity of this country but purely to entrench themselves in power. Various arguments have been advanced although, I think the speakers themselves did not believe in the sincerity of those arguments.

The time has now come when hon. Senators as intended by the Constitution of the country should study, deliberate and discuss

matters particularly of a far reaching nature of this type, so that they may view questions dispassionately as experts. The language question is one that affects not merely the present M. E. P. or the now fallen U. N. P. or the next Government whether red, green, white or blue; it also affects generations unborn. That is why I would ask the hon. Members of this

Let Them Lead

Sir,
In this hour of crisis it is the duty of every Tamil to express his or her protest at the present attitude of the Government over the Language issue. Therefore may I appeal to some eminent Tamils like Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva, Messrs C. Nagalingam, C. Comarasamy and Sir V. Comarasamy to resign their membership from the various Commissions on which they are serving as a protest against the undemocratic and racial policy of this (Sinhalese) Government.

Yours faithfully,
S. T. Rajah.
Vannarponnai
15-5-56

House to treat this question not merely as a party question not merely as a question in which you can by your ability in debate convince, as I were, mass meetings, not as a question which would enable you to win votes, but as something regarding which you would wish that when you and I and a lot of us are dead and gone, the future generations would not say that for the temporary advantage of becoming the ruling party the present generation of leaders betrayed the culture and civilisation of this country because they divided themselves on such an important matter

like the language question.

It is needless for me to emphasize that the language of a people is their very breath and life: it is part of their very existence. Students of philology will know that the Etruscans had a language of their own and although they died, even they must have felt that their language was their very breath. Due to pressure from others, and due to the fact that they were a dwindling and backward people, more vigorous languages wiped their language out; but in this modern age when problems can be settled by discussion, by patience, by constructive thinking, I do not see why anyone should if I may use a harsh term, be foolish enough, uncivilized enough, to thrust another man's language down the throats of an unwilling people.

Just as I entered the Senate Library now, I saw an afternoon newspaper which stated that a certain Mr. Arumugam who had been asked to sit on the Language Committee had asked to be excused on what is called "Tamil pressure." That is not at all surprising because there appears to be a wrong feeling among leaders who are in charge of the Government that a single swallow makes a summer; that if a gentleman belonging to a certain persuasion, religious, racial or linguistic, is placed in charge of or taken on to do a thing he is a representative of that particular section, in this instance the Tamil community. That idea of throwing dust, as it were, in the eyes of the people has caught the imagination, because responsible leaders have in the past adopted such practices. Well, if a certain gentleman, a Muslim gentleman from the north, south or east says that his native language is Sinhalese, then he is supposed to be representative of the Muslim community because his views happen to agree with the view of the party in power; but if he says, "No, the language of my community is Tamil", then he is said to be not representative of his community. The newspaper report, as I said, was not surprising at all because as all hon. Senators know, the Language Committee has been appointed as a sort of rubber-stamping committee to carry out a principle which the Tamil-speaking people of this country strenuously op-

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In The House Of Representatives

(By Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam)

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creative thought or originality unless it receives official and Government patronage.

It is a well known fact that since the advent of the Western languages into this country the output of original work of creative thought in the Tamil language has been sadly lacking. What is now proposed to be done would eventually result, as I have put it down in my Amendment, in not merely the suppression of the language but the eradication, the total removal of Tamil culture from this country. I ask hon. Members opposite whether they can contemplate with equanimity, first, a denial of a fundamental right to the people and then, in the course of a very short period of history, a removal of all evidence of their culture. I had occasion in the past to refer to the fact that Tamils over a period of 150 years have been imbibing the English language and English literature from the finest masters in that language but no Tamil has ceased to be a Tamil. For that matter the Sinhalese have been imbibing English also from the same masters but the Sinhalese language is not dead nor has the Sinhalese ceased to be Sinhalese. But let us not forget the facts of history that when the Portuguese arrived in this country the entire seaboard from Puttalam to Dondra Head was populated by a people who were predominantly, if not exclusively, Tamil, the ancestors of a very robust and virile Sinhalese race today in the seaboard between Puttalam and Dondra Head. The pressure of population, the pressure of an economic situation can convert small groups of individuals from one nationality to another.

I very much fear that the stresses and strains of the economic situation plus the lack of State patronage and the possibility of Governmental discrimination can only result, in course of time, in the entire disappearance of the Tamil race, Tamil language and Tamil culture in this country. I do not know whether the Government of the day, flushed with victory, can contemplate that with equanimity. However, let me assure the Government in all humility, but with a full sense of responsibility, that I cannot think of a living Tamil who will accept

such a position without demur, without protest and, if necessary, without a fight.

When the Soulbury Constitution was being considered, or rather when the Soulbury Commissioners were engaged in investigating the constitutional position in Ceylon and the position of the Tamils vis-a-vis the Sinhalese in a new constitutional setup contemplated by the transfer of power and authority from the English to the indigenous population, I think all my hon. Friends opposite will admit that the possibility that the Sinhalese language will be imposed at any point of time upon the Tamils was not in contemplation by any Party or any section of the Sinhalese population. I do not wish to weary the House, but it is an important and salient fact that the Soulbury Commissioners recorded evidence, I believe, in 1945, and in 1944, when the then Member for Kelaniya introduced a Motion to replace English by Sinhalese only. It is very significant that the vast majority of the Sinhalese Members of the then State Council were prepared to accept an Amendment to replace English not by Sinhalese only but by Sinhalese and Tamil. I state that as a historical fact because, if there was the slightest indication, if there was the remotest fear that within a matter of 10 years, just over 10 years, there would be a concerted and planned effort on the part of the ruling community—I say that deliberately—to impose their language on the other dominant nationality in this country, the position we took up before the Soulbury Commissioners would have been entirely and vastly different. The case we put up then was in regard to the distribution of political power that was going to be transferred from Whitehall to Ceylon among the indigenous population. I say that if before the British parted with authority, it was feared that we were to suffer from what virtually would become a change of masters, and that in place of English we would have to accept Sinhalese—I say this in no spirit of recrimination—some of us at any rate, if not all of us, would not have hesitated to tell the English before they parted company from us. 'You were the successors the

political successors of the Dutch and the Portuguese. When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon they saw an independent Tamil kingdom which was not the first to succumb or to surrender. Their political successors today propose to take leave of us. Please leave us where we were when the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon—as an independent Tamil State'.

One hundred and fifty years of British rule, resulting in the assimilation to a certain extent of our cultures, in the mixing up of our population, in the spreading of one community into areas that were predominantly inhabited by another particularly, I admit, in the West and in the South, had made us think in terms of a Ceylonese nation. And today I ask—I would also ask when possibly the Bill comes up—the remnants of British power in this country, who find themselves—I say this in no spirit of disrespect—as representatives of unrepresented British interests under the Soulbury Constitution, whether, when the Bill is sought to be introduced in this House, imposing upon an unwilling nation, the Tamil nation, the Sinhalese language, they will be an assenting party before their final departure and liquidation in this country to a delivery of the final *coup de grace* on the Tamil people. It will be unnecessary for me in this context to speak of the notorious ways of the "perfidious Albion," but I sincerely hope that British interests represented in this House will not so forget themselves and will not prove so utterly false to their own history as to consent to support the Government in a measure which must be repugnant to all that Britain has stood for in the matter of liberal government through the centuries. I make this most earnest appeal, if I may, by way of a digression.

The position might have been made clear to us—it was not—but I will say in fairness to the memory of the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, when that motion was introduced by the then Member for Kelaniya, he was one of those who stood out redoubtably against the elimination of Tamil and who said that this country, inhabited as it was by

at least two major nationalities speaking Sinhalese and Tamil, should become the permanent home of these two races and that they should live unitedly as a Ceylonese nation. It was not lip service. I think it was his personal intervention which enabled the vast majority of the Members of the State Council to accept an Amendment which was ultimately accepted by the Mover himself, to make Sinhalese and Tamil, replacing English, the languages of administration and the media of instruction in schools. I am referring generally to the terms of the Amendment.

Nor was it, if I may say so, an attempt on the part of a very adroit politician to detract the attention of the Tamils and to lull them into a false sense of security. Because much later, after the Soulbury Report was out, in 1951 the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, then head of the first Cabinet of the First Parliament, in a notable Memorandum to the Minister of Education—which, I believe, is available to some of us—said that in regard to the languages we must follow one policy—I am quoting from memory but I do not think I am doing any violence to the accuracy of the actual Memorandum. He said that in regard to the medium of instruction in the matter of education, in regard to the position of the indigenous national languages in the administrative set-up of this country, in whatever we may do, we must not forget that Ceylon is a country which belongs to the Sinhalese as well as the Tamils and the English-speaking people, and that in any change that is being effected in the educational or in the administrative set-up, it must be made possible for a Tamil, or a Sinhalese, or a Burgher, or a Muslim to serve with equal right and opportunity in every part of the Island. I feel that I must recall to memory this very enlightened contribution to a very difficult national problem on the part of a man who, if he chose to, might well have taken advantage of the situation. It was that, Mr. Speaker, that enabled us, or some of us, to co-operate in the Senanayake Government. I know that after the event some of us are wise and some of us have been found fault with for co-operating with Mr. D. S. Senanayake in his Cabinet. I say that in the matter of language policy, in the matter of language rights, in the

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ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction

No. 152

In the matter of the Last Will and Testament of the late Sellamuthu wife of Arumugam Kandiah of Moolai South Deceased
Murugesar Krishnar of Moolai Vs Petitioner

- Minors
1. Sivagangai daughter of Kandiah
 2. Kandiah Kanagasabai
 3. Kandiah Chinnaiah
 4. Kandiah Nadarajah
 5. Parasakthi daughter of Kandiah
 6. Kamaladevi daughter of Kandiah
 7. Yogeswari daughter of Kandiah
 8. Arumugam Kandiah all of Moolai South

Respondents

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda Rajah Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the day of March 1956 in the presence of Mr. M. Ehamparam Proctor for the Petitioner and the affidavits of the Petitioner and of the witnesses to the Last Will having been read:

It is ordered that the abovenamed 8th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 1st to 7th Respondents for the purpose of protecting their interests and of representing them, that the Last Will and Testament of the abovenamed deceased be declared proved and that probate thereof be issued to the Petitioner as the Executor named therein, unless the Respondents or any other persons appear before this court on the 30th day of April 1956 and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

The 15th day of March 1956

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah

District Judge

Order Nisi extended for 4 6 56

Intd. P. S.

D. J.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT

OF JAFFNA

No. 149 T

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Kanapathipillai Arunasalam Vythilingam of Myliddy North

Deceased.

Nagammah widow of Kanapathipillai Arunasalam Vythilingam of No. 3 Arasady lane, Vannarponnai West, presently of Aladeniya, Werellagama Petitioner,

Vs.

Vaithilingam Balasubramaniam of Aladeniya, Werellagama Respondent

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda Rajah, Esquire, District Judge of Jaffna, on the 7th day of March 1956 in the presence of Mr. V. Navaratna Rajah, Proctor for the petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner dated 13th day of January 1956 having been read.

It is declared that the petitioner be granted Letters of Administration of the estate of the deceased abovenamed as widow of the deceased unless the respondent or others interested shall on or before the 28th day of March 1956 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 7th day of March 1956.

Sgd. P. SRI SKANDA RAJAH

Drawn by District Judge.

Sgd. V. Navaratna Rajah,

Proctor for the petitioner.

27-4-56

Time to show cause is

extended for 18-5-56,

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah,

District Judge.

Astrological

WEEKLY FORECASTS

'SRI PATHY'

FROM 20-5-56 TO 26-5-56

ARIES Aswini, Barani, Kartikai 1st part [Medha Rasi]

A favourable week. You will hear some good news about your job or family affairs. Financial gains also promised. Thursday Friday and Saturday morning must be spent with care.

TAURUS Kartikai 2, 3, 4, Rohini, Mirugasirisha 1, 2 [Idapa Rasi]

Some troubles in office will upset you this week. Scandal mongers likely to create some unpleasantness. Financial difficulties also shown. But friends will be very helpful.

GEMINI Mirugasirisha 3, 4, Thiruvathirai, Punarpusam 1, 2, 3 [Mithuna Rasi]

Work will be heavier this week and you will have no mental peace. Beware of secret enemies. Although they cannot triumph they will try to create tension and unpleasant atmosphere. Week end will bring some relief.

CANCER Punarpoosa 4, Poosa, Ayilya [Kataka Rasi]

There will be no mental peace. Expenditure will be on the increase. New ventures need your personal attention otherwise you are likely to incur losses. Avoid rash deals.

LEO Maha, Poora, Uttira 1, [Singha Rasi]

Some unwelcome changes in your personal affairs likely this week. New ventures will be stagnating. Health will improve after midweek.

VIRGO Uttira 2, 3, 4, Attachittirai 1, 2 [Kanni Rasi]

Troubles through rivals and enemies likely this week. Expenditure too will be on the rise. Tension will ease after mid week. Week end will bring financial gains.

LIBRA Chittirai 3, 4, Svatika, Visaka 1, 2, 3, [Thula Rasi]

A good week for social and personal deals. But health upsets likely. Criticism from relatives will upset you a little. But you can ignore them and go ahead with your ventures.

SCORPION Visaka 4, Anusha, Kettai [Vrischika Rasi]

Domestic affairs will be very unsatisfactory this week. Ill health and upsets shown. Some changes in routine work also possible. Beware of accidents week end.

SAGITTARIUS Moolam, Pooradam, Uttiradam 1. [Thamirasi]

A good week. Triumph over enemies and mental peace promised. Some happy news from your close relatives will reach your ears. Financial fame also promised. Health should improve.

CAPRICORNUS Uttiradam 2, 3, 4, Thiruvonam, Avittam 1, 2. [Makara Rasi]

Health upsets shown. Abdominal complaints likely. All is not well on the domestic side also. Financially a fairly good week. You will get enough to meet your expenditure.

AQUARIUS Avittam 3, 4, Satayam, Pooraddati 1, 2, 3 [Kumbha Rasi]

A good week. But the first two days will be very irksome. Time from Tuesday will be favourable. Fame and success in new undertakings promised.

PISCES Pooraddati 4, Uttiraddati, Revati. [Meena Rasi]

A fairly good week. New ventures will bring in slow but steady results. Friends and brothers and sisters will help you much. Gains through landed properties also shown.

narrow margins. However that may be, 10 out of 16 electorates in the Northern areas returned people who are supporting the federal principle. That is the second stage.

The third stage is to lay our cause before Parliament and the country. That is the stage where we expect to convince the Parliament of this country and the people to whom the ruling party owes its power that it is a constitutional and just demand that the Tamil-speaking people are making. It is something that is good, not merely for the Tamil speaking minority but for the majority as well. The good of the majority comes from standards which are observed by civilized nations. Those are standards under which the French minority are given autonomy in Canada where they are in a small minority; under which the French, Italian and Romansh-speaking minorities are given protection under the system of government in Switzerland; under which many minorities in Yugoslavia are given protection by the use of the federal principle.

I have no doubt that sooner rather than later, we will be able to convince the Parliament of this country and the people to whom this Parliament owes its power that the federal principle is the only principle under which the Tamil-speaking people can be got, in a just manner, to combine with the Sinhalese people for the good of this country.

During March-April of this year, when the election campaign was going on in the Northern and Eastern Provinces as it did in the other provinces, one Sinhalese gentleman who was a convert to the federal principle addressed our meetings in the North and East in fluent language and with forceful arguments. He is Mr. Wanasinghe of Hatton. His speech, summarised, comes to this: "I have come to support this federal principle not because I love the Tamil people more than I love the Sinhalese people; I have not accepted the invitation to speak on this platform because I love the Sinhalese people more than I love the Tamil people; nor have I come to this part of the Island to run down the

FOR SALE

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Tenders close on 21-5-56.

The Management does not bind itself to accept the highest or any tender.

Sinhalese people or their Government. I have come up here because I love my country more than I love either the Sinhalese people by themselves or the Tamil-speaking people by themselves and, for the love of this country it is necessary that the older and bigger sections of the community at large in this country, namely the Sinhalese people and the Tamil-speaking people, should live in amity and; under modern conditions and under the conditions obtaining in Ceylon, living in amity of the two distinct racial, linguistic groups can only take place under a federal system, and that is why I support the federal principle."

In reference to that portion of His Excellency's Speech which speaks of the Government's intention to pay attention to constitutional matters "ensuring the more effective and efficient functioning of the principles of democracy," I, on behalf of the party that has honoured me by giving me charge of this Amendment, say that democratic principles can only be applied in a country such as Ceylon with two ancient, well-fixed, racial and linguistic groups by the adoption of the principle of distribution of powers between a central Government, attending to matters that are common between the two linguistic groups, and the federating units, namely a Tamil State Government and, if necessary, a Sinhalese State Government, I have pleasure in moving this Amendment in the hope that that which is right and that which is being adopted by the Tamil-speaking people of the North and East will find general acceptance amongst the Government, the Parliament and the people of this country who form the majority.

In The House Of Representatives

—S. J. V. Chelvanayagam

(Continued from page 1)

minority Tamil speaking people with their consent. I represent a party that wants to show that the Tamil-speaking people of this country are being ruled without their consent. If this is a matter that has to be remedied, the well adapted principle is the principle of federalism.

Many people ask the question as to how this federalism is to be achieved. In the history of federalism in this country two or three stages have passed. In 1948-49, some politicians representing Tamil speaking people realized that unless the unitary constitution of Ceylon is changed into a federal

constitution the Tamil people's chances of continuing to exist as a different unit possessed of their cultures, habits, customs, religions and language will be lost. Therefore they propounded the theory that the constitution that is suitable to the country is a federal constitution where the Tamil-speaking people in their areas would have powers over themselves and their territory will not be under the central Government, but under the federating unit's government.

This principle our party had propounded and put forward before the country from 1949 onwards. In 1952, we put this principle to our electorates in the Nor-

thern and Eastern Provinces and electors were not prepared to adopt it at that time. In the meantime during the life of the Second Parliament the Government of this country made it very clear to the Tamil-speaking people what their position was going to be under a unitary government—a fast deteriorating position. In the meantime the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern areas had come to learn more and more about the federal constitution, so much so, that in the 1956 election out of 16 seats, 14 seats were contested by nominees of our party and 10 of them were returned. The four candidates who lost did not fare badly; some of them lost by very

THE LANGUAGE CRISIS

The crisis precipitated by the proposed legislation to make Sinhalese the only official language is one of the gravest that ever confronted the people of this country, particularly the Tamil-speaking. As we all know, the Tamil-speaking people were never so united in the past in connection with any matter as they are now in their attitude towards the language problem. This opposition, however, has to be made still more manifest and vocal, though it is essential to retain its peaceful, constitutional and non-violent character. It is not sufficient if Tamil-speaking representatives voice their grievances in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. It is vital that the opposition should be expressed by the people as a whole from outside the Legislature directly, incessantly, in tensely and immediately. The Tamil-speaking people should act without delay, so that the rest of the people of Ceylon as well as the rest of the world may know the difficulties of the situation. It is not wise to wait till the Bill is introduced in Parliament. It is well known that the Bill is to be shortly introduced. It is expedient to be alive to the danger and take measure in advance of the introduction of the Bill. The opposition could be expressed in several ways, some of which would be as follows:-

By
S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM

(1) By public meetings in important centres, particularly in Tamil-speaking areas.

(2) Representations and messages to the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and also the Minister for Cultural Affairs and the Leader of the Opposition.

(3) The various cultural and other organisations by sending memoranda through their respective committees.

(4) Through communications to the Press (English, Sinhalese and Tamil).

In addition to Parliament, the public platform and press, the intervention of Courts of Law could be sought.

The proposed legislation

to make Sinhalese the only official language is *illegal* and *unconstitutional* apart from its being *immoral* and *unstatesmanlike*. Suitable application ought to be made without delay to the *Supreme Court* to prevent the introduction of this obnoxious and illegal piece of legislation and if such an application is not entertained, then immediately on the Bill being passed into Law, the necessary application ought to be made to have the law abrogated. If the necessity arises, the matter could be taken before the *Privy Council* also. If ever there was a matter on which an institution like the *Supreme Court* could be requested to intervene, it is this contemplated piece of legislation under reference. The *legality of certain administrative acts* which have already been taken and some of which are under contemplation could also be challenged in the *Supreme Court*. It would be most unwise and profitless to speculate on the chances of success and failure of such applications. We are well aware that the numerical strength of those in support of the Bill is sufficient to ensure its passage by Parliament, but nevertheless, opposition is being maintained. Similarly the necessary protest must be lodged in the Courts of Law. The opposition must be maintained in as many forums as possible. This strategy has been generally followed in political and constitutional struggles. In India such statesmen like Lokamanya Tilak and Deshabandu Chitta-Ranjan Das generally tried to avail themselves of as many methods as possible to achieve fulfilment of their political demands. Some of us remember that a practical and calculating realist like Mr. Tilak embarked on heavy and expensive litigation against Sir Valentine Chirol for vindication of certain position and rights though he was doubtful of the outcome. Here in Ceylon we have the example of the *Gampola Perakera case* which was carried to the *Privy Council* by the Sinhalese community about the time of the 1915 riots.

Intensive and incessant work is the Supreme Need of the Hour.

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
JAFFNA
Testamentary Jurisdiction
No 158

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Paramanathar Muthiah Veluppillai of Vaddukodai East.
Deceased.

Chellamma widow of Paramanathar Muthiah Veluppillai of Vaddukodai East.
Petitioner.

Vs

1. Veluppillai Leelavathi
2. Veluppillai Pathnavath
3. Veluppillai Pushpavathi
4. Veluppillai Parameswaran all of Vaddukodai East and
5. Paramanathar Muthiah Coomaraswamy of Vaddukodai West.

Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda Rajah Esquire District Judge Jaffna on the 25th day of April 1956 in the presence of Mr. S. Kandasamy proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner dated 23rd April 1956 having been read,

It is ordered that the 5th Respondent abovenamed be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 1-4 Respondents for the purpose of these proceedings and that the petitioner as widow of the deceased be and she is her by declared entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said deceased unless the Respondents abovenamed or any other person or persons shall on or before the 11th June 1956 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

It is further ordered that the petitioner do produce the said minors before this court on the said date.

This 25th day of April 1956

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah
District Judge.

(O. 183. 18 & 25)

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
JAFFNA
Testamentary Jurisdiction
No, 159

In the matter of the intestate estate of Alvapillai Kanapathipillai of Puloly East.
Deceased

Theivanaipillai widow of Kanapathipillai of Puloly East
Petitioner

Vs

1. Bahavathipillai daughter of Kanapathipillai of do
2. Eledchumipillai daughter of Kanapathipillai of do
3. Saraswathy daughter of Kanapathipillai of do
4. Kanapathipillai Balachandiran of do
5. Thangaratnam daughter of Kanapathipillai of do
6. Gnanachandiran son of Kanapathipillai of do
7. Sarojini daughter of Kanapathipillai of do

Minors

Prayer For Protection

Sir,
For the sake of our future generations, the Tamil-speaking people must protect their language and culture which is the only heritage we can hand over to our progeny. It is more than clear that the Great God only can protect and preserve us and our language. Hence it is obligatory on our part to seek His grace by performing Jebam and Thapam with sincere hearts and invoke His blessing on His helpless children. At this critical period of our history, it will be best if every one of us will fast and pray to Him daily to protect and preserve our race, language and culture and observe Vratam on every Friday which is sacred to Hindus, Christians and Muslims alike. Prayer meetings on Fridays will be very beneficial.

S. R.

Colombo
15-5-56.

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S. Alvapillai Arambo of do
Respondents

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda Rajah Esquire District Judge Jaffna on the 27th day of April 1956 in the presence of Mr. C. Mahesan Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the Petition and Affidavit of the petitioner having been read.

It is ordered that Letters of Administration be issued to the Petitioner as the widow of the deceased, and

Further ordered that the 8th Respondent abovenamed be and he is appointed Guardian-ad litem over the 1st to 7th Respondents for the purpose of this action;

Unless the Respondents or any other persons appear before this Court on the 21st day of May 1956 at 10.0' o'clock in the forenoon and shew sufficient cause to the satisfaction of the Court to the contrary.

This 27th day of April 1956

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah
District Judge

Drawn by N. A. Rajaratnam
Proctor for Petitioner
(O 184 18 & 25)

In The Upper House

(Continued from page 2)

pose. The committee was appointed merely to give the impression that the matter was deliberated upon from 7 in the morning till even midnight but that it needs must be settled before the cock crows thrice. The problem of a linguistic group cannot be solved in such a manner and I am not surprised that this gentleman, Mr. Arumugam, got cold feet and refused to serve on the committee.

That is by the way. I was reminded of it because it is generally said that So-and-so is a Sinhalese gentleman; he is doing such and such a thing, and therefore he represents the Sinhalese community. So-and-so is a Muslim gentleman, So-and-so is a Parsee gentleman; and therefore he represents the Muslim community or the Parsee community. That is entirely irrelevant for the consideration of such an important matter.

I do not hold with people who refer to blood. I have heard it referred to during this last election, the 1947 elections, and the 1952 elections in which most of the candidates I supported lost; but they lost on this very important principle because I disagreed with gentlemen who said that the blood of the Tamils has been roused in their veins and they wanted to fight. Similarly, it was said that down south Aryan Sinhalese blood was rising. That is not the way to settle this question. Appealing to emotionalism is not the way. I do not hold with people who speak of blood, Aryan or Dravidian, which has been flowing in this country during the last 2,500 years. The fact is that there are two linguistic groups; they may happen to be Tamils who have become Arabs, or Arabs who have become Tamils; but that is not germane to the problem. The crux of the matter is that there are two linguistic groups, each having its own culture, independence and unshuffled existence. Granted that it is so, is it not time, I ask hon. Members of the Treasury Bench who are seated below me, now that the elections are over, now that we have spoken about this Ariya Sinhala blood and Tamil blood, for us to sit down and carry on the business of Government and bring about a peaceful and perpetual settlement of this language question?

In The House Of Representatives

(Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam)

(Continued from page 3)

matter of laying down principles in regard to recruitment, in regard to equality of opportunity, and so forth, it must be placed on record that D.S. Senanayake was the author of probably the most enlightened chapter of history in this country. His contributions in these respects will stand up not only in this country but in other countries as a catholic enlightenment. He resisted, throughout his life, any effort to displace the Tamils. Indeed, he felt that in the matter of a change-over to the national languages as media of instruction, the pace should not be unduly hastened so as to embarrass, particularly, the minority communities in this country, and we were content to co-operate with him in the building up of the ideal of a united Ceylonese nation.

I must confess that it was under the aegis of the last Government, particularly, in the last two or three years, that opportunism, the desire not to lead but to be led by the least enlightened, to play up to the worst prejudices of the people, to cash in on anything that might bring them victory at the polls, influenced the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, to play about with a principle that had been accepted and almost hallowed over the years from the time of the Soulbury Constitution. May I, in this connection refer to that very enlightened contribution that was made by the present Prime Minister when, in May, 1944, the Member for Kelaniya introduced a Motion on the language question. True to the traditions of that very liberal education that he had had under the beaming spires of Oxford, he got up and said unequivocally—and I wish to pay an unreserved compliment to him for it was at a time when it would have probably paid him to say, "Yes, Sinhalese and Sinhalese alone should replace English as the official language,"—that Sinhalese and Tamil, since the Tamils would want equal recognition for Tamil, both Sinhalese and Tamil should replace English as the language of the administration and as the language of instruction.

I also do not think it would be unfair to him to say that that was not a flash in the pan. From time to time, I believe, he has reiterated that position. Indeed, I believe on

the Floor of this House, when on this side of the House, he called the last Prime Minister to Order in regard to some of his utterances in which it would have appeared that he was veering round from accepting the position of Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages and trying to accept Sinhalese only as the official language. But I am sorry to say, I wish to be quite clear, that only as recently as October last year—that was the first time,—by way of an Amendment of the Motion brought by the present Leader of the Opposition he suggested that Sinhalese should be the only official language.

I ask him to consider whether, in spite of that Amendment, in spite of all that took place at the last General Election, whether the mandate in question should in unequivocal terms be given effect to, for him completely to part with the currents of history, to move away from the currents of history and impose one language upon an important nationality in this country.

I wish, at this stage, to refer to a remark made by my hon. Friend the Minister of Education when he said, if Sinhalese were imposed as a sole official language in this country, why should the Tamils grumble when in Great Britain English is being used as the official language?

I was somewhat distracted I must say. I was remarking that the Minister of Education had said, why should the Tamils take umbrage of the proposal to make Sinhalese the only official language when in Great Britain English has been imposed on the Scots and the Welsh. I wish to remind him that the era of a unilingual state is long gone by. It was almost in pre-modern times, about the time of the French Revolution, that in England and in Western Europe the principle of accepting one nation state had ceased to exist. In other words, a unilingual nation state was not accepted. But may I say this? Even today, in the mid-twentieth century, there is resentment in a way, there is a step up of active resentment against the imposition of English in regard to Ireland, separated, as it is, by the Irish Sea. There has been for several centuries enmity and hostility, and even a rebellion should be an active reminder to what the theory of a unilingual nation

state can do. But be that as it may, I will only say this. that, in modern times, it is particularly in France, in Italy, in Spain and in Great Britain that you have this example of one language throughout the nation.

Let us, on the other hand, look at all the states of middle and eastern Europe and see whether that does not serve as a lesson. Let us take the Austro-Hungarian Empire where as many as twelve to fifteen nationalities were ruled by one emperor. Even under the Hapsburgs and the Austro-Hungarian Empire there was abundance of protection for the various languages in the administration, in the courts and in the schools. Nevertheless, as a result of the first world war what happened?

In the peace treaties of, I believe, 1919-20, the senior statesmen of the world powers wanted to divide up those multilingual states as far as possible into unilingual states. Now, the history of the post-first world war in Europe, particularly in regard to Eastern Europe, must serve as a reminder to all of us that this concept of a unilingual nation state is a mirage that politicians should endeavour not to follow, a mirage that will always be illusive because in no place can you have a single unilingual nation state without some kind of a minority existing in it. The so-called world statesmen tried to impose by the peace treaties, after the first world war, one language upon the states of Eastern Europe which had been carved out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It did not last. It was found that the imposition of one language merely because it is the language of the majority upon the linguistic minority will be resisted. It is a tendency in the modern world, Mr. Speaker, that nationalism as a force has emerged in recent modern times and you cannot thwart nationalism; you cannot keep down and keep under for all times a permanent discontented minority.

I do appeal to my hon. Friends opposite. You can legislate as much as you like but you cannot, you cannot for all times efface that terrific urge of distinct nationality to come into its own. You can legislate but you will have within your territorial borders a permanent, discontented, minority.

I ask them through you

Mr. Speaker, what good does it do to them; what will they really achieve by having within their borders, not a united nation, but a permanent, discontented, minority which will not owe real allegiance and loyalty to them or to their Government; which will wait for an opportunity to revolt and to come back into its own.

Mr. Speaker, let us not forget—and I do not refer to this in any idle way. I refer to it with the high authority of Austin—that when all constitutional methods fail there is the divine right to revolt. Mr. Speaker, when one is denied one's essential primary, fundamental right in regard to one's language, you are really denying the very basis on which Government is built.

Look at the Declaration of American Independence. Quoting from memory, what does it say? People get together for the preservation of life, of liberty and for the pursuit of happiness. But where such Institutions fail, I believe, the Declaration says, people have a right to abolish such Institutions and to revolt. Mr. Speaker, inherent in the suppression of the fundamental, essential human right is the creation of a suppressed desire to revolt against the Govern-

ment which by force of its numbers has imposed its language upon another.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, may I refer to the statements of some very eminent research workers and scholars who have examined this question of minorities in relation to self-determination and the like. Notably, Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to this House a passage from McCartney on National Minorities. He says—

"In the pursuit of the chimera of the nation-State Europe has set itself a false ideal and one which right or wrong it can never achieve."

Alfred Cobben in his voluminous book on National Self-Determination says this—

"In Asia, as in Europe, where there are inextricably mixed communities consisting of two or more distinct, unassimilable, communally conscious people the idea of a Nation-State is out of place."

Mr. Speaker, Cobben concludes that where in an area there are two language groups, two languages, each used by large sections of the populations; there for all common purposes the State must be bilingual and all official business conducted and recorded in both languages.

(To be continued)

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மேன்மைகொன் சைவ நீதி வினக்கு வலக மெல்லாம்.

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