

Lingam Thottam
Vavuniya

My dear Anandakumar,

As promised, I reproduce below, the official communication I sent the Governor- General — His Excellency, Sir O.E. Goonetilleke, KT, GCMG, KCVO, KBE.

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies,

Your Excellency,
I annex hereto:

- 1) One copy of an Amendment I intend to move on the vote of thanks to your Excellency's Address delivered today.
- 2) One copy of the draft of the speech which I propose to deliver in proposing the motion. (Not printed here)
- 3) I am equally anxious not to fail at this juncture in my responsibilities as a Member of Parliament.
- 4) I am equally anxious not to say or do anything, which would adversely affect the exceedingly delicate, difficult and dangerous situation which has risen in the country, or which would be prejudicial to the early termination of the State of Emergency. If your Excellency feels that certain portions of the amendment or of the speech may be amended or omitted or even that both may be completely suppressed, I shall be grateful for a clear indication of Your Excellency's wishes.
- 5) I am sending this letter through my daughter "Mrs. Linga Satchithanada, to be handed personally to Your Excellency in order that she may convey back the reply.

I am,
Your Excellency's Most Humble Servant,
Sgd. C. Suntharalingam
(Member of Parliament, Vavuniya.)

But regret, -

That in view of the conduct of the Government of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike since it was constituted in 1956, and grave, deep-rooted, unrest now prevailing in the country, this house is of the opinion that the following humble address be presented to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council:-

The humble address of Tamil's of Ceylon respectfully sheweth —

WHEREAS the Ceylon Independence Act 1947 (VI Geo. 6 Ch.7) was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom for the attainment by Ceylon of fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

AND WHEREAS at the time of passing of the said Act it was deemed that all inhabitants of Ceylon had been integrated into one nation called the Ceylonese Nation and that they would under the Act be so governed as to 'enjoy peace, order and good government' and that persons of any community or religion would have equal rights with persons of every community or religion.

AND WHEREAS since the Government of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was constituted after the General Election of 1956 for the formation of the Third Parliament of Ceylon, the Ceylon nation has disintegrated; and peace, order and good Government have not in fact been maintained on many occasions.

AND WHEREAS consequent on the passing and the implementation by the Government of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike of the Official Language Act No.33 of 1956, prescribing the Sinhala language as the Official Language of Ceylon, serious and persistent civil disturbances and communal riots have occurred and threaten to occur throughout Ceylon.

AND WHEREAS certain sections of the Sinhalese people led by Revd. Bhikkus (Buddhist Monks in yellow robes), have themselves by threats and the use of force and by intimidation, personally served notice dated April 3rd 1958, on many Tamil people in their homes, terms, inter-alia:

- * ready to leave your occupation, whatever it may be, pack up your bag and baggage.
- * to go back to Jaffna within three months

AND WHEREAS by notice printed in Sinhalese dated May 10th 1958, stated to be issued by the 'Party Colombo' the Sinhalese inhabitants of Ceylon were exhorted as follows:

1. Do not talk to Tamils.
2. Do not get goods from Tamil shops.
3. Do not go to Saiva, Thosa and Vade shops.
4. Do not smoke Jaffna Tobacco or Cigars.
5. Do not get medicine from Tamil Doctors.
6. Do not give your cases to Tamil Proctors and Tamil Advocates.
7. Do not talk in Tamil to Tamils.
8. Do not give houses, shops or lands to Tamils for hire, leasehold or freehold.
9. Do not work in Tamil houses or shops.
10. Do not have your hair cut or have a shave in Tamil barber shops.
11. Do not harass, threaten or cause any inconvenience to the Tamils any day.
12. Do not get sundry goods, newspapers, apples and grapes from Tamils.
13. Do not pawn your articles to Tamils.
14. Do not see Tamil films.
15. Do not go to the newly open Tamil hotels at Pettah and Dematagoda under the Sinhalese name of PASGORASA.
16. Do not employ any Tamil labour in Sinhalese business places.
17. Do not wear the verties Tamils wear.
18. Do not give work to Tamil printing works.
19. Do not give your clothes to Tamil laundries.
20. Do not eat gram or groundnut of the Tamils.

AND WHEREAS since May 21st 1958 many and diverse acts of lawlessness including murder, arson, looting, rioting, etc. have been committed by certain sections of the Sinhala inhabitants in all parts of the country, in several cases amounting to inhuman atrocities committed on men and children of the Tamil nation, without any provocation whatsoever but in pursuit of an organised anti- Tamil vendetta.

AND WHEREAS allegations have also been made (without proof forthcoming) that the acts of lawlessness have in some instances been assisted by the agents of Communism.

AND WHEREAS the Police acting under the directives of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike have failed to carry out and perform the statutory functions and duties imposed upon them by law, in that they have on many occasions permitted acts of lawlessness and grave indictable and cognisable offences to be committed in their presence and have refused to take the normal effective steps which had been taken in the past under the previous Government for the maintenance of law and order and for the enforcement of the rule of law.

AND WHEREAS the Government of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike took no action whatsoever to enforce the law 'relating to exciting / disaffection' (Section 120 of the Ceylon Penal Code) in respect of the afore-mentioned Notices and other acts which were deliberately calculated 'to raise discontent or disaffection among the Queen's subjects or to promote feeling of ill-will and hostility between different classes of such subjects.'

AND WHEREAS the aforesaid acts have resulted in the Tamils of Ceylon being deprived of the freedom to live without fear, of the rights to equality of treatment and equality of opportunity in areas predominantly inhabited by the Sinhala people, in the Tamils suffering considerable loss of life and property.

AND WHEREAS the Tamil people have been compelled by show of force, intimidation, and violence and in some cases armed mob violence to evacuate such areas, and move into traditional Tamil territory.

AND WHEREAS it has been roughly estimated that about one hundred thousand Tamils have since March 1958, migrated into such territory.

AND WHEREAS owing to acts of lawlessness committed by way of retaliation and reprisal by a section of the Tamil people living in traditional Tamil territory, Sinhala people have or have been evacuated from such territory.

AND WHEREAS the Tamil people and the Sinhala people have effected or defected separation of themselves into divergent groups occupying distinct and separate areas of Ceylon.

AND WHEREAS the Tamil people now living, after separation in traditionally Tamil territory are anxious, since racial passions have been aroused not to reside and to have their living to follow their avocations in "predominately Sinhala areas and wish to avoid being governed or dealt with inhumanely by the Sinhala people.

AND WHEREAS the Tamil Members of the Parliament of Ceylon are unable to influence legislation and have no share or voice whatsoever in the Government, which controls and regulates the affairs of the people they represent. **AND WHEREAS** the District of Jaffna and of Batticaloa in the traditional Tamil territory are now virtually under military occupation, resulting in the Tamil People being deprived of their fundamental freedom.

AND WHEREAS the Government of the Honourable S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike had in its administrative and legislative acts in respect to the Tamils of Ceylon, violated and condoned the violation of almost each and every of the Articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation of which, Ceylon is a member.

AND WHEREAS a situation has arisen in which the Tamils of Ceylon are unwilling to submit themselves to a Government of, and a rule by, the Sinhala people.

AND WHEREAS the traditionally Tamil territory was ceded to Great Britain under the Treaty of Amiens 1802 by the Dutch.

AND WHEREAS notwithstanding such cession the Tamil people were engaged in war with the British Forces to conserve their liberty which they do not lose until Chieftain Pandara Vanniyan was in battle at Kachchilamadu the district of Vavuniya by the British Forces on October 31st 1803.

AND WHEREAS traditional Tamil territory is depicted in the Map printed on January 1st 1803, 'being a reduced drawing of a Map in the possession of the Honourable Commissioners for Indian Affairs', viewed in the light of the Minutes of Cleghorn the first

Colonial Secretary of Ceylon (vide Journal of Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1954, VOL iii, Pt, 2, page 131) and of Robert Brownrigg, the first Governor-General of Ceylon (vide despatch dated July 10, 1813, to the Secretary of State) as extending from Chilaw through the Northern and Eastern areas to Walawe in the South and to be in the active occupation of the Tamil Nation.

AND WHEREAS the Tamils of Ceylon have had their own Kings and Chieftains for over 2,400 years of history as set out in the chronicles and in inscriptional literature of Ceylon.

AND WHEREAS the Tamil nation of Ceylon went under British Rule independently of the Sinhala nation,

AND WHEREAS it was acknowledged and accepted by Cleghorn in his Minute dated June 1st, 1799, on the Dutch Administration of Ceylon as follows: 'Two different nations from a very ancient period have divided between them the possession of the Island.'

AND WHEREAS it has now become desirable, expedient and necessary for the promotion of peace, order, and good Government that a nation state of the Tamil people of Ceylon be created and recognised.

AND WHEREAS in order that the defect separation of the two Nations may be recognised on the basis of mutual goodwill and without recourse to acts of violence bloodshed and loss of human life.

AND WHEREAS in the words of the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, '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.'

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF CEYLON in this present Parliament, assembled, humbly prays that the Queen, Her most Excellent Majesty in Council to take such legal and other steps as may be necessary and adequate for the purposes following:

1. To limit the operation of the Ceylon Independence Act 1947 and the Ceylon Constitutional and Independence Orders-in-Council 1946-47 to the areas shown in the afore-front Map of 1803 as being occupied by Low Country Sinhalese under the one time rule of the King of Kotte.
2. To exclude the territory extending from Chilaw to Walawe as indicated above and set out in the aforesaid Map of 1803 from the operation of the said Independence Act of Ceylon and Independence Orders-in-Council.
3. To constitute the aforesaid excluded territory into distinct and separate Dominion and Eelam as a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations owing allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second.

(C. Suntharalingam.) M.P. Vavuniya
June 24, 1958