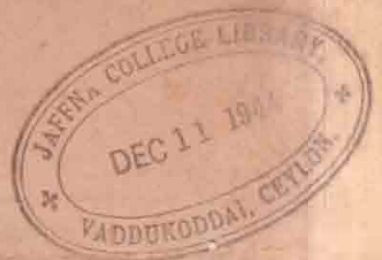


THE Hindu Organ.



Editor:
A. V. Kulasingham

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NO. 67.

WHAT TAMIL CONGRESS STANDS FOR

Resolutions Passed At Plenary Session In Colombo

1. The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress calls upon all Tamils in Ceylon to work for the attainment of Swaraj based on the principle that no single community shall be in a position to dominate the others.

2. This first Plenary Session of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress sends fraternal greetings to all communities, political associations and cultural groups in the Island, and assures them of its whole-hearted and active support in all measures conducive to the cultural greatness, material well-being and political freedom of all sections of the Island's population.

3. This Congress recognising as fundamental the unity and indivisibility of the Tamil race deprecates all attempts to divide the Tamils into sections and groups and pledges itself to work for the welfare of the race as a whole.

4. 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 irremovably 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 politics 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 give 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 advancement and prosperity, 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.

5. In view of the numerous affinities between the peoples of India and the peoples of this Island, the mutual inter-dependence of the two countries and the invaluable contribution the Indian community has made and is making to the development of this country, this Congress demands that equality of political and 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.

6. This Congress deprecates the perpetuation of the differences based on caste or creed among the Tamils, and urges that equal civic and political rights should be accorded to all sections of the people irrespective of any caste or creed and pledges itself to work whole-heartedly for the attainment of this object.

7. 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, offers to the Commissioners whole-hearted co-operation in the inquiry they have been commanded to undertake.

8. 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

(Continued on page 4)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Implications of "Cabinet" Government For Ceylon

Sir,—The Board of Ministers planned in their draft constitution to institute the "Cabinet" form of government on the British model in our Island. Would the aspired innovation suit our people? Could the country offer a background for the setting up of that system of government? To form an opinion as to what ends the "Cabinet" system, if and when accommodated here, would be made to serve and what results its working could produce on the life of the people, a study of the conditions under which the system came to existence in its homeland, the machinery and materials it has worked with since its birth about 200 years ago, and what hope it has for continuance hereafter may be useful.

Perhaps Great Britain is the only country among the civilised nations that has no written constitution, and in that country the Cabinet form of government emerged as "an accident of an accident." Though it has operated for nearly two centuries it has not, even now, received any sanction on a statute. The observance of certain political conventions is the mainstay of its life: first the Ministers must be members of Parliament, a large proportion of them come from the House of Commons and thus are continuously amenable to the critical and advisory influence of the representative Assembly; secondly, on the principle of collective responsibility, every Minister is supposed to assume an incessant concern for his brother's stewardship; thirdly, the Cabinet resigns office when the House of Commons votes its lack of confidence or defeats an important measure in such circumstance as should signify to the Cabinet that its ministrations are no longer wanted. When the Cabinet resigns, another group of politicians of different political complexion would be ready to assume office and they should take the place of the out-going Cabinet. The new Prime Minister is appointed on the recommendation to the King by the out-going Prime Minister.

Eminent British statesmen have said it as their conviction that "without the party system, parliamentary government is impossible." The ministerial absolutism and independence are based on the party system. If there were no two well-defined separate parties, the Cabinet system of government must fail. In that contingency, there can be no hope of a stable government. Parties split up into factions and government should become personal,

Conditions become congenial for birth of dictators or for a constitutional monarchy to transform itself to exercise absolute power.

In the light of the above observations, let us examine the social and political condition of our country. Is there any hope for our country to be divided into two political parties? Even assuming that such a division is possible, on what political "issues" can we hope to do so? The experience of the last 18 years with the Donoughmore Constitution was to instil in us the conviction that the hope of evolving a dual-party system of government in Ceylon should long remain a tantalising vision. The masses are illiterate, ignorant and poor. They are powerless to resist the blandishments cajolery or offers of election agents. For long years, a majority of them would allow themselves to be shepherded to polling booths like dumb driven sheep. Their sense of responsibility is poor and accustomed as they are to group life, both social and economic a habit of thinking for oneself is not in them.

The Board of Ministers who are the authors of the draft constitution should be presumed to have studied the trend of politics in European countries where there are dual-party system of governments and the Board should be aware as to what should result if its scheme of government were accepted by Westminster. The inference is irresistible that the Ministers deliberately planned for an oligarchical government in perpetuity. An oligarchy constituted of Low-country Sinhalese called "Cabinet", irremovable, because of absence of an opposition party, to rule the Island exercising all the powers with which the "inner Cabinet" of the British Parliament is constitutionally invested with it. The Minorities will have no place under such a government.

Yours etc,
R. C. P.

Indecent Hurry To Establish Dominion Status

Sir,—There is absolutely no necessity to hurry up a constitution particularly of the Dominion type at this important juncture. Does it not look ridiculous to see three members of the State Council arrogating to themselves the right of framing a constitution by themselves when the full council of members failed ignominiously?

When the Soulbury Commission is expected to arrive in Ceylon at any moment, one cannot see any plausible reason why the three State Council members

(Continued on page 3)



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1944

CEYLON'S NEW GOVERNOR

WE OFFER A HEARTY WELCOME to Sir Henry and Lady Moore. Sir Henry Moore is not a stranger to the island. He knows the people well, and this knowledge should stand him in good stead during the coming years when the political future of Ceylon will be discussed and, let us hope, settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. His Excellency comes to Ceylon equipped, not only with his knowledge of the people and the country, but also with a ripe and varied experience of men and affairs gained in other parts of the British Empire. He comes too at a time when, all over the world, accepted notions of things are once more being reassessed and mankind is again trying to find a way through life in the light of recent experience.

His Excellency will find in Ceylon, more than in any other country, the need for such a reassessment. In Ceylon the leaders of thought and action have, in the past, laid much stress on the principles of democracy as the foundation of all progress. They have been content, with the best of intentions, to think in terms of British concepts and British precedents without paying much attention to the question as to how these concepts and precedents, tested in the atmosphere of British public life, will fare in the midst of the conditions that obtain in the island. His Excellency knows what these conditions are. Foremost amongst these may be mentioned the racial divisions and cleavages which a decade of political development has only tended to accentuate; the absence of enlightened public opinion and standards of judgment; and the ignorance of the masses. These defects have combined to produce in our midst, in the name of progress, a system of government which is anything but democratic in that it seeks to submerge and to oppress the minorities of this island, and which has resulted in a racial oligarchy being kept in power by a Legislature voting on purely racial lines.

These are developments which demand immediate attention at the hands of those who are sincerely interested in the welfare of the island. It is in the light of these developments that future constitutional changes have to be decided upon, so that this island may be spared the experience she

IS SETTLEMENT WITH SINHALESE LEADERS POSSIBLE?

By "SENTINEL"

It seems strange that there are still some Tamils who after all that has happened of late, live under the delusion that a friendly settlement is possible between the majority community leaders and those of the minorities on the question of representation in the future legislature. Undoubtedly memories are short in this country, but how can one shut one's eyes to what was happening during the last twenty-five years and still pin one's faith to the Sinhalese leaders who have consistently, systematically, and purposefully ignored the existence of minority communities in the island and tied their level best to dominate them? For the information of those who have failed to read between the lines of the activities of the majority community leaders I shall here briefly enumerate certain salient facts for them to reflect upon. I shall divide the last twenty-five years into two periods, 1919 to 1931, and 1932 to 1944 and start with the latter period first.

It will be remembered that as soon as the Donoughmore report was published there was a wholesale condemnation of the proposals on the ground that Ceylon had not got full self-government under the scheme, and the very Sinhalese leaders who condemned the scheme, soon began to advocate its acceptance raising the slogan that 'Ceylon was the land of the Sinhalese' and pointing out that, however defective the proposed constitution might be, it gave the majority community a great majority in the State Council and that the opportunity should not be missed. They wanted to accept

has gone through during the last decade. It is our earnest hope that the Commission which is to arrive in Ceylon at no distant date will take note of these developments and advise the British Government accordingly. The lack of local knowledge and experience in colonial administration, which is evident from the composition of the Commission, will be amply remedied by the qualifications of the new Governor in this respect.

It is satisfactory to know that His Excellency proposes to lose no time in bringing his knowledge of the country up to date. In his reply to the welcome in the State Council His Excellency said "There is one final word that I will say. No one is more alive to the fact than I am that in the quarter of a century that has elapsed since I was last here conditions have changed materially, changed - I am glad to say - in the direction of very great progress and development and I feel that in assuming my Governorship here my first duty should be as far as possible to visit the various areas of the island and meet as many of its permanent population as I can, so that I may make myself more up to date with its problems, progress, difficulties and its needs than I could do by reading any literature on the subject".

the proposal and later on agitate for the reduction of the Governor's powers, for getting rid of the Officers of State from the State Council, for the abolition of the Committee system and to introduce the British Cabinet system by which one man could become the dictator of Ceylon.

Jaffna Disillusioned

When Jaffna realised the blunder it made by boycotting the Council in 1931 and was straining every nerve to have the boycott lifted, did the the Sinhalese leaders stretch one helping hand? On the other hand the Leader of the State Council, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, came all the way from Colombo, went to the Ashram of the President of the Youth Congress, nine miles away from Jaffna town, congratulated him on the feat of the Youth Congress and told him to keep the boycott going assuring him that he would do everything for the North while the Jaffna members were away from the Council. It soon became evident why they were anxious to keep the Jaffna members out of the Council for some time at least. It was to rush through the famous seven motions of Mr. E. W. Perera on Reforms in the Council during the absence of the Jaffna members. When those seven motions were introduced in the Council did the sponsors care a pin for the opinions of Jaffna and consult anybody in the North? In spite of the absence of the Jaffna members the other minority members in the Council voted *en bloc* against the motions, and the Council passed them by an absolute Sinhalese majority. When there was a big mass movement in Jaffna demanding the lifting of the boycott and the Tamil leaders were finding it very difficult to convince the Secretary of State that there was a sincere desire on the part of the people to send their representatives to the State Council and that another election would not end in a fiasco, Mr. Sennayake was in England. Did he put in one word to the Secretary of State and advise him to give another Nomination day to Jaffna? On the other hand, we should not be wrong if we thought that Mr. Sennayake would have wished the Jaffna members to be cut of the Council for all time because once before he had expressed in the Legislative Council, in 1930, his horror at the presence of the 'Jaffna Battalion' in the Council.

Secret Memorandum

Again, did those seven motions of Mr. E. W. Perera envisage due representation of the minorities? Did Mr. G. O. S. Corea's ill-fated Reform Bill envisage due representation for the minorities? It must be remembered that the Ministers' Memorandum of 1933 was turned down by the Secretary of State because both the Ministers belonging to the minority communities voted against it. Having been foiled in their scheme, what did the Sinhalese leaders do? Seeing that Jaffna members too had entered the Council in 1934, they waited for a while until the next general election and, by art or stratagem, managed to elect a homogeneous ministry in 1936 so that a united demand could be made by the Board of Ministers without any minority dissent. That done, the Ministers, without a word to

the minority communities, sent their own secret memorandum to the Secretary of State once more on the question of reforms. Repeated demands were made for the publication of that memorandum but it was put off from time to time. Thus it will be seen that a repeated and consistent effort was made to keep the minorities, particularly the Tamils, out of the show and in ignorance, and every precaution was taken to ignore the minorities and treat them as if they were of no consequence in the country. In the meantime Mr. Sennayake himself went to England in 1933 to bring pressure on the Secretary of State to accept the decisions of the Council. He was in a mighty hurry to carry through his reforms which he and his clique had planned before the Jaffna members had a chance of taking their seats in the Council.

Apple-Cart Upset

It was after the Secretary of State sent back the Ministers' secret memorandum to the Governor, and after the Governor's proposals were placed before the Council for discussion the Jaffna members had a chance of having their say in 1940. In the meantime deputations of Sinhalese members had gone to the Governor when he was making his own proposals, won his ears and succeeded in impressing on him the futility of allowing another Royal Commission to investigate the conditions prevailing in the country. Having done everything possible on this side of the Suez to gain their own ends, deputations of Sinhalese went one after the other to England to arrive there either before the Governor's despatch reached the shores of England or simultaneously with the despatch. But the agile and far-seeing Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam was not the man to be caught napping or indulge in 'the vigilant sleep' of the Ceylon Tamil League. He would not allow anything concerning Tamil interests suffer by default. He followed the Sinhalese leaders close on their heels and succeeded in sufficiently impressing on the Colonial Office and other prominent members of Parliament the plight of the minority communities in Ceylon and the manoeuvres of the majority community. Then the Secretary of State found it wise not to tinker with the constitutional question of Ceylon and, contrary to the wishes of the Sinhalese leaders and disregarding the recommendation of Governor Caldecott, he sent out his communication to the Governor thus in 1941.

"The urgency and importance of reform of the Constitution are fully recognised by his Majesty's government, but before taking decisions upon the present proposals for reform, concerning which there has been so little unanimity, but which are of such importance to the well-being of Ceylon, His Majesty's Government would desire that the position should be further examined and made the subject of further consultation by means of Commission or Conference.

"This cannot be arranged under war conditions, but the matter will be taken up with the least possible delay after the war".

The question of the necessity for a Commission had thus been definitely decided three years ago. Both the Governor and the Ministers were keenly disappointed over this decision and the Ministers

waited for a couple of years longer. It must also be remembered that Sir Macan Markar, as President of the All-Ceylon Muslim Conference proposed in 1938 that a Round Table Conference might be held to give the minority communities their due. What was the response? Sir Baron Jayatilaka threw cold water on the idea and declared in the State Council thus: "You cannot summon a Round Table Conference because there are no constitutional difficulties and in summoning a Round Table Conference certain difficulties not now existing will arise." Thus any desire on the part of the minority communities to co-operate with the majority community and arrive at a peaceful settlement was unwelcome to the Sinhalese leaders.

Source of Increasing Discord

Again, when Mr. G. C. S. Corea as President of the Ceylon National Congress, moved in the matter and tried to bring about some compromise with the Tamils with regard to the number of seats to be allotted to them a small sub-committee of the Congress met Mr. A. Mahadeva, the Jaffna member, in 1940 and came to some tentative agreement. Mr. Mahadeva, on his own responsibility, taking all the risk of not consulting his constituency or the Jaffna Association, agreed to accept a less number of seats for the North than what Jaffna had all along demanded. The Committee was also agreeable to give five additional seats to the North and the East. The negotiations were successful and, when the announcement was about to be made the next morning, Mr. Senanayake heard about it and put his foot down upon it. So said Mr. Mahadeva himself in the State Council. Mr. Senanayake said that he never wanted the Congress "to act as anything more than an intermediary", and declared that giving the Tamils any more seats would be "a source of increasing discord". Is this the man with whom Mr. Mahadeva now hopes to negotiate and come to a friendly agreement, a man who wants the Board of Ministers to obey him, who wants the State Council to obey him and one who wants the Congress to do things at his bidding? He found the Congress slightly kicking against him and he resigned his connection with it. He found that all the other Ministers did not often fall in line with him and he threatened to resign. He found that the members of the Council wanted to meet unofficially and explore the chances of a settlement and he would not be a party to it. He found that some of the Councillors were keen on arriving at an agreement and he has now threatened to retire from public life altogether. Well, let that happy day arrive. There may then be a chance of settlement. Not till then.

Now, the later developments such as the Ministers' second secret scheme, their letter to the Secretary of State, their protests against a Royal Commission, coming out, their threat of boycott and all the rest of it are so fresh in the minds of everybody, and I need not dwell on them. As to how our former leaders like Sir P. Ramnathan, Sir P. Arunachalam, Sir A. Kanagasabai, Mr. A. Sapapathy, Mr. A. Canagaretnam, Mr. C. E. Chraa, Mr. E. T. de Silva and others attempted to bring about a settlement with the Sinhalese leaders between 1919 and 1931 and how they were disillusioned and disappointed I shall show in my next article.

Impressions Of The Plenary Sessions Of The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress

(By Member of the Audience)

If proof were wanted of the solidarity of the Tamil ranks, the Plenary Sessions of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress furnished it. Ministerial minds must naturally have been agitated over the haunting thought that the sessions would inevitably be a monster show.

The representative character of the vast gathering not even the bitterest opponent of the Tamil Congress would fail to acknowledge. From the arid North, the hilly Centre, the paddy South, the distant East, and from every corner of Ceylon, delegates arrived to lend support to the Congress and thus reflected the wishes of the entire Tamil population of the Island.

A well-nigh twelve hour session, in circumstances as are obtaining at present, would be difficult to imagine. But the dream did come true. The long sessions did not for a single moment wane into tedium.

The Working Committee of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress should be congratulated on their choice of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, for one could not have wished for more satisfactory arrangements than those made on the day of the sessions. The words of welcome that fell from the lips of the Diwan Bahadur, portrayed the greatness and gentility of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The awestruck rhythm of the welcome address gave way to the martial music of the Presidential speech. The flood gates of oratory were opened and the spell-bound audience listened with bated breath to one of the most magnificent political speeches ever delivered in Ceylon by a Ceylonese. Fiction, falsehood and fallacies were swept aside as the tide of the rhetoric grew in vigour and gathered momentum.

Diving deep into the pages of history, the President spoke in glowing terms about the greatness of the Tamils, their literature, prowess and achievements and their invaluable contribution to the prosperity and advancement of Ceylon and, in particular, to their services in the cause of political reform and self-government. The artful dodges and persistent pronouncement of the Sinhalese Devani Rajarawas who had drank of the elixir of political power were examined and dissected with precision and the venom and the virus inside were exposed to public gaze. The hall roared with applause when Sir Oracle Goonetilleke was referred to as having played the pious part of John the Baptist in the far north and advised the Tamil to eschew politics. Applause burst into uproarious laughter when Sir Oracle was pictured as the advance publicity agent of the Leader of the State Council.

Waxing eloquent in the rhetorical mood the President proved by the *reductio ad absurdum* theory that the principle of Balance Representation was the only effective and real safeguard for minority communities in the country like Ceylon with a heterogeneous population. He went on to explain how the political principle of non-domination was no

new innovation and quoted chapter and verse to show how the constitution makers of the pre-Donoughmore era had enunciated the same principle and had applied it in every instalment of reforms until the Donoughmore law preachers had upset it. He further dealt with the other additional safeguards required for the good government of the country and the protection of the minorities. The British form of the Cabinet System was condemned as utterly unsuitable to Ceylon and greatly prejudicial to the interests of the Tamil and other communities.

The several hundreds of members and delegates were entertained to quite a hearty vegetarian lunch, thanks to the untiring efforts of the Diwan Bahadur and his colleagues of the Reception Committee at 2-30 p. m. Again the hall was full and the members set about the task of resolving on very important questions affecting the country in general and the community in particular.

There was an assorted variety of speeches, both in English and Tamil, and the high level of thought and exposition that is characteristic of the community was in evidence throughout the several speeches. The magnanimity and dignity with which the President conducted the proceedings would be an object lesson to organisers of similar political meetings. When one of the speakers embarked upon a well merited criticism of the Home Minister's quick change tactics, the President suggested that the interests of the cause and the Congress would be best served if personalities were avoided as much as possible. The speaker, thereupon, pursued the matter without further remarks, and the audience would have understood his mind. Here and there were flashes of extra brilliance and the vast concourse was not slow to appreciate them. Neither the threatening weather nor the lateness of the hour induced anyone to leave the hall until the whole business was over. And at 9 P. M. the long sessions ended with the satisfaction of a resounding achievement.

VIOLENCE IN COUNCIL CHAMBER

A sensational incident is reported by the *Times of Ceylon* to have occurred on Tuesday evening in the Council Chamber. After the Council meeting was over strong and "unprintable" words are said to have been passed between Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake on the one side and Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam on the other. Lack of space prevents our giving a full report in this issue.

RATIONING OF SUGAR

The Minister for Agriculture and Lands has decided that the sugar ration to consumers throughout the Island should be fixed at 4 lb. per head per week to residents in Urban areas and 5 lb. per head per week to residents in rural areas.

This increase will come into force in the Jaffna District with effect from 1-12-44.

R. CHINTAMANI,
Jaffna, Ag. Asst. Govt. Agent,
5th Dec., 1944. (Emergency)
(G. 91. 7-12-44.)

Letters to the Editor

(Continued from page 1)

should endeavour to complete a business which the State Council has not attempted to do for the last thirteen years. To any casual observer, the indecent hurry with which the Honourable gentlemen want to finish the business, appears fishy.

It is also very surprising that the member for Trinco-Batticaloa wants to be a hero at the expense of others. It looks as if he is carefully following the reforms movements in India where stalwart giants with a period of service to their credit are trying their best to solve the problem in a generous way. There is no need for Mr. Nalliah to cry loud that the Europeans are here to impede our progress on the path of reforms. Long before Mr. Nalliah's name was known to the public, there was unity and fellow feeling amongst the various communities in the Island and the Sinhalese and Tamils were led by Tamils and Tamils alone. The question is asked who is responsible for the split? He must be reminded that it was his illustrious predecessor, who is philosophising in his lounge, what was a party to the scheme which is being disowned now. Is he a greater politician than Sir Ramanathan or a Sir James Peiris? He is full of "Isisms" which are theoretically good but not good for a heterogeneous Ceylon.

Yours etc
M. Saravanamuttu.

Commotion in Council

Sir,—All genuine lovers of liberty of speech and freedom should take immediate note of an incident that is said to have happened in the State Council last evening arising indirectly out of the issue of petrol to the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress. It seems certain questions regarding the issue of petrol to other organisations and for electioneering purposes were raised by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake are said to have got infuriated over the questions and after the meeting quarrelled with Mr. Ponnambalam. An authentic and full statement from the State Councillors concerned should immediately be made available to the public so that people may take the necessary action.

Yours etc,
Free Speech,
Colombo,
6-12-44.

WANTED

A General Manager for the Valigamam North Co-operative Stores Union Whole-Sale Depot.

Applicants should be over 30 years of age, should possess knowledge of business and accounts and should be able to furnish Rs. 2000/- in cash, Rs. 3000/- in property and to assume duties on 1-1-45.

Salary Rs. 100/- per mensem with prospects of increment and Bonus.

Apply with copies of at least two recent testimonials before the 24th instant to:

The Hon'y. Secretary,
Valigamam North Co-operative Stores Union, Tellippalai,
Tellippalai,
6th Dec. 1944.
(Mis. 170. 7 & 11-12-44)

What Tamil Congress Stands For

(Continued from page 1)

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.

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

10. 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.

11. This Congress lays it down as a fundamental of the next constitution that no community or interest in the country should find representation in the Legislature by the method of nomination and that for such communities or interests as are not numerically strong enough to secure representation through territorial electorates, communal electorates and electoral colleges should be devised or created.

12. This Congress is of opinion that provision should be made for the creation in appropriate cases of multiple-member constituencies in the future constitution.

13. This Congress demands the appointment of an Independent Public Services Commission of not more than five members with high administrative experience and free from Ministerial and Political interference or influence.

14. 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.

15. That whereas the minority communities in the country including the Tamils who form not less than one-third of the total population, are utterly inadequately represented in the State Council and whereas that body from its inception being under the oligarchic control of a racial majority representing only a section of the people has been made to function to the detriment of the said minorities, and whereas the Constitution under which the State Council functions was introduced unjustly in the teeth of the opposition of the minorities, both in the Legislature and out of it, this All-Ceylon Tamil Congress declares that the Tamil community will not be bound by any decision of the State Council in regard to the next reform of the Constitution and desires to warn His Majesty's Government not to regard any such decision of the said Council as representative of the country as a whole.

16. The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress lodges its emphatic protest against the attempts to eradicate the Tamil language and culture.

Value of Stenography

Presiding over the Silver Jubilee of the Mysore Shorthand-writers' Association, Bangalore, on Nov. 25, and unveiling the portrait of Rajacharita Visharada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadhana Rao, its President, Pradhana Siromani N. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Mysore, said that as one, who had derived the benefit of shorthand, without having the trouble of writing or transcribing it, he should like to say how much business industry administration, parliamentary institutions and the Press owed to this simple art of shorthand. If shorthand had not been invented and Pitman and certain others had not developed and popularised it, they should have been lacking in an essential aid to progress. The greatest gift of shorthand had been the economy in time which it had effected, it had saved much drudgery. It had facilitated disposal of business in various walks of life. But, yet, the professional shorthandwriters were an unpretentious lot. The material reward for their work could not be said to err on the side of liberality.

If he was asked, the Dewan continued, what qualities were expected of an ideal stenographer, he would say, speed, accuracy and trustworthiness, and underline the last. In the complicated affairs of the modern world, many transactions were necessarily kept confidential. The stenographers employed in business houses and government offices came to know many secrets, and he would say that any one who let the secrets out fell from professional standards. The first maxim which a professional shorthandwriter should follow was "keep your ears and eyes open and your mouths shut," so that he might listen attentively and write correctly and keep the trust kept in him. Stenography, the Dewan added, should not be confined to those who had made or wished to make it their profession. A working proficiency in shorthand would be a valuable asset to students, businessmen, government servants and others engaged in professions which involved some volume of writing.

In certain parts of the Island, particularly from among the Tamil inhabitants of the maritime districts of Ceylon where the children of Tamil parents have been and are being compelled to receive instruction in the Sinhalese language and empowers the Working Committee to take steps to remedy this situation.

17. The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress calls upon the Tamil representatives in the Council to implement the resolutions passed at its plenary session and generally to carry out its policy and programmes.

18. This Plenary Session of the Congress empowers the President:—

(a) to take all steps as he may deem fit to cope with the present political situation;

(b) to present a united front wherever possible with representatives of the other Minority communities;

(c) to lead a delegation of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress Committee to the Southbury Commission and make representations;

and (d) to take such other and further steps as may be necessary for implementing the resolutions of the Congress and for securing a constitution in consonance with the decisions and objects of the Congress.

NON-DOMINATION DECLARATION

By All Ceylon Congress Committee

At the meeting of the All-Ceylon Congress Committee held at the Congress Office on Saturday Mr. Geo. E. de Silva was elected President for the ensuing year. The following resolutions were passed:—

The Congress creed is freedom for Ceylon. It is pledged to secure a united demand for recognition of independence and a free constitution.

However, the Congress cannot think in terms of winning freedom without dislodging from the minds of the minorities the fear that the Sinhalese people will use their predominant majority against the democratic rights and national existence of the minorities.

The Congress recognises that a free Ceylon can only be built on the secure basis of independence from the foreign ruler, of equality of nationalities and of common interest, good-will and trust.

The Congress declares that the constitution of a free and united Ceylon should ensure the democratic principles of (a) the equality of citizens and (b) the equality of non-domination as between nationalities.

The Congress further declares that in such a free, united and democratic Ceylon

(a) the rights of nationalities regarding their language, culture, education, schools and freedom of religious worship will be guaranteed by statute. Similarly, all privileges and discriminations based on caste, race and community will be abolished by statute and any infringement of the above will be made a penal offence; (b) those Indians and the nationals of other countries in Ceylon, who are prepared to adopt Ceylon as their permanent

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home and give proof of such intentions will be given full citizenship rights. Ceylon will, of course, have the right to control further immigration according to her own national interests.

It will be the constant aim and endeavour of the Congress to win the various peoples of Ceylon to acceptance of the aforesaid democratic principles so that, by the common effort, can be secured that freedom of Mother Lanka to which it, and they, are in heart and mind dedicated and this All-Ceylon Congress Committee authorises the summoning of an All-Parties Conference on the basis of this declaration.

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