INTRODUCTION

The subject taken up for study is Indo-Sri Lanka Relations With Particular Reference to the Tamils of Sri Lanka (1956-'87). This subject is of immense importance to Sri Lanka and India. In a more general sense, it is of interest to all minorities being tyrannised by majorities all around the world. This study will give a deeper insight into minority problems, and the impact it has on relations between nations. There is urgent need for an in-depth study of minority problems around the world and international concensus on early relief of the sufferings of minorities.

Many of the problems of minorities around the world are the results of colonialism. The colonisers for their own interests, bundled together incompatible sections of people and by use of divide and rule policy, sucked the life blood of the conquered. When the time arrived for the colonisers to quit, they left the minorities high and dry in the hands of rapacious majorities.

Through a caricature of democratic Government, the newly emergent majorities are exploiting the minorities in a much more subtle and deadly manner. The Sri Lankan Tamil problem is a case study of one of such minorities.

Many scholars who have made a study of the Sri Lankan
Tamil problem have come to the conclusion that democracy alone is no solution to plural societies. All of them are of the opinion that Federal Democracy is an ideal solution. But in the present study, it appears even federalism is not workable. The intense, almost psychopathic, Sinhala chauvinism points to a separate State for Sri Lankan Tamils as the only just, honourable and permanent solution in Sri Lanka.

The subject had to be widened to include India, because of the pressure of six crores Tamils from north of the Palk Strait, hardly twenty kilometre away and the repercussion of Tamilnadu and consequent Indian politics. All in all, the whole picture is sordid and grim indeed. It is hoped that the study will provoke deep thoughts on the subject.

The period of study is from 1956-'87. It has been specially selected because every page of history, during this period is stained with the blood and tears of Sri Lankan Tamils. The first physical attack on Sri Lankan Tamils was launched by the Sinhalese in 1956, with the racial riots in Gal Oya Valley.

Review of Literature:

There are number of scholarly works on this question taken up for study by the scholars. Many of them have looked at the problem from the security point of view. A few of these studies are given below.
C. JOSHUA THOMAS in his book *Sri Lankan Turmoil and Indian Government (A Study of Ethnic Conflict)* (New Delhi, 1995) gives the main facts of the case in his introduction and then the involvement of India under Janata and Congress under the leadership of Indira and Rajiv period in Chapters II, III and IV. In Chapter V he analyses the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987. He finds a fatal flaw in the Agreement 'in that the L.T.T.E. was given no place.' He suggest the intervention of NAM or Commonwealth to conclude the guerrilla warfare and the majorities terrorising minorities under the cover of democracy.

RAVI KANT DUBEY in his book *Indo-Sri Lanka Relations With Special Reference to the Tamil Problem* (New Delhi, 1995) gives more details of Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil problem. He says 'relations between the two countries were never cordial' and that a Federal set up is the ideal for plural society. He opines that Bangladesh type or Cyprus type solution will not work in Sri Lanka, where Sinhala Buddhist forces are bent on suppressing the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

S.D. MUNI in his book *Pangs of Proximity India and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis* (Oslo, 1993) gives a highly theoretical analysis of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and Indian intervention. He is of the opinion that, the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, was a sound solution to the Sri Lankan Tamil problem, but was defeated in the implementation by induction of the I.P.K.F.
RUHAN GUNARATNE in his book *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka the Role of India's Intelligence Agencies* (Colombo, 1993) (500 pages) gives a deep insight into the functioning of C.B.I. and R.A.W. He comes to the conclusion that the L.T.T.E. terrorism is a threat to India and Sri Lanka and India should send an army to wipe out the L.T.T.E.

N. SEEVARATNAM *The Tamil National Question and Indo-Sri Lanka Accord* (Delhi, 1989) - A collection of lectures delivered at the First International Tamil Conference in London on 30th April and 1st May 1988. Some outstanding figures including Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer and A.P. Venkateswaran have given their opinion without fear or favour. Brian Senewiratne gives a masterly insight into ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka and a most appropriate solution to the problem by setting up five Federal States in Sri Lanka.

This is the age of nationalism and the emergence of Nation States, throughout the globe. This phenomenon is well defined theoretically and lucidly written by SAMANTRA BOSE, entitled *States, Nations, Sovereignty Sri Lanka, India and the Tamil Eelam Movement* (New Delhi, 1994). He put forward a substantive study of the racial conflict between Sri Lanka's two major nationalities within a challenging theoretical framework. His argument was such, that, 'ethnic and secessionist conflicts are primarily between monolithic forms of State authority and popular
aspirations to sovereignty'. He highlights a fascinating evaluation of the Tamil Tiger Movement (or the L.T.T.E.) and a forcible critique of the role of the Indian State in the Sri Lankan conflict.

H.P. CHATTOPADHYAYA's Ethnic Unrest in Modern Sri Lanka (New Delhi, 1994) has taken note of ethnic factor. He devotes Chapter IV to the subject of ethnic violence. He too suggests a Federal solution and gives Jammu and Kashmir Constitution as a model.

S.U. KODIKARA's Indo-Ceylon Relations Since Independence (Colombo, 1965) deals with the political, economic, social and cultural relations between India and Sri Lanka from the time of independence of both the countries. Apart from the above scholarly work, there are few other works which deal with the development of India's relations with Sri Lanka. India's Foreign Relations during the Nehru Era Edited by M.S. RAJAN (New Delhi, 1976), South Asian Strategic Issues; Sri Lankan Perspectives Edited by SHELTON U. KODIKARA (New Delhi, 1990), South Asia in Transition, Conflicts and Tension Edited by KALIN BAHADUR (New Delhi, 1986), S.U. KODIKARA's Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka: A Third World Perspective (New Delhi, 1982), S.S. BINDRA's India and Her Neighbours, etc.

The following works are specialised on ethnic minority groups and their struggle for identity in the third world -

For well over thousand years, India had the distinction of being the spiritual guide, educational perceptor and cultural model to the countries of South and South-East Asia. The geographical configuration is an obsessive factor in the historical set-up. The various invasions from South India to Sri Lanka in the medieval period had an impact on Sri Lankan society. Hence a brief analysis is made in the **First Chapter** from the historical perspective to give a background for the relationship between Sinhalese and Tamils and India and Sri Lanka from early period till the Sinhala Only Act of 1956.

The passing of the Sinhala Only Act in 1956, was a turning point in the development of the history of the Sri Lankan Tamils. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike came to power by promising the Sinhala masses by amending the Sinhala language would be the only official language in Sri Lanka. The **Second Chapter** deals with how the Tamil leaders of Federal Party protested this Parliamentary change by non-violent method. Though Tamilnadu was much concerned about the struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, but the Central Government of India was following the policy of non-interference.

To settle the Sri Lankan Tamil problem Chelvanayagam agreed to support the U.N.P. He agreed to join with Dudley Senanayake, by putting a condition that he should sign a Pact with him like the one in 1957, with Bandaranaike (B-C Pact).
Thus the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayagam Pact was born on 24th March 1965. It was agreed for the proposals of the District Councils. This Pact also had the same fate of 1957 'B-C' Pact. In Tamilnadu, Congress and the D.M.K. were in power. Thus Third Chapter deals how the Sri Lankan Tamils' grievances were not solved by the Agreements, and how Tamils, looked upon Tamilnadu for their support.

In Sri Lanka the total discrimination was metted out to the Tamils in this period. Various kind of ill-treatments, let loose by Sirimavo Bandaranaike have been dealt in the Fourth Chapter. The Tamil-Sinhalese relations considerably, deteriorated in this period. Tamil Nationalism had started to emerge very strongly and the Federal Party determined to go for a separate Tamil State for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

In the General Election the United National Party of J.R. Jayawardene won the elections. But his Government was born with violence. The long period of the struggle of the Tamils continue. The Fifth Chapter deals how the moderate Tamil Parties tried to bring settlement for the ethnic crisis and the struggle for the liberation get transfer to the hard core youth. Tamilnadu, where Sri Lankan Tamils lean on cultural and political succour became more and more sensitive and agitated on ethnic issue while the Central Government insisted the United Sri Lanka with political settlement.
Armed with the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Sri Lankan army had started to harass the ordinary people. Violence escalated by the Government forces and the Tamil guerrillas responded to it. In July 1983, the ethnic holocaust spread all over Sri Lanka. The *Sixth Chapter* deals how this crisis affected the Tamils in Sri Lanka, and Tamilnadu, the political parties in Tamilnadu, and how the Union Government of India under the leadership of Indira Gandhi reacted towards the Sri Lankan Government. The latter part of the chapter deals with the period of Rajiv Gandhi and how he had changed the whole Tamil liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam.

This division is made to catalogue the suffering of Sri Lankan Tamils under the Sinhala Prime Ministers. A rather exhaustive detail is given because the Sri Lankan Tamil problem can be understood only on the basis of intense suffering of Sri Lankan Tamils. Many writers on the subject have neglected this aspect and hence taken superficial view of the matter.

To highlight the Indo-Sri Lanka Relations, each chapter from II to V are divided into three parts - (1) Record of Events of the period, (2) Agitation in Tamilnadu, and (3) Action by India. Thus the role of India can be studied in stages.

In the *Conclusion* facts are brought together and critically examined.
METHODOLOGY

Ethnic crisis has become a socio-political phenomenon world-wide and particularly in South Asian societies. In the context of India's involvement, the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka at the beginning was to respect the sentiments of the Tamils of Tamilnadu. But in the later years largely it was geo-political compulsion. Therefore this crisis was made use by India to wield its power in the South Asian region.

The main sources for the study are:


(2) The Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha, Parliamentary Debates of Central Government of India and the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Madras.

(3) Hansard - Sri Lanka Parliamentary Debates.

(4) Report of Social, Political and International Organizations.

(5) Personal Interviews and Discussions.

(6) Contemporary Writings, Journals and Newspapers.

The Government Reports and Records are of immense value for the writing of this thesis. The Parliamentary Debates of the

The resolutions passed in the Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly bring to our attention that how the Government of Tamilnadu unanimously stood for the rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The other Government communications and other reports of the Non-Governmental organizations are to be included in the group of first hand informations.

Regarding the human rights violations in Sri Lanka, the report of an Amnisty International Mission to Sri Lanka gives a vivid picture of the atrocities of the Sinhala State Government.

The personal interview with the chiefs of the different military groups in Sri Lanka gave the idea that, how they ideologically differ from each other. Their pamphlets and other publications gave support to their ideology.

In Tamilnadu, the memorandum passed by the All Party Delegation in 1983, to the Government of India, shows the solidarity of the Tamils to find an urgent and speedy solution to problem of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.
The interview with the different political party leaders give a different opinion of the liberation movement in Sri Lanka and their contacts in Tamilnadu and the reaction of the Union Government of India. Thus it mirror the public opinion regarding the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

The Reports and Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee in the National level, and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, the Communist Party of Marxist expressed anguish and concern towards the sufferings of the Tamils across the Palk Strait.

The Contemporary Writings consist of Articles in the Journals and Newspaper Reports. For example, V.R. KRISHNA IYER's Tamil Tragedy in Sri Lanka and Contradictory Strategy by India, V. MOHAN's The Ethnic Tangle in Sri Lanka, S.U. KODIKARA's The Soparatist Eelam Movement in Sri Lanka, W.I. SIRIWEERA's Recent Developments in Sinhala-Tamil Relations, DAVID SELBOURNE's Sinhalese Lions and Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, R.R. Cumaraswamy's The Israeli Connection in Sri Lanka, S.D. MUNI's Sri Lanka's Ethnic Convulsions, THOMAS A. MARKS's India is the Key to Peace in Sri Lanka, etc.

The Journals such as Asian Survey, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, The Round Table, Pacific Affairs, Economic and Political Weekly, Mainstream, Illustrated Weekly of India, India Quarterly, Thuglug (Tamil), Aanandavikadan (Tamil), provided
additional information for this study. Newspapers like The Hindu, Indian Express, Statesmen, Patriot, Ceylon Daily News, Island, Hindustan Times, Viduthalai (Tamil), Murasoli (Tamil), Nam Nadu (Tamil), Veerakesari (Tamil), Eelanadu (Tamil), etc. mirror the important events, of day-to-day happening. The informations from this dailies are considered as of primary importance, since they make public opinion, and make us to understand their viewpoint.

Some published novels give, a detail, understandable, version of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. The following can be noted especially, JEEN ARASANAYAGAM's All Is Burning, WILLIAM McCOMAN's Only Man Is Vile: The Tragedy of Sri Lanka, SHIYAM SELVA DURAI's Funny Boy. Though these works are in novel form, they were written on the basis of first hand information in a public understandable style.

Therefore, this study, is built upon the variety of sources, mentioned above, to give a graphic picture on Indo-Sri Lanka Relations With Particular Reference to the Tamils of Sri Lanka (1956-'87).
CHAPTER I

LAND AND THE PEOPLE
For well over two thousand years, India had the distinction of being the spiritual guide, educational preceptor and cultural model to the countries in South and South-East Asia.

To obtain a clear picture of the complex situation in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to have some basic idea of geography, history, social set up, and recent politics in Sri Lanka. From the early period till date, India especially Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka interchanged its political, cultural and social systems. Buddhism and Hinduism are the main religions of Sri Lanka and they came from India. The Sinhalese and Tamil scripts and the languages were also taken from India.¹

THE LAND

Sri Lanka in relation to India, is a small lonely island situated at the South Eastern extremity of India. It lies between latitudes 5°55' and 9°50' North and 79°42' and 81°52' East longitudes. The area of the island is 65,000 Sq.Km. and is slightly less than half the area of Tamilnadu. The island is

¹ G.C. MENDIS (1), The Early History of Ceylon and its Relations with India and other Foreign Countries, (Madras, 1992), p.11.
separated from India by Palk Strait and Gulf of Mannar. Sri Lanka is only 22 miles at its closest from Dhanushkodi, Tamilnadu. Being centrally located in the Indian Ocean the strategic importance of Sri Lanka is greatly enhanced.\(^2\)

Geographically the island is a continuation of Southern Deccan Plateau of India. It is a detached portion of the Mainland.\(^3\)

In relief the Southern Centre of Sri Lanka is composed of a mountainous area with the highest mountain Pidrutalagala rising to 2,700 metres above sea level. Sri Pada or Adams Peak, an exceptionally picturesque and religiously venerated mountain rises to 2,237 metres above sea level and is situated near Namunkula. The mountainous area with large and small hillocks drops sharply towards West and South and towards the East, the slope is gradual with mountain ranges running at Trincomallee. Towards the North, the drop is shallow with extensive flat low lands spreading in the North and East.

The principal rivers have their sources in the hills and run down to the coast. To the North and West run Malwatu Oya, Deduru Oya, Kalani Ganga on the North of Colombo, Kalu Ganga and Gin Ganga. On the South run Walawe Ganga and Manik Ganga, and towards East run Gal Oya. The Mahawali

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Ganga the largest river in Sri Lanka starts in Hatton, skirts Kandy and empties into Trincomallee. Yan Oya lies South of Mullaitivu (see Map).

The vegetation in Sri Lanka is varied. The North is arid with palmyrah palms. Dense high forests are located in North-East and South-East. The Western, Southern and Eastern coasts upto 500 metres above sea level are filled with flourishing coconut estates. On the West and South from 500-1000 metres above sea level are situated rubber estates and from 1000-2000 metres are the world famous tea gardens of Sri Lanka.

Range of fauna is limited. Elephants roam the jungles in Sri Lanka. The cheeta, deer, wild bear, buffalo are found in plenty.

The total population of Sri Lanka in 1981 was 14.9 millions. The previous population census taken in 1971 recorded a figure of 12.9 millions. The increase in population during the decade was 2.1 millions representing a 17 percent increase.  

Ethnically the population is as follows: on March 17, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>14,850,001</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhalese</td>
<td>10,985,666</td>
<td>74.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan Tamils</td>
<td>1,871,535</td>
<td>12.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Tamils</td>
<td>825,233</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moors</td>
<td>1,056,972</td>
<td>7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burghers Eurasions</td>
<td>38,236</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
<td>43,378</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>28,981</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Religion: as on March 17, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Religions</td>
<td>14,850,001</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>10,292,586</td>
<td>69.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>2,295,058</td>
<td>15.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics &amp; Christians</td>
<td>1,111,736</td>
<td>7.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>1,134,556</td>
<td>7.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15,265</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sri Lanka population is predominantly rural being 78.5 percent and 21.5 percent urban. Buddhist Sinhalese are dominant.

6 Ibid.
Climate in Sri Lanka is mild because of the island situation. Temperature varies from 28°C in Colombo to 15°C in Nuwara Eliya with dry zone temperatures in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Matra reaching about 32°C.7

Monsoon rains are prevalent. The South-West Monsoon is from May to October and brings plenty of rain to the South-West of the island. Rainfall ranges from 2,500 mm to 1,500 mm per year in Colombo. North-East Monsoon brings rain to North and East from November to February. Rainfall ranges from 1,183 mm to 600 mm per year in Jaffna. Cyclones in the Bay of Bengal occasionally bring destruction to Sri Lanka.

Rice, tea, rubber and coconuts are principal products of Ceylon. In all they cover 3,000,000 acres. Tourism is an important source of income to Sri Lanka.

From Point Pedro in the North to Dondra Head in the South, the longest distance is 353 Kilometres. Puttalam in the West to Batticaloa in the East, the breadth is 183 Kilometres. It is approximately half the area of Tamilnadu State (50,132 Sq.Miles)8 or about the size of England and Wales. It is twenty-fourth largest island in the world. Good railway and road network connect all principal towns. Colombo and

7 For Climatic Data for Sri Lanka see the REPORTS of the Colombo Observatory.
Trincomallee are large Ports. Kankesanthurai in the North and Galle in the South are minor ports. Katunayaka is an International Airport.

Sri Lanka was earlier called by different names like Tamiraparni, Thapovanam, Eelam, Eelam Mandalam, Rathina Boomi, Swarnaboomi, Cheran Thivu. The Sinhalese called it as 'Sinhala deepa' - the island of the Lion Race. The Romans called it as 'Tabrabane'. Later many English and Scotch names have been introduced into Ceylon by the European Colonists.  

The Arabs called Ceylon 'Serendib', and the Portuguese 'Ceilao' and the Dutch 'Zeilan' from that word, the name 'Ceylon' was anglicized by the British in the Eighteenth Century. The names are probably derived from Sinhala or Sinhalam, changed into Selan, and Seren.

To the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent of India, it was known centuries before the Christian era by the name of Lanka (the resplendent), the name still is current among the native inhabitants, both Sinhalese and Tamils.

The Siamese have added the honorific Tewa, called the island of Tewa Lanka 'divine Lanka'. To the Chinese

9 ZEYLANICUS, Ceylon between Orinet and Oxident, (London), p.32.

10 Ibid.
Ceylon was 'the island of jewels', to the Greeks' the land of Hyacinth and the Ruby' to the Indian Buddhist, 'The Pearl upon the brow of India'.

**THE PEOPLE**

Sri Lanka is a country of plural society. They are distinct from one another on ethnic, religious or linguistic grounds. Ethnically the population of Sri Lanka is diverse. The majority of the Sri Lankan people are Sinhalese - nearly 73 percent, and popularly believed to be descended from Aryan stock of North India. Their language is Sinhalese, spoken only in Ceylon, with the linguistic connection of Bengali. Majority of them are Buddhists.

The Tamils, the largest minority in Sri Lanka consist of 21.6 percent of its population. They are grouped into Sri Lankan Tamils and Hill country Tamils. The Ceylon Tamils or Sri Lankan Tamils concentrated mainly in the Northern and Eastern areas of the island. Majority of them are Hindus.

The Tamils from hill country are brought by the British from South India from 1839, to work in the coffee, tea and


rubber plantations in the Central Provinces. They are mentioned by different names as, Tamils of Indian origin, up-country Tamils, estate Tamils, plantation Tamils, hill-country Tamils. They are also Hindus, following the customs of Tamilnadu.

The Moors are the fourth highest ethnic group in Sri Lanka. They can be called as Sri Lankan Moors and the Indian Moors. The origin of the Sri Lankan Moors could be traced to descendants of early Arab traders. The Indian Moors, might have been brought by the Britishers to work in the hill country areas. These two groups speak either Tamil or Sinhala with Arabic as the language of their religion.

The Malays and the Burghers are the other minor ethnic groups. They are the descendants of Malaysians and Javanese. The descendants of Portuguese, Dutch and British Civil and Military personnel who intermarried are settled in Sri Lanka and they are called as Burghers or Eurasians.

The roots of the ethnic conflict of Sri Lanka between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamils spread far and wide into history and pre-history. Very detailed knowledge of

the history of the two peoples is necessary to give an understanding of the nature of the present conflict in Sri Lanka.

It must be admitted at the beginning that a definite history of the two people is yet to come. For the present we can survey the highlights to come to some understanding of the conflict.

The Tamils or Dravidians as most European scholars called them were present in India and Sri Lanka long before the arrival of the Aryans in India around 1500 B.C. A few European historians held the view that the Dravidians entered into India from the Mediterranean region. But, Ramachandra Dikshit and Pavanar have given conclusive proof that the Dravidians are autochthonous people of India.

A brilliant scientific study of origins of the Dravidians has been carried out by the Russian Scientist Alexander Kondratou. His book, 'Riddle of the three Oceans' gives facts and figures on origin of the Tamils. Alexander Kondratou supports the view of Dikshit, and Pavanar. In a broad view taking the theories on Lemuria and the disappearance of a vast land mass in the Indian Ocean, Kondratou comes to the conclusion that Dravidians moved out of Lemuria as it sank beneath the ocean waves and landed in India, Egypt, Sumar and Iran. The close similarity between people and culture...
on the Western shores of the Indian Ocean is very striking.\textsuperscript{16}

As far as India is concerned specially South India, Condratou's conjecture fits in well with Tamil Sangam Traditions. The theory of the three Sangams with Kumarikandam as the nucleus and the Then (South) Madurai as the location of the First Sangam and the Second Sangam situated at Kapadapuram and the Third Sangam in modern Madurai lends credence to a move Northwards on the South.\textsuperscript{17}

Irayanar Agaporul the original text which speaks of the three Tamil Sangams seems rather fanciful. But the hardcore history, is acceptable. Ilango Adigal in his master-piece Silapadikaram, dated Second Century A.D., gives an accurate picture of Kumarikandam. The mountain range, the two rivers Pahruli and Kumari, the 49 districts grouped into seven States gives a vivid picture of life in Kumarikandam.\textsuperscript{18}

Once this established, the Northward migration is ingeniously portrayed by Pavanar's theory of dilution of languages starting from an epicentre at Tirunelveli till we reach Indus Valley Civilization and the Himalayas.


\textsuperscript{17} K.K. PILLAY (1), \textit{A Social History of the Tamils}, Vol. I, (Sec.Ed.), University of Madras, (Madras, 1975), p.49.

\textsuperscript{18} N. MAHALINGAM, \textit{op.cit.}, p.112.
The greatness and the glory of Indus Valley and the Dravidian connection is accepted by all the world. Excavation in recent times in Adichanallur in South India and Pompiruppu in Pottalam in Sri Lanka and similarity of urn burials leaves no doubt about the spread of the Tamils in ancient times. The categorical statement of Prof. S.S. Sarkar, famed Anthropologist of India, that in ancient times the Dravidians were spread across India gives added force to the above facts. 19

Rig Veda, the first and foremost composition of the Aryans, leaves no doubt about the attack on the body and mind of the Dravidians by the Aryans from the North.

Ramayana, the great epic, written for public consumption, gives the glorious details of Aryan conquest of the Dravidians extending even into Sri Lanka. It speaks about the island of Lanka and the Kingdom of Ravana and his valour. 20 He was the leader of the Dravidians. The Government of Lanka and lands extending to Vindyan hills in India was in his hands. Ravana was the head of the Civil, Judicial, Military and Spiritual administration of this vast and extensive realm. He was a peace loving monarch and harmony prevailed all over


the Kingdom. Due to his different marvellous powers he was assigned different names and he was praised and called as "Ilangai Vendan", "Ilangeswaran", "Ravaneswaran", "Veenaikkodiyon", and "Thennavan". He was a great devotee of Lord Shiva. In the late Sixth, Seventh Centuries A.D. Saiva Saints like Thirugnanasambandar and Appar composed hymns on Ravana the great. He was ubiquitous and his braveness was felt everywhere. How long Ravana reigned is not known.

Ravana, the symbol and pride of Dravidians is targetted for character assassination, humiliation and defeat by the Aryans. These events may be assigned to 1500-2000 B.C.

The Mahabaratha tells the story of the victorious Aryans locked in internal quarrels. This book is a stupendous study on the deprivations of Aryan society. The natives are left out except for ridicule and despite.

Into this Aryan world of intrigue, immorality, deceit and despicable ego, Buddha comes as breath of fresh air.

21 M.S. POORNALINGAM PILLAI, Ravana the Great King of Lanka, (Tinnaveli, 1928), p.43.
22 T. MANIKKAVASAGAM, Eravaneswaran (Tamil), (Madurai, 1974), p.iii.
23 M.S. POORNALINGAM PILLAI, op.cit., p.45.
Sublime rationalism sweeps away mantras and tantras. Asoka, the Mauryan King converted himself into Buddhism (274-237 B.C.) and India comes under his sway. The King of Ceylon Devanampiya Tissa contemporary of King Asoka is also said to have converted himself to Buddhism. At his request the emperor Asoka sent his son or brother Mahinda (287 B.C.) to Ceylon, to preach the faith and later his daughter Sangamitra as a missionary to the women of Ceylon. She brought the sacred Bo-tree (Ficus Religious) (288 B.C.) under the shade of which Gautama Buddha had attained wisdom. It was planted at Anuradhapura, the then capital of Ceylon and still flourishes there with the pride of being the oldest historical tree in the world.

Thus Sri Lanka too received the light of Buddha. Tamils in South India and Sri Lanka too accepted his noble path. From about 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. Buddhism flourished among the Tamils. Then the Hindu backlash sweeps away Buddhism from the land of its birth. Hindu backlash of Sixth and Seventh Centuries engulfs Tamilnadu. Brahmins began to rule the roost. The Chera, Chola, Pandyas fell head over heels to honour and foster the Brahmins and Brahminic culture.


26 P. ARUNACHALAM, op.cit., p.32.

27 The Tamil Epic Manimegalai of Seventh Century A.D. gives graphic details of Buddhist Culture among Tamils.
Just as Ramayana dominated Indian scene the Mahavamsam written in Pali language by Mahanama, a Buddhist Monk in Sixth Century A.D. becomes the opium of the Sinhala Buddhist. 28 Racial relations in Sri Lanka were poisoned for good. The battles between Tamil King Ellara and Sinhala King Dutttagamini in 117 B.C. become prototype to Sinhala Tamil rivalries and conflicts. 29

Just as Ramayana portrays the Dravidians as Rakshas, Monkeys and Vultures and erected a great divide between Aryan and Dravidians the Mahavamsa Portrayed the Tamils as Yakshas and Nagas and erected a barrier between the two peoples which has not lost its impact even after 1500 years.

The history of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka starts with the arrival of Vijaya on the day of the Parinirvana of the Buddha on 543 B.C. 30 Vijaya the uncontrollable discarded scion with seven hundred persons deported from Kalinga the present Orissa in North India. There are conflicting views on the place of arrival of Vijaya in Sri Lanka. He is said to have landed in the West Coast of Sri Lanka. Later Sinhala historians invented the theory of origin of Vijaya in Gujarat

29 Ibid.
30 G.C. MENDIS, op.cit., p.5.
to fit in with the arrival on the Western Coast of Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus the early history of the Sinhalese is myth and mystery mixed. But even today the Sinhala masses in the grip of Buddhist Monks believe every work of Mahavamsa as gospel of truth. The ethnic conflict is deeply rooted in such myths. Anagariga Dharmapalas views were quotable in this context:

"Two thousand four hundred and forty five years ago colony of Aryans from the city of Sinhapura in Bengal ..... sailed in a vessel in search of fresh pastures ..... The descendents of the Aryan Colonists, were called Sinhala after their city Sinhapura which was founded by Sinhabahu the Lion armed King. The Lion armed descendents are the present Siinhalese."\textsuperscript{32}

The Mahavamsa continued to record that Vijaya married a native queen Kuveni. Through her Vijaya took over the leadership of the natives. Vijaya discarded Kuveni and brought brides for all of them from Tamilnadu. Such is the complexity of the origin of the Sinhalese. But it cannot be dismissed that due to Buddhist connection the Sinhala language took its base in Pali. Still the influence of Tamil on Sinhala Grammar and language is undeniable.

\textsuperscript{31} WILHELM GEIGHER, \textit{op.cit.}, p.180.

\textsuperscript{32} ANAGARIGA DHARMAPALA, \textit{History of Ancient Civilisation}, (Colombo, 1902), p.32.
After the battle of Ellara and Duttugamini and defeat of Ellara the Mahavamsa ceases to mention the Tamils. Thus there is a long period of void in the history of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

When Culavamsa (Second part of Mahavamsa) picks up the history of Sri Lanka, it concentrates on the Chera, Chola, Pandyas attacks on Sinhalese. This portion of history has left a deep impression on the Sinhala psyche. Professor Gnanantha Obeyasekara writes,

"The mythic significance of Dutugemunu as the Savior of the Sinhalese and of Buddhism grow through the years and developed into one of the most important myths of the Sinhalese, ready to be used as a powerful instrument of Sinhala Nationalism in modern times. Although the justification for killing is unusual, the general message that emerges is everywhere the same, the Sinhalese Kings are defenders of the secular realm and the 'Sasana' their opponents are the Tamils." 33

The incidents which have left the strongest impressions

on the Sinhalese are the attacks of Chera, Chola, Pandya Kings. It started on small scale but grew to almost total occupation during the time of Rajendra Cholan.

The Sinhalese Kings unable to face the South Indian attacks shifted their capitals from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa and later to South-west. 34

The Cholas made Polonnaruva their capital. Raja Raja-I had possessed a dominant position in Sri Lanka. He named it as Mummudi-sola Mandalam as one of the mandalams of the Chola empire. The architecture of this capital is wholly Cholan and remains as memories even today. 35 The temple, known as the Siva Devale, No.2, in Polonnaruva, was probably built during the Chola period. It is entirely of stone and belongs to the Eleventh Century Chola style. The dome of the Thuparama may also be due to Cholian influence. 36

The Chola Kings were not interested in keeping Sri Lanka under their suzerainty permanently. They took away the valuables to their country. When Chola power became weak in South India due to Chola-Pandya rivalries, Cholas called

34 P. ARUNACHALAM, op.cit., p.54.
off Sri Lanka. The Pandyas too had their share of attacks and plunder of Sri Lanka. These have left bitter memories in the psyche of the Sinhalese.

It cannot be said, that the Sinhalese were totally blameless. They too interfered in power struggle between Cholas and Pandyas by taking sides sending Sinhalese to South India.

It is now necessary to pick up the thread of history of Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese claim they were the first people to arrive in Sri Lanka. But the historical, archaeological facts of the land speak to the contrary. Dr. Paul E. Peris a renowned historian says that "The Dravidians were in the island long before the arrival of Vijaya" and yet the Sinhala fundamentalists choose to ignore these evidences.

Dr. Ponnampalam Raghupathy in his 'Early Settlements


38 G.C. MENDIS (2), op.cit.

39 PAUL E. PERIS, 'Nagadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna', The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C8, 1922), pp.11-30 Part II (C8, 1925), pp.42-67. Professor C.S. Navaratnam in his 'Tamils and Ceylon' Page 21 says, the urn burials unearthed in Puttalam resemble urn burials in Adichanallur supposed to belong to 1200 B.C. The presence of Dravidians in Sri Lanka before arrival of Vijaya is well established.
in Jaffna; an Archaeological Survey' writes,

"The hypothesis is that the first inhabitants could have migrated to Sri Lanka through a Land Bridge that existed between North Western Sri Lanka and South Eastern Tamilnadu." 40

Dr. Raghupathy places this migration of microlithic people around 32,000 B.C.

It has now been established by archaeological sources that even the dawn of history of Sri Lanka is indebted to the South India. It was the megalithic culture that mark the end of the pre-historic microlithic phase and the beginning of protohistoric in Sixth Century B.C. if not earlier. 41

Professor K.K. Pillay in his book 'South India and Sri Lanka' gives a glimpse of the antiquity of Tamils in Sri Lanka,

"It is clear that the Nagas were an ancient people in Sri Lanka. They appear to have been more advanced than the Veddas. Perhaps the Nagas become amalgamated with the Tamils and other South Indian peoples in early times. In any

41 Ibid., p.179.
case there is no doubt that the Nagas had adopted the Tamil language before the early centuries of the Christian Era and that there were some Naga poets associated with Tamil Sangam." 42

The mention of Ealathu Poothanthavanar in Tamil Sangam literature, around 200 B.C., the forty years of just rule of Ellara over the whole of Sri Lanka around 120 A.D., the songs of Thirugnana Sambandar and Sundara Moorthy on Thirukatheeswaram and Thirukonaeswaram in Sri Lanka in Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D. attest to continued presence of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

From 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. there was extensive trade connections of Tamilnadu with East and West. Mantivu or Manthai (present Mannar) in North Sri Lanka became a centre of trade. 43 Life in North Sri Lanka flourished and urban centres were established in North Sri Lanka.

From 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. Pallavas, Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas attacked Sri Lanka. Polonnaruva and Anuradhapura were the capital cities of these South Indian rulers. The Sinhala Kings retaliated around 1300 A.D. to take back

42 K.K. PILLAY (2), op.cit., p.22.
43 Ibid., p.2.
Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva areas. 44

The Tamils started to establish themselves in the North. Yalpāṇa Vaipava Malai, and Kailāya Malai, the quasi historical works speak about the origin of the Kings of Jaffna. 45

Around the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D. the Arya Chakravarthis established their rule in Jaffna. The line of Kings continued till the Seventeenth Century A.D. when the Portuguese who conquered Jaffna took the last Tamil King of Jaffna Sanghili Raja to Goa and executed him. The rule of Arya Chakravarthis extended from Chilaw in the West to Panama in the East through a system of Vannia Chieftains who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Jaffna King. 46

"A large scale movement of Colonists from Madurai to Jaffna occurred as a consequence of the attack on the Pandyan Kingdom by Muslims early in the Fourteenth Century A.D. Even after the destruction of the Madurai Sultanate by the Vijayanagara Generals Migration of Tamils from the Pandyan Kingdom to Jaffna continued. When the Vijayanagara Generals conquered the Tamil

44 G. C. MENNIS (2), op. cit., p. 69
45 MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM, Ancient Jaffna, being a Research into the History of Jaffna from very early times to the Portugese Period, (New Delhi, 1984), pp.272-325.
Kingdom of South and reorganised the administration of the land, they appointed their own officers for the administrative posts. The changes were distasteful to the influential section of the native people, particularly of the Vellala Caste in the Pandyan country. Consequently, many of them gave up their hearth and home in South India and proceeded to settle down in Jaffna."47

The Portuguese, who ruled in Sri Lanka from 1619-1638 A.D. had accepted the existence of Tamil lands and have left maps to indicate their existence. The Dutch who had ruled Sri Lanka from 1638-1795 A.D. also accepted the Tamil lands and many Dutch maps exist as proof. The British rule in Sri Lanka existed from 1796-1948 A.D. They started their rule on the basis of a Tamil Kingdom, a Kandayan Kingdom and a low country Sinhalese Kingdom.

In 1799, Sir Hugh Cleghorn, the first Colonial Secretary of Ceylon wrote in his famous 'Cleghorn Minute',

"Two different nations from very ancient period have divided between them the possession of the island, the Sinhalese inhabitating the interior

47 K.K. PILLAY (2), op.cit., p.139.
in its Southern and Western parts from the river
Wallouwe to that of Chilow and the Malabars
(another name for Tamils) who possess Northern
and Eastern Districts. These two nations differ
entirely in religion, language and manners. 48

The Kandayan Kingdom came under the rule of Naickers
of South India and remained with them till the British defeated
the Kandayan King Sri Vikrama Raja Singha, on 24th January
1816, brought him to Vellore and kept him under guard till
his death. 49 The impact of Naicker rule in Kandy is clearly
visible in the social and cultural history of Kandiyan Sinhalese.

But in 1833 A.D. based on Colbrook recommendation,
the British brought the three Kingdoms together and made
English the official language 'For Administrative Convnience.' 50
Thus it is clear the Tamils have existed in Sri Lanka as
a separate people from pre-historic time till 1833 A.D.

With the arrival of Europeans in Sri Lanka first, the
Christianity, and later the English language started to take

48 K.M.de.SILVA (1), The 'Traditional Homelands' of the
Tamils Separatist Ideology in Sri Lanka: A Historical

49 The details may be observed from Willam Granville,
Deportation of Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha, originally published
at Colombo in 1830 and later reproduced in Ceylon Literary
Registrar, Vol. II, No. 11, 1934, pp.487-507; and Vol. III,
No. 12, 1934, pp.543-550.

50 K.M.de.SILVA (2), op.cit., p.235.
root. Gradually an English educated elite from both Sinhala and Tamil communities took monopoly of Sri Lankan politics. The Tamils took the lead in education and in time began to exert a greater influence in politics and administration in Sri Lanka. In 1885, Indian National Congress was formed and later Mahatma Gandhi had started agitation for freedom from British rule in India. This idea caught on in Sri Lanka too, the two Tamil brothers Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan and Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam were in the forefront of the freedom movement in Sri Lanka.

The British had started preparation for the gradual handover of power to the Sri Lankans. In 1931, the Donoughmore Commission granted adult franchise. Sir Pon. Ramanathan was a far-sighted statesman. He predicted 'with their brute majority the Sinhalese will crush the Tamils.' He also advised his brother Sir Pon. Arunachalam not to trust the Sinhalese. Disregarding this advice Sir Pon. Arunachalam joined the Sinhalese and took leading role in Ceylon National Congress. The Sinhalese promised Colombo West seat to Sir Pon. Arunachalam but at the last moment they went back on their promise. Sir Pon. Arunachalam was furious. He rushed to Jaffna and set up the Hindu Mahasabha and even talked of setting up

52 Ibid.
"Eelam". Indeed a prophetic insight into future events. 53

In 1936 the Sinhalese set up the 'Pan-Sinhalese Ministry' excluding all minorities, 54 which was against the idea of balanced representation by the Tamil political leaders. Sinhala chauvinism was well and truly on the march, even before Independence.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam started all Ceylon Tamil Congress in 1944 and became the uncrowned King of the Tamils. He propounded the theory of Fifty-Fifty in a plural society on "balanced representation" to minorities to check Sinhala domination. 55

Britain sent Lord Soulbury in 1943 to report on grant of Independence to Sri Lanka. The United National Party leading the Sinhalese, boycotted the Soulbury Commission but behind the scenes D.S. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonatilake promised Governor Generalship to Lord Soulbury and he wrote the Constitution on the basis of transferring all the powers to the majority Sinhalese. 56

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53 Ibid.
G.G. Ponnambalam objected to Lord Soulbury's recommendation and spoke before Lord Soulbury for ten hours and requested provisions to safeguard minority rights. Lord Soulbury did not accept Ponnambalam's plea since it was a "Communal representation" in a different name. But provided Section 29 as a safeguard to minorities. The Sinhala Governments ignored this provision.

The British followed the divide and rule policy in all their colonies. Sri Lanka was no exception, the Sinhalese and Tamils were divided on religion, language and customs. Conveniently, the British made full use of this situation.

Britishers concentrated in developing the plantations in Sri Lanka. They started with coffee plantations in the 1820's and when coffee blight destroyed coffee crop in 1880, and they switched over to tea. The Sri Lankan and Sinhalese are not used to hard physical labour, privatation and regimentation.

So the Britishers imported indentured labour from

The case for it was ably argued by Mr.G.G. Ponnambalam in his Presidential Address, First Plenary Session, The All Ceylon Tamil Congress, November 27, 1944.

Tamilnadu. Starting from 1823 A.D. Indian labour specially Tamils from South India flocked to Sri Lanka until it grew to a total of ten lakhs. Indian Tamils as they were contemptuously called were paid the lowest wages.

They were forced to live under inhuman insanitary conditions. With their blood and sweat 'Indian Tamils' turned Sri Lanka into a Paradise of Tea Plantation. The English, Sinhalese and Tamil elite flattered the sweat of the Indian Tamils. Plantations industry grew by leaps and bounds and it earned sixty-five percent of the foreign exchange for Sri Lanka.

The way the British betrayed the Indian Tamils and the Sri Lankan Tamils by handing over Sri Lanka lock stock and barrel to the Sinhala majority in a big block, blot on British history.

The way the Sinhalese majority treated first the Indian Tamils and then the Sri Lankan Tamils was the root-cause to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The Indian Tamils were in a very dangerous situation living among Sinhalese in poverty and ignorance and they could not fight back. They were made political orphans by the first Bill passed in the Independent

Parliament in Ceylon in 1948.

Having reduced the Indian Tamil to near slavery the Sinhala chauvinists turned their eyes on Sri Lankan Tamils.

The Sinhalese decided to weaken the Sri Lankan Tamils in stages. Each Sinhala Prime Minister made his due contribution till J.R. Jayawardene's rule, when it took genocidal proportions.

The first physical attacks on Tamils were started in 1956 on racial rights of Gal Oya Valley.

The Sri Lankan Tamils came to live with the Sinhalese only after the British rule and that too after 1833 when the three Kingdoms of North, Centre and West were brought together for administrative convenience.

A small elite of English-educated Sinhalese and Tamils came to power in all walks of life under the British administration. Hard work on the plantations were given to Indian Tamils.

Large number of English educated Sri Lankan Tamils because of proficiency in English, mild nuances, and hard work came to monopolise the Government service. This has been a source of bitterness to Sinhalese.  

How this situation came into existence deserves study as it throws a flood light on Sinhala-Tamil relations.

The first family of importance that migrated to the South was the family of Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan and his brother Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam. Their uncle Muthucomaraswamy became a 'Mudaliyar' in the Governor's Court. 61

Ramanathan's was a gifted family and they impressed British and advocated the Sinhalese and earned a niche for themselves in political life in Colombo.

In fact, Ramanathan led the freedom movement and was respected and loved by the Sinhalese.

In time a Tamil tide followed into Colombo and South Sri Lanka. Hosts of educated job seekers, traders and professionals of Sri Lankan Tamils, streamed in Colombo and the Southern areas of Sri Lanka.

The Tamils who came to South may be classified into three groups. The top crust which consisted of the wealthiest lived in Cinnaman Gardens and Race Course areas. The middle group consisting of professionals and Government servants specially clerks lived in Ghettos in Wellawatte, Colpetty and

61 M. VYTHILINGAM, op.cit., p.129.
Dehiwala areas. A sizeable group of Tamil traders took root in Pettah, the centre of local trade. 62

The Tamil settlers in Colombo are called 'Colombo Tamils.' These people played a key role in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Sri Lanka. By and large, the Tamils in the North and the East lived in isolation outside Sinhalese contacts.

The Colombo Tamils became close friends of Sinhalese and together opposed the British. The Sinhalese pretended to be friends and made Tamil leaders to pull the chest-nut out of the fire.

But when their position became safe stand the Sinhalese leaders raised their hands against the Tamils. With absolute majority in their hands they proceeded slowly and steadily to cut the Tamils to size. 63

When the Tamils woke up to the realities of the situation it was too late. The Tamils in the North and East became involved in Sri Lankan politics and intime into racial conflicts.

While the Tamils were deeply involved in Parliamentary politics of British model, the Sinhalese leadership was organising the Sinhala Buddhist masses for racial riots across the island.

Now with the massive majority power at their command the Sinhala leaders organised the Sinhala masses for the island-wide racial riots and it is told in Chapters II to VI.

It was only around 1983 after the Black July events in Welikada jail and the island-wide holocaust the Tamil youth started to resist Sinhalese and their terrorism.

The details of the events from 1956 to 1987 are recorded in every other chapter. The Indian involvement is also described so that the attempted genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka may be seen in their true ferocity and steps that were taken to find a reasonable dignified permanent solution may be found.

This thesis start from the year 1956. In order to give an insight into the period from 1948 to 1956 which is of background significance and as a character study of a leading Sinhalese political leaders, a study of Don Stephen Senanayake the first Prime Minister of Independent Sri Lanka is given below.

The man who made the first move to suppress the Tamils both Indian and Sri Lankan is Don Stephen Senanayake. He
had come into politics via the temperance movement started by Anagariga Dharmapala the father of Sinhala Buddhist Nationalism. 64 D.S. Senanayake and his brother F.R. Senanayake were arrested and imprisoned in connection with the Sinhalese-Muslim riots of 1915. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan went to Britain, and pleaded for their release. They were set free. In return both brothers were in the forefront of Anti-Tamil activities. 65 D.S. Senanayake worked through the Government and F.R. Senanayake worked in public. But he died prematurely.

The Senanayakes were high caste Goigama (farmers) with large coconut estates. D.S. Senanayake was a Minister of Agriculture from 1936 in the State Council in Sri Lanka. He became the first Prime Minister of Independent Sri Lanka in 1948. He had his English education only up to the high school standard (8th Standard) and a plumbago merchant by trade. But he was the shrewdest politician and accustomed to political intrigue since the premature death of his elder brother Francis Richard Senanayake in 1926. 66

D.S. Senanayake initiated the Sinhala Colonisation of traditional Tamil lands which remains the most sensitive issue in the conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils. He also set

64 K.M.de.SILVA (2), op.cit., p. 365.
65 M. VYTHILINGAM, op.cit., p. 592.
66 A. JAYARATNAM WILSON, op.cit., p. 92.
up Buddhist Shrines in Tamil areas and encouraged Sinhalese to visit these areas and claim their rights to ownership of these places of pilgrimage. This move started religious clashes between the Buddhist and Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Together with a fanatical Sinhala Archaeologist Paranavithana, D.S. Senanayake set in motion falsification of Sri Lankan history. So much so scholars of today find it hard to unscramble this mischief.

D.S. Senanayake collected around him leaders from various community by offering them offices and gratifications and presented a facade of unity and made Britain give Independence to Sri Lanka. D.S. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Gunatilake worked behind the scene and made Britain to transfer all powers to Sinhalese while Tamil law pundits were minutely studying of law. He promised Governor Generalship to Lord Soulbury and made him hand over Sri Lanka to the Sinhalese. This action is the course of the immense suffering of the minorities especially Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The first Bill presented by D.S. Senanayake in the Independent Parliament in Sri Lanka was the Citizenship Act No.18 of 1948. The Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act No.3 of 1949 made ten lakhs of 'Indian Tamils' stateless.

persons in Lanka. The injustice due to a people who have made a Sri Lanka a paradise of plantation is the very limit of inhuman act.

The leading Sinhalese political scientist, I.D.S. Weerawardena, in an article entitled, 'The Minorities and the Citizenship Act', aptly mentioned that the disfranchisement of the Indians was 'a broken pledge to all the minorities'. Further he stated, the moral basis of the Soulbury Constitution has been wiped away.

D.S. Senanayake divided the Tamils by this move and made both sections weak politically. Those who came to power after him concentrated all their efforts on suppressing Sri Lankan Tamils.

Ceylon with its multi 'races' and religions, had bound together under the supervision of an outsider such as a neutral imperial power, but once the imperial power withdrew, the primodial concepts of 'race', language and religion of distinct groups began to reassert themselves. Statesmenship and political accommodation would be essential if the superficial national unity left behind by the departing power were to...


be maintained. But instead the group to which the power was transferred and its leaders preferred to go back in time to the days of the Sinhalese Kings, using modern homogenised Britain as a model. Historical myths and legends were recreated to reinforce this idea. However, primordialism is many faceted, and just as Sinhalese Buddhist ethnic majority sought to revive the past in modern suit, so the Tamil minority in its turn began to take refuge in the fact that in Ceylon there had once been a separate Tamil Kingdom. 70

D.S. Senanayake died in 1952 falling from a horse on Gall Face Green. To the very end the people believed he was a fair and just man, because he managed to keep around him leaders who were prepared to betray their people. A classic case is G.G. Ponnambalam the uncrowned King of Sri Lankan Tamils and the President of All Ceylon Tamil Congress who having opposed Senanayake bitterly and then somersaulted to become Minister in D.S. Senanayake's Cabinet. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam sized up D.S. Senanayake and opposed his Bill depriving citizenship to Indian Tamils. 71 His arguments in the Parliament were famous. D.S. Senanayake tried to win over S.J.V. Chelvanayagam by both fair and foul means but failed. To revenge Chelvanayagam, D.S. Senanayake said,

70 A. JAYARATNAM, op. cit., p.22.

'I do not trust lean and hungry looking man' an acid comment which gives an insight into D.S. Senanayake's bitter feelings of failure.\textsuperscript{72} S.J.V. Chelvanayagam lived to fight not only D.S. Senanayake many more Sinhala leaders who opposed the rights of Tamils.

It is interesting to know that before his death, D.S. Senanayake had requested Governor-General, Lord Soulbury that his son Dudley Senanayake must be made Prime Minister after his death.\textsuperscript{73} Such is the family clanish outlooks that reveal the true nature of D.S. Senanayake.

By sheer force of intrigue Dudley Senanayake, son of D.S. Senanayake became Prime Minister and held the position from 1952-'54. In his turn, he pursued policies divisive of the state like the same way as his father. At the campaign of General Election of 1952, held immediately after his father's death, Dudley Senanayake fully involved in the communal speeches against the Indian Tamils. He asserted that they were a threat to the Kandyan Sinhalese and the left wing M.Ps. in the 1947-'52 Parliament had been traitors to 'the Sinhalese race' because they had voted against legislation depriving the Indian Tamils of their citizenship rights (1948

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{73} A. JAYARATNAM WILSON, \textit{op.cit.}, p.61.
There was no enlightenment regarding Ceylon's diverse states of multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious and the land.

Later Sir John Kotalawala a nephew of D.S. Senanayake became Prime Minister in 1954 and stayed still 1956. In 1954, Kotalawala, made a Pact with the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru regarding issuing the citizenship rights for the plantation Tamils. But his Premiership failed to arrest the growing conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils.

Then the avalanche of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's landslide victory in the General Elections of 1956 brought the House of the Bandaranaike's to power and the House of Senanayake's lie in wait to grab power.

This merry go round of political intrigue has reduced Sri Lanka to economic, social and political unrest and uncertainty of trials and tragedies.

In this Chapter, a short account is given indicating the details of the land mass of Sri Lanka. In the second part, a detailed account of the people, from ancient to modern

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74 A. JAYARATNAM WILSON, op.cit., p.93.

75 Proposals relating to Persons of Indian Origin in Ceylon Framed by the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India in New Delhi on 18th January, 1954, Ceylon Treaty Series, No. I of 1954.
It will be noted that from the time of the arrival of Vijaya on 543 B.C. right up to modern times, there have been constant conflicts between the two peoples. After independence was given in 1948, the Sinhalese using their brute majority wanted to crush the Tamil. In course of time this led to physical violence from 1956, to racial riots in Gal Oya Valley. In this Chapter the historical events are recorded upto 1956. Immediately after the independence of both the countries, India and Sri Lanka stood independently, without any remarkable involvement on each other affairs. India followed a non-alignment policy and the Sri Lankan Tamil question did not become an issue in Indian politics.

In Chapter II, we pick up the trail of events of Sri Lanka from 1956 which is the commencement of the period of study of this thesis.