## "Whence came the Recent Pogroms here?" or'Just before the Undeclared Emergency,'77'.

The events preceding the Pogroms of August, 1977, executed by their own Kith and Kin on the Tamilians of Tilzham. "چ95 2), ©cs," V, 17-12-77. The fifth Release from the Gnaanam-Daaviid Cankam of Yaalzhnakar, Colombo and Trincomalie.

"Entai S"amueel James Veelupil ${ }^{2} 1^{2}$ ai
Chelvanaayagam, undisputed Iilzhattamilzhian Leadei, to whose gentle soul this booklet is humbly dedicated, so as to advance the causes whioh he worked for on Earth.

17-12-77.
Price: Rs. 4/=,

During thy 80 years on Earth thou didst stand for certain principles: to these we rededicate ourselves. Accordingly we stand for God and for His mantle of Love, wherewith He enfolds every human being, be he or she Sinhalese or Tamilian, Indian or Paakistanni, Jew or Arab, Asian, African, or European, of watevar colour, race or creed. We should likewise envelope all in our Love. These differences do not matter to Him, nor to us: nor did they matter to the Mahatmaa, nor to thee. Thou wert another Little Flower of Jesus, like St. Theresa of Lisieux almost a century earlier. Now that thy power in Heaven is immensely superior to what it was on Earth, use it for ai those aims, which thou didst pursue whilst thou didsk sojourn in this Vale of Tears: namely for
(अ) The Liberation of that portion of the Ceylonese Nation, the noblest, the most intelligent and the most industrious, as all other nations that had any dealings with this Naton have loudly proclaimed, from all those oppressive or repressive measures that a power-drunk majority has imposed on us with lacreasing severity, so that a pall of gloom envelopes us now.
(\%) The full comprehension of who they are and who we are, not invaders, interlopert of foreigners, but of the same race and originally of the same religion, with Muruku as the One God (they still worship Him at Katirkaamam), and of the same original Taamiilzha language, spoken in Iilzham (for a thousand years before the supposed advent of a fictitious Vijaya in 543 B. C.) by the common ancestors ol both sections. It is this basic truth that the Buddhist missio-f naries of the 3 rd. and 2 nd. Centuries $B$. C. bringing their Praakrits from North and Central India and injecting sush words into our common speech so as to form Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a-and the "Mahaaramsa" fiction have, probably of set purpose, teaded to obscure. Aamen! Aam!

## PREFACE.

We still stand by the Word of Advice given by our Patron as early as 14-3-72 to the Leaders of both the Tamilian and the Sinhalese Communities in $S^{\pi}$ rii Lankaa. You will fiad it on page 2 (unnumbered) of Piyatumaz Daaviid's Lexicon. Book II:"The unfortunate incidents of May, 1958" (add now: "and of August. 1977") "should teach both linguistic groups to avoid the causes and provocations that brought them abuut. A. The Tamilzhspeakers should realise that recurrent crises of this nature will tend to decimate and impoverish them beyond redemption. Thence they should learn
(a) to cling not to South India but to South Ciiriya Ilankai or filzham, poopled by their own Kith \& Kin, of the same race and of a language, intimately connected with their own;
(b) to settle all their problems, not in Madras, but in Colombo, Trinco and Yaalzhnakar, with insistence on their rights undoubtedly, but step by step;
(c) not to arouse hostile emotionsamong the Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a masses that would prevent their Leaders yielding to the Tamilians the justice and due rights to which they are entitled" "through these long 30 years.
(d) Finally, not through constraint but through love of the sister of their motber-tongue, many Tamilians should steel themselves to learn the sweet Sinhal ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ a tongue to such an extent that they can appeal therein to the broad mass of the Sinhalese people and cosvert it to justice and sanity from the Bandaranaike (1956) madness and injustice of "Sinhala Only" being imposed on one-third of the Ceylonese Nation against their vehement protests.
[B.] On the othar hand, the Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a leadership should lead, guide and direct its flock (just as Sadat, the Egyptian President of 1977, is doing in November of this year), not run away in fear of them; for, a just peace between both communities is a "sine qua non" and indispensable for Ceylon's economic recovery and future prosperity. It is far more important than amassing votes in Parliamentary elections as in 1956, 1970, or 1977. The present context of a steam-roller majority of fivesixths of the Parliamentary seats is a God-given opportunity for the U. N. P. to settle justly and equitably the language rights of their "blood-brothers" and "sisters", the Ceylon-Tamilians.

For, about 1,200 B.C. the ancestors of both wero the identical Taamill-zha-Eluvans, who had just migrated from India to Taamiilzha Iilzham (п戶юí).
N. B. We regret that the appositeness of Sadat's recent conduct, when with great risk to his own life and popularity among his follow-Arabs he swept into the Israeli Knesset and delivered to It his message of forgiveness and peace, but at a stipulated price, to what should be done now in Ceylon-this has induced us to add a fow words and even one or iwo sentences to what our present patron penned in early 1972. For, the appositeness of boith situations is crystal clear. Just as there were two wars botween the Jews and Araba, of the same race, born as they are from Shem (m"nams > "celebrated name'), the eldest son of Nosh, and of the same original language (Semitic), in 1967 and 1973, so there have been two miniature "wars" between the Tamilians and Sinhalese, of the same race and of the same origiaal "Taamiilzha-El2²ua" toague. in 1958 and 1977. Amir should be our Sadat: he need not sweep into the Ceylonese "Knesset" from K K. S. or Cairo; be is already in Colomb). very near J. R. J. physically, most of the time. Will he have the courage to draw near J. R J. alss in sentiment, in loving forgiveness for his jumping into S. W. R. D. B's baod-waggon in December, 1955, on the issue of "Sinhala Oaly", forswear this irritating "Sepasation" and obtain all our rights?

This Cankam goes deeper than most Ceylonese and sees both the warring oommunities as of the sams race and of the same original tongue. So why a Separation between Kith and Kin? "The Siahalese don'، know this" you object. Then teach them the truths wo inculcate here, preferably in Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a. It is never too late to do so; and as Christ announced: "The Truth will make you Free".
(1) To the question "Whence oame the Pogroms here?" the answer can only be: "from Hell," where reigns the Father of Lies. For too long has that tissue of lies called the Paal ${ }^{3} \mathrm{i}$ Mahaavamsa and its "cock and bull" stories about Vijaya, Sinhabaabu and the lioness, paraded as genuine history. There are other stories still there, equally unhistorical. These have perverted or poisoned the minds of our Sinhalese brethren from their childhoof, so as to mako them believe that their Tamilian
hren are "ivaders, foreigners, interlopers." In a dozen books of our Api Naa(i) yoo'" Series, we show that the tratb is quite different. Read carefully through pages 23 to 25 hare. The Tamil" children's "бன்ன"" after each of their letters and the Sinhalese children's similar "coss" $)^{\prime \prime}$ could never have been loaned, the one from the other : but unertinglv they point to an earlier "yaan" $=$ speak $>$ speaker $>$ I. The verb "yaan" contracts in Tam. into "enn-aa", in Sinh. into "yann-a" = that which is called " $\varnothing$ \%" or "و, \%" etc. as the case may be. So the original language was identical; but later, with the advent of the Buddhis: Praakritic preachers, the two tongues have differentiated according to their own laws of development.

Secondly, we entertain grave doubts about the hisporicity of the Dusht"a Gamaani legend. The "majority" of the Sinhalese in Cevlon should rather be traced to the fact that when Buddhist missionaries came here in the 3 rd. and 2 nd. centuries B. C., far more persons accepted it and thus underwent the subsequant linguistic changes than thnee who rejected it and remained Tamilians. Thirdly S. W. R. D.B. is mainly responsible for planting the seed of strife by his unjust "Sinhala only" laws of 1956. These diminished the esteem of their Tamilian brethren among the Sinhalese, who began to consider Tamilians as lower than themselves and thus as porsons fit to be trifled with, plundered, murdered. Finally, the 3. L F. P. after its resounding defeat at the July 77 Elections, wreaked its vengeance on the Tamilians who had helped the U.N.P. to victory. During its 7 years' rule. the last S. L. F. P. government had succeeded in forming an S. L P. P.-oriented Police Force and in placing if and other such officers and officials in the key positions where they could help in earrying out this vengeance, especially in the Northern, Eastern and North-Central Provinces. If J. R, I. had moved these out in Julv '77, instead of a few months later, all these Pogroms need not have arisen. A "declaration of Emergency", on August 17, would have saved many Tamilian lives and much of the property from loot and arson.

As repeated incidents are happening occasionally, betraying a latent hostility between the two communities, many people are suggesting to us, the Gnanam-Daaviid Can\&am, that we tone down our claims that all Cevlonese are of the identica! race and of the same origiaal tongue, "தribyin-0す (бளூ)," "Taamii-
$1^{3}$ am-El ${ }^{2} u$." We reply: The Truth does not change, according to the exigencies of any situation. Millions of words in the two languages are perbaps not the one from the other tongue or vice versa, but from the ald identical tongue. Out of these, thousands have already been dealt with in our "Api Naa(i)yoo" Series. Even in this book, which is mainly political and historical a few linguistic themes are occasionally discussed, as on pages 23 to 25 . Read them over with radoubled attention. To secure it, we help you here. The Taamiil ${ }^{3}$ a verb "yaan" $=$ to speak. Hence arose the noun "yaan" = the speaker, the first person=I. Now just as this contracts in the oblique cases into "en". as in "ennai, ennaal, enatu, ennil", so did the verb "yaan" do in both Tam. and Sinh., giving us "என் $p$, என்றும், என்ற றநன்" and "என்ஞு" in the children's uproar, when their Kindergarden shout acclaims "\& என்ஞ", "ஓ எส்(ŋ" etc. The Siahal"a "vel-end-aa" has this "en" as "end" in the middle syllable, as we have proved conclusively in pages 13 to 15 of our earlier
 $1^{2} \mathrm{a}$ " embraces 2 dialects. In the other dialect, the "yaan" abovementioned contracts into "yan". against the rule enunciated at Tolkaappiyam, Part I, ஏழுத்த5. 65 "ஆவோ(b) அல்லது $u$ कघเ் en.50rrgf." This is the osigin of the Sinhalese children's shout: "\& coss" ${ }^{\circ}$ " etc.

Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a is a mysterious language to those who do not know the origins of her copious vocabulary; this means roughly 90 per cent. of those who speak or write it. For, on page 518, column 2, of Carter's Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a-English Dictionary, we find these words, quite similar, but completely unconnected, the one with other:-
(a) 1. "cŋ, yana" (चஎன் $\mathfrak{D})=$ that says or signifies, பெயவெச்சம். This is the "yan"", originally "yaan" verb, of தாடீழம். which is the theme of our discussion here. In the same column of this very page, other forms of this "yan" occur:

3. "cosoce:" such like. This is an adjective, while 2 is a noun.
4. "com. yanu" = "бன் $p^{3}$ ": in Old Tam. "எб்ா लु, எ(0), என்ஞ" as above.
5. "ceaces', yanuven" = by the statement, "नб்ப, தாண்".

Quite evidently these words show that this tongue is the diughter of Taamilzham to the same extent that the other 19 Dravidian tongues, like Tamil ${ }^{3}$, are. But like Tamil ${ }^{3}$. Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a is heavily indebted to Sanskrit and Praakrit for about 40 per cent. of her vocabulary. So here too js the loan-nord from the "Aarya" side :-
(b) "comon, yan-avaa" = to go, proceed. Note that this "yan" alone is of "Aarya" origin. The suffixes "av"+"aa" are both of Dravidian origin: "ஆみ. ஆ'". Further, as against 5 Dravidian forms, Sinhalª has only one "Aarya" word in this column. Finally, this "Aarya" word is found copiously in Tamil"

 Tamil ${ }^{3}$ herself?

## Eprata.

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| Coference | 34 | Conference |
| thrd | 9 | third |
| umbrella, like | 33 | umbrella-liko |
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| 27 | Pakistau | 30 | Paakistaan |
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Pages 34-35: Gnaanam's criticism of the T.U. L. F. here should be toned down. It was not Amir's reference to Trinco, but a deeply laid plot on the pary of some S.L.F.R. stalwarts, that engendered the Pogroms at A'pura, Kekirawa, Dambulla, Maatale and Kurunaagala and the arson in Vavuniya. Colombo had its due share of both, especially of cold-blooded murder in the Pettah.
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"Vox populi vox Dei": "the voice of the people is God's voice". "அ அளித்தใேயu கடவுள் விருமபுக்ன்றனர், அழித் தலงயன்று' ' - 23-7-77
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The results of the historical Election of July, 1977, are just nearing completion, spelling out most clearly the utter rout of all the parties of the Commuaist Left. We raise our hats in great respect. "வணக்கம'" (from "வள்-ஐ'"), bending low to the Ceylomese Nation, the vast majority whereof has just registered its most vehement protest against the so-called "Socialism", which has tarnished the image of the S. L. F.P. and has equated it in most minds with the phenomenal rise in the Cost of Living in the recent past, when most of the articles we import, like rice and sugar, are steadily becoming cheaper and cheaper in the world-markets. The profound difference between the results of the 1970 and those of the 1977 Elections would most certainly have struck the observers both here and abroad. Within these "Seven Years" the S.L. F. P.'s reputation and estimate among the Ceylonese people have dipped and sunk profoundly. We need a two party political system and accordingly give our S. L. F. P. some sound advice on how to rehabilitate itself. (1) Let it look upon Mabaatmaa Gaandhi more than on Indira Gaandhi or even on S. W. R. Bandaaranaayake as its model, in his mental purity, in his love for all and in his abhorrence of all forms of political and financial corruption that has ruined the C. W. E. and most of the Corporations and therewith the economy of "Ciiriya Ilankai" or "Srii Lanka" so badly that this Island, the Pearl of the Indian Ocean, is no longer " $\mathrm{S}^{2}$ rii" or "celebrated", except for the wanton slaughter of seven innocent Muslims at Puttalam before their Mosque (or Masjid) or for the colossal ingratitude shown to the tea-plantation workers of Indian orgin, whose sweat and toil for more than three generations gave us the prosperity and the foreign exchange frittered away by ministerial jaunts abroad and on a Coference of States, mistermed "Non-Aligned". There is no need to portray here the thugs descending on the Tamil ${ }^{3}$ estate-lines, wounding the innocent children and our hearts, and burning the poor homes of these workers, in the name of 'Socialism' and as the self-proclaimed deputies of a certain Hector, not of Troy, nor the opponent - rival of the Greek Achilles.
（2）The Ceylonese nation has swung to the right，firmly， with energy and determination．Let the S．L．f．P．do the same．The most energetic private entrepreneurs in Ceylonese industries have recently complained of their lack of commensurate success owing to the State＂taking over＂ tyeir more efficent enterprises（and incidentally almost ruining them ）and its step－motherly treatment of private concerns， despite occasional sweet words and inane promises，as those made to that one－thrd of this Nation，which happens to have kept that original tongue，＂Taamilizham，தாமீழம＇＂in a purer form，called＂Tamilzb，தமிゆ＇，than her sister＂Elu＂．DO＂， which Praakritic loans from North and Central India，not connected at all with the mythical Vijaya，have succeeded in altering to the level of modern＂Siy＂or＂Sinh＂＂＋＇${ }^{2} l^{2} u$＂， misnamed Sinhala．＂ $\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{el}^{2} \mathrm{a}$＂bass or＂ $\mathrm{El} \mathrm{T}^{2}$＂＂would be a more appropriate name for this sweet＂Taamiilzha＂tongue． Let the S．L．F．P．stalwarts，especially the $8 \mathrm{M} . \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{s}$ ，just elected as against 139 U．N．P．Members of this Parliament， read the Editorial of the＂Sun＂of July 22，1977，and meditate for 3 or 4 hours on these sentences ：－＂The story of Lakspray （Is it＇lak＇，＇luck＇，or＇lack＇？）in Sri Lanka is stranger than fiction＂，as truth very often is．．．．．．．＇While baby starves，rats thrive on milk food＂．．．．．＂This then is our Socialism． Our reactionaries would have done a better job of it．Instead of the Cooperatives sitting pretty and crying＂No Space＂，under private（enterprise and）distribution，the whole stock would have been（profitably）disposed of before one said Jack Robinson＂ or Richard Pe＇res．＂It is a matier of survival．Private Enter－ prise cannot afford the luxury of finding excuses for indolence＂， as the C．W E．，the Ceylonese Cooperatives or State Corporations can with state funds，ie．yours and mine，not theirs．If a prlvate enterprise must remain in existence，it is from ship to mouth in the quickest possible time，＂and that not down the gutter into a＂பாழ்ண்கிணற＂＂or cesspit，as in several state enterprises．This is exactly what the title of this article states： neither God nor the Ceylonese man desires the＂و／ிయ）＂which this ＂so－called Socialism＂would certainly have brought upon our heads in the next 2 or 3 years．We have already tasted its bitter fruits and that long enough．＂No！Thank you！＂is the answer of our＂flies，＂when the socialist spider tries to allure us insidiously into her Web．
（3）The S．L．F．P．（and incidentally the now Victorious U．N．P． too ）must shed all hypocrisy and vindictivenes．There is too much acrimony，bitterness and self－seeking，a defect that Macau－ lay found in ancient Imperial Rome and in the Imperial Britain of his own time．For，in his beautiful description of how the Roman republican，Horatius，held the Bridge over the Tiber and saved Rome from the hordes of Lars Porsena of Clusium and his associates from the royal Tarquin family，just expelled from Rome for it vice and arrogance，oceurs a remarkable line which we shall presently cite．A similar arrogance from many S．L．F．P． stalwatts in the recent past has antagonised the Nation and brought the debacle of July 21－23．
> ＂தோற்றத்தால் பொல்லார் துணயில்லாா் நதல்சूர்ந்தாா் மாற்றத்தால் செற்கூர்＇என வலியாா்（S．L．F．P．）ஆட்டியக்கால்， ஆற்றுதவா்（Estate－labourers）அடுத கண்ணீர் அவை அவர்க்குக் சூ ற்றமாய் வீழ்ந்துவிடும்＂，－பழமொழி நா． 47.
> ஓப்பிடுக் திருக்குறள் 555．We give the reader the more important words from the old commentary on the still older Book of 400 Tamilzh Proverb－stanzas，No． 47 ：－＂『ரு का वणய மில்லாதவர்，வறுமையுடையார் என்று இங்நみம் நின்த்து，குடிப் பிறப்பு，துனை，செல்வம் பூதலிய வวிமை உடையார்（the S．L．F．P． Stalwarts and the New Rich and Powerful whom they have created）அவையி७ாரரை（the U．N．P．masses after their 1970 defeat，the estate labourers，the Tamilzh citizens of the North and East whom the Sinhalese soldiers posted thereat happen to dislike）நலிந்து துன்புறுத்துமிடத்து，தாங்க இயலாது அவா்கள் தந்ப்ண்கள்நின் றும் பரப்பிய க்ண்ணீராலிய அவையே தம்மைத் துன்புறுத்தியவர்க்கூ（ the S．L．F．P．－L．S．S．P．－C．P．combine） யமன் போல் நிற்குமன்கேு！＂Now we cite the earlier Tirukkur＂al ${ }^{2}$ stanza 555 ：
＂அல்ல ற்பட்ட ஆற்குது அழுத，க்ண்ணீரன்ளே
செல்வத்றதத் தேய்க்கும் படை．＂The tears shed by the Estate Labourers of the Nuwara Eliva District in the past two or three years have brought their inevitable Nemesis in the igno－ minious defeat of both the Left Front，who took them for a ride for their own purposes，and of the S．L．F．P．which could see rights only for one race，one linguistic group and even therein for its own supporters．Such attitudes mnst cease and the philosophy behind them must yield to the more universal love and compassion of the Buddha，of the Christ and of Mahaatmaa

Gaandhi, the three most eminent figures in the history not only of Asia but of the world. Then will be realised in our own land and in our own time the dictum of the poet, Macaulary:

> "Then none was for a party;
> And all were" for the State."

May this mental conversion take place in all the three political parties that figure in our Parliament! But none has any right to exject such a conversion to take place in the ranks of the Tamilzh Liberation Front, unless J. R. Jayawardene, a man of principles, not swayed by cheap popularity, grants the Tamilians all the rights, which they have progressively been deprived of from 1948.

## Part II.

## Three days later, 26-7-77.

Our Gnaanam - Daaviid Cankam waited 72 hours more and scanned the dailies to ascertain the trends of the U. N. P. new government and to study the initial actions and utterances of the new Premier. For, as the தமீழ் Proverb says, "டுதற் கோண円 ๒ல், முற்றும் க்ாணு|ம்"; and as the Latin Proverb states: "Ab incipientibus ( $=$ the beginnings) cave." Junius Richard Jave (more correctly "Jaya" = victory, as the recent one) Wardene (more correctly "vardhana" $=$ the incroaser, as in the name "As ${ }^{\text {cooka-vardhana" }=\text { the increaser of happiness, rather "non- }}$ grief") was not unknown to either of our two patrons. The elder of the two met him occasionally in Colombo in connexion with the subsidy he obtained eventually from the UN.P. stalwarts in the State Council, for his Lexicon; for, the future Prime Minister was already a budding stalwart in the U. N. P., then the National Congress. The younger of the two patrons of ours saw him at close quarters in the playing fields, not of Eton or Harrow, but of Kollupit ${ }^{2}$ iva, when J. R. J. represented the Royal College and the late Antoninus Benedict (Rev. Fr. and Ph. D. later) plaved for the University College, with Daaviid watching both. Even then one characteristic quality of J. R. J. struck us all: he was always calm and unruffled in any situation. Another was his shrewdness. Let now his sagacious statesmanship become crystal clear in the way he treats the two opposing political partios that alone are left after the recent elections;
and let his politigat zcummen spell out a clear-cut tolicy, directed to the emansipation of our people from the goven years of Misery, which they Bave endured so patiently atid heroically, and from which they have escaped by the skinhof their teeth. For, it was a marrow shave, as in the trpanese Peril of 1942 April. If not for J. R. J., there might have been no Elections and no Democracy 100.

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Already J. R.J. has been greeted as "our Saviour". From what we have already stated he deserves this title to some extent. Time (alone) and his real statesmanship alone can show whether he deserves this epithet fully. Can he remedy, and that quickly enough, the economic ills that 7 years of corruption, political appointments to the headship of Corporations, Cooperatives, important administrative posts; nepotism and family rule, and finally the headlong speed wherewith the State took over the tea, rubber and coconut estates, bringing them and our own economy to "near-ruin" and the Estate-labourers to penury and sometimes to homelessness and the inequitable manper in which the land distribution was prosezuted, have inflicted on this Nation, so that our living standards, except for the privileged Few, have bees brought down to the gutter? He can, if he, the United National Party Cabinet, the several administrators in Colombo, in the Provincial and District capitals and in Municipalities, Towns and Villages work wisely, energetically and unisedly, dedicating themselves to this task. Then in a few years, only a fains memory will remain in men's minds, as now of the 1942 Japanese peril, of the inefficiency of the last S. L. F. P. goverament of Siri-mavo, which brough down upon the nation the catastrophe of the High Cost of Living and led to long, winding queues outside corrupt Cooperatives for the basic needs of our people. These wese, in 1975 to '77, shaken by the cold glint of power-lust in her eyo, despite her beaming smile. J. R.J. must soon order affairs and revive tho national economy so rapidly and efficiently that the overwhelmed S. L.F.P. of ' 77 does not return to power, until it has uadergone a genuine conyersion to genuine democracy from its reeant arrogant mood and inane contention that to decide on whether to have parliamentary elections or not, at the times stipulated by the Constitution, was its own preserve.

## Union between Equal Partners．

The U．N．P．，except between 1955 and 1960，has always had a few Tamilzh－speaking members；but they were too few to give that party such pride as to be called in truth the United－National one．Certain acts of theirs，from the early days of D．S．Senanayake himself，almost 30 years ago，especially in reducing the Tamilzh labourers of three generations in mid－Ceylon to＂statelessness＂aad complete disenfranchisement，in using State resources to colonise the Tamilzh homelands with Sinhalese，as as Padaviya，Kantalai，Amparai and Gal－Oya，（now extended to Seeruwela）－these made the $\Phi \omega \dot{\varphi} \dot{\varphi}$－speakers withdraw from the U．N．P．and make parties of their own，like the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party．Now both have combined to form the solid Tamil United Liberation Front，which achieved the great resounding success in the recent elections，at times by majorities of more than 26,000 votes among about fifty to forty thousand voters in each electorate，a success that has been broadcast the world over．To S．J．V．Chelvanaayagam（ $二$ the Leader－＂Naayaka＇ to prosperity－＂（செல்வம＇＂）must be given the chief credit for bringing about that union among most of the $\Phi \dot{\|} \dot{\varphi}$－speakers throughout Ceylon that will entitle the T．U．L．F．to bargain well with the U．N．P．in the near future．It was செல்வநாாயகம்ம who showed to S．W．R．D．Bandaara－Nayake and to Dudley Sena－Nayake that the State could follow this policy of planting two Sinhalese families beside every Tamilzh one throughout Ceylon and Thus reduce the Ceylon－Tamilians to that complete disen－ franchisement that had already befallen those Tamilians of recont South Indian origin whom we have just mentioned；but that it should not do so．

 தாறான் தனிக்நாத்தான்．＂S．J．V．Ch．brought all the scattered Tamilians，not under the umbrella．like the cold moon．bus under that of the＂Rising Sun＂．

## Is such a Union still possible，probable？

Thirty years of what they consider oppression and injustice， certainly of＂in－equity＂．like Mahmud＇s standardisation（ $=$ the horrid word，தூர்ப（b）த்தல்），have estranged the Ceylon－Tamilians
from their Sinhalese bethren．In reality the two communities are of one（ 2,000 B．C．）stock，both racially and linguistically， as the Gnaanam－Daaviid Cankam has proved by a number of publications，large and small，starting with the Daaviid Lexicon，
 1－3－1974．Let the Colombo public，including J．R．J．at Ward Place and Sirimavo at Rosmead Place，ring up，on Tel．21817－8． from $8 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$ ．to $4.30 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$ ．on any working day Our General Secretary，A．M．Selvanayagam，Chief Accountant，Jalliil Ltd．， 372，Grand Pass Road，Colombo 14，and get hold of these publications．They spell out a complete revolution in both historical and linguistic thought，destroying the Vijaya myth and showing，most forcibly and with a multitude of instances and with a long series of arguments，that our two indigenous langu－ ages are but two daughters of the same Mother，＂Taamilizham＂$=$ ＂titself（\＄003）beautiful＂（ஈழ் or எழில் or Өी $)$ ）．Even the most friendly Sinhalese consider us as＂foreigbers，invaders，interlo－ pers＇，albeis of a distant past．Let them know from our lin－ guistic books，booklets and even leaflets that we are closer $t 0$ them than they ever could have imagined．The Tamilians in Ceylon wish to proserve their rights，their form of the same original tongue of $2,000 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C}$ ．in＂r£p⿺辶＂or Ceylon，and their home－land inviolate．They desire equal education and equal economic chances for their progeny．Once these are completely assured and in their actual Possession，no Tamilian of any sense would clmour for a＂Separate State＂．We pray God to instil into J．R．J．＇s mind the wisdom and into his heart the courage to reverse the policy and actions of the U．N．P．in the directions we have hers indicated from what they were 20 years ago．

Part III：A rocent Conversation among the Great Naalvar of Indo－Ceylon in Heaver，as reported in the＂Heavenly News＂of July 31 and the＂Coles－ tial Mirror＂of August 11，1977．＇Section 1.

The Three Others：－＂Welcome into Heaven，S．W，R．D．！！ It has taken you 18 years（terrestrial）to reach here．
S．W．R．D．Bandaaranaayake：I had to pay the penalty for my tearing up my pact with you，Chelvanaayagam，in 1957，and for my gross injustice to the＂gமிழ＂＇－speaking one third of
the Ceylonese Nation, especially in June, 1956, at Gal Oya, Amparai, and elsewhere, and in the last week of May, 1958, throughout the Buddhist areas of $\mathrm{S}^{9}$ rii Lankaa where Tamilians happened to live I have endured (the Christian) Purgatory for 18 years. Right through these years I put the blame in chief on those bhikkus squatting before my private residence at Rosmead Place, in (Colombo 7, or) Cinnamon Gardens and on the U. N. P.'s rousing the Sinhal masses to frenzy by their articles and songs in "Siya Rat ${ }^{2} a$ ", that notorious "வெளியீ(6)". But now I know that I was the most blame-worthy.

The Mahatmas: Who and what are "Bhikkus" and is that term "Aarya" or "Draavid ${ }^{2}$ ")? The Sishalese are very keen to be considered "Aarya", I know.

The Lexicographer, Swami Gnaanaprakaacar: In the beginning was "Taamilizham, grripipio" with her words "urres), Lகூ. பக்தம், பூु and the later "Pak-". O Bands, vour Sinhal'a very often makes "k" (as in "kal"=a stone) into "g", and "p" (as in "paak" here) into "b". So you have "ลงcsco" = part, half; its plural is "baagaa". This word came into your tongue direct from कriby $p \dot{\circ}$, not Sanskrit: bul "bhikku" came to Sinhal"a from Tamilzham through Sanskrit an 1 Paal'i. Por, like your wife, Banda, these two Tongues are at their best in "taking over" the concerns and wealth of others, especially of "Taamill"am" or of Tamilians.
(1) From Taamiil"a (कrrioy) "paak-", Sanskrit fasbioned his own "bhaj", already in Rigvedic times. Note the copious Vedic forms, of 1,500 B. C. the latest : "bhajati, bhajatee, bhakshi, abhakshi" etc. Its Desiderative then was "bibhakshati" or "bibhakshatee". from the days of the Mahaabhaarata Epic, with the connotation of "be desires to share". For, like "uIrகु. Uल्ड" (paaku, paku), the basic connotation was "to share, divide, give or obtain a "paakam" or portion. Hence arose other words in Vedie Sanskrit, like
(2) "bhakta" = divided, distributed, allotted, shared;
(3) "bhakti" = partition, distribution; a portion, share. All this I cite from memory; but you are sure to find them on Earth in M. Monier Williams : Sanskrit-Engl. Dictionary, at page 743. On page 756 of the same work, you will find the classical Sanskrit Desiderative
(4) "bhikshatee" (employed already in the latest Vedic hymns and from the days of the Epics, like the MBh.)
(5) "bhikshati"" "he wishes to share or partake" $>$ "he begs for a portion". This share, or the act of begging, was
(6) 'bhikshaa', already in the Atharva Veda, the IVth. Veda.
(7) A "bhikshu" = a beggar, mendicant, especially a religious mendicant-ascetic, who subsists entirely on alms, from the time of the M . Bh. and the Laws of Manu,

As usual, Paal'i, the sister (younger) of Sanskrit, fook over this nice word, developed from its original தாயமீழ "paku" by the mixed Aarya - Draavid ${ }^{2}$ a - speakers, and changed it slightly to suit Dravidian lips, which resented harsh consonants. like "ksh", especially conjunct ones being imposed on them. Thus arose the Paal'i word, "bhikku", which my copy of the Dictionary of T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, now with my successor on Earth at St. Patrick's College, on page 128, explains as "an almsman, a mendicant, a Buddhist monk or priest". The last word is totally unsuitable here, as priests are always associated with acrifices, of which Buddhists have none.

The Mahaatmaa :- Thanks, Gnaanam, for your lucid exposition of the word. "bhikku". But what do you think of the bhikkus of $S^{2}$ rii Lankaa, Banda?

S: W: R. D. B. :- They were of different types, sorts and hues. In order to defeat the U. N. P. in 1956 I brought them into the full stream of Ceylonese politics; I have had reason to regret this step of mine ever afterwards. They should first be sinsere Buddhists themselves and then instil into the Ceylonese masses the chief virtues that our Buddha stressed in Nepal and North-East India in the sixth century B. C., to wit,
(A) "Mettaa" = 'friendliness, love, amity, sympathy, activ interest in others." This is what I learnt in Paal ${ }^{2}$ i from th Buddhist bhikkus themselves just before I died on Earth Gnaanam interrupts him with this small linguistic speech: M/ copy, aforementioned, of the Paal ${ }^{2}$ i Dictionary, at page 164 derives this word from "mid" $=$ "to be fat". This is absolut nonsense. Rather is it connected intimately with the previou word on that pago "Metta", in Paal'i itself, and with Vedi "Maitra" $=$ belonging to "Mithra" or "Mitra", and Epic Sans. krit "Maitra" = friendly, benevolent, kind. Sk. "mith" is the exact equivalent of Taamilzha "poor, Cumri'' $=$ to meet, both it love and in hatred or war. Compare "por-untu" in the firs sense and "poor por-utu" ( $=$ wage war) in the second sense Mitra was a Vedic god, extolled alone in R. V. III, 59. Now read the Daaviid Lexicon, II, page 72-73, wherein my successor solidly establishes our contention that these words, as well as O| Persian and Avestan "Mihhra", Greek "Mithras" [Mithradates Sinhalese - all these developments were accomplished on the secure of Pontus, or Parthia, or Commagene, or Armenia, several kings assumption that Ceylon will always remain "One State". We too of yore had this name - -all this wealth of words in so many grew up in that belief. But the "in-equity", almost amounting Indo-Euronean languages came to them from simwip "maintu" $=$ to "iniquity", of successive Sinhalese Governments, their blatant infatuation of love, "kaama maya - kkam". With reason is that book called by Piyatumaa Daaviid "maint-an". Banda continues his list of Buddhist virtues :-
B. Tolerance with the views of others. This was stressed very greatly by that famous convert to Buddhism in the 3 rd, century B. C., Emperor Asookavardiana in his numerous Rock and Pillar Edicts.
C. Compassion to those in distress, stressed by the Buddh himself both by word and by deed. Unfortunately the Rosmead Bhikkus took the opposite path and dragged me too therein, thus entailing misery on Ceylon for three decades and inflicting gross injustice on the Tamilians, who have shown themselves to be the most industrious and peaceful inhabitants of that tiny Island. I shudder to think what the Sinhalese would have done in revenge, had they been the minority oppressed by a powerdrunk majority.

The Mahaatmaa: These were the very virtues that, buttre ssed by the Christ's "Sermon on the Mount", I preached fos
a quarter of a century to the Indians, especially to the Hindu majority. Had they listened to me, there would have been no need for Muhammad Ali Jinnah to create a separate Muslim State as Pakistan. Even in Heaven, I am sad about the Partition of India in 19:7-'48 and the horrors that ensued. A similar partition of dear (arpic or) Ceylon will cause a bit of Hell invading our Bliss. Won't it do so, Chelva ?

Chelvanaayagam :- It certainly will, unless it is inevitable. Geographically, etanically, in stature, colour of skin or hair, and sociologically too, Ceylon's inhabitants are essentially one. God does not seem to have created Iilzham for 2 states. Therewith all the improvements on the modern style that the British rulers made to Ceylon's economy, like the railways and roads, with Colombo and Kandy as their foci, their planting half Ceylon's discrimination against us, Tamilzh - speakers, in every dimension, especially in the mattor of jobs and opportunities for them and for University education as Doctors, Engineers, Chartered Accountants. Technicians of the higher rungs - by such nasty methods as Mahmud's reducing in his reckoning 「amilians (really one third of Ceylon's Inhabitants) to less than one-eighth and his standardisation -- all this has succeeded in driving us towards "Complete Separation" from the Sinhalese, if this could be effected peacefully and eventually with their reluctant consent. But things must become desperate indeed for the ramilians before those of them living and making their living in the South and West of Ceylon pull out completely to the more barren North and East. the chief part of the Dry Zone (despite occasional floods), and for them to endeavour to organise a viable state with roads and railways running direct frem Jaffna to Trincomalie and thence

 all through their own State. Like the Biafrans in Nigeria and the Israelis among the Arabs in debated Palestine, the CeylonTamilians are quite capable of making their efforts succeed in any direction that they reasonably choose; but 1 have personally been quite reluctant to launch them into this uncharted ocean.

That was why on two occasions I mado a comptomise-pact sacrificing even that parity of status, which we had rightfull Hence your Family, Banda, was nol really aristocratic. Its claimed right through the years of British rule and later, whename seems to have originated in that group of words, whish some Sinhalese thugs assaulted us on Galle Face Green and oumy copy of the Madras Lexicon at St. Patrick $s$ ( Which 1 can brethren at Ampaarai and elsewhere in 1956; I signed the pacread 2450 "‘山ண்ட $\pi \dot{\omega}_{\dot{\omega}}$ "'; in Telugu, with thee, Banda, in 1957. and with thy rival, Dudley, a secre Page 2450 , pres, wablic treasury, repository, granary; ars agreement in 1965. But neither he nor you were courageous noble enough to stick to the agreement with us.

Bands: I Christian, who was staunch in his faith. I was brought under constraint, like the later "raajakaariya".
in the lap of luxury in one of the aristocratic families of $S^{2} r i$ Lankas and married Srimavo from another such family. Centurie "பண்டாnी" : treasurer of a religious establishment; ship cook; of luxurious lo have sapped our morals in thei uspicion a native police officer- Banda, I have a shrewd vitality, in the rectitude of conduct, in the faithfulness to th pledged word, whith are the qualities which John Henry CardinaChristian family of Sir Solomon, and at your instance swept Newman taught us to expect in a gentleman or lady. Recenil tself into the full tide of the Buddhist revival of this century. a booklet was edited by the Gnaanam-Daavid Cankam eatitlegence don't blame the "Hlankaiya" aristocracy.
"The Beautiful People in the Beautiful Land".
Gnaanam interrupts : "ศஈழத்த்க்் தாமீpri", in Tamilzt Banda: I blame myself and my wife. Between for just a bit more than half the years since Banda: Yes, but the booklet is mostly in English. Thilzham obtained her independence on 4-2-948. Still, we have authors claim that the Ceylonese are a beautiful people. liadly neglected, nay more oppressed, the Tamilzh speakers, whom I features and in the original colour of their skins, "Yes". Bulow find from this celestial view-point to be the "Cream of tha in their morality there are ugly features. Trath, the search foilzha Nation". My wife will have to expiate her own iniquity truth, troth or fidelity, specially conjucal fidelity, as between $\mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{n}}$ this regard by centuries of years in Purgatory, in addition supposed parents, faithfulness to the pledged word as in tho a score of years therein for her family-bandyism and countenan-"Banda-Chelva" Pact of 20 years ago - all these hang togethering corruption, misrule, sycophancy and drunkenness in M.P.s in the these are the very qualities missing in an aristocratic Ceylonesery National State Assembly that she herself did so much to family. The world frowns at "call girls" and prostitution. Stillreate on 22-5-1972. Thing are changing now. the City of Colombo is becoming notorious in this regard nowa days: but long ago the canker started in the aristocracy.

Gnaanam : That is strange. It is directly against the teacb ings of the தம்ழ்ச் अங்கம் poet of 400 A . D. For, நூroடியリा நெT@TM1, at Stasza 142, sings thus:

Chelva: Therein is my hope for maintaining llizham's laity even now. From here we can see a renovated United National Party ruling the Sinhalese at least, with a well-tried, hastened, shrewd statesman, called "J. R. J.". "R", stands for ichard in both English and French, Richert in German, Ricardo n Italian.

Gnasmam, the Lexicographer, sters in : I cite from page 325 of Dr. Ernst Wasserzieher: "Woher? Ableitendes Woerterbuch ler deutschen Sprache" = "Whence? An Etymological Dictio1aty of the German Speech'.
-Reich" $=$ (In English) "rich, wealtby; abundant; copious opulent, ample, exuberant, plentiful." This is the exact equivale opulent, ample, exuberant, plentiful." This is the exact equivalen in English history were both gifted with energy and Part I, "Liilaa", at pages 36 to 38. This Proto-Dravidiảaring. Richard I especially was an important "caal" became "cal>sal" in these Semizic languages: Assyriapersonage in Eurasian hispory, as he cut a noble Hebrew, Chaldaean, Arabic, as well as in non-Semitic Sumeriarigure in the third Crusade or. Holy War against closely akin to Taamiilzham I. Hence too arose the Tamilzh worthe Ayubite King of the Saracens, "Salah-ud-diin', "சாற்கேேன், caan ${ }^{3}$ roon" ${ }^{3}$ " for an accomplished porson in any spher ${ }^{\text {borrupted normally into "Saladdin" in the last but }}$ whether in war or peace. According to bis name therefore "one decade of the twelfth century A. D. He had the Richard J." should be an accomplished statesman. But let continue from Wasserzieher's 'Woher ?', page 325 .-

The first two Richards that functioned as kings 'nom de plume" or nick-name of "Coeur de Lion" n Norman French. This "Lion-hearted" king
"Reich" = In Old High German "rihhi" = Herrschaft, Reich'sould be an excellent prototype for our own Richard, oberhaupt, from the root "riik" = Herrscher; Koenig = kin , Compare Latin "reex", Gen. s. "reegis"; Sanskrit "raajaa", E " J. R. J.'s middle name occurs as Richert, Reichard with the final "dibe masses whom successive governments for three pronounced ' $\downarrow$ "', Riechert and Rickert in German persondecades have pampered and fed with the cheap food names beside the usual Richard, which Norman-French importchat consisted in strengthening them in the wrong into U.K. and Ceylon. We now explain the German meaningelief that their salvation could be ensured only by in English, the more usual heavenly tongue among cultured souls he oppression and eventual elimination of the
(அ) "Herrschaft"=lordship, mastery, (applied to J. R. J [amilians and of their immemorial tongue respectiof sports between 16 and 25 years, of politics between 36 anely, little knowing that their own "E ${ }^{2}$ lu or $H e l^{2} a$ ", 72 years of age, and now at 71 of "real statesmanship", whe earliest stage of Sinhal"a, was only "afew feet" devoutly hope, for the destiay of the Ceylon-Tamilians, in eve,way from the contemporary Tamilzh in their a separate kingdom, is intimately bound up with that of the $o m m o n$ Heimat ( $=$ home-land), called Iilzham Sinhalese brethren, and the erection of such a kingdom or stal $\sqrt{\circ} p$ io, the 00 landl, as early as 900 B.C. Will he in this tiny Island (which according to its size does no calave the open mind to come to the knowledge of how soon. For, the Tamilians are a peaceful people, no doubihe truth in this matter and to discard the but brave, valiant, resourceful and sticklers to justice and fainhistorical legends of Vijaya and Sinhabaahu, which play which have been so lacking in the tenour of Sinhalese rulre mainly responsible for poisoning the minds of imposed over them. he Sinhalese against their blood-brethren, the Ceylon
(ஆ) "Herrscher"= ruler, commander. "J. R. J." has show'amilians? If he does, his arm will be considerably. his penchant to dominate the U. N. P. "A divided house will fall. trengtherned in his own Crusade or "Jihad" against 11 the persons who have preoipitated their noxious afluences into the main stream of Ceylonese developaent as two linguistic groups, each free and both qual, towards a future status equivalent to that
of the developed nations of Europe and North America. European and American students are very often found to be of a lower calibre and Intelligence Quotient, I. Q. as it is more often termed, than Indian and Ceylonese students in the Fontifical Universities, like the Gregorian, of Rome, as ther Rectors and Professors have so often stated in their annual Reports and in Conversations with visitors.
Chelva continues his speech, after this brief interruption by Gnaanam, the Historian and Tamilzh Lexicographer of 1907 to 1947 :- I can see and scan the Daily Papers of Earth from this Heavenly Abode. For instance, "T. U. L. F. Leaders Open For Dialogue" by Vijiita (=Conquering, Victorious) Yaapa reporting from Yaalzhnakar. Today the Jaffna Tamilians have become an oppressed minority, discriminated against $-2 n d$. class citizens." This is not news to me: it is the very truth that I stressed so vehemently to thee, Banda, as the inevitable result of imposing your fad of "Sinhala only and that too in 24 hours" on poor Ceylon, including the Tamilians, in June, 1956. See the result, Banda:- "T.U.L.F. is definitely committed to obtaining a separate state." Well and geod!

Gaandhi:- "Good!" what nonsense! Bad, very bad, indeed!

Chelvas: Excuse mo, Mahaatmaa. Note the two modifications in that commitment: (1) with the goodwill of the Sinhalese; (2) through non -violence. This means thy own "Satyaagraha" (=clinging to the truth), Gaandhi.
Gaandhi:- As regards (1), the Sinhalese good will for such a separate state may possibly ooze out from them, if
(தமிழ் நூா(6) Tamilzhnaad ${ }^{2} \mathbf{u}$ were transposed from the close neighbourhood of Ceylon at Madras and Madurai to somewhere near Mexico or Trinidad. Besides, if the goodwill were there, in all Sinhalese hearts, it would be muoh simpler for them to treat the Tamilians quite fairly as equal or First Class Citizens than to fashion two states out of this tiny Island. I objected very strongly against the partition of the India of 1947, which was 72 times the size of Ceylon. Amidst all the injustices of the British Raaj, their greatest positive achievement was the unification of Ceylon on the one hand and of India on the otber, as not even Asooka in the 3rd. century B C. or the Moghul Emperors, Babar, Humayun, Akbar the Great, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurungzib in the 16 th. and 17th. centuries A. D. ever unified this vast subcontinent. Hence how much more will I oppose the partition of a small Isle like Iilzham?

As regards your item (2), Satyaagraha, as carried out by me and the masses of my Indian followers, paid very good dividends as performed against the cold-blooded Britishers: but it is unlikely to be effective against the hot-blooded, impulsive, Sinhalese. What happened to your Satyaagraha on June 6, 1956, at Galle Face Green, when even that calm and genial soul, Thani Naayagam, joined you for a considerable time thereat? Or to the one in front of the Jaffna Secretariate-Kacheheri in 1961? In the latter, thugs beat up your chum, Naganathan, didn't they, Chelva? Did they not bring bim to an early grave? Did the two non-violent performances have the slightest effect on either thee, Banda, in the first instance, or on thy wife, Bands, fne the second case? Banda: In my case, it had the ifect of bringing about my pact with Chelva in the
next year, although $I$ tore this up in an act of cowardice in the following year, 1958; I made things worse in the third week of May of that year by speaking on Radio-Ceylon about the rourder of a certain Senaviratne, a Sinhalese, by the Tamilians in the Fastern Province, when he had been killed by fellow Sinhalese on account of sex. That was a capital blunder of mine: it roused the Sinhalese masses to instant fury. They wreaked their vengeance on innocent Tamilians, especially along the Southwestern coastal belt fron Panadura, originally பாணண் कかைロ, to Wellawatte in Colombo. About the 1961 Satyaagraha you must ask my wife: but I hare a shrewd idea that the female of our species is more difficult to tackle than the male. That piece of Non-violence bad no effect on her or on the Sinhalese, except to harden them, I should think.

Chelva: O Mahaatma, you oppose the Partition of Ceylon on the ground that it will lead to violent bloodshed, loot and murder, as happened in your old India in 1947. But oannot it be done in Ceylon as gently and smoothly as was done recently when Singapore left Malaysia, or as a plantain peel comes off non-violently from the plantain?
Gaandhi:- No! Not in Ceylon! Singapore is a very special case. It was a thorn in the flesh to the Malaysians, With the preponderativg majority of Chinese in Singapore added to the Chinese in the rest of Malaysia at that time, they had an excellent chance of outnumbering the Malays. Naturally the Malays wished to remain the majority for ever in Malaysia. They viewed with dismay the Chinese multiplying like rabbits and soon becoming the preponderating majority in what had been Malaya. If Singapore quit, the
danger from this contingency was much less: so they eased out the Prime Minister of Singapore (who had a will of his own, often conflicting with that of the Malaysian Tungku) out of the recently born "Malaysia" into a State of his own, Singapore, a much more viable Entity than "Tamizh lizham" can ever hope to be. Both the Malaysians and the Singporeans wanted a peaceful separation. In Ceylon the Sinhalese are very violently opposed to any Partition. The Muslims, although mainly Tamilzh-sposkers, are more than half opposed thereto, as the recent elections in Puttalam and in the Eastern Province have shown. In the predominantly Tamilzh regions, the T. U. L. F. has achieved only a 57 per cent. victory. Don't think, Chelva, that we are powerless from Heaven to influence events and tendencies on Earth. Just the contrary! So inspire Amir, Siva ${ }^{1}$. Tharma, Ratnam, Raasa, Sampanthar, Raaja, Thiru, Selva, the other ${ }^{\text {Siva }}$ and the other T. U. L. F. leaders to go on with their agitation for "தமிழ் ஈழி", if they like, but to co-operate with the new U. N. P. to bring about an immediate economic recovery of the whole island. Both these main parties in Ceylon now have to bend all their efforts towards this. Once the Ceylonese realise that this is their chief aim, all the minor parties, like the S. L. F. P., the L. S. S. P. and the C. P. of both wings (Moscow and Peking), will inspire their own followers to join therein. Together, as a 100 per cenf. united Nation, they will pull up the Ceylonese economy, now in its nadir, by its bootstraps, soon to reach the zenith of its prosperity. Then there will be no envy, no attempt by Sinhalese to cut the throat of tseir Tamilian brethren, but complete equality between them both.

## Seotion 2.

## ONE NATION OP TWO OF THREE?

Gnaanam: Now I come to the key question in our discussion. The T. U. L. F. now, exactly like Moham. med Ali Jinnah 30 years earlier on behaif of the Indian Nuslims, contends that already the Tamilians in Ceylon are a separate nation, nay more, that they were always so - a distinct nation from the Sinhalese during the past two or three millennia. To prove this, it adduces the fact that the Tamilians had the Nalluur kingdom, while the Sinhalese kings ruled from Jayawardhanapura Koot ${ }^{2}$ t $^{2}$ e日 $=$ Garín ). As a historian. I cannot accept this argument. This state of affairs lasted only for 3 or 4 centuries at most. Before that the Co ${ }^{2}$ lzh Emperors, from the time of Raajaraaja and Rasjeendra in the Oth. century A. D., ruled the whole Island, either directly, or through their Nalluur Viceroys. Before that Tamilzh or Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ aspeaking kings, or those speaking both languages, ruled over the whole Land from Anuradhapura, Siigiriya, Polonnaruwa etc Rivalries and rebellions among both Sinhalese and Tamilian Princes resulted in two, three or even four contemporaneous kingdoms. Is it the contention of the T. U. L. F. that the great boon that the British conferred on Ceylon (in compensation for their misdeeds) by restoring the original unity of the Taamilizha lilzham ( $\ddagger$ மீழ ஈюゆ்) of at least $900 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C}$. should be wiped out at one fell stroke and that these multiple kingdoms with the dozen capital cities they ruled from, at one time or another, should all be restored. God forbid!

Gaandhi: Take page 11 of C. Joppen's Historical Atlas of India, and read under the title, "India
in 1525 ", these names of the Indian kingdoms then :- Koshmir, Muitan, Sindh, Jaunpur, Eihar (the land of Buddhist vihaaras). Bundelkhand
 Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Fierar, Gondwana, Bidar, Bijapur, Golconda, Orissa, Chattisgaih; (z) Vijanagar, Keeral ${ }^{2}$ a, Choolzha, Madurai. Can we now contend that these 22 kingdoms were separate nations and that they should immediately be restored; or at least the Northern kingdoms as (1) and the Southern ones as (2)?

## Section

3. 

## NATIONALITY $>$ NATION. DIALEGTS $>$ LANGUAGES.

Chelva: Of course, not. We in Ceylon failed to understand the vehement impetuosity with which the majority of Indian Muslims rushed to form Paakistaan, leaving a considerable minority of several millions under the Hindu domination which they complained of. Religion should have nothing to do with the idea of a separate nation. 1 am a Christian; still the T.U.L.F. accepted me as their anquestioned leader, although the Hindus outnumber both the Christians and Muslims therein by several thousands. Further, Paakis taan itself broke up in two recently on the issues of language (Bengaali), oppressive discriminatiou and economic diversity.

Gaandhi: Exactly so! That is what I stressed during my last years on Earth. The process of the division of a Nation is insidious, and it gathers momentum from the slightest provocation. Religious, racial,
linguistic diversities have not prevented Belgium, Canada or Switzerland, each, from remaining a separate nation from their neighbours, to whom a considerable portion of each of these (is more intimately bound up with and) originally belonged. Thus $72 \%$ of the Swiss are German - speaking; but they will die rather than be absorbed in "Deutschland". Likewise, the French - speakers and Italian-speakers in Switzerland tave long ago said "Good bye' to France or Italy. So have the French Canadians to Franoe, the British Canadians to Britain, the Belgian Walloons to the old "Wallonia" (=Gaul), and the Belgian Flemings to their Dutch kinsmen. Despite occasional friction, these two nationalities in each Nation: Walloons and Flemings, or French - and British-Canadians, or French - Swiss and German Swiss have succeded in curbing their centrifugal tendencies and in developing the centripetal one. The Indians should have done the same in 1945-7, and all Ceylonese should do it now three decades later. For, the division of a Nation spawns other divisions; separation of a People engenders other partitions. Expecially in this century when the nations of Europe that have fought one another for more than four centuries are drawing close together and contemplating a United States of Europe", we in the East should not throw overboard the unity that God has given each Nation. But injustices and discrimnations against any minority on any grounds, especially racial or linguistic, should immediately be wiped out.

Gnaanam: The seamless robe of Taamilizha Iilzham ( $\Phi$ เமீழ ஈழம்) should not be rent, Chelva.

Banda: What is this "Taamiilzha Iilzham"?

Gnaanam: Why? Did you not, as a budding politician, fresh from your U. K. pastures, read my publications between 1935 and 1946? Therein I showed cloarly that we are all Drevidians in Ceylon, whether we call ourselves Sinhalese or Tamilians. My successer, Daaviid, is showing this on Earth, now, still more clearly in his "Api Naa(i)yoo" $\mathrm{f}=\mathrm{We}$ are Kinsmen) series. He contends that both our races came into Ceylon, aot as two, but as one colony of "Taamiilzha-speakers" in the 2nd. millennium B. C. Later, that Taamilzha tongue split up into the 20 modern Dravidian languages, including Indian Tamilzh, in India, and into $\mathrm{EI}^{2} \mathbf{u}, \mathrm{Hel}^{2}$ a or Sii( $=$ celebrated $)-\mathrm{El}^{2} \mathrm{u}\left(>\right.$ Sinhel $^{2} \mathbf{u}>$ Sinbal $\left.^{2} \mathrm{a}\right)$ and "Ceylon-Tamilzh" in Iilzham. Why? Philips' Sevior Schonl Atlas, at its Map 41, C, entited "Asia: Languages and Races', paints the whole of Ceylon as Dravidian, making no distinction between N. E. and S. W. i. $\theta$ between Tamilzh and Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a. This map was out in 1921: I remember having seen it at Nalluur. No amount of shouting that you are "Aaryas" will alter the fundamental fact that "Sii-yel ${ }^{2} u^{\prime \prime}$ is basically a Dravidian tongue, just as "Mala(i)yaal²am" is. Both have imported a wealth of Aarya vocabulary later on.

Banda: Why do you state that our Sinhal ${ }^{2} a$ is basically Dravidian or Taamiilzha or Eluv²a-tamaayi,' Gaanam? Goaasam: Because in a million cases we have found it so, structurally, syntactically, grammatically and in her earliest vocabulary. I give you here just one instance out of the million. Take the children learning the Tam lzh and Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a alphabets respectively in their Kindergarden. No stage can be more basic than that. Now listen quite attentively to whae they are shouting at the top of their voices. Tht

Sinhalese child：＂a yanu，as yanu．．．＂．The Tamilian
 Sinh．－Engl．Dict．（at page 518）explains this ＂yana＂．＇cos，yanu＂＝＂that says，that is called，＂ as relative participle or peyar eccan（ பெயவெச்ச் ）． Thus＇a yenu＂，or＂a yanna＂＝＂that which is called＇$a$＇＂．Every Sinhalese school boy in Ceylon knows that most Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a short vowels now stand for original long vowels．Thas Sinh．＂raja＂＝Sanskrit ＂raajaa＂，Latin＂reegee＂（in the Ablative Case）． Hence the ond Sinhel ${ }^{2} \mathbf{u}$ or Hel ${ }^{2}$ a or Taam－iil ${ }^{3}$ am was＂yaanaa＂＝எغ்ற，எஎ．This has become modern Sinh．＂yan＂－．Every Tamilian admits that＂yaa＂（as yaan ${ }^{3}$ ，yaatu＂）will inevitably shorten into＂e＂，as in＂era＂（न玉்），etu．＂So here the child＇s＂enmaa （の『்（9））＂stands for Taamill ${ }^{3}$ a＇yaanaa＂，too．The Taamiilzha child in 900 B．C．＂FFцp $\overline{0}$＂（Iilzham）must have shouted in his＂Kindergarten＂days＂a yaanaa，＂ ＂aa yaanaa＂，＂i yaanaa，＂＂ii yaanaa＂etc．The linguistic laws，briefly enunciated above，show how this＂yaenaa＂of $900 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C}$ ．in Ceylon（long before your mythical Vijaya，Banda，was supposed to have landed in Ceylon with his fictitions followers， 700 or even 7）has now become＂yanu，yanna＂in South Ceylon and＂ennas＂in North Ceylon．I started enunciating these laws；my successor，Daaviid，is illustrating them with a vast multitude of examples and instances．By 2,000 A．D．every one in Ceylon will have been convinced that Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a and Tamilzh are but two aspects of the same Taamiilzham．

##  <br> 4.

＇Yaan－＂$=$＂speako＂as verb $>$＂Yaan＂$=$ the＂Speaker，＂ 1 ＂．
Gnaanam：Do we not then find in Taamiilzham a firm bond，இ毋iniju，between the two communities？Further，we detect therein the dawn of language．Only two Indo－European tongues go further back than the pronoun＂I＂in English，＂ich＂＇in German， ＂ik＂in Gothic，＂jag＂in Danish．＂egoo＂in Latin and Greek， ＂asz＂in Li huavian，＂jazd＂in Old Slavonic，＂aham＂in Sans－ krit，＂adam＂in Old Persian，＂ezem＂in Avestan（Zend）．Few of these lanyuages can give us a verbal base for this interes＿ ting word．＊1 Now see the Old Lady，Teamiilzham，sweeping in majestically on to the stage and proclaiming both this verbal base and her owa anuquity：－＂«urroi，yaan＂＝to state，say，speak． Hence arose the pronown＂யाтウ่，yaan＂（ $=1$ ）．Later this became
 echoes of this Taamiilzha＂yaan＂ate still heard in Tolkaappiya
 ＂1＂，and in Old Arabic，where the First Person Pronominal Suffix was＂yaa＂．Look up＂Teach yourself Arabic＂by Tritton， D．Litt．（1）Exercise 71：4＂qala ？awshay ？ilay－ya＂＝He replied， ＂He gave his charge unto－me＂；likewise（2）Lesson 6．at the close of page 48．It ia also extremely probable that Arabic scholars have been unable to trace the real origin of the excla－ matory particle＂yaa＂，explained by Tritton on p．31，in Lesson 2.
 Thus＂yaa waladu＂＝＂1 spøak；boy，．．．．．＂Later on，when the real origin of this＂yaa＂as a loan from Taamiilzham（in the dim mists of antiquity）was lost sight of，this＂yaa＂was translated as＂Oh！＂Thus＂yaa jaatiyatu＂$=$＂O girl！！＂In the case of the pronominal suffix the original＂yaa＂was later shortened into＂ya＂，as it was the last of the three syllables in＂il－ay－ya＂．Thus Taamiilzham has an eminent position in the whole field of Indo－European and Semitic Linguistics no less than in that of Dravidian，Sumerian and Ural－Altaj， including＂Samoyede＂in the extreme North of Siberia，where，

> *1 Foot-note 1. In a later release, entitled "yaan", we show －that Sanskrit alone resembles Taamiilzham herein；for，therein － 0.4 ＂ah＂means＂speaking＂：hence＂aham＂$=$＂speaker＂$>$ the 20 First Person，＂I＂．In Avestan＂az＂＝＂do＂＝Latip＂ag－ere＂： confer＂act，action＂in English．
in the Arctic cold, people speak a tongue akin to the Tamilzh of the torrid zone and to the Arctic Finnish. I restate now what I stressed 40 to 30 yeas ago in my farious controversy with the "Aaryanist" scholars, Wilkelm Geiget of Leipzig and Julius de La Nerolle of Ceylon, that in Tuamiilzham we can plot out the whole fiold in any linguistic region, whereas in Iedo-European only patches show up, and many cardinal portions of the linguistic field are obscure. As Indo-European I and Taamiilzham I were fundamentally related, I wonder what liaguistios they are teaching in Europe, America, India and Ceylon, wherever there is no Chair of Dravidian Linguistics is any of their Universities. I have treated this theme exhaustively now.

Banda: Goaanam, you have convarted me. 1 am proud to be a Dravidian, and that for two, possibly three, reasons:-
(1) My tongue, Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a, is predominantly Taamiilzha; at least it was so in its earliest ( $E l^{2} u$ ) stage, before the successive waves of Buddhist missionaries from North and Central India brought into Siahal ${ }^{2}$ a, then called "Cii(riya) El $l^{2} \mathbf{u}$ ", their several Praakritic words. In this conmexion I am sad, even in Heaven, that we, Sithalese, have slandered our own Mother, Taamiil. zham; thus Carter's Sinh.-Engl. Dict. page 304. "¿̧ెอ (dravi-

(2) There seems to be some ground to suspect that my repated ancestry as a "Bandaranaike" is actually a Tamilzh one, namely "பண்டாரஸ", or "பண்டтாी" "pan² ${ }^{2}$ aaram. pan ${ }^{2} d^{2}$ aari': a store-keoper of food-articles, which ran short recently under my wife. I wonder why they picked up two women recently to rule India and Ceylon, to endanger their democracy and to jeopardise their economy, I hope not fatally.
(3) No human being can be absolutely certain who his father was. In my case, there were curious stories that Sir Solomon Dias Bandaaranaike (really-naayaka) had quarrelled with my mother for some months. She is supposed to have found a friend and consolor in the Tamilzh horse-keeper in Sir
Solomon's stable. It was precisely at this time that I was conceived in my mother's womb. Hence my political ememies have sometimes called me the :'son of a Demal ${ }^{2}$ a horsekeeper"; with how much truth only God and my mother know.

Part IV. "Emergency 1977 ," as reported in the "Celestial Mirror" of August 31, ot that very yeart the Continuation of tho Same Discusion, after the Grand "rat. rician-Rotayy" Carnival from 30.7 to 13-8-77. Soction 1.

The Madaatmaa:- Banda, I thought over your recent remark about your birth as possibly a bastard child in a great and wealthy family. There seems to the no truth in that rumour. When I met you occasionally on Earth, it struck me that you had facial features quite similar to those of your reputed dad, Sir Solomon Dias. Still more enlighteaing and confirming the falsity of this conteation has been your conduct from 1956, except for one fatal flaw, your injustice to the Tamllians.
"The Evil that men do lives after them (on Earth); The Good is oft interred with their bones."

So has it been in thy case, Banda. Born possibly from the domestic hostility between thy reputed parents, thy speeches, actions and whole policy, in this regard, thy breaking a solemn pact with Chelya unilaterally and on the slightest provocationall these facts not only give thy foes scope to contend that thou art not the scios of a noble family but also prove that thou hast split this noble Ceylonese Pation (that we in Heaven see below on Earth) into two hostile communities by thy votecatching slogan, "Sinhal"a Only in 24 hours." On, S. W. R. D., thou hast planted a sword into the heart and breast of " S " rii llankai." How united the Ceylonese were before thou injected thy poisons and thy inferiority complex into the Sinhalese majority in this One Nation, teaching it to envy and to despise aiternately the Tamilian minoriy, which I consider as the cream of this Nation for its industry, nobility of soul and peaceful ways! My only two regrets on Earth were (a) the Partition of Paakistaau from my Mother, India; (b) my mother not having taught me the rich Tamilzh language, which far surpasses my own Gujarati n the vast spread of its hoary literature. On its merit alone it de:erves to be the official language of both India and Ceyton. Making it so will place a new bond of union between our kindred nations. Unlike a certain Jayasuuriya, I was never classconscious and never despised the Tauilian Railway - porters in Bombay or tea-estate labourers in Kandy or Nuwara Eliya, when I visited these places: some of them became my close friends.

Gnaanam: O Banda, wes are not warried overmuch whether you were born a bastard or aot. What worries us is that you have succeeded in bastardising the matality of a considerable proportion of this noble race, the Sinhalese.

Gandhi: Why do you call the Siahalese a noble race?
Gnaanam: Because they are that. Two millenaia before the B itons, wearing hides and skins of the animals which they had kunted down, learnt from the Phoenician traders of Tyre, Sidon, Sarepia or Carthage how to dress themselves decenily and elegantly, the aacestors of the Ceylonese "Taamiiizha-El"uvans", were a cultured people, trading with their kith and kin in Sumer or in the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappan Empire of the old NorthWest India, now Paakistaan. Their direct descendants are both the Ceylon Tamilians and the Sinhalese separated not by race, but by religion and its consequences. Those who rejected Buddhism semained Tamilians. Those who became Buddhist and accepted the new religion accepted therewith the few thousand Praakrit, Paal ${ }^{2}$, and Bujdhist-Sanskrit words which the Buddhist missionaries from North and Central India brought with them. These words have transformed the "Taamiilzha EI"u" into Sinhat"a.

Gaandui: Then why does a Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a policeman refuse to pay for his meals in a Tamilian's restaurant in Jaffna?

Banda: Bacause of me, Mahatmaa. In 1956 I told the Nation that injustice is very good, if it is done to a minority by the vast majority. I uttered specious arguments to prove that we, Sinhalese, were justified in imposing Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a on the Tamilians. Naturally the Sinhalese hoodlums developed these wrong arguments to mean that they could loot or murder Tamilians with impunity, whether in the Gal Oya Valley in 1956, or in a more widespread manner in May 1958, or in August, 1977.

Gnaanam: The words "Police, polity politician, Constantin ${ }_{0}$ polis, Advianopolis" cte. are of initial Taamiilzha origin, from
 It is sad to think that the Police in Ceylon should be so antiTamilian and prove to be at times renegades from their duty of protectiog the innocent from thugs, hoodlums and criminals.

## Section 2.

The Afrikaans' "Soweto" mentality has now invaded our delightful Island, thanks to my "Sinhal"a Only" policy, admits Banda.

Gaandhi: Banda, what is your honest opision now on the famous "Bandaranaike Policies" which both your wife and you have boasted about for 2 decades?

Banda: They were intentions rather than policies. Like the curate's egg, they were "partly good, partly bad."

The Mahaatmaa: Which was the worst? Don't lis now.
Banda: "Sinhal"a Only" for a Land where non-Sinhalese form one-third of the Nation. It was a capital blunder, the main source of all the tension and troubles for 21 years. The difficulties that two official languages (including "Demal"a") would have involved in the admiaistrative processes were grosoly exaggerated by my advisers: besides, I wanted to catch as many Sinhalese votes as I could. I have endured the cruel fires of Purgatory for 18 years for those bad intentions of mine, which have entailed so much misery on thousands of victims of "both races"** repeatedly. Give the Dutch Burghers and Boers in S. Africa certain privileges. These go to their beads; and the Soweto massacres of the natives by them are the logical result. So also give the Sinhalese certain rights not granted to the other inhabitants. Then the 3 inhalese mind goes on the rampage long before their jeeps and trucks run to Viirasingham Hall at 9 p. m of 10-1-1974 or to the $ய ா \dot{\varphi}$ நБக் Markets, both Old and New, on 15-8-'77 or 16-8-77 to perform actions of which both the I. G. P. and myself are ashamed, despite the provocations on the other side. But the ultimate responsibility is mine. I sowed the seed. Likewise, on the economic front, my policy of nationalising and impoverishing every concern and my wife's policy of 'taking over" schools etc., especially the tea estates, which had been rum so effisiently up to then, have brought Ceylon to the nadir of its prosperity from the zenith of the 1951 Korean War boom.
*2 We employ the term "both races" according to the com ${ }^{-}$ mon Ceylonese parlance or speech. Actually both Sinhalese - and Ceylon Tamilians are of the same race and of the same original tongue.

## Section 3 .

## The T. U. L. F. "Youth" and it Control.

Chelva: Nearly two millennia ago was the "Cankam Age", when the Eight Anthologies like A. N. and P. N. (அக-, 4D[5ானூறு) flowered, the Ten Idylls (பத்துப் பாட்ட (b) budded forth
 (ுறள்), the P. M. N. (பழமெгழி நாஜூறI) and the Naal. (நாலட usார்). At Stanza 65 of the last of these, of about 540 A. D., we come across this truthful dictum: "இठாாயான் அடக்கம் அடக் கம்" $=$ "If the young man controls himself, that is real control." I was proud of "Amir" on Earth and even now appreciate his services for our T. U.L.F., his patience when he, the Leader of the Opposition in the National State Assembly, was assaulted by a mere P. C (this is not a post-card) in a streetjunction in Yaalzhnakar in broad-daylight, and his valiant "control-attempts" over the exuberant Tamilian youth; but I am sad at their failure to discipline themselves or to be securely led by thoir Elders. They fail to understand the plain truth that sticks out a mile, namely, that if they run on a rampage, in the North, or East, of Ceylon, as in their crude assault on the C. G. R. buffet at Punkankulam Station, the Sinhalese mobs in the rest of the Island will run amok, loot and burn Tamilian shops and murder innocent Tamilzh-speakers, as in May, 1958. or in August, 77 , all over the remaining Seven Provinces.

This failure alone is enough for me to recommend to our T. U. L. F. to postpone their attempt to set up a Tamilian kingdom or republic in Iilzham for the next 2 or 3 years, to watch how the new U.N. P. under J. R. J. amends the Ceylonese Republican Constitution so as to secure the Tamilian home-lands and all their other rights, and to join hands with the U. N. P. in pressing on with the urgent task of Economic Recovery, especially after youthful impetuosity and Constabulary inadvertence, if not worse, have joined hands in burning up and reducing to ashes certain portions of both the Old Market and the New, in several of its sections. Don't forgat. Banda, that it was the U. N. P. Dudley himself who laid the foundation of the New Market at Jaffina on $5-12-67$ : the slab was almost lost during the 7 (disastrous S. L. F. P.) year-rule.

## Section 4

Lessons from the Incideats of August, 1977.
Mahaatmaa Gaandhi: From this high balcony of Heaven we have witaessed the recent Events in dear Ceylon. Chelvaa, what Lessons would you impart therefrora to your T. U. L. F. on the one hand and to the Sinhalese Government on the other?

Chelva: To the T. U. L.F. would quote the Latin maxim: "Festina lente" of "gradatim" = Hasten slowly, step by step. I would ask its Leaders to hold the impetuous youth by a leash, firm and strong, to ensure Peace and Calm in this Island of ours; for, ciod is not in a Storm of Violence: "non in Commotione Dominus," according to another Latin maxim. God, whether He is called Muruku, or Allah, or Eloha, or Yahweh, delights in the Love of all His children, the men and women on Earth, both towards Himself and among themselves. In this atmosphere of humble love, not of pride, arrogance or haired, must all problems, including that burning issue, தமிழ் ஈrழis. bo setiled. There can be no lasting solution in any other way.

Banda: Thou hast hit the nail on the head. There are communalists of a much thicker dye than I ever was. My old disciple. F. R. J., on the 11 th. and the 12th. of this sad month, published his illuminating "Point of View" on the "Tamil Problem". It is strange that on the 13th. and 14 th. he did not write and publish similar "Points of View" on the "Sinhal"a Problem". This is the real Problem, is it not so, Gnaanam?

Gnaanam : You are somewhat right there, as you were always on earth, not fully right. You allude to the hard-heartedness of most Sinhalese-speakers to the Tamilians in their midst. This has led them to deny the latter their basic rights in the best of times, and to believe all sorts of wild rumours and then to countenance actions by their own unruly mobs of thugs, hoodlums and I. R. C.s, which compete with the Nazi and Russian pogroms on Jews and Poles, in times of tension, as in May, 1958, and August, 1977. This mestal alieation from those who are really "Flesh of their Flesh" and "Bone of their Bone" is undoubtedly a problem: but the crucial problem goes deeper Will the two communities agree to throw overboard the "cock and bull" stories of the Mahaavamsa and accept the truth?

## Section 5 ．

The Tamilizhar settled down in Tilzham in the 2ad．millennium B．C．From about 200 B ．C．they differentiated into Sinhalese and Tamilians．

Gaandhi：Where can they get at this truth？Have you elaborated it in your historical or linguistic works？

Gnaanam ：The R．A．S．（Ceylon Branch）summoned me to prove this truth， 80 repugnant to them then，as it would be to Professor F．R．J．now．（This J．doss not stand for our P．M．＇s J．＝Jayavardhana，although this J．too starss with Jaya）． I was then on my death－bed，obtaining my ticket for＂Heaven＂． Hence I commissioned my dearest friend．Bishop Edmund Peiris． to face the Royal Asiatic Society with my script on my behalf， and，if that failed，to get at my old and favourite disciple， Piyatumaa Daaviid，to teach this truih claborately．as be always does，to Ceylon．By the time that the good bishop met his associates of the R．A．S．of which he was at times Vice－President and always a Member，I had come over here，over the Ocean of Death，and the R．A．S．would not accept my script with－ out my bodily preserce．St．Peter refused me a return－ticket to Earth and back．Hence I am constantly inspiring this Piyatumaa from here，urgiag him now to press on with this work，despite the disappointments that I and he have had to face．

Gaandhi：What were your disappointments，Gnaanam？
Gnaanam：These books have to be somewhat technical： they are based on a science，called linguistics，unfamiliar to most men．When they find the slightest difficulty，the present generation of Ceylonese draws back．Long residence in the tropical heat，generation after generation，has sapped their ancient vitality and energy from what this was in $3,000 \mathrm{~B}$ ．C．when with
 ［ழழ்－அக்க்ம்，（Molzh－＞）mulzh－akkam］，they migrated from the Caspian and Aral Sea regions to the Indus Valley and the Himalayan foothills．Only a tiny fraction of the men of culture who can profil by these books of his and mine purchases these and reads them．The truth that they inculcate is so repugnant to the mentality（of both communities）that almost loves to hate each other now that the problem is ：＂Will they accept it ？＂

The Mahaatma：＂Great is Truth and It will prepail＂ eventually，as St．Paul stated two millennia ago，of nearly so． But what exactly is your truth，stated in a nutshell，Gnaanam？

Gnaanam：The＂absymal＂，difference between Tamilzh and Sinhal ${ }^{5}$ a is that of＂ot ${ }^{2} t^{2}$－akam＂from＂ot ${ }^{2}$－uvaa＂，i．e．of Tweedle－ dum from Tweedledee．Both tongues have the cardinal first syllable ＂ot ${ }^{2}$＂exactly the same in both，and differ only in the suffixes．The resemblance is still closer between Telugu＂andamu＂（＝manner） and Sinhal＂a＂andama＂（ $=$ manner）．Likewise，in rens of thou－ sands of words amidst these three tongues as well as Kannad ${ }^{2} a^{\text {a }}$ Tul ${ }^{2}$ u，Malayaal ${ }^{2}$ am，Gad ${ }^{2}$ baa，Parji，Naiki，Kuui，Kuvi，Goon ${ }^{2} d^{2}$ ii． Sinbal a then basically belongs to this group of Dravidian lan－ guages：she was then called＂E1＂ $\mathbf{u}$＂．as the tongue of＂Iilzham＂， the oldest name for Ceylon．That was the language of the age－ old Tamilians in Ceylon at that time．Both were＂Taam－iilzhar＂． Sanskrit has transformed this term into＂Draavid＂a＂．The Buddhist missionaries from North and Central India brought into＂E12u＂ thousands of Indo－Aaryan words of their own speech：these have helped to give many the false impression that she is an Indo－ Aaryan tongue！Hence the Tamilians and Sinhalese were and are of the same race and of the same original tongue．Those who accepted Buddnism accepted the eransformed＇ $\mathbf{E i}^{2} \mathbf{u}$＇＇or Sinhal ${ }^{\circ}$ a． Those who rejected it kept the pure＂E1＂u＂or＂ศ戶ழத்தம்－இழ＂．＂ For，the word＂E12u（ $\dagger$ ）＂，itself belongs to that group of words：＂uir $\dot{\varphi}, ~ எ ழ ி ல ், ~ ஈ \dot{~, ~ இ \dot{\varphi} ", ~ w h i c h ~ a l l ~ c o n n o t e ~ " b e a u t y " . ~}$ ＂Iilzhom（ศ！！⿺辶⿱亠䒑口阝）is the beautiful land，and＂E1＂u＂is the beautiful tongue，as Piyatumaa Daaviid and our Cankam have conclusively shown in a Rs． 4 booklet：＂the Beautiful leople in a Beautiful Land＂．This belongs to the＂Api Naa（i）yoo（q3 ŋrocsio＂Seiies，edited by them from St．Patrick＇s College，Jaffna．

Banda ：I am going to inspire Professor Jayasuuriya to buy up all these books and booklets，read them from cover to cover， meditate every day，for one hour at least，on the antiquity of the Taamiilzha Culture，of which Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a and Tamilzh Culture are significant components，and to make a profound apology to the Ceylon－Tamilians for having wrongly dated their advent hereto by＇＇adding 3,000 years＇．

## Section 6.

Bandaaranaike and his three Comrades in Heaven are appalled at the wanton slaughter of both innocen Tamilians in North－

Central Ceylon and the Ceylonese Economy at the same time They continue their coversation :-

Gnaanam: True, the poor Professor has dated the Tamilzb advent to Ceylon as belonging to the end of the 19 th . century A.D. when it took place actually at the beginning of the 12 tb . century B. C., a mere matter of three millennia, whereas their Culture from the Caspiau Sea to the Indus Valley goes back to the sixth or even the seventh millenniam B. C. For, this was the Land of the arliest Script, antedating the Phoenician of the Moabite Stone of the 9 th. century B. C. by several millennia. But how can Professor Jayasuuriya or any other man of letters or of any culture delve into such abstruse academic affiairs in an atmosphere of tension, brought about by political parties, which, having lost the elections in July very badly, wish to queer the pitch for the U. N. P. Government of J. R. J. by stlrring up strife between Ceylon's two major communities?

Chelva: My T. U. L. F. leaders on Earth are also partiy to blame.

Gnaanam: Of course they are. We read in Kaal id "aasa's "Raghuvamsa" that the objects and purposes of the kings of that dynasty were never proclaimed earlier but could be gathered only from their accomplishments. Such should be our T. U. L. F. too.

Chelva: Exactly! For, what does Naalat iyaar stanza 196 (a-b) state?


Banda: What does this mean, Chelvaa? Please explain.
Gaandhi: Thou, Banda, and thy "Sinhal"a only"! Hast thou in the whole range of the Sinhal ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ a literature even one-fifth of the riches of Tamilzh, not to speak of Kannad ${ }^{2}$ a or Malayaal ${ }^{2}$ a or Telugu Literature? Why then impose an inferior tongue on the speakers of a superior one? Tell me that.

Banda : Your Nehru has done exactly the same, in having tried to impose Hindi on the Tamilzh-speakers of the Madras Region, now called Tamilzh-Naad ${ }^{\text {² }}$.

The Mahaatmaa: I am not responsible for Nehru's actions, nor for those of his daughter, Indraa, who is my namesake, "Gaandhi", thanks to her Gujarati-speaking late husband of Parsee extraction. Now I shall explain to thee these two lines: "Sensible people do not disclose their intentions till they are accomplished; they keep them locked up (in their minds)", like the T. U. L. F. intention to make Trincomalie the capital of their kingdom.

Chelva: I am partly responsible for Amir's mistake here. I allowed myself to be swayed by our impetuous youth on at least two occasions, with disastrous resulis :-
(1) Between 1956 and 1958 wa decided to make a frontal attack on " ${ }^{3}$ " (Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ : " $S^{2}$ rii") as the symbol of the Sinhalese attempt to enslave the Ceylon-Tamilians. This letter stood before "Lankaa": both together meant "சி円ி இலங்கை, Ciiriya Ilankai". It is evident that both are two slightly different forms of the same Old Tamilzh or "Taamilzha" (as Goaanam and Daaviid call it) words. Hence we should not have got so angry about them. Further, Piyatumaa Daaviid and my friead N. Arun ${ }^{2}$ aacalam, the father-in-law of my fellow M. P. for Jaavakacceeri, V. N Navaratnam, bappened to be teaching at the same (St. Patrick's) College. Through N. A. and V. N. N. he sent me a Linguistic Note, explaining the above and pointing out Sanskrit "kiirti" (=glory, fame) as having been loaned from काriopin at a still carlier stage, when the word stood as "kiiriya" (-celebrated). Then he added these words: "Let all tongues, Sanskrit and Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a included, praise and celebrate grripytio: henee don't erase the Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a ' $S^{2}$ rii': but add on the Tamilzh ' $S^{5}$ rii'. so that our claim to parity of status stands". I wished to follow this sensible advice. But the Jaffaese youth, sheltered in their northern nook, erased the Sinhala " $S^{\text {¹ }}$ rii" with the result that the infuriated Sinalese mobs, incited by hoodlums who cash in on such occasions, erased every Tamilzh letter on boards and planks and bouses, finally erasing a proportion of the lives and property of ramilians in their midst. That step was premature: so was my issue of postage stamps of the "Tamilzh kingdom of 1961 ", when no such State existed. This was my item 2.

The German issue of a postage stamp in honour of our Gnaanam was more sensible than my ill-advised gesture, which 1 could not follow up.

The Mahaatmaa：The Lesson for the T．U．L．F．now from this is：＂not to arouse $h$ sstilo emotions among the Sinhal＂ masses that would prevent the Sinhal ${ }^{2}$ a leaters conceding to the Tamilians the justice and due rights to which they are entitied＂． I can see from here these words printed in the 1,206 copies of Piya＇umaa Daaviid＇s Lexicon，II．＂Maintan＂，on its second page． That＂word of advice＇＂that he gives to the leaders of buth com nuaties therein is still valid，especially this part：＂Ceylon Tamilians should realise that recurrent crises of this nature will decimate and impoverish thom beyond redemption＇．This was written in 1971：how true is it even now，in 1977！Then you must note another matter；the Romans had another useful adage： ＂Suaviter in nodo；fortiter in re＂．That means：＂Sweetly in the manner of action；but boldly in the matter＇．We must persevere and press on is doy sphere of action which ws have undertaken．Unfortunately you did not persevere in your 1956 demand for parity of statns，in your 1958 demand for the Tamilzh ＇S ${ }^{\overline{7}}$ rii＇replacing the Sinhalese one in the North and East of ＂${ }^{\text {² }}$ rii Lankaa＇，in your 1961 ＂New Postage＂，once you had started thereon．From this the Siahalese Government would have got the wrong impression that the Tamilians were not in doad earnest about their demands．

Then again，nearly as may Tamilans live in the rest of the island as in the N．P．and E．P．Every time these two provinces seem to revolt against Sinhalese rule，or the slighteat harm is done to Sinhalese persons or property，those of the Tamilians in the other seven provinces are subjected to every form of injury， humiliation and loss that evil men can devise．An anticipation of such an eventuality makes a Tamilian of Colombo 3， S ． Perinbanayagam，write in a letter，published by the＂Sun＂on 16－8－77 ：＂Communal politics and sectarian hatred feed on each other－the idiocy of a Tamilzh $\mathrm{Iil}^{3}$ an indeed produces the counter－idiocy of a Jayasuriya ！Or is it the other way around？＂ Strong words indeed！I do not subscribe to them；but let the T．U．L．F．take into consideration these sentiments of their follow Tamilians living in the danger zone．On the other hand， not all Sinhalese are communal－minded．They can be won over by the arguments from reason as enunciated by Piyatumaa Daaviid． For，it is a Sinhalese，from Mi．Lavinia，A．Abayasekera，who writes on the same page of the same issue：＂Where the hell are we going to send Professor F．R．Jayasuriya？＂

