



At a civil function in Trincomalee during Second term as MP.

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S. Sivasegaram



Panagoda Days

Memoirs of N.R. Rajavarothiam
(M.P. Trincomalee 1952-1963)

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A Personal Note

On 27th August 2003, it will be forty years since Mr N.R. Rajavarothiam passed away at the age of just under fifty-five. He was my maternal uncle and I have only fond memories of him. He was a voracious reader and infectious so. He used to read to me and encouraged me to read so that I learnt to read and write at a tender age.

Although a parliamentary politician, he was simple, unassuming, honest and very quiet, but he was also brutally frank. I was told by his contemporaries that, as a young person, he was politically active and a supporter of the Jaffna Youth Congress, but displayed no political ambition. It was force of circumstances that dragged him into a parliamentary political career as M.P. for Trincomalee from 1952 until he died in 1963. He supported Mr S. Sivapalan, the Tamil Congress candidate, in the Parliamentary Election of 1947. However, following Mr G.G. Ponnambalam's deal with Mr D.S. Senanayake on the question of citizenship of Hill Country Tamils, the Tamil Congress underwent a split in 1948. Rajavarothiam sided with Mr S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, then M.P. for KKS, who along with Mr C. Vanniyasingam, M.P. for Kopay, and Senator E.M.V. Naganathan broke off with Mr G.G. Ponnambalam to found the Ilankai Thamilarasuk Katchi (the Federal Party).

With Sivapalan joining the U.N.P., Chelvanayakam, who was keen that the Federal Party contested the Elections of 1952 right across the Jaffna peninsula and at least in one electorate in the Eastern Province, persuaded Rajavarothiam to contest at Trincomalee. To the shock of the sitting member, Rajavarothiam won with a comfortable majority of around 450 votes (of a total of under 10,000 votes cast in a three-way contest, with Mr K. Sivapalan, the Communist Party candidate, a poor third). I think that it was largely the personality of Rajavarothiam that secured his victory, while only Vanniyasingam won on the Federal Party ticket from the North, by a smaller majority, with Chelvanayakam losing his seat at Kankesanthurai and Naganathan badly beaten in Jaffna. The fact that Sivapalan contested Trincomalee on the UNP ticket could have made the difference that offset the advantage he had as sitting member.

The language issue of 1956 pushed things in favour of the Federal Party, which attributed prophetic qualities to its leader Chelvanayakam, as he had apparently foreseen that the very Sinhala chauvinism that disenfranchised the Hill Country Tamils (the so-called 'Indian Tamils') in 1947 would one day do likewise to the 'Ceylon Tamils'. The campaign worked, and, following the destruction of the credibility of the Tamil Congress, a partner in power with the UNP since 1948, owing to its failure to stop the UNP from adopting 'Sinhala Only' in 1956, the Federal Party emerged as the main political party of the Tamils. The General Election of 1956 also saw a leftist (Mr P. Kandiah from Point Pedro) elected to parliament, for the only time so far, from the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

I am still not certain whether the Federal Party leadership was plain naïve to declare that it would follow the 'Gandhian' path of struggle to restore the rights of the Tamil people and to secure a Federal state for the Tamils or lacked the imagination to think of anything otherwise. However, many Tamils accepted unquestioningly the possibility of securing their rights through non-violent means.

The Federal Party, to its credit, also made the first serious proposal to unite the different Tamil-speaking communities in the name of linguistic identity. But its Colombo-based leadership lacked adequate appreciation of and, thus, sensitivity to issues specific to each community and region. That, inevitably, had tragic consequences for the relationship of the Tamils with the Muslims and the Hill Country Tamils. While the Federal Party succeeded in bringing the majority of Tamils and a sizeable section of the Muslims from the North and East under its umbrella between 1956 and 1960, it mainly addressed the concerns of the Tamil middle classes, especially the sections that felt threatened by the Sinhala Only Act.

The collapse of the Satyagraha campaign of 1961, despite tremendous mass support, in the face of the clampdown imposed under the state of emergency declared by the SLFP government, pointed to the incapability of the Federal Party to carry forward a sustained mass struggle. More significantly, it pointed to the class interests that had begun to take control of the Federal Party, notably that of the Tamil elite of Jaffna and Colombo, who generally backed the Tamil Congress if they were not ardent supporters of the UNP.

Although the Federal Party, until its victory in 1956, spoke for the middle classes and had a populist style at least in electoral politics, following its electoral success in 1956, it began to attract sections of the Tamil elite and capitalist interests that were once leaning towards its rival, the Tamil congress. The transformation of the Federal Party into a party of the Tamil capitalist class interests was complete by 1965, with its earlier hostility towards the UNP on several issues forgotten in view of the treatment it received from the SLFP led government.

It is against this background that I seek to understand the role of Rajavarothiam in the Federal Party and his disenchantment with the quality of leadership that the Federal Party had on offer. The few months of detention at the newly built Panagoda army camp was certainly an eye-opener to him, and I have reason to believe that, had he not died in 1963, he would not have contested for Parliament in 1965, although he was highly likely to get re-elected with ease.

His values were bourgeois liberal, and he did not have a favourable opinion of the left parties. At the same time, he differed from many of his fellow MPs from the Federal Party in his approach to politics. He was not populist in his style, and never promised things that he could not deliver. He was not an orator, and his public speeches were short and to the point. On the other hand, he took parliamentary politics seriously. His participation in parliamentary debates was minimal during his eleven years as an MP, but I know he was among the most regular at the parliamentary sessions and asked questions on a variety of issues, an important aspect of parliamentary work that many MPs seem to have neglected.

He was also one of the few MPs who got poorer after entering politics, despite not having to spend much money at the elections, and was too proud to seek favours for himself, his family or friends from any minister or government official. His way of life was simple. He dressed simply, and the only time I remember his wearing a suit was when he was a delegate to the 49th Inter-Parliamentary conference in Tokyo in 1960, his only trip abroad. He was easily accessible to the public anywhere and at any time, and since he spoke little, except to a few people who were personally close to him, he had no time for tale carriers.

He saw very early the development of a party within his party, whose style was conspiratorial, but there was little that he could do to stop the clique that was responsible for some of the most foolish campaign decisions taken by the Federal Party.

It is also interesting that the Federal Party leadership when offered the opportunity by Mr Bandaranaike to propose a private member's bill that would make discrimination by caste a punishable offence, not one of its MPs from the North would take up the challenge, and Rajavarothiam rose to the occasion. This was particularly significant as the caste system and the practice of untouchability were far more serious in Jaffna than in Trincomalee, and it would have been highly symbolic if a Tamil Saiva Vellala MP from the North had come forward. The significance of this reluctance became clearer when the Federal Party took the side of the oppressor during the mass campaign against untouchability that was in full swing in the latter half of the 1960's.

Rajavarothiam's position as a genuine Tamil nationalist who believed that a just solution to the national question was possible through a federal system is clear from his memoirs, written during his second period of detention under emergency regulations in 1961 (the first being in 1958, strangely, in the wake of a campaign of anti-Tamil violence). What the memoirs also express are the fears that he had for the just cause of the Tamils when he had opportunity to get to know some of the leaders-to-be.

This is the only significant piece of writing by Rajavarothiam, which he had saved in a heavy wooden box at the Muththukkumaraswami Kovil, Trincomalee of which he was hereditary trustee. I do not think that he intended publishing it at the time, as it would have hurt the Federal Party. But he, nevertheless, preserved it. The text written on the small letterhead paper of the House of Representatives issued to him at Panagoda was discovered by chance around six or seven years ago. After some hesitation, I have now decided to publish them, forty-two years after they were written and in the year of his 40th death anniversary, since I feel that the Tamil people have the right to know more about the quality of the leadership that they have had.

Judging by present standards of parliamentary politicians, some of the things that caused offence to Rajavarothiam may seem trivial today, but one has to see them in the context of the image that the people were presented of the Federal Party and its leadership. He has been hard on the parliamentary left and the Sinhala chauvinist leaders, but his main disappointment seems to be in those in whom he had faith.

I have interfered minimally with the text, and have preserved his system of abbreviation out of sheer interest but economised on capitalisation. I also include the list of detainees at Panagoda that he made and their autographs, which I guess he collected at the time of writing the memoirs. He had a very neat and clear handwriting, and I include a specimen page of his manuscript, since his handwriting is another of those things that I admired in him.

I also include a few of the small number photographs taken during his political career, mostly relating to the period of the Satyagraha campaign and two taken at Panagoda, and am grateful to his sons for making them available to me.

I believe that, besides some of the little known but important information about the political life of forty years ago, there are lessons to learn from his memoirs. Rajavarothiam was, like Vanniasingam, fortunate to pass away well before the Federal Party discredited itself in the eyes of the Tamil public.

I seriously doubt if he could have significantly influenced the course of events concerning the national question and the direction taken by the Federal Party from 1965. However, the memoirs are particularly valuable today to the understanding of the history of the Tamil national struggle, at a time when history is being re-invented to suit the successors to a failed tradition.

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March 2003.



Photograph taken during First term as MP.

Panagoda Days

Memoirs of N.R. Rajavarothiam .

(Born 8th October 1908; Died 27th August 1963; M.P. Trincomalee 1952-1963)

This is the second occasion that I am privileged to be the state guest of the Government of Sri Lanka. The process of being a state guest is pure and simple. You have only to be a member of the Federal Party, demand your fundamental rights, and you have qualified yourself.

It is a question of the F.P. being always in the wrong and the government party of whatever hue being in the right. In this confusion of thought, there is tall talk of democratic socialism. If a keen observer, one would find that there is neither democracy nor socialism. It is communalism and tribalism at its best.

The sordid tale of communal disharmony commences from the day the Soulbury constitution was bestowed on Ceylon. Lord Soulbury, unaware of the composition of Ceylon's population and for reasons that could not be put down on paper, was enticed to grant a constitution which put the Tamil-speaking minority community at the mercy of the Singhalese-speaking community for all times. Mr D.S. Senanayake, who has become to be called the father of the nation, with his craft and common sense formed the United National Party. Some Tamil leaders fell a prey to the Machiavellian cunning of D.S. Senanayake. Mr G.G. Ponnampalam and his followers of the Tamil Congress looked with askance on the real intentions of the United National Party, which turned out to be everything but national. In 1947, the elections were held under the Soulbury constitution. The Tamil Congress emerges as a single party that could speak for the Tamils.

But unfortunately in 1948 Mr G.G. Ponnampalam who was a vehement opponent of the U.N.P. on an issue in which the Tamils swore to stand by the so-called Indian Tamils, joined hands with the U.N.P. Over this issue, there was a schism in the Tamil Congress, and headed by Mr S.J.V. Chelvanayakam quitted the Tamil Congress and formed the Ilankai Thamizh Arasu Katchi now popularly known as the Federal Party. Mr G.G. Ponnampalam subsequently became a minister in the D.S. Senanayake cabinet. The F.P. put forward before the Tamil Speaking People four issues on which it would strive against whatever the Singhalese government come to power. Viz.

- 1 Equal status to the Tamil Language with Singhala;
- 2 A federal system of government;
- 3 Prevent state-aided colonization of Tamil areas by Singhalese;
- 4 Franchise rights for the Tamils of the upcountry.

Though the Tamil-speaking masses understood the significance of the programme chalked out to them by the F.P., they failed to appreciate the logic of the situation.

In the elections held in 1952, the F.P. were only able to send in two of its members, one from the North and the other from the East. Even the leader of the party suffered defeat.

The U.N.P., owing to a wave of sympathy caused by the sudden death of D.S. Senanayake, came into power again under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake. It is pertinent to note that Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who crossed over to the opposition on the score that his claim for the premiership was overlooked by D.S. Senanayake, put in candidates from his party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and was able to capture 8 seats.

Mr Dudley Senanayake, though he became premier, very soon found that there was opposition to him among the cabinet, headed by his cousin, Sir John Kotelawala. Sir John was an epicure and was blessed with more brawn than brain. Very soon Dudley Senanayake found it

awful to carry on with the machinations of Sir John. Besides, there were strikes engineered by the L.S.S.P. to defeat the Government. The strikes culminated in a hartal and police firing which resulted in a number of deaths.

Dudley Senanayake, being a weak man, resigned from his premiership and Sir John, who was waiting for the chance, grasped it surely and firmly. He made changes in his cabinet and Mr G.G. Ponnampalam was given a knock downstairs. This was the beginning of Mr Ponnampalam's descent from the political horizon.

Sir John Kotelawala, who loves show and gaiety, paid a state visit to the Northern Province. He was received in right royal fashion. People vied with one another to garland the conquering hero. There was competition among them as to whose garland was the longest and heaviest. In this triumphal march, at a college function, the Principal Mr Handy Perinpanayagam asked the Premier as to what status the Tamil language would be given in the administration of the country. Sir John as was his wont promised equal status. This was his undoing as events proved later and the irony of it all was that it was the beginning of the estrangement of the Singhalese and the Tamils.

Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, whose one aim was to become Premier of Ceylon, saw in the "lapse" of Sir John a fertile soil to sow his dragon's teeth. He and his henchmen went about the country, propagating the false theory that should Tamil be given equal status with the Singhala language, that would be the destruction of the Singhala language. Besides he promised to make Singhala the official language of the island. His propaganda gathered momentum and the villagers who had stood by the U.N.P. all these years turned to the new saviour of their language for deliverance.

To counteract the move of Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, the U.N.P., which had stood all these years for the recognition of Tamil as one of the official languages, in their Annual Conference held at Kelaniya, went back on their earlier resolution and adopted Singhala as the one and only official language of administration. Some Tamil Members of Parliament who stood by the U.N.P. in spite of the warnings from the

F.P. that the Party meant no well by the Tamils saw the truth in its nakedness. Some resigned from the Party. Mr S. Nadesan who held the ministerial post of Post and Communications in a well-delivered speech in the House of Representatives offered his explanation for his resignation.

Sir John saw that the ground was being cut underneath his feet. For reasons best known to him and perhaps on ill advise, he requested the Governor General to dissolve Parliament. The Governor General was a seasoned old fox. He knew how to run with the hare and hunt with the hound.

He obliged and the country was forced to go to the hustings in early 1956. At the general elections, Mr Bandaranaike came into an electoral pact with the leftists and under the name of MEP came in sufficient numbers to form a government. The composition of the Party spoke not too well for a healthy development of the country. It was a hotchpotch of extreme communism, fanaticism, liberalism and what not. From the very beginning, it was apparent that the combination had not come to stay.

True to his word to the Singhalese, Bandaranaike brought in a bill to make Singhala the official language. The Tamils pleaded with them that the bill would set the clock of progress back by a decade or more. They asked the Singhalese people to realise their position, if a language that had in the course of history been a court language were relegated to a position of nonentity.

The Government was not in a mood to listen. The Bill was passed in the House of Representatives in spite of the L.S.S.P. and the C.P. joining hands with the F.P. As a mark of protest, the F.P. decided to offer Satyagraha on the footsteps of the entrance to the House of Representatives. Overnight, the entrance to the House of Representatives was barricaded and armed police were posted on the approach roads to the House of Representatives. However, on the 5th of June 1956, Tamils from the Northern and Eastern Provinces gathered at the Galle Face Green. Mr K.M.P. Rajaratne, the arch communalist and the M.P. for Welimada, with his satchels had made preparations to attack the

innocent Tamils who were there only to register their protests. Mr Philip Gunawardene who was a minister of the MEP played no mean part. He had brought his thugs from the harbour. The Tamils and their leaders were subjected to insults, assaults and shoe pelting from a motley crowd that ran into thousands. The Singhalese Members of Parliament and the Premier with his ministers were regaling at the discomfiture of the Tamils. Though hundreds of policemen were on the spot, on strict orders from the Premier, they were mere passive onlookers.

This was law and order maintained that eventful day of June 1956. It was a dismal story and it was also the beginning of the end for Mr Bandaranaike.

The Tamils could not take it lying down. There were strained feelings between the two communities. Mr Bandaranaike saw through what was in store for the country if the two communities drew apart.

He invited the F.P. leaders for talks. The writer was one of the delegates of the F.P. After a series of talks, the conference arrived at what has popularly become to be known as the B-C Pact. This pact admitted that the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern Provinces is to be Tamil. It conceded the principle of regional councils, and that colonization of the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be left to the regional councils concerned, and that colonization should not in any way change the composition of the population, and the question of Indian Tamil franchise to be a matter of consultation with the Indian government.

Though the Tamils were not fully satisfied, they were yet prepared to come to an understanding. The pact gave the F.P. the liberty to stand by the issues they were fighting for.

The Pact arrived at did not satisfy the Singhalese. The U.N.P. started an agitation for political reasons. They started a march to Kandy to offer prayers to the Tooth Relic to abrogate the pact. The march proved futile and met with stiff opposition from the Singhalese themselves. The member for Gampaha, Mr S.D. Bandaranaike, a kinsman of the Premier, played an important role in disorganising the march to Kandy.

But there were others, who urged the clergy to clamour against the Pact.

The bhikkus laid siege to the Premier's residence at Rosmead Place, as if it were. They started a Satyagraha. There were other forces that worked behind the scenes. Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was forced to give in to pressure. Before the ink could dry on the Pact signed by Mr Bandaranaike and Mr Chelvanayagam, the Pact was torn to shreds. Reaction had its day. Bhikkus found that they could successfully dabble in politics. It was a sad day for Ceylon. Dissension took root. To add fuel to the burning fire, the Government tried to introduce Sri buses into the Northern Province. This was resisted by the Tamils. M.P.P. from the North and the East took part in the Anti-Sri Campaign and courted arrest. Several served jail sentences. There was counter action set afoot in the South. The result of it was the communal riots of 1958.

Retribution was slow to come. The bhikkus, fanatical as they were, besieged the house of the Premier and demanded the Premier to abrogate the Pact. It was widely rumoured at the time that Bandaranaike was conscientiously against the abrogation of the Pact, but the plan was so engineered that he had to give in to the bhikkus or give up his premiership. The fact remains that the B-C Pact was abrogated and Bandaranaike betrayed the Tamils. The communal tension grew apace and the Tamils showed their resentment by opposing the lettering of car numbers with the Singhala 'Sri'. The following year in 1958, the F.P. had its Annual Convention at Vavuniya under the chairmanship of the writer. For no ostensible reason, the delegates to the Convention from Batticaloa were waylaid at Polonnaruwa station and manhandled by the Singhalese. Communal frenzy was let loose and all over Ceylon, innocent Tamils were assaulted, their business centres looted and houses were burnt by Singhalese mobs. The Tamils had to flee from their places of work. Ships had to be chartered to transport the Singhalese from the North and the East and the Tamils from elsewhere. It was said that even ministers had a hand in the holocaust.

Emergency was declared. Mr Bandaranaike in his speech made in the House of Representatives put the whole blame onto the F.P. He spoke of the Singhalese as his own people. He was speaking the truth as a Singhalese, but as the premier of the country he made a clear distinction as between the Singhalese and the Tamils. This left a bad taste, coming from the mouth of the premier of a country.

Under the emergency regulations, the M.P.P. and important members of the Party were put under house arrest. The M.P.P. were arrested on the 5th of June 1958 while they were returning from Parliament. It was an aggressive action on the part of the Government. The M.P.P. of the F.P. were dubbed the troublemakers. The F.P. M.P.P. who had residences in Colombo were put under house detention and others were under detention at the G.F.H. for the first ten days and later were housed at Stanmore Crescent. During the days we spent at the G.F.H., though we were under the same roof, we did not know where the other one was. Two constables kept watch over us by turns. Papers and magazines were our boon companions. In solitude we enjoyed our stay ruminating over what was going on outside. After ten days at the G.F.H. we were removed to Stanmore Crescent, where presently the Minister of Education is staying. The Marketing Department looked after our catering. Our treatment was good but the only misfortune was that our cook who had never done any cooking learnt his culinary art at our experience. We occupied the upstairs whereas the Police who were expected to keep watch over us were downstairs. It was here that since we were arrested we were allowed to converse with one another.

The days passed reading and playing cards. For three months, this stereotyped programme was gone through, except for a day's outing to Mr Chelvanayagam's house to consider whether we should be present in the House when the Bill for Special Provisions for the Tamil Language was to be debated in the House. After due consideration, we denied to ourselves the opportunity to be present in the House when the Bill was taken up. We decided to go as freemen rather than as detenus. However, the Bill was introduced in the House and, with the sole exception of Mr Mustapha, the member for Pottuvil on the Opposition Benches, the Bill was passed.

It might be pertinent here to remark that the politics of the Muslims has grown curisoer and curisoer. No political conviction or principle seems to guide them in their actions. Their only motive has been personal ambition and betrayed certain streaks of the business mentality. On the latter one cannot blame them for, for generations, they have been traders and whether they like it or not, the desire to bargain and make a profit had always seemed to have got the better of them.

On the 5th of September 1958, we were released. The language problem was left unresolved and the relationship between the two communities had not improved. By this date, interior dissension in the Cabinet was taking shape. There was much of manoeuvring in the Cabinet and the bhikkus who expected much of the Premier were disillusioned. Some among them wanted to be king makers and others wanted to use their hold on individual members to feather their own nests. They didn't have everything they desired for. The culmination of the disappointment was the assassination of the Premier on September 25th 1959. The trial was over only two days back. The chief incumbent of the Kelaniya Maha Vihara with Bhikku Somaratne and one H.P. Jayawardene were found guilty of conspiracy and murder of Mr Bandaranaike. Nemesis had its final say. During the communal riots of 1958 Mr Bandaranaike had not acted as the Premier of country heterogeneously populated. The government broadcasting station was used to spread scare stories to incite the Singhalese people. Tamil women were raped and killed and some were put to go through hell. A minority in the midst of a majority could not have taken effective steps to protect themselves. Their only weapon was prayer. Their prayer was answered in 1959. The Premier, Mr Bandaranaike met his death in the hands of his own people headed by the Buddhist clergy who took no mean part in making him the Premier of the Country.

Thus was the end of a talented man, who for the sake of being the head of a government rent asunder the close ties of two peoples who had for centuries lived amicably. But it had come surely. The Prime Minister of the troubled days met his death at the hands of the assassin. The Bhikku who took a leading part in the holocaust has been sentenced to be hanged.

Soon after the Premier was assassinated, in the absence of Mr C.P. de Silva, who was away in England, having left earlier for treatment, Mr Dahanayake was elected President of the S.L.F.P. and enthroned with the premiership. As Premier, Dahanayake had to taste the old adage that unhappy lies the head that wears the crown. He was attacked inside and outside the Cabinet. He was the target of uncharitable and unfounded charges. There was revolt in his own ranks. He narrowly escaped defeat in Parliament. He found that he couldn't carry on any more. He took all unawares. He advised the G.G. to dissolve Parliament in December 1959. But he carried on as the Head of the Caretaker Government. During this period, he dismissed several of his ministers. Men, who even in their sleep would not have dreamt of being ministers, found themselves as ministers. He carried on the Government of the country like a shipwrecked sailor till the General Elections of March 1960.

In that election, no party came in sufficient numbers to carry on the government. The U.N.P. was the single largest party, closely followed by the S.L.F.P. The F.P. numbering 15 was in a position to make or unmake a government. It is significant to note that the Tamils reposed their faith in the F.P.

Mr G.G. Ponnampalam met his Waterloo in this election, being beaten by a relation of his who contested him at Jaffna and was a complete newcomer to parliamentary politics. Though the UNP did not command a working majority in the House of Representatives, yet as the largest party, was called by the G.G. to form the government. The U.N.P. thought that with the advantage they would derive by way of nomination, they could win the support of the Federalists. The Federalists were in no mood to give up the principle for which they have stood for the last thirteen years. They demanded that the rights of the Tamils should be conceded before helping any party to form a government to carry on the administration of the country.

Mr Dudley Senanayake was honest enough to tell the F.P. that he was not prepared to promise that his party would concede any of the demands of the F.P. The SLFP made overtures to the F.P. that they would abide by the B-C Pact. The U.N.P. was doomed to defeat and the U.N.P. Government was defeated over a no-confidence motion moved by the Opposition. The F.P. voted with the opposition. The F.P. was not concerned of putting one party in power over the other. The F.P. was prepared to support any party that was out to concede the demands of the Tamils. The UNP refused to consider the Tamil demands and as subsequent events revealed the S.L.F.P. was not sincere. The F.P. for the second time was tricked by the Singhalese.

The General Elections in July 1960 gave an overall majority to the S.L.F.P. The widow of the late Premier played a great part in the victory of the S.L.F.P. This election also revealed that the Tamil Speaking People had begun to recognise the F.P. as the one organisation that could voice their sentiments. The F.P. increased their number by one and also gained the support of two Muslim members who had the Tamil support during the elections on the distinct understanding that the two would stand by the Tamils on the language issue.

The S.L.F.P. soon after the landslide in their favour, for reasons of rivalry among higher ups in the Party and for caste considerations elected Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike as their leader. She got into the Senate by resorting to nomination. It was for the first time in the history of Ceylon Parliament that a Member of the Senate was called upon to head a government. It was believed that she would resign from the membership of the Senate and seek election for membership of the House of Representatives. Though opportunities came her way to contest one of the seats that fell vacant, she remained where she was.

It is significant that out of the ten ministers, five ministers represented themselves and not the people. It is ridiculous for any of these members to speak for the people. It is curious that Mr Badiuddin Mahmud, a Muslim camp follower of Mr Bandaranaike should have been nominated to the House of Representatives and made the Minister of Education. He has not shown any capabilities except that

he had made confusion more confounded. Of the past, it is better to leave it unsaid. He had been the Principal of Zahira College, Gampola, but his actions seem to show that he knows very little of education. He had oft repeated that he is out to give a National Education, but God alone knows what the Minister means by his National Education. He has not so far defined what his National Education is. His action in the furtherance of education has been the taking over of the management and misappropriation of denominational schools.

The F.P. gave sufficient time to the S.L.F.P. to honour the words they uttered before the July elections. The wine of power had gone to their heads. Instead of undoing the mischief of their "Deva Sena" Mr Bandaranaike set afoot, the present government of Mrs Bandaranaike not only broke the promise but also introduced legislation to take away the very little recognition there was for the Tamil language. The members of the F.P. pleaded with the Government at least to accept the amendment moved by them to the Courts Language Bill. Ere this the ministers and the members of the F.P. had talks over the language issue. On occasions the two met, there was sweet reasonableness. But one was able to glean that there were mental reservations. There was no political honesty. They were only trying to test our intelligence. The minister of Finance and the Minister of Justice showed their arrogance. The former though intelligent lacked experience. He suffers from the Walawwe mentality. The latter, a second rate advocate, seemed to take his ministership seriously. The attitude and actions of the Government was the last straw that broke the Tamil camel's back. The F.P. decided to launch a Satyagraha campaign. The campaign was started at Jaffna on the 20th of February followed at Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar. The satyagrahis in all the towns blocked the entrances to the respective Kachcheris. The work at the Kachcheris came to a standstill. Even Sirimavo was forced to admit that administration had ceased to function in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

During the Satyagraha campaign, the madam Premier left the island to attend the Commonwealth Premiers Conference. In her message to the nation of course she blamed the F.P. for misleading the Tamils and threatened not to negotiate unless the F.P. called off the Satyagraha. The F.P. knew what the negotiations would be. The Minister of Justice, who a few days earlier had ordered that no more the administration reports should be published in Tamil, sent an emissary to My Chelvanayagam who was in Jaffna to meet him at Colombo to settle the language issue. The meeting proved futile as the Minister did not put in any concrete proposals but was as slippery as an eel.

The response of the Tamils of whatever political persuasion to regain their lost rights was most encouraging. Ladies, children, students, the old and the young all with difference of caste and creed joined in the Satyagraha. Even the students in England demonstrated against the Premier when she arrived there to attend the Commonwealth Premiers Conference. As a woman, she was naturally piqued and gave vent to her disapproval.

There were and are black sheep in every flock. Naturally, among the Tamils are also a few selfish men who are out to feather their own nests. Among such is Mr E.R.S.R Coomaraswamy. It is a shame that one who claims to be from Trincomalee should, at the critical period of history of the Tamils, betray the cause of the Tamils. His satanic role was assumed when he at the dictate of his political masters, came forward to contest the Trincomalee seat. He tried to make out that he was contesting the seat to better the conditions of the people of Trincomalee. He got his deserts. The Tamils were not fooled. The main support he could muster was from the Singhalese and some straggling Muslims. He lost the elections by 4000 odd votes, but he did not lose his purpose.

He was appointed a member of the Income Tax Review Board. The S.L.F.P. appointed him the President of the Port Workers Labour Co-operative Society and gave him a joy ride to Japan and his name is being dabbled about as the Chairman of the Petroleum Corporation. These positions bring in money. Why not Mr Coomaraswamy make



With Henry Alayw Iskrama MP for Baddegama Trincomalee, May 1954.



With T. Ehambaram MP Muthar, following election in March 1960.



With A. McHézyer GA, Trincomalee during Second term as MP



At the Kumbabishekam of Thiruk Koneswaram 1963.



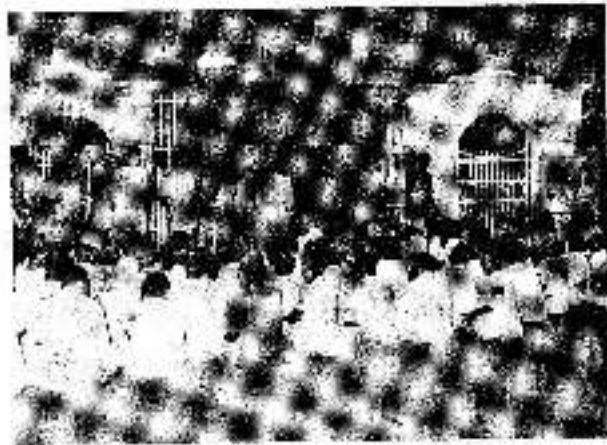
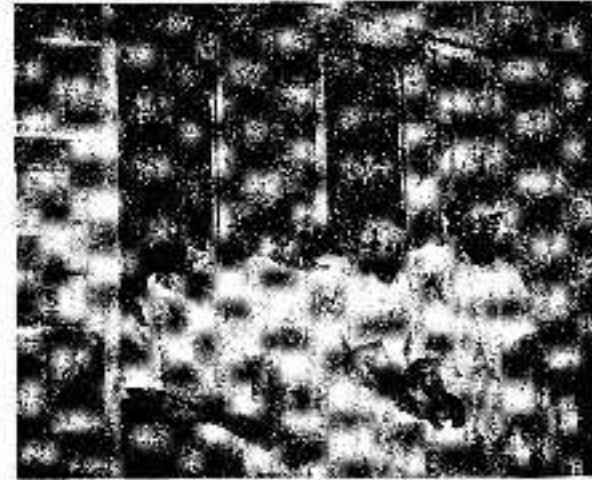
Initiation of fish marketing by local fish Vendors.



At nominations for General Election, March 1960.



Scene of Satyagraha opposite Kachudieri, Trincomalee, 1961.



Sencos of Satyagraha opposite Kachcheri, Tricomalee,
1961.



At Panagoda with fellow detainees, 1961.

hay while the sun shines even if he sells his community. The S.L.F.P. hero among the Tamils dared not visit Trincomalee during the campaign. I could only visualise the same fate that had befallen the betrayers from the dawn of history. There were no exceptions even in the history of Ceylon politics.

The narration of the Satyagraha campaign would be incomplete if the part played by the Muslims is omitted. It is my honest conviction that an appreciable number of Muslims joined in the fight; nevertheless I am constrained to remark that their heart was not in it. Some genuinely felt for their mother tongue, some others joined the campaign not to displease their immediate neighbours who happen to be Tamils in the two provinces and there were others who were misled that following the Tamils was not going to benefit them, while the sly ones felt that they would be contended with others fighting their battle. To put it crisply, the business mentality had got ingrained in them, that their only political principle seems to be with the side that holds power for the time being. It will not be too long when they learn that this policy is not going to carry them afar.

The Satyagraha campaign had run its course for more than a month. The Government thought that it could tire the people out. In Jaffna, the weekly rations were not given on the pretext that the issue of weekly rations could be done only by entering the Kachcheri. The politically minded, acting G.A. of Jaffna, Mr Wijeratne thought that he could set the people against the Satyagraha. But he failed.

The F.P. started a postal service. The sole aim was to disobey the government regulations and court arrest. The service ran for two or three days. In the meanwhile, whether prompted by the Government or not, some paper reporters broadcast the news that the F.P. was enrolling a police force and on their own were alienating crown land. The Government began to act. The Premier and the Governor General returned from Nuwara Eliya where they were sojourning

The Cabinet met on the 16th and 17th of April 1961 and decided to declare a State of Emergency. The State of Emergency was declared as from the midnight of the 17th. This was expected by the F.P. On the 17th night itself in Jaffna the army went berserk. The leaders were rounded up. This was followed in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar. Some were flown to Ratmalana and others taken in trucks and vans. All were taken to their place of detention – the military barracks at Panagoda.

Today, a government that cries from the housetops that Ceylon is a Democratic Socialist Country is forced to deny the just rights of a minority by force of arms. As far as the Tamils are concerned, they are under military rule. Any government that thinks of suppressing a minority by the force of arms is living in a fool's paradise. World history does bear ample testimony to this fact. In the end the suppressed people had asserted themselves.

Today, little minds seem to rule the roost. Arrogance and injustice sway their action. The Sinhalese have forgotten past history. The people who live to suffer are the masses. They are being intoxicated with the opium of Singhala and sooner they awake from their stupor, it would be the better for all concerned.

The detention of Tamil leaders is not going to solve the problem. It only promotes bitterness.

It will be pertinent at this juncture to picture as to how the major parties among the Sinhalese feel on this question.

In the tangled web of communal politics, the Tamils cannot expect justice from any of the parties. They have to woo the Sinhalese masses if they are to capture power. The S.L.F.P. and its lost leader being the architects of the Frankenstein monster will be destroyed the moment they try to unmake their blunder. Unfortunately, most members of the party are new to politics. They come from the rural areas where conservatism and fanaticism is deeply rooted. They came to position on the crest of communal hatred. To give in to the demands of the Tamils would be self-effacement. In such a composition, justice is sure

to be strangled. But this is not to say that all the members of the S.L.F.P. are of this mind. There are a few and should they assert they would be persona non grata with the rank and file of the party. Self is the power that drives most politicians. Even those well meaning few are no exception.

The U.N.P. came into form and shape with the trumpet of nationalism blowing. They were blowing it for a long time and the people got tired with the nepotism and corruption that crept into the Party. The leftists, who professed to speak for the poor, undermined the U.N.P. To say that they look with any amount of reasonableness on the issues involving the Tamils will be to say the least by way of veracity.

The United National Party is one with others in liquidating the Tamils. The method was different. Slowly and steadily they were also treading the same road. Smiles and favours here and there smoke-screened their real intentions. They were trying to be more diplomatic. Today they are trying to use the Tamils as pawns in the nefarious game of power politics.

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party took a consistent attitude re the language issue. But of late they too have become lukewarm. Mr Robert Gunawardene who was one of the ardent L.S.S.Pers had turned an advocate of Singhala Only. Their activities since of late are rather questionable. They have learnt that to get power they too have to play the communal tune. They play one tune up north and another down south. Some of the leaders today have an eye on ministerial posts. What has eluded them all these years they feel is within their grasp. Therefore it is expecting too much from them. Mr Edmund Samarakkody alone stands in the socialist firmament.

The Communist Party talks big about the fundamental rights of minorities. They have turned out to be timeservers. They have been shifting their position from time to time. They spoke of provincial autonomy being granted to the Tamils. Though their mentors show us a united nation of federal states, the communists in Ceylon see separation in the demand of the Tamils. The leader of the Communist Party is a big landlord and a Singhalese. The race in him has the better

of the communist in him. The same can be said of the other comrades. Pieter Keuneman has no language or culture that he can call his own. His attitude can be understood.

The leader of the M.E.P. is Mr Philip Gunawardene. He prides himself as the father of the leftist movement in Ceylon. During the war, he was interned with the other leftists but escaped from prison and returned after the war. He had fallen out with his erstwhile followers because of his domineering nature. He is a thickset person and looks more of a thug than a decent type. One who preached against difference of caste, creed and race is highly communal. It was he who in one of the debates told the House of Representatives that he would thrust Singhalese on the Tamils by force. He is a hard person to satisfy and is a bad teammate. His party men today are his brother Robert Gunawardene and Lakshman Rajapakse of some questionable character.

The Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna (J.V.P.) is a husband and wife party. Its leader is K.M.P. Rajaratne. He is an inveterate enemy of the Tamils. He was responsible for the communal riots of 1958. Whatever subject he may speak on, the F.P. is sure to be dragged in. The irony is that his ancestor is a Tamil and a Konar by caste. As remarked by Mr Illangaratne, he would like to see all the Tamils killed.

The Ceylon Workers Congress, though composed of Tamil estate labour, has proved an enigma to the Ceylon Tamils. Their attitude may be due to the action of earlier Tamil leaders who in the matter of franchise let them down badly or to their own leader who being the biggest tea estate landowner is selfish. Mr Thondaman who has led them for a number of years is somewhat cute that he should not be affected by strikes of the estate labour. There is another weakness innate in him. He succumbs to the smiles of those in authority. It must be said of the rank and file that they have felt Tamil blood run through their veins and are ever ready to jump into the fray. Today Mr Thondaman acts as the negotiator but whether he would succeed is in the laps of the gods.

The 18th of April saw the detenus brought into the military barracks at Panagoda. Even before the contractor could hand over the building, to the military, the detenus went into occupation. Everything had to be found anew. The water and the drainage system had to be hurried up. For the first week, it was not a good prospect to use the water that came down the pipes. The Commissioner of Prisons is in charge of looking after our needs. The Police, under Inspector Bongso, is in charge of security. Welfare Officers from the Prison Department see to it that the meals and other necessaries of life are properly conducted.

The mess boys and servants hail from the prison itself. They are young men who are undergoing various terms of imprisonment on charges of murder. Our barber belongs to the same fraternity. Our clothes go to the prison laundry to be washed. Those of us who arrived at the camp without spare clothing were provided with sarongs, verties, banians and towels. Toothbrush, paste, gingelly oil, Nethraloka Thailam and soap were given for the toilet. Cigarettes and cigars were also provided, but some of the detenus turned out to be such heavy smokers that smoke on government account had to be stopped. I shall comment on this later.

We were allowed to write only a letter for a week but now it has been extended to two. The incoming letters are distributed daily but Mr Bongso seems to be a pompous individual that he takes four hours in censoring the censor and deliver the letters to the addressees.

It was Pope who said that the proper study of mankind is man. The boarding life at the camp gives good opportunity to study man at his noblest and his crudest. I do not desire to incur the displeasure of anyone but, for a true picture to be depicted, suppression of facts and frank opinion will not help me. I fear on the latter score, one has to bear with the frown of the others. The seventy-five inmates in the camp come from various strata of life. It is inevitable that you would come across various whims and fancies and various interests. There were a fair number of members of the legal profession, a good number of members from the local bodies, some teachers and the rest from other walks of life.

For easy reference permit me to classify the detenus into groups. I do so based on the places they hail from: Jaffna. Vavuniya group, Mannar group, Batticaloa group and the Trincomalee group.

Most of these detenus had come to the camp without the necessaries of life. Verties, sarongs, hair oil, soap toothpaste and toothbrush were found for them. Even cigarettes cigars and betel leaf were issued to them by the Government. But it is with a sense of shame that I have to note that them did not rise up to the occasion. Everyone was trying to make hay while the sun shone. The Government had to discontinue providing cigarettes and other articles.

Among the groups, the Vavuniya group behaved best. They had hours for prayer and were free from petty bickering that beset some of the detenus. Next I would put down Mannar, followed by Jaffna, Batticaloa and last by Trincomalee.

Now I would like to put down how the behaviour of certain detenus reacted on me. I may be wrong but certainly my opinion is not out of malice.

Firstly I would introduce Mr S.J.V. Chelvanayagam. His wife too was with us for two or three days. The Government was anxious to give him homely comforts and on the third day he was asked to go to his own home and be detained there. He was his normal self, with his dragging and slow tread and winsome smile. On the day he left, he went room by room and bade farewell. It was the only occasion that I saw tears rolling down his cheeks. He was not moved in 1956 when his sons were belaboured by hooligans at the Galle Face Green.

Next in order comes Sir Kandiah Vaithianathan, who had taught the Sinhalese how to govern, and who had been a minister in a Sinhalese government. He found himself in our midst because he loved his mother tongue. He adapted himself to his new position. He taught Yoga Asana and fast qualifying to be a Yogiraj. But the Government released him on the 24th of May. His pastime was reading classical Tamil books.

Mr Alagacone in matters of religion has the ardent fervour of a fanatic. Barring Sundays, he is the guide of the flock. His stentorian voice misrepresents him as a fighter. But today I found him to be doughty champion for everything Tamil.

Mr M. Thiruchelvam, the retired Solicitor General, is rather reserved but has come to be a good mixer. He found his way to the camp after Mr E.R.S.R. Coomaraswamy had discussions with him the morning of the day he was served with the notice of detention. He does not interfere with the internal politics of the camp. He spends most of his time reading. He is learning Tamil. He wants to be a good Tamil speaker, once he leaves the camp. He would prefer to be out than in the camp.

Dr E.M.V. Naganathan is the same old stuff. He acts like an overgrown child. He has his idiosyncrasies and one who happens to meet him for the first time, should he watch his behaviour, would come to the one and only conclusion. Woe is unto the Tamils who have such a leader. By his intemperate talk, he fell foul of Mr Balasundaram and Sir Kandiah Vaithianathan.

Mr Sivasundaram is one with a kink in the brain. Mr Navaratnam and Mr Tharmalingam are of a decent sort. Therefore, companionship with the students had given a goody goody handle for uncharitable rumours.

Mr Amirthalingam is self-conceited. His wife was a burden to him. Her behaviour had been the talk of the camp for some days.

Mr Kandiah is one who does not like to displease anyone. He knows the art of getting round others and make himself comfortable.

Mr Navaratnam and Mr Nadarajah form the unholy trio with Mr Amirthalingam. It has been their actions that have proved to be a bane to the Tamils. They are not practically minded and whatever talks there might be, they desire to impose their will on others.

Mr Balasundaram is clever and has a tinge of eccentricity. He speaks highly of his own intelligence and tends to be a boaster. He is reserved and, during the days of detention, he was busy writing a book on the Theory of Evolution.

Mr Thuraiatnam is a talker. He needs experience. He is still a schoolboy. Mr Kathiravetpillai is scholarly but he lacks other attitudes to lead. The member of Vavuniya and other members of the Eastern Province acted with reserve and dignity.

The detenus from Trincomalee formed a batch of six lawyers, three students, a chairman of a village council, a schoolmaster, a businessman, and three others with myself to head the list. Most of the lawyers, though as Tamils had feelings for their language, yet joined the campaign to curry favour with the masses or in fear of the masses. In a matter of two days, their fervour for the language began to wane. Messrs Ranganathan and Chandrapalan kept aloof from the other detenus. They were distraught and their loss of money and practice began to outweigh their self-respect. Mrs Ranganathan had come to Colombo and was making pilgrimages to Temple Trees and the Senate Square while Siva Kumaran Rajaratnam had come with Sharvananda to see Chandrapalan out.

These two for sometime adopted a peculiar attitude. They were self-opinionated and perhaps thought they were in a bigger plane than the others. Mr Neminathan, on the other hand, let down the detenus from Trinco by being in the forefront for his meals. He would even enter the pantry to have the best of things. His actions made him small in the eyes of the rest and as days passed by he turned a new leaf. He is the only one among the lawyers who had not gone with a begging bowl to the authorities for his release. Messrs Thurainayagam and Sampanthan took all by surprise. He (Sampanthan, Ed.) too seemed to be surprised. Having appealed, he was simulating or his father had done him a bad turn, time alone would reveal.

Mr Balchandran was of a different mould. He was cantankerous and, though he always proclaimed himself to be brutally frank, there was mischief and jealousy in his actions. He spared no one in his criticism and contrived to make the other detenus from Trinco to clamour for Rs 500/= to be given to each of them. This move met with little success. They were plainly told that they were there for their action. No one promised the any financial help. Help would be given only to those

who deserve it. To be frank with them, I told them that in my opinion five only deserved any financial help and that help would be given to them.

Though my plain talking didn't please them, I had to do it as I had to answer the public. Mr Balchandran, during the course of the last week of May, had fallen foul with the Police Inspector in charge of the camp. All was due to his intemperate speech. Now that he has fallen foul with the Inspector, he wanted others to toe his line of thinking. When others were not prepared to accommodate, he to spite the others had sent in an appeal to the Premier for his release.

Rajadurai is one with too much of brawn than brains. Balchandran knows it and used him for his purposes. He is homesick. It is natural for one who had to part from a girl whom he had married only four months back. He talks much on matters that he little understands. He has shown himself to be a simpleton. I am sure, he will talk much after his release. Nevertheless he is good hearted.

Mr Sivaguru is the man of sorrows. He has his family worries and professional worries. He has not been paid his salary since April, and he is a person with a large family. The allowance given to him is not adequate, but it cannot be helped as it would create discontent among others who are receiving allowances. He is dissatisfied, but he fears to put it straight to me. Anyhow, he deserves more and he should be made to tide over his difficulties. Mr Lucas carries on without giving any trouble, so are the others from Trinco. Mr Thambirajah, though he arrived in the camp with a certain amount of trepidation, soon overcame the fear and takes matters lightly.

Among the students, Kirupairajah is of a different mould than the other two. He is somewhat self-conceited and ranks himself highly about his abilities.

The life in the camp is turning out to be monotonous. One cannot go on day in and day out with a stereotyped programme. I can foresee an uneasiness growing in the camp. Some have begun to think why they joined the campaign. Most of the inmates long for the day they would

be released. The Police Inspector in charge of the camp has fully found out how the minds work and to suit the individuals he comes out with stories to keep the spirits up.

The Party was approached by two quarters for negotiations for negotiations with the Government. Firstly, Messrs Thondaman and Aziz met the Party higher ups at Mr Chelvanayagam's and later Mr Maniccam Saravanamuttu at the camp. We gave our minimum demands for negotiations. But, so far, nothing has turned out of their trials. The Government and the Singhalese do not want to yield. When little minds are at the helm of affairs, no justice could be expected. Even the Tamils are not prepared for a long struggle.

The Federal Party who led the Tamils in the Satyagraha campaign have no other plans. The planning is in the hands of a coterie. It is all a haphazard planning. As an example, the running of a parallel postal service bears ample testimony.

No Tamil desires complete separation. What he yearns for is a federal state. Even this cry was due to the tactical mistakes of the Singhalese politicians. Today the Tamil has lost faith in the justice of the Singhalese. He fears that his religion, culture and language are at stake. To preserve all these he thinks that only a federal constitution would the problem. To achieve their aim, the Tamils have not sought outside help. They have not gone with begging bowls to the doors of the various embassies asking for help.

It has been the calculated policy of the Singhalese politician that whenever the Tamils demanded their just rights to charge the Federal Party that it has been conspiring with the American Embassy or the Dravida Munntera Kalagam of South India to carve out a separate state. Such propaganda may pay dividends at present with the Singhalese masses, but in the long run it will not pay.

The F.P. has long realised that the freedom of the Tamils has to be fought for. We may be helpless, but the hand of God is visible. The Tamil mass is convinced that those that treated them unjustly have had their just deserts. With perseverance and will of God we are sure to win.

(up to 2nd June 1961)

Detenus from Jaffna

- 1 Mr K. Thurairatnam (M.P.)
- 2 Mr S.J.V. Chelvanayagam (Advocate, M.P.)
- 3 Mrs Chelvanayagam
- 4 Mr A. Amirthalingam (Advocate, M.P.)
- 5 Mrs M. Amirthalingam
- 6 Mr V.N. Navaratnam (Advocate, M.P.)
- 7 Mr V.A. Kandiah (Advocate, M.P.)
- 8 Mr V. Tharmalingam (Law Student, M.P.)
- 9 Mr A. Sivasundaram, (Retired Engineer, M.P.)
- 10 Mr V.K. Kandaswamy (Teacher)
- 11 Mr S. Kathiravetpillai (Advocate)
- 12 Mr K. Jeyakody (Advocate)
- 13 Mr S. Sinnadurai (Retired Postmaster)
- 14 Mr S. Durairajah (Mayor)
- 15 Mr S. Nadarajah (Proctor)
- 16 Mr M. Thiruchelvam (Advocate, Retired Solicitor General)
- 17 Mr J.S. Alagaiah (Teacher)
- 18 Dr E.M.V. Naganathan (Doctor, M.P.)
- 19 Mr A. Anthony (Teacher, Law Student)
- 20 Mr V. Navaratnam (Proctor)
- 21 Mr M. Balasundaram (Advocate, M.P.)
- 22 Mr T.K. Rajasekeram (Teacher)
- 23 Mr R. Navaratnam (Advocate)
- 24 Mr S. Navaratnam (Student)
- 25 Mr A. Aseervatham (Proctor)

Detenus from Mannar

- 1 Mr V.A. Alagacone (Proctor, M.P.)
- 2 Sir K. Vaithyanathan (Retired Civil servant)
- 3 Mr K.K. Vythilingam
- 4 Mr M.S. Ponnukone (Proctor)
- 5 Mr M. Arulappu Kunjai
- 6 Mr Y. Kailasapillai
- 7 Mr K.S.A. Cafoor (Businessman)

Detenus from Vavuniya

- 1 Mr T. Sivasithamparam
- 2 Mr S. Subramaniam (Councillor)
- 3 Mr E. Vilvarasa
- 4 Mr K. Ariyathurai (Proctor)
- 5 Mr S. Gunasegaram
- 6 Mr S. Nadesapillai
- 7 Mr P. Pararajasingam
- 8 Mr T. Nalliah
- 9 Mr K.S. Karthigesu
- 10 Mr V. Sittampalam (Businessman)
- 11 Mr S. Kulasegarampillai
- 12 Mr S.V. Sithamparapillai
- 13 Mr V.T. Subraaniam (Village Council Member)
- 14 Mr K.V. Kailasapillai
- 15 Mr G.B. Vincent
- 16 Mr Mariampillai

Detenus from Batticaloa

- 1 Mr P. Manicavasagar (M.P.)
- 2 Mr S.M. Rasamanikkam (M.P.)
- 3 Mr S. Rajadurai (M.P.)
- 4 Mr M. Manikkam (Retired Assistant Commissioner of Co-operative Development)
- 5 Mr C.S. Poopalasingam (Proctor)
- 6 Mr J.L. Tisseveerasinghe (Proctor, Councillor)
- 7 Mr Rajan Selvanayagam (Vice Chairman)
- 8 Mr Mashoor Moulana (Law Student)
- 9 Mr Sam Thambimutthu (Proctor)
- 10 Mr K. Krishnakutty (Businessman)
- 11 Mr. K. Ganesan (Businessman)
- 12 Mr Ariyanayagam (Teacher)

Detenus from Trincomalee

- 1 Mr N.R. Rajavarothiam (M.P.)
- 2 Mr B. Neminathan (Proctor)
- 3 Mr R. Sampanthan (Proctor)
- 4 Mr K.C. Balachandran (Proctor)
- 5 Mr P. Renganathan (Proctor)
- 6 Mr J.A.P. Thurainayagam (Proctor)
- 7 Mr R. Chandrapalan (Proctor)
- 8 Mr K. Sivaguru (Teacher)
- 9 Mr S. Rajadurai (Businessman)
- 10 Mr G. Lucas (Councillor)
- 11 Mr T. Sinnaiah (Student)
- 12 Mr S. Segarajasingam (Businessman)
- 13 Mr P. Seetharam (Student)
- 14 Mr M. Kirupairasa (Student)
- 15 Mr V.N. Thambirajah (Village Council Chairman)
- 16 Mr S. Mahalingam (Businessman)



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This is the second occasion that I am privileged to be the state guest of the Government of Sri Lanka. The process of being a state guest is pure and simple. You have only to be a member of the Federal Party, demand your fundamental rights, and you have qualified yourself.

It is a question of the Federal party being always in the wrong and the Government party of whatever hue being in the right. In this confusion of thought, there is tall talk of Democratic Socialism. To a keen observer one would find that there is neither Democracy nor Socialism. It is Communalism and Tribalism at its best.

The sordid tale of communal disharmony commences from the day the Soulbury Constitution was bestowed on Ceylon. Lord Soulbury unaware of the composition of Ceylon's population, and for reasons that could not be put down on paper was enticed to grant a constitution which put the Tamil Speaking Minority Community



கட்சியின் தலைவர்

ச. பி. த. சும்பலத்தூர்

க. சி. குமாரசாமி

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