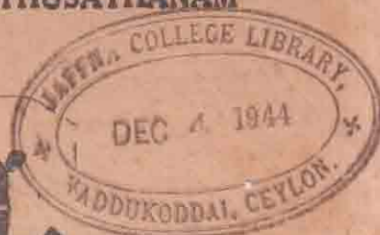


THE Hindu Organ.



Editor:
A. V. Kulasingham

The Only Newspaper in Ceylon for the Hindus
PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND THURSDAY

VOL. LVI.

'Phone 56.

JAFFNA, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1944.

NO. 65.

MEN and women delegates from all parts of the island attended the plenary session of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress held at the Colombo Town Hall last Monday.

The hall was packed to overflowing. Proceedings began with the singing of the national song by Balasangeetha Thilakam Master S Sethukulasingham. The President of the Congress, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam was then garlanded. Dewan Bahadur I. X. Pereira, chairman of the reception committee, welcomed the president and delegates.

"This meeting will live as a historic one in the life of the Tamils in Ceylon" he said. "The leaders of the United Nations have already commenced to draw up plans for the future world in which men and women in all countries may be able to lead a full life free from the twin fears of want and exploitation and I trust that India and Ceylon will occupy honoured places in the New World Order."

"Among the people of Ceylon we Tamils, have a special cause for rejoicing as the United Nations are arraying their might to drive back Japanese aggression. Over a million and a half of Tamils are living in occupied territories of Burma, Malaya, and Indo China separated from their kith and kin in Ceylon and India. We are anxiously awaiting the time when they will be liberated from the oppressors and contacts re established with their dearest and nearest ones."

"At such a time when the whole world is awaiting a period of reconstruction the people of Ceylon have been offered an opportunity of shaping their future. Ceylon's vital contribution to the war effort has been acknowledged and in recognition and appreciation of this contribution, she is going to have certain constitutional reforms. In this war effort the Tamil workers in the tea and rubber estates have made immense and most selfless contributions. They have worked hard without remission even on days of rest under conditions in which the obtaining of the essential food articles became much more difficult than for any other section of the population."

Main Purpose

"The main purpose of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress is to assure for Tamils full opportunity to contribute their best to the country. In this country we have various communities and it is our object to work with all progressive elements in shaping a mode of government and administration that will permit each and every community to live in security and contribute its due share towards the national weal."

"The aims and objects of this Congress are directed for the attainment of that objective. This Congress believes that the peaceful and full development of every com-

TAMIL CONGRESS PLENARY SESSION

FIGHT FOR FAIRPLAY

munity is essential for the all-round development of Ceylon. This Congress is not against any community or any person. Politics is not its only purpose.

"Its other objects include the preservation of the culture, civilization and traditions of our ancient Tamil community. The heritage that is ours is a sacred one and it must be preserved. It is a trust imposed on us by our forebears that we should enrich that heritage and pass it on to posterity. A duty is therefore cast upon us, Tamils, that we should enrich that heritage and share it with the other communities amidst whom we live so that the life and culture of the country as a whole may be raised and ennobled."

"I am confident that you will by your united and enthusiastic support make this Congress a fitting instrument to help us to fulfil such exalted obligations. These objectives are as integral a part of this Congress as its political activities. It is a great consolation that this side of our activities cannot give rise to any acrimonious controversies."

"In its political aims it is unfortunate that the Congress has aroused opposition in certain quarters. We are held out to be anti this and anti that. Our objects and aims so fully set out in our constitution are the best reply to that criticism. We are here not to waste our substance and energy in destructive activities. This Congress shall satisfy the most ardent nationalist, the most outright democrat, the most stalwart upholder of social justice and the radical advocate of social uplift. But we oppose all pseudo-nationalism that would impose on this country the rule of one unchangeable and fixed majority. We are opposed to the continuance or imposition of any system of Government that permits the exploitation of racial feelings to grasp power and the natural abuse of such power. We welcome true nationalism. We are as eager as any one else to have self-government; in fact, we are for Purana Swarajiam that will assure equality of status and opportunity to every community inhabiting this country. Our foremost object is to work for and achieve such Swarajiam."

Greatful To Europeans

"Let us not, however father every evil that we see in this country on our present rulers. It is not the characteristic of the people of the East to be ungrateful. You can convince no one by proclaiming and

and repeating that when the Europeans reached Ceylon the country was better developed and the education more widespread of efficient than it is today. We have to be grateful ever to the Europeans who brought to us the blessings of peace for over a century and the use of much of the scientific knowledge and the administrative skill of the West."

"No doubt no country can grow to its full stature without self-government. Good government in the words of a great British statesman and Prime Minister is no substitute for self-government. It is for us, members of all communities, to unite in formulating a united demand for Swarajiam on the basis of democratic equality and opportunity for all communities. The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress stands pledged to secure a mode of representation in the legislature of the country that will on the one hand prevent a racial and communal caucus from sitting entrenched in power and on the other promote conditions which will facilitate mutual understanding and confidence among the elected representatives of the various communities. It is a balanced distribution of strength that will remove racial groups and create parties based on politics."

"Such is our aim and we confidently appeal to all men of goodwill to support us and it should be our endeavour to broadcast this call for co-operation to help our Lanka on the road to Swarajiam based on democratic equality and equality of opportunity to all sections of the population."

"It is needless for me to say here that the Tamils and the people of Ceylon as a whole are indebted to Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam to the bold, persistent, capable and selfless advocacy of a mode of government which will give to every community its self-respect and equal opportunity to contribute its best to the rich mosaic of this country. He has stood for this ideal against odds. Mr. Ponnambalam is the pillar of our peoples' hope, and the very embodiment of the aims, ambitions and aspirations of the Tamil people in Ceylon. He is the spearhead of our national movement. No one is more fitted to guide this Congress to its goal."

Mr. Ponnambalam

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, President of the Congress, said that he drew inspiration from the sight before him. His countrymen had assembled there in large numbers and he derived inspiration from that and from the expressions in their

faces. They belonged to a great race and the root of that race had now been discovered at the foot of the Himalayans. They were not going to be serfs to foreign masters but settlers in their own land.

They had had independent kingdoms for many centuries and never acknowledged foreign yoke until the advent of Dutch and English maritime powers. They had supplied spouses to the Sinhalese Kings and the last Sinhalese King was exclusively a Tamil. When their very peaceful existence was now threatened it could not be said they were doing anything wrong.

The ratio of one Sinhalese to one Tamil existed in 1889. In 1912 there were two Tamil seats to three Sinhalese in the Legislative Council. Up to 1920 there was complete equality in the matter of representation.

The virtues of territorial representation attracted many and they voluntarily invited that form of election. The result was that although it was election on a territorial basis, it resulted in election on a communal basis. In 1922-31 of the 37 total members in the Legislature there were 18 members for the majority and 19 for the minorities. Of the 19 minority members nine were Tamils.

Mr. Ponnambalam added that under the new constitution the majority members voted in a bloc. Hansard showed that since 1931 to 1944 the Sinhalese majority members voted in a bloc and the minority member separately.

He cited the Village Communities Ordinances and other instances in support of his statement.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that in regard to the University site the Minister of Local Administration, not to be outdone by Mr. Akbar, had sought to establish a city in the jungles of Anuradhapura, in spite of all the protests of the minority members. There too the voting went that way.

When the Donoughmore Commission came here, continued Mr. Ponnambalam, why was there no opposition to the principle of representation that existed in the pre-Donoughmore era? Did Sir Baron Jayatilaka and others even allege that the country had remotely suffered by an anti-national attitude of the minorities? They could not say that because they knew only too well that they had on all questions risen superior to sectional differences and acted unitedly.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that at the Balangoda elections pictures of Tamils breaking Buddhist dagobas were paraded on the roads. Communal strife was rampant.

The Jews in Palestine and the Maoris were granted communal representation with weightage but this principle was anathema to the Sinhalese political purists. The

(Continued on page 3)



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1944

THE TAMIL CONGRESS

THE PLENARY SESSION OF the Tamil Congress is over. We trust that the work of the Congress will not be confined to the holding of an annual session and the formulation of the political demands of the Tamils. The Working Committee will have plenty of work to do, making the organisation stronger and more widespread, and emphasising the cultural claims of the Tamils. The political issues between the Tamils and the majority community are, no doubt, vital, and they have to be fought out with grim determination. But, the culture of the Tamils is the one thing that holds all Tamils together, and in the years to come this will have to be understood and appreciated to a greater extent than has been the case hitherto. This is why the Tamil Congress has a great future before it, and it is our earnest hope that the plenary session is only an earnest of what the Congress will accomplish for the Tamils.

It is too late in the day for the Ministers and their supporters to pretend that they do not understand the reason for the emergence of the Tamil Congress. That reason is none other than the wilful attempt of the Singhalese politicians to submerge the minorities. According to these politicians, Ceylon is the country of the Singhalese, and nobody else has any business in the island. The other day, Mr. D. S. Senanayake modified this by saying that he was only against the Indians. When it is understood that Mr. Senanayake and his friends are getting on very well with the Borahs and other well-to-do merchants of Colombo, it is possible to understand the implications of Mr. Senanayake's reservations. As we have said more than once in these columns, it is the Tamils, and not the Indians as such, who are the target of Mr. Senanayake's policy.

When Mr. Senanayake tells us that he is against the Indians only, he will excuse us if we exercise our right to disbelieve him. We are convinced that the majority of the Singhalese people are not against the Indians as such. Their religion, language and literature are of Indian origin. It is the predatory elements in the Low-country, that have come to the political front-line as a result of adult franchise, who think that the greater virtue of nationalism is to dispossess others of their property. In 1915 the Muslims were the enemies.

Today it is the Indians. Tomorrow, if they only had the courage for it, it will be the Europeans.

The only visible reaction of the Low-country politicians to the activities of the Tamil Congress has come from the Board of Ministers. The latter has protested against the action of the Chief Secretary in permitting Government servants to become members of the Congress. We are unable to see how this attitude of the Ministers can be justified. Besides, the membership of a body like the Tamil Congress with its cultural as well as political aims can in no sense injure the discipline of the Public Service. Such membership is far less objectionable than the activities of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and Mr. George E. de Silva when they visited the North some time ago. These gentlemen travelling about on State duty, and drawing pay and allowances from the State, managed to put in a piece of sly enterprise and propaganda for the Board of Ministers. The other reaction which we had occasion to note is the Ministerial protest against the petrol coupons said to have been issued to the promoters of the Tamil Congress. The request for the coupons appears to have been refused by Mr. Bandaranaike, presumably on political grounds. There was an appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who allowed the application. It is against this that the Ministers are protesting.

All this makes it clear that the Tamil Congress has come none too soon. We are afraid that the future of Ceylon, at least for some years, will have to be worked out on communal lines, thanks to the folly of the Singhalese politicians.

Petrol Protest By Ministers

Tamil Congress Meeting Issue

Immediately following a meeting of the Board of Ministers held on Monday, the Ministers called on the Officer Administering the Government, Sir Robert Drayton at Queen's House, and protested against the alleged grant of coupons for one hundred gallons of petrol to the organisers of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress to "round up" members to attend the plenary session.

It is understood that the Minister of Local Administration had turned down the request, upon which the organisers had appealed from that order to the Commander-in-Chief, who had countermanded the order of the Minister and allowed the application.

Further action on this matter is contemplated by the Ministers.

The Ministers have sent a cable to the Secretary of State, setting out their view that no public servant should be permitted to join or to be a member of any association or body whose activities include politics. They have also requested the Secretary of State to withdraw any permission previously given to Government servants to join any political organisation.

THE TAMIL CONGRESS

(By a Correspondent)

The Colombo Town Hall was filled to its utmost on Monday the 27th instant when the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress held the first Plenary Session. The large Hall held a gathering that displayed the greatest enthusiasm all through the proceedings which lasted from ten in the morning until nine in the night. Every nook of the building was occupied and the corridors were also used as points of vantage. It was a credit to the organisers. But, of course, the credit for it in a large measure was due to the manner in which the President Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, conducted the proceedings.

His conduct of the meeting was worthy of a tried and experienced statesman of the first rank. He displayed rare tact in dealing with the matters that came up for consideration and his grace and charm were striking features of the proceedings. He was firm when needed but withal he was courteous.

Once a member from the audience desired to say a few words against a resolution which was almost accepted. Really he would have been out of order and the President would have been within his rights to disallow any attempt at trying to speak, but he dealt with the matter with tact and said that he did not wish to stir discussion though really it was not in order.

Another incident in the proceedings is worth mentioning. A member, evidently belonging to the Communist Party, desired to speak opposing a certain resolution. The President allowed him to have his say.

When he had concluded, the President said "I do not quite agree with what he has said. But it is going to be a family affair and I will call upon his uncle to reply to the remarks made by the nephew. The fact that a youngster has the independence and courage to express his views in spite of the strong contrary views held by the entire audience is a sure and welcome sign that the Tamil race is not decadent."

C. C. S. EXAMINATION SCANDAL

In the course of a discussion regarding the C. C. S. examination scandal, at a meeting of the Board of Ministers on Monday, it became apparent that the mistake in forwarding the names of the candidates to the examiners could not be laid at the door of the supervisor, because supervisors do not normally have access to the names of candidates.

It is now established that if the supervisor came to possess the names of the candidates it could have happened only if the names were made available to him by the Secretariat, which alone had the names. Who gave him the names and why, and what instructions accompanied the names are some of the mysteries that are now being unravelled. A close scrutiny is being made of all the allegations that have been made.

It appears that in one particular paper all the candidates have passed while in the intelligence test which comprised 125 questions one particular candidate answered 121.

Scraps Of Paper

"Not Obligated To Carry Out Pledges"

The following are copies of the documents produced by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam in the State Council on the 22nd inst. with reference to which Mr. V. Nalliah, member for Trincomalee-Batticaloa said that he was in no way obliged to carry out any of the pledges.

"To the Voters of the Trincomalee-Batticaloa Electorate:

If I am elected as your representative, I undertake to work for the early reform of the Ceylon constitution with a view to rectifying the present helpless position of the various minority communities in the Island. This could only be assured under a constitution which would give all the minority communities in the Island parity in representation with the majority community.

"When the demand for increased representation for minority communities is conceded, I shall press for the allocation of 5 seats for the Eastern Province with 2 reserved for the Muslims of the province.

"I am strongly of opinion that the Indo-Ceylon differences should be settled early, on the basis of full citizenship rights for all Indians now resident in Ceylon who would choose to make Ceylon their homeland."

Sgd. V. Nalliah,

Candidate for the Trincomalee-Batticaloa Electorate,
G. G. Ponnambalam Esq., M.S.C.
Sir,

The above pledge will be incorporated in my Election manifesto. You may, if you so desire, give any form of publicity to this pledge in the meantime."

Sgd. V. Nalliah,

To
Mr. T. B. Jayah Esq., M. S. C.
and other members of the
Minority Group in the
State Council.

"I give a pledge that I will stand by you in your fight for the re-introduction of the principle of Balanced Representation.

(b) for securing full citizenship rights for Indians in Ceylon;

(c) for securing five seats for the Eastern Province with two reserved for the Muslims of the Province."

Sgd. V. Nalliah,

Candidate for the Trincomalee-Batticaloa Seat,
28.10.43
Batticaloa.

KARAINAGAR, VEYAVILLE HINDU TAMIL SCHOOL

The annual meeting and the prize-giving function of this school will be held on the 8th December 1944 commencing at 6 p.m., at the Thiruvalluvaraswami Mandapam of the school. Mr. H. S. Pereira M. A., the Director of Education has kindly consented to preside.

Mr. C. Cumaraswamy C. C. S. Government Agent N. P., will speak on the Development of food products and Mrs. Cumaraswamy will distribute the prizes.

Messrs. V. Veerasingam E. A. Principal, Hindu College, Manipal and P. Navaratnam M. A. Teacher, Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, will also speak.

TAMIL CONGRESS PLENARY SESSION

(Continued from page 1)

Muslims in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies were getting 100 per cent weightage. So also said Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, the Irish in England.

In the communal award worked out in 1931 by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Hindus who were 72 per cent. of the population were given only 42 per cent. of the seats in the Federal Assembly. The Lake House press had stated that he was endeavouring to reduce the majority into a minority. He had always thought that 50 was half of 100. He felt that the mentors of the Lake House should revise their notions on arithmetic.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam said that the Tamils came to Ceylon not as serfs in a foreign country but as rulers in their own rights and settlers in their own land.

It was very easy to foam at the mouth against communal representation, as Mr. D. S. Senanayake did, continued Mr. Ponnambalam. Territorial representation had crystallised the most arrant communalism in this country. Every single hope expressed by the Donoughmore Commissioners, every single anticipation of Lord Passfield's and every single pious wish of Governor Stanley's had been falsified. The presentiment and the premonition of Sir P. Ramanathan that the Donoughmore Constitution would be death to the minority communities had proved true.

The Ministers, in their second memorandum on Reforms in 1934 had referred to "those who described themselves as belonging to the minority communities." In other words, they denied the very existence of minority communities. Were they a species from the Zoo?

In 1937 came Sir Andrew Cladecott. The Ministers could not have had a Governor more after their own heart.

Alluding to his 'fifty-fifty' demand, he said that in a scheme of balanced representation the Sinhalese would be more powerful than all the others because the Sinhalese were one cohesive unit while the minorities were heterogeneous.

Mr. D. S. Senanayake had complained that he was tricked and by-passed by the Secretary of State in sending a Commission. The Ministers had attempted not to by-pass but outflank the Tamils. Mr. Senanayake wanted impenetrable walls to be constructed round White Hall. But to that same office he had sent by air his emissary.

Enfranchisement of Indian Tamils

Mr. Ponnambalam demanded full enfranchisement of the Indian Tamils. He denounced a Cabinet system of government as it would mean the enthronement of a communist dictatorship. He suggested a "cross" between the Executive Committee system and a composite Cabinet system.

The war effort, he declared, was the outcome of the sweat of the Tamil labourer on the tea and rubber estates.

The complete machinery of Government was being twisted to suit the ambitions of one clique. The minorities were being out-flanked by Mr. Senanayake. It was his plan to deny to the other communities a free vote in the State Council.

It was bewildering to analyse the words of Mr. Senanayake.

Bluff And Bluster

Mr. Senanayake's tactics consisted mostly of bluff and bluster. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke was his advance publicity agent—sent by air to England Sir Oliver's ambition was to usher in not a brave new world but a New Jerusalem—even in the arid North. He was playing the part of John the Baptist in Jaffna.

The only surplus profit in this country was produced by the Indian Tamil man and woman power in the estates. The Europeans would admit that. These were to be denied the franchise. The discrimination was not economic but political. Sir Herbert Stanley had declared that the Sinhalese representatives would attempt to disenfranchise the Tamils by some means or other. The Tamil race would not any longer tolerate civic and political inferiority.

He invited every Tamil man and woman worthy of the race to fight until enfranchisement was granted to the Tamil labourer. He also advocated the upliftment of the so-called depressed classes. Let the Tamils purge themselves of this cancer in their body and stand as one united community.

He wished to state categorically that there was an attempt to foist on the country a political system on the English plan. This presupposed two major political parties though there had been no trace of any such parties in Ceylon at least the last 15 years. He suggested a composite cabinet on the Swiss plan. No one wants an autocrat nominating his colleagues and calling it a cabinet.

The Tamil Congress would oppose the appointment of deputy ministers.

He hoped all minorities would spurn the idea of nominations and fight for their own representation in the State Council.

Government service and brains were the chief industries of the Tamils. Selections to the Public Services should be by merit alone. He condemned the composition of the selection boards which contained men who could not even enter the portals of a university.

The Tamils were a poor and hardworked community. They had been in the vanguard of the movement for freedom. In the name of the Tamil community he appealed to England who had been the bastion of liberty for ages, the trustees of smaller peoples to see that the Tamils were not left to the mercies of political obscurantism.

Afternoon Session

At the opening of the afternoon sessions of the Congress, the Secretary read messages of goodwill received from Mr. S. Natesan, Father Ganaprasader, Mr. T. S. S. Raghav, Rev. James Mather, Mr. H. R. Freeman, Sir Thomas Villiers, Sir Mohamed Macan Markar, Mr. J. G. Rajakumar, and many others.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam from the chair, formally moved the resolution that:—The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress calls upon all Tamils in Ceylon to work for the attainment of Saraj based on the principle that no single com-

munity shall be in a position to dominate the others.

Mr. M. Kanagasunderam, delegate from Batticaloa seconded. The proceedings from that stage onwards were mainly in Tamil.

Mr. T. Balasubramaniam spoke in Tamil supporting the resolution. The motion was then put to the house and carried.

Mr. A. Arulampalam the Jaffna delegate moved that:—The Congress recognising as fundamental the unity and indivisibility of the Tamil race, deprecates all attempt to divide the Tamils into sections and groups and pledges itself to work for the welfare of the race as a whole.

Mr. P. Raju Secretary of the Ghandhi Kalagam seconded.

Mr. S. Rupasingham in supporting the motion said that a newspaper should be started at once to represent the views of the Tamils. It could be done easily and he saw no great difficulty in raising a lakh of rupees from among the Tamils. The only new paper on whom they were now able to depend was "The Times of Ceylon." The other newspapers never published their views.

Mr. Jeganathan Tyagaraja M. S. C. moved that: "This Congress while conceding that the functioning of the Executive Committee system under the Donoughmore Scheme has been greatly handicapped by the present system of representation in Council, is however, convinced that it is essential in the interests of good government to fix responsibility on the Ministers for all actions of the Executive, but it is definitely of opinion that in the absence of an established party system, the British Cabinet model would be pernicious in its application to Ceylon," said that on the verdict of the Soulbury Commission would depend the future of Ceylon for several decades. In the evolving of a new constitution the form and nature that the Executive would take was important.

Mr. Tyagaraja dwelt at length on the virtues and defects of the Cabinet and Committee Systems as they existed in England and other places.

Introducing the English Cabinet system without any modification to Ceylon would result in a dictatorship and he would therefore appeal to them to rule it out. The Committee system on the other hand prevented the tendency to dictatorship. Also every member of the legislature under Committee System would have a definite part to play. The Ministers could not do just what they liked and assume for themselves dictatorial powers.

He said they should compromise by taking in the virtues of both systems of government and eliminating their defects. They would then have a form of government based on the Swiss model. The proposals for a new constitution were only a means to an end. The end ought to be the happiness of all the peoples and communities of this Island.

Dr. (Miss) M. Thilliambalam moved the following resolution: In view of the numerous affinities between the people of India and the people of this Island, the mutual interdependence of the two countries and the invaluable contribution the Indian Tamil community has made and is making to the development of this country, this Congress demands that equality of political and

(Continued on page 4)

Commissioner of Motor Transport At Point Pedro

A deputation of the General Committee of the newly inaugurated Vadamaradchy Co-op Motor Service, Society led by Dr. C. Sathapathi waited on the Commissioner on Sunday 26th instant at 4 P. M. at the Point Pedro Rest House.

After tea with members, the Commissioner heard Mr. N. Sivagnanasundaram. It was strongly urged that the services now rendered by the Point Pedro—Jaffna Bus Co. were unreasonably inadequate and appallingly inefficient with consequent inconvenience and delay to the public. No time table was ever followed in the service. The decrepit and dirty conditions of almost all the Buses along the routes would painfully strike any casual visitor. The conduct of Conductors and the treatment by the other employees were intolerable. The Bus Company had not mended its ways in spite of repeated representations.

The public therefore earnestly requested the Commissioner to revoke the exclusive route licenses now held by the Company and the two additional route licences allowed recently. The travelling public were now anxious to own, control and manage the road services under the Co-Operative Societies' Ordinance. Therefore the deputation desired that the Commissioner should consider their application for the several route licenses now held by the Company.

The Members of the Directorate of the Bus Company were present. The Commissioner expressed his desire to have a Memorandum submitted to him detailing the grounds and the nature of the evidence on which the Committee of the Motor Society expected him to revoke the licenses of the Bus Company. If it was found thereafter to be necessary, he would then issue a notice to the Bus Company to show cause why the licenses should not be revoked and that he would hold a regular inquiry at Point Pedro or Jaffna. The deputation undertook to submit a Memorandum within three weeks.—Cor.

Sale of Bottled Arrack in December, 1944.

The sale of bottled arrack in the undermentioned Taverns will take place on Sunday, December 3, 1944, and on each succeeding Sunday thereafter viz Sunday, December 10, Sunday, December 17, Sunday, December 24, and Sunday, December 31.

All Arrack Taverns in Colombo Municipality.

No.		
32, Kandana,	}	Colombo District
36, Kurana,		
37, Udayartoppu		
38, Balawana	}	Galle District
1, Katugoda		
2, Haeapitigala		
1, Grand Bazaar	}	Jaffna District
2, Karayoor,		
3, Nallur,		

T. V. Sumanaratna,
Acting Excise Commissioner.
Office of the Excise Commissioner,
Katugastota, Nov. 25, 1944.
(G. 89, 30)

WANTED

A manager for the Vilvaratnam Co-operative Stores. Salary Rs. 45/ per mensem. Cash security Rs. 500/ Apply to the president,

S. C. Mahadeva,
President,

Mis. 163. 27 & 30

TAMIL CONGRESS PLENARY SESSION

(Continued from page 3.)

civic status be restored to the Indians in Ceylon and strongly urges the immediate repeal of all legislative and administrative measures that are in effect discriminatory against them and the providing of facilities for their assimilation with the rest of the population. She said that Ceylon should recognise India as her mother country. If they refused to recognise that they in Ceylon had really nothing to be proud of. Their culture, literature and music all came from India. When she first came to Ceylon she was disappointed to find a certain amount of isolation among the Tamils in Ceylon.

There was no cause for a superior attitude towards the Indians, since the Ceylon Tamils merely came from India a few centuries earlier than the others. They should share their common heritage otherwise they would be doomed. The unity must involve the whole of India and the whole of Ceylon—not merely the Tamils.

Mr. T. M. Sabaratnam seconded.

Mr. K. Balasingham said that the Indians in Ceylon had been oppressed by the Administration. He would identify himself with the work of the Tamil Congress and concentrate on this one point. He had said on a previous occasion, that the Sinhalese could not be trusted to safeguard the minorities. A section of the press had taken him to task for that. He could not understand why. After all it was natural that one community could not possibly feel themselves safe in the hands of another. He quoted instances from contemporary European affairs. He bore no hatred towards the Sinhalese.

There was no political question greater in Ceylon than the Indian problem. The Indians could not be repudiated and treated as foreigners.

Mr. V. Joseph moved the following resolution: This Congress having regard to the operation of the Governor's powers under the Donoughmore Constitution during the past 14 years, emphatically expresses its opinion against any attempt to substitute for its fundamental demand "reserve powers and special responsibilities" of the Governor as an adequate means of safeguarding the minorities.

Deputy Ministers

Mr. S. N. Rajadurai seconded.

Mr. S. Nadarajah moved the following resolution.

This Congress strongly condemns any proposal for the appointment of Deputy Ministers or such other sinecures as could raise the percentage of the Executive to anything more than 10 per cent of the Legislature so as to prevent the formation of a permanent executive buttressed by a small coterie.

Mr. Nadarajah said that Mr. V. Nalliah had gone back on his pledges as soon as he entered the State Council. The Ministers had promised that he should be a Deputy Minister in the new system.

Mr. A. Mahadevi too now clung to the Ministry, once he became a Minister.

Mr. Ponnambalam objected to the mentioning of personalities in

the course of proceedings.

Mr. Thiru Kanagarayer seconded.

Mr. Suppiah Saravanamuttu moved the next resolution and it was seconded by Mr. M. Nagarajnam.

The resolution was as follows:— This Congress is of the emphatic opinion that a Second Chamber, however constituted, can, under no circumstances, be regarded as a substitute for the political safeguards necessary in this country to prevent domination by any single community.

Dewan Bahadur I. X. Pereira speaking in Tamil, moved the following resolution:

'This Congress recognising in the appointment of the Special Commission to inquire into the problems of constitutional reform a readiness on the part of His Majesty's Government to acquaint themselves with the points of view of all sections of the population through an impartial body without being misled by the representations of the Board of Ministers, whose right to speak on their behalf has been consistently repudiated by the minority communities, desire to convey to His Majesty's Government the gratitude of the Tamils, and offers to the Commissioners wholehearted co-operation in the inquiry they have been commanded to undertake.'

Mr. V. Vellayan Chettiar seconded.—Carried.

Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam then moved:

'That whereas in the absence of a Party System on which alone parliamentary government of the British model can come into being, the present constitution has resulted in the vesting of all political and administrative power in the hands of one single racial group in the legislature, which group is irremovable by reason of the numerical superiority of the community to which it belongs, and whereas the possession of unchallengeable power has led the ministerial group to develop discriminatory policies and autocratic measures to the detriment of the minorities and encouraged by its new-found power openly and repeatedly to avow through its leaders their intention to retain exclusive power in its own hands, and whereas the constitution has, thus contrary to the expectation of the Donoughmore Commissioners caused suspicion and mistrust in the minds of the other sections of the people and given rise to a lively sense of impending danger to their continued peaceful existence in this Island without detriment to their inalienable rights of citizenship and whereas His Majesty's Government has declared its intention to revise the present constitution with a view to the establishment of full self-government in matters of internal civil administration, this Congress representing the Tamils of the Island constituting a million and a half of the population who have been inhabiting this Island from ancient times, ruling over parts or whole of it during long periods and who have been largely responsible for its economic development, demands that in the revision of the constitution a

scheme of representation be so devised that in the legislature the representatives of no single community or race be more in number than the representatives of all other sections of the population.'

War On India

Mr. Chelvanayagam said that the Senanayake government which suddenly declared war on India and was now threatening to declare war on poor Britain at any time, was not the kind of majority that should be allowed to rule. There was something wrong with that majority. They should have a sensible and disciplined majority, actuated by qualities of head and heart.

For 2000 years they tried to see whether the majority could rule the minorities and they had failed. Thirteen years of parliamentary government of a type had given them many examples of divisions like sheep and goats.

What was going to happen to 700,000 Indian Tamils in Ceylon? he asked. The majority community would like to see them packed off across the Palk Strait. They could not subscribe to that view.

Mr. Chelvanayagam condemned territorial representation as meaning nothing. In Sinhalese areas the Sinhalese would get all the backing and in Tamil areas only Tamils would get all the support. It was really communal camouflage. He referred to N'Eliva by-election where, he said, the mob ruled the situation and terrorised voters who were supporting the Tamil candidate. In this connection he read out a judgment from the Courts.

The most important and fundamental feature in self-government, he said, was rule by the best element in the country.

In the year 1669 A.D., according to Robert Knox, Anuradapura was inhabited by the Malabarians as distinct from the "Chingooless". Mr. Chelvanayagam said. Then how could they yet talk about majority rule?

The party who talked of democracy should realise that they

should first of all eliminate fear among the minorities. As long as fear existed it showed that there was something wrong with the body politic. He commended the resolution to them.

Mr. K. Natesa Iyer, M. S. C., seconded the motion in Tamil.

Mr. M. Sivasithambaram said he would not shrink from fighting till the last for his community and his country. It was, however no use speaking of freedom for one section or for one community. He pleaded with them not to be merely spectators but to take an active part in the affairs of the country. They should co-operate with the Sinhalese, otherwise they were not going to achieve freedom. He stressed the democratic principle of equality of nationals.

Mr. K. C. Nadarajah said that the previous speaker was imbued with adolescent enthusiasm. He had felt about things the same way about 20 years ago. Today, however, he had learnt more and lived in a world of reality. Safeguards, he said, were absolutely necessary and that was going to be their primary demand.

Mr. S. Natesan said that owing to the uncertainty of the future they should be granted safeguards. There was no guarantee that the future Sinhalese leaders were going to be reasonable men. Even among the Sinhalese, for instance, if one person gave the other some money he would obtain a promissory note from him. The question of trust therefore did not arise.

Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan said that they should make their home fronts strong. It was sound strategy. They were prepared to fight for ign domination, but before that they should remove domination within the island.

Mr. K. V. Balasingham said he did not want domination by anybody, from without or from within.

Proceeding ended at 9 p. m.

THE JAFFNA MUTUAL BENEFIT FUND LTD.

(Established 1918)

BANKERS.

Authorised Capital	Rs. 800,000.00
Amount of Calls made	Rs. 134,367.00
SHARES: 8000 shares of Rs. 100/- each. 75 monthly instalments of Re. 1/- per share will earn Rs. 100/- for each at the end of the period. Shares issued all times.	
CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed at 1% per annum on the average monthly balance when it does not fall below Rs. 500/-.	
FIXED DEPOSITS received for periods of 3, 6, 9 and 12 months and interest allowed at 1, 2, 4 and 6 % respectively.	
DRAFTS issued on the National and Imperial Banks to Colombo and the Principal cities of India. Remittances to and from F. M. S. by special arrangements.	
INDIAN MONEY bought and sold	
LOANS on the security of Jewels a speciality. Interest charged at 9% per annum (Part payments accepted.)	

FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS APPLY TO:

S. KANAGASABAI,

(Y. 164. A. 21-11-41—20-11-44.) (T's) Shroff.