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COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION CUM TERRITORIAL REPRESENTATION

In response to the request of several of our readers to reproduce some at least of the articles written by the late Mr. A. Sabapathy, Editor, 'Hindu Organ' on the stand taken by the Tamils in the past, in regard to their representation, we are giving below an editorial article from the 'Hindu Organ' of 27th May 1920:—

The question of Communal Representation versus Territorial representation in the Councils of the Government has continued to be debated by the leaders of different communities from different view-points. But in India and Ceylon, in all such discussions there is one fundamental point of similarity we have noticed. It is this—while leaders of the numerically pre-potent communities in both countries have come forward with all conceivable arguments to convince the Government of the great advantages of territorial representation, the leaders of the numerically subordinate communities on the other hand, have urged the advantages, or rather the necessity, of communal representation as an indispensable condition of their progress. In inquiring into the reasons for this pronounced difference of opinion, one must remember the fact that territorial representation is based principally on the consideration of the number of people and the extent of the territory which forms the electoral unit, and Communal Representation is based on consideration principally of the relative importance and interests of the community which seeks representation in the State. It has been found that in the case of the Mohammedan community of India and the Tamil community of Ceylon, the introduction of a scheme of representation based on bare territorial and numerical calculations would involve a considerable reduction of the proportion in which they are at present represented in the Councils, and consequently at great sacrifice of their interests in the government of the country. This is why these two communities have fought keenly for communal representation in their respective countries. The British Government too, in both countries, has accepted the justice of the principles for which these two communities contended and have conceded to them their just claim for communal representation. Some of the other important communities too in India have been granted the same privilege of communal representation as the Mohammedans.

In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland also the Parliament is constituted in a modified form of Communal Representation. The four leading communities who constitute the great British nation, viz, the

English, the Scottish, the Welsh and the Irish are given separate representation, not in proportion to their numerical strength and territorial extent alone but as in India and Ceylon, in accordance with relative importance and interests of the respective communities in the state. But there is one noteworthy difference in the communal representation in the United Kingdom and in India. In the former case it may be described as communal cum Territorial representation while in the latter case it is Communal representation, pure and simple. If the constituencies in the whole of the United Kingdom were proposed to be re-distributed on a territorial or numerical basis alone, it will lead to a great reduction of the Scottish and Welsh members. We are sure that such a step will be opposed by these communities with a great outcry.

In the case of Ceylon it will be of great advantage to the Government to follow the British system of Communal cum Territorial representation. The Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon, like Scotland and Wales, were flourishing independent Tamil kingdoms in Ceylon from almost pre-historic times till two or three centuries ago. There are reliable historical evidences to show that these Tamil kingdoms were long ante-dated to Vijaya's landing and the foundation of the Sinhalese kingdom. Sir William Jones says:

"The geographical position of Ceylon renders it scarcely conceivable that the Tamils of India could have been ignorant of the existence of the Island before the Vijayan colonization."

Bertolucci and Bennet in their accounts of Ceylon enumerated several facts which tend to show that the Tamils of India knew and colonised the Northern and Eastern portions of Ceylon long anterior to the Vijayan colonization of the Western and Southern parts. The commercial interests of the ancient Romans with Ceylon was carried on principally with the ancient Northern Tamil Kingdoms of which Mahodham was the chief city and port. The recent discovery of ancient Roman coins in excavations in Jaffna lends additional support to this view.

Though the predominance of the Tamils was confined to the

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Present Situation

Sir,—The Editorial in your issue of the 4th December on the present political situation makes interesting and useful reading. It contains, if I might be permitted to say so, a fair summary of important incidents and facts relating to prevailing political conditions and couched in all moderation and reasonableness. You have rightly emphasized that it is the duty of all Tamils to unite and protect the future of their race and of their country. I wish to be allowed to make a few observations on your article vis a vis the relationship and attitude of the Home Minister Mr. Mahadeva to the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, and on the situation generally. Your reference in this connection is quite timely.

The following points might further be noted. There are fundamental ideological differences between the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and Mr. Mahadeva.

(a) It is one of the creeds of the Congress that the Tamil race is indivisible as it owes allegiance to a common stock, language, culture and heritage. Guided by this principle, the so-called Ceylon and Indian Tamils and Tamils living in all parts of the Island have combined to form the Congress. Mr. Mahadeva on the other hand strongly advocates the division of the community at least into two sections. He wants the Ceylon Tamils and the Indian Tamils to keep away from each other. His position on this point is unstatesmanlike, opportunist and against the best interests of the community as well as the country.

(b) Mr. Mahadeva wants the Ceylon Tamils to come to a so-called arrangement with the Sinhalese leaders regarding the number of seats for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. He is opposed to the Ceylon Tamils interesting themselves in the matter of the rights of Indians in Ceylon. The rights of the local Indian community which is mostly Tamil, are completely ignored by Mr. Mahadeva and he is at one with his Sinhalese Ministerial colleagues in the matter. The Ceylon Tamils both from the racial and humanitarian point of view cannot tolerate the stigma of inferiority to be placed or attached to any section of the Tamil community in Ceylon. The late Sir P. Arunachalam once referred to the Indian Tamil labourer as the "corner stone of the Island's prosperity". His son now wishes us to forget this fact apart from other considerations which have a claim on our loyalty to defend and work for the just rights of the Indians in Ceylon.

(c) Mr. Mahadeva pleads for

co-operation and union but he is opposed to the co-operation and union of the two sections of the Tamil community. If the Tamil community cannot unite and co-operate, how can it unite and co-operate with the other communities in Ceylon? Mr. Mahadeva's father, the late Sir P. Arunachalam and his uncle the late Sir P. Ramanathan, the late Sir A. Kanagaratnam and the late Mr. A. Sabapathy, in certain memorials and representations made to the Secretary of State in those days, referred to the Tamil population as a whole and attempted to speak on its behalf. Mr. Mahadeva wants us to keep away from the Indian section of our brethren.

(2) The Tamil Congress while naturally desirous of protecting the interests of both sections of the Tamils in Ceylon does not desire to take a narrow and sectional view, as suggested by Mr. Mahadeva in making a few seats for the Northern and Eastern Provinces the be-all and end-all of all our political ideals and labours. Seats for the Northern and Eastern Provinces and for the Ceylon Tamils generally will be an important item in the demands of the Tamil Congress. It is unthinkable that the Tamil Congress will ignore the position of the so-called Ceylon Tamils who have played a unique part in the political advancement of this country and who more than any other community have contributed and are still contributing to the cause of Self-Government by their enlightened lead, independence, liberalism, ability and services. It is equally unthinkable that the great leader whom it is the privilege of the Tamil Congress to acclaim as its President-Founder and who has been working for about 15 years for both sections of the Tamil race (Ceylon and India) incessantly and with single minded devotion and great risk to his life unknown in our political history, will sacrifice the interests of either. Mr. Ponnambalam's leadership is the best guarantee that the interests of all sections will be scrupulously preserved. There are a handful of Ceylon Tamils who say that Mr. Ponnambalam will sacrifice the interests of the Ceylon Tamils to favour the Indians, even as there are some Indians who proclaim that he will sacrifice the interests of the Indians to benefit the Ceylon Tamils. Both classes of critics are wrong and their existence will only demonstrate the inherent fairness of Mr. Ponnambalam's attitude to any unbiased thinker.

(3) The Tamils as a whole are also rightly interested in a very much higher thing affecting the very

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**A SPECIAL SESSION
OF THE
ALL-CEYLON
TAMIL CONGRESS**
WILL BE HELD AT
THE TOWN HALL, JAFFNA
ON
Saturday, the 16th December
from 3-30 p. m.—8 p. m.
All members and supporters
welcome.
(Seats reserved for ladies)
Mis. 14-12-44.



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1944

SUCCESS OF THE FOOD MISSION

WE CONGRATULATE SIR OLIVER GOONETILLEKE on the success of his food mission. One tangible result of that success is that the rice ration is going to be doubled from January 1, 1945. This is by no means a small achievement. The ration of half a measure of rice for adults now in force is not at all sufficient when we consider the dietary requirements of the majority of the population. It is true that one can live well on a diet of wheat and foodstuffs other than rice, but the success of such a diet depends on the habits of those who take to it. In Ceylon practically the whole population looks upon rice as an indispensable article of food. It is all the more gratifying, therefore, that the people have been able, for a fairly long period to forego their cherished notions of diet and betake themselves to what was available. We may add that we are not at all satisfied with the manner in which wheat has been incorporated in the dietary of the Ceylonese villager, but the fact remain that, thanks to the exigencies of the food situation and the propaganda of the Civil Defence Commissioner, wheat has become an important article of diet in Ceylon. We need hardly say that the change, which was inevitable in the circumstances, was not one for which the people had any enthusiasm. It was merely accepted as an unavoidable and unpleasant necessity. The proposed increase in the rice ration will therefore, be welcome throughout the island.

The people of Ceylon should be thankful, not only to Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, but also to the authorities in England for their appreciation of the needs of the island in regard to rice. The Civil Defence Commissioner had to plead the cause of Ceylon with more than one Government Department. The heads of these various departments were very sympathetic towards the case presented by

the Civil Defence Commissioner. It is interesting to note that the increase in the island's rice ration will come, not from India, but from other sources, and the shipping needed for this purpose will be provided by the British Government itself in the midst of its more pressing preoccupations due to the war.

We understand from the Civil Defence Commissioner's announcement that the increase in the rice ration will apply only for the first half of 1945. "There is every indication", he says, "that it is possible to maintain the increased ration for the second six months. I wish to make it clear that the maintenance of the increased rice ration will depend on the future purchase under the Internal Purchase Scheme being still greater than they are at present". That the sympathetic consideration given by the British Government to the food requirements of the island entails an obligation on the people of the island to make the Internal Purchase Scheme a success is quite obvious, and we hope that the appeal of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke will not fall on deaf ears. Often in these columns we have urged on farmers their duty to the Government under present circumstances, but we wish to make it clear that the obligation is not less binding on the Board of Ministers themselves.

We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Ministers to the high cost of production in the Jaffna District and appealed for an increase in the price paid for paddy requisitioned in such areas. The Ministry, however, has refused to respond to this appeal. We have also drawn the attention of the Ministers to the fact that, under the rules of the Internal Purchase Scheme, the Jaffna farmer has to be content with fifty bushels of paddy per annum, while, in the more favoured areas where two crops are sown, the farmer is entitled to a maximum allowance of 100 bushels. It is these drawbacks that militate against the success of the Internal Purchase Scheme and weaken the position of those like ourselves who have urged the people to support the Scheme in every possible way. As Sir Oliver Goonetilleke says, the State can only punish offenders against the regulations; it can do little more. A good deal, however, depends on the co-operation of the people. It is only by adopting a policy of scrupulous fairness and justice that such co-operation can be secured. Long after the war is over the attitude of the Ministers in the matter of the Internal Purchase Scheme towards districts like Jaffna will be remembered by the people affected by their policy. What a commentary on self-government and Dominion Status!

Notable Utterances

What Is Education

"The quest for Truth is the Alpha and Omega of all education", said Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of an address to the students of the Basic Education Teachers' Training Camp at Sevagram on November 19th. Referring to the prayers which had been recited at the beginning of the proceedings, he observed "there are several things in the prayer which are worthy of your note, but I want to draw your attention to that particular portion of it which pledged the reciter to adherence to Truth in speech and action under all circumstances and at all times. One Mantra means 'Lead me from Untruth to Truth, from Darkness to Light, from Death to Immortality'. Similarly the Islamic prayer, which has just been recited, is an outpouring of the soul for Light and for being guided on to the straight path of Truth and Righteousness. This quest for Truth is the Alpha and Omega of all education."

Politics Nothing But Applied Religion

At a public meeting held in Patna on December 3, to celebrate the 60th birthday of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who is now in jail, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that he was not a politician, but politics was nothing but applied religion. If one had certain principles and applied them to life, it became politics. In his opinion, Rajen Babu was an extremely religious man as was apparent from his respect for truth, his love for a life, his charity and his compassion. His close adherence to the teachings and principles of Gandhiji and the splendid leadership that he had always given to the country were worthy of emulation.

There were some, continued Sir Sarvapalli, who thought that Ahimsa was not for this but for the other world. But there were occasions where Ahimsa alone had failed to achieve its end. He quoted the Gita to illustrate his point and said that Arjuna had refused to fight in the battle-field until persuaded by Sri Krishna. He hoped Government would find its way to release Dr. Prasad soon.

Real Purpose Of Science

Sr C. V. Raman, in his speech, regretted that the achievements of Science should be utilised for the massacre of mankind and contribute to its sorrows and sufferings. It was not a proper utilization of the fruits of Science, he said. The real purpose of Science was creation and not destruction. The duty of the scientist was to advance human knowledge and not to promote human misery.

India, continued Sir C. V. Raman, was the land of Buddha, Mahavir, and Gandhi, and all these had given to the world the message of Ahimsa. He recalled the occasion when he received the Nobel Prize in 1930 and at a reception given at Stockholm, he gave the message of Buddha and his teachings of Ahimsa and non-violence. He hoped, later in life, when he had more leisure, to give to the world the message of Buddha and tell his fellow-scientists that Science should never be used to cause suffering among mankind.

Foundation of Democracy

In the course of the debate on the Greek situation in the Parliament, on December 7, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Premier said:— "The foundation of democracy

The Jaffna Association

25% Seats For North and East

We understand that a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jaffna Association was held last Monday with Mr. G. C. Paambalab, (Retired District Judge) President, in the chair, that over forty members were present, and that important decisions were arrived at with regard to the representation to be made to the Soulbury Commission.

First the Secretary read a letter from the Hon. Mr. G. E. de Silva, President of the Ceylon National Congress, inviting the Jaffna Association's participation at a preliminary meeting to be held in Colombo on the 19th inst in connection with the All-Parties Conference. Objection was raised by some members pointing out that as long as the object of the All-Parties Conference of the National Congress was to make a united demand for the recognition of Ceylon's right for independence without reference to the position of the minorities, the Jaffna Association could not partake in such movements. However, after a good deal of discussion it was agreed that the President might be present at the Conference and explore the possibility of arriving at some settlement with Sinhalese leaders without sacrificing the principles already laid down in the various resolutions of the Association and the Memorials it had submitted on the question of Reforms.

A resolution was proposed that the Jaffna Association's policy of Balanced Representation be reaffirmed, but on further discussion it was found not sufficiently expressive of the Association's policy and an amendment was accepted that the Memorandum to be submitted to the Soulbury Commission should not in any way deviate from the previous resolutions of the Association including Balanced Representation, Retention of Committee system, Retention of Universal franchise, Appointment of an independent Public Services Commission etc.

Another resolution was passed that the Association do demand that Ceylon Tamils be given 25% of the total number of territorially elected seats in the Island to represent constituencies carved out in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Yet another resolution demanded that Ceylon Tamils be granted adequate representation in the Executive Government, such as the Board of Ministers, and that the Association's policy for the retention of the Committee system of government be reaffirmed.

The President and the Secretaries will draft the memorandum to be submitted to the Soulbury Commission and place same before a full meeting of the Association for approval and confirmation.

was the humble ordinary man, who keeps his wife and family, fights for his country, in need, and votes for the man he wishes elected to Parliament. But he must do this without fear, intimidation or victimisation." "We stand upon the foundation of fair, free elections, not any swindle democracy. It takes all sorts to make a democracy, not only Left Wing or even Communist".

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 1)

basis and foundation of the government of the entire country and are pledged to the principle of non-domination and Balanced Representation. The Tamils cannot forego their rights and shirk their duty to formulate their views and opinions about the principles that ought to guide future governmental machinery of the country. The late Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir A. Kanagasabai, Mr. James Hanman, Sir P. Arunachalam and one of your predecessors in office the late Mr. A. Sabapathy, and the various political associations of the Tamils in the past have stood for the principle of non-domination and Balanced Representation. They have interpreted that the principle of non-domination so far as the legislature of the country is concerned, could be had only by adhering to the principle that no single community should have more representatives than the combined strength of all the representatives of the other communities in Ceylon. This principle of representation was enunciated and insisted upon by the community and its leaders when the domination of Sinhalese communalism was less and when the measure of responsible government that obtained was comparatively not great; now when Ceylon is completely (but for the British power) under the sway of Sinhalese communalism and tyranny and when we are demanding Self-Government or Swaraj Mr Mahadeva in the plenitude of his political wisdom requests the Tamils to abjure this vital principle on which more than on any other human device the future safety and happiness of all the races in this Island depend greatly. Mr. Mahadeva's present interpretation of non-domination and Balanced Representation is not only against the past interpretations given by English statesmen like the Duke of Devonshire and our Tamil leaders but also is against all the known rules of Arithmetic. It is unfortunate for the Tamil community that Mr. Mahadeva who is credited to have been a good mathematician in his college and university days should at this stage of his life try to convert us to something which is not in conformity with simple arithmetic even as it has been the misfortune of the Tamil community when on a previous occasion, another distinguished Tamil mathematician is credited to have been instrumental in the formation of the homogeneous Board of Sinhalese Ministers.

(f) The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress is prepared to co-operate with all the other communities in Ceylon. Mr. Mahadeva advises co-operation with Sinhalese alone. As a first step, the Congress is prepared to work with the other communities which have the same common political ideas even as the late Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir A. Kanagasabai, Sir P. Arunachalam and other Tamil leaders were not averse to working with the other minority communities despite strenuous opposition by the Sinhalese at that time. The other non-Sinhalese communities have united with the Tamils in their demand for the principle of Non-domination and Balanced Representation and the recognition of the rights of Indians in Ceylon which are so necessary for the good government of the country; whereas, on the other hand, the Sinhalese are completely oppos-

ed to these political demands. Also with regard to the British Cabinet system which the Sinhalese Ministers and Mr Mahadeva are seeking to foist on Ceylon, the non-Sinhalese communities are united in their opposition to the imposition of this Form of Executive. Thus on these important political issues that affect the country, the opinion of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress which reflects the opinions of the Tamil community is contrary to the opinion of Mr. Mahadeva and the Sinhalese community. It is an incontrovertible fact that there is now a greater measure of agreement, on political matters and principles between the Tamils and the other non-Sinhalese communities than between the Tamils and the Sinhalese community. On the contrary there is wide disagreement between the Tamils and the Sinhalese on fundamental matters affecting the government of the country. Therefore there is no use of entering into a pretended and false union between the Sinhalese and the Tamils at a sacrifice of political principles on either side as suggested by Mr. Mahadeva. The disagreement on these fundamental matters is not only between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities, but is one between Mr. Mahadeva and the rest of the Tamil community as represented by the All Ceylon Tamil Congress.

(g) The Congress interests itself in all the problems that affect the Government and happiness of the people. The aims and objects of the Congress reveal the comprehensive ideals that actuate those who are associated with the movement. As you have rightly referred in one of your recent issues, the Tamil community expects great things of the Congress, particularly on the cultural side. At the Plenary Sessions eighteen resolutions dealing with various subjects were passed by the Congress. Mr. Mahadeva's only advice to the Tamils at this critical period in their history is to ask for a few extra seats for the Northern and Eastern Provinces, ignoring completely their cultural, moral and political requirements and those of Ceylon. These are some of the fundamental differences that exist between Mr Mahadeva and the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress.

We are glad that you have indicated in your editorial to Mr Mahadeva that 'any attempt to sabotage the Congress with the aid of the Sinhalese Ministers will be regarded as an act of positive disloyalty towards the Tamils as a community'. I should in this connection in the interests of truth and of the public refer to some acts of the Hon'ble the Home Minister and the Member of Jaffna.

(i) Mr. Mahadeva has not joined the Congress. Instead he is carrying on his own propaganda and is pursuing a different course of action entirely opposed to that of the Congress. Mr Mahadeva at the first consultative meeting for the formation of the Congress openly stated in reply to a specific question that he would be led by his own conscience only and would not be influenced by any body or association of men referring to the Congress. How Mr Mahadeva's conscience prompts him in matters of grave public importance could be judged from his own words quoted by me later in connection with the Jaffna Boycott.

(ii) The organisers of the Congress which is a movement for the

regeneration of the Tamil community in all walks of life and having several sections of activities desired that Tamils in the public service should be given opportunity to join the cultural section of the organisation. Mr. Mahadeva and the Sinhalese Ministerial colleagues have protested against the ruling of the Chief Secretary granting such permission to the public servants to join the Congress. You would remember, Sir, that you have in one of your editorials rightly supported the position of the Tamil public servants to be members of the cultural section of our organisation.

(iii) Mr. Mahadeva and his Ministerial colleagues joined in the protest made to the Officer Administering the Government against the grant of 100 gallons of petrol to the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

(iv) Mr. Mahadeva is bringing his influence and pressure to bear upon his friends and others with the object of preventing them from supporting the Congress. Not only has he swerved from pledges and declarations, but he has made and is trying to make others to follow in his foot steps.

(v) The malevolence of his attitude towards the Congress was very vividly displayed when at the conclusion of his speech at the last Annual General Meeting of the Jaffna Association he ended with a call for vengeance on the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress.

I wish to be permitted to state that with your usual goodness, you have credited Mr Mahadeva as being responsible for something which, as a matter of fact, has come into being, in spite of him, I wish to quote the following words in your esteemed editorial:—

'We are glad to acknowledge that his rider to the Ministers' Scheme of Reforms was very largely responsible for the very wide terms of reference in the appointment of the Royal Commission.'

I am sure that this statement of yours has incorrectly crept in. It is well known that Mr. Mahadeva agreed completely with the Ministers' Memorandum in all details except in the matter of representation and that he suggested a Commission only to go into the matter of representation and representation alone. My statements will be borne out by Mr Mahadeva's rider and by the statement of Mr D S Senanayake on the subject. It is nothing but fair that the public should know that the very wide terms of reference in the appointment of the Commission, resulted not because of Mr Mahadeva's rider but in spite of it, owing to the action taken by the other leaders of the minority communities including Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam.

The correspondence between the minority representatives and the Secretary of State recently published in the local press clearly indicates that the points of difference between the Board of Ministers and the Minorities were very wide and that a Commission from England was urged upon by the Minority Representatives for examining all matters relating to the government of Ceylon and the working of the Donoughmore Constitution. Your readers will also remember that Mr G. G. Ponnambalam when he went to England in 1938 made the de-

mand for a Commission, one of the chief items in his programme.

Earlier in my letter I referred to an incident where Mr. Mahadeva's conscience worked in a peculiar way. It is as clear as day light from his own words that Mr. Mahadeva's conscience could be equated with his feelings of personal expediency, personal interest and personal safety. Referring to the Jaffna boycott in which he actively participated and which was claimed at that time as a patriotic act in the year 1931, Mr. Mahadeva in the course of his speech in the State Council delivered so late as November 22nd this year made a revealing confession. The speech was delivered in connection with suggestions made by some others for the boycott of the Soulbury Commission. The report in the newspaper reads as follows:—
"Mr. Mahadeva reminded the House of how some Sinhalese leaders after deciding to boycott the Donoughmore Commission later accepted the constitution given to the country and worked it in such a way as to deserve more power. There was, on the other hand, a group of simpletons in the North young men burning with the fervour of freedom, almost using the unhappy language of the member for Trincomalee, who terrorised you and me and several others who happened to be seeking election at the time."

The italics are pregnant with meaning. There is not one word about any consideration of public interest or patriotism. It is a matter of Fear,—Fear, pure and simple.

It is thus evident, without any word from me that Mr. Mahadeva in joining the boycott was solely moved by consideration of personal expediency, personal interest and personal safety. One will not go far wrong if he thinks that Mr. Mahadeva in departing now from his pledges, undertakings and previous representations and course of political conduct, is led again by reasons of personal interest, personal expediency and personal safety. In the year 1931, it was the Jaffna youth that terrorised him. In the year 1944, it is the Sinhalese Ministers and the Sinhalese leaders and the Sinhalese masses. Perhaps 12 years hence Mr Mahadeva may come out with a clue why he recommended co-operation with the Sinhalese at the sacrifice of established principles. Then it will be too late to retrace our position. The Boycott blunder was one that was capable of being rectified. If the Tamils surrender their position at this critical juncture, no action of theirs at any subsequent time could retrieve the damage. Even you, Sir, (referring to you personally) who manfully helped us during the days of the boycott along with Messrs. Nevins Solvadurai, Mr. Ponnambalam and Mr. Mahadeva, will find it impossible to pull us out of such a disaster should it be allowed to happen on this occasion.

This is not the first time in the political history of the country and race that leaders who have done service at some time or other have caused great damage to the public at some other time. Mr Mahadeva should realize the truth of the wholesome advice rendered to him by such a well wisher of his and of the public like yourself in the concluding sentence of your editorial that his place is now by the side of his own people."

Co'ombo, Yours etc,
11-12-44. TAMIL CONGRESSMAN

**Communal Representation
Cum Territorial
Representation**

(Continued from page 1)

Northern and Eastern Provinces, yet in the other parts too, in the history of the Sinhalese kingdoms they have played a conspicuous part. The ancient historians have done a great injustice to the Tamils in making too much of the Tamil invasions and wars, while devoting little or no attention to their service as co-workers with their Sinhalese brethren in the Government, and in the other wonderful achievements of architectural and engineering skill which mark the ancient greatness of Ceylon. It is stated on the authority of Sir Emerson Tennent's History of Ceylon (p. 371 and 296) and Casie Chetty's Gazetteer (p. 229), that the superstitious deference that had always been paid to Tamil blood became in later times an article of political faith, and it has prevailed in the latest period of Sinhalese sovereignty, viz. that no individual of pure Sinhalese extraction could be elevated to supreme power. And the quiescence of the Sinhalese to the rule of the Tamils is attributable, possibly, to the fact that they recognised to some extent the pretensions of the Tamils, as founded in their relationship to the legitimate sovereignty of the Island. There are several historical evidences to show that from the time of Vijaya to the present time, the Tamils have played a conspicuous part not only in their own Provinces in the North and East but in the Government and in the economic development of the whole Island also. Even at the present day with the help and guidance of the British Government the Tamils continue to take their legitimate shares of old, in all departments of administration and progress, and in the work of national reconstruction to suit the conditions of modern progress.

It will, therefore, be seen from the foregoing facts that the Tamil community of Ceylon can never acquiesce to any reduction in the present relative proportion of their representation in the future reconstituted Government. This principle must be carefully observed in allotting the number of representatives to Northern and Eastern Provinces. Whatever the benefits of a purely territorial representation may be in countries like America where the different races and communities readily inter-marry and amalgamate and adopt English as their vernacular, it can never be a benefit to Ceylon where the races and communities have no such desire. We may therefore announce it as a principle that in all cases where it can form a territorial unit, each community must be given separate representation in the Councils in proportion to its relative importance with the other communities as determined by its past history and present interests. Federal union and co-operation of the communities in all common causes and individual development after their respective types principally in their educational and social matters must be the idea of the future United Ceylon.

WANTED

Pupil nurses, midwives and male attendants for the Co-operative Union Hospital, Moolai.
Qualifications: J S C. with knowledge of English preferred.

Scale of Salaries:-

(a) Public nurses Rs 21-25 per month including allowance for the first six months and Rs. 27-50 with subsequent increments.

(b) Qualified midwives Rs 35-75.
30

excluding war allowance

(c) Male Attendants Rs. 27-50 with increments.

Apply to the Hon. Secretary,
The Co-operative Union Hospital
Moolai, Chulipuram
Mis 173, 14-18-12-44

HOME FRONT

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(Mis. 166, 4-11-4-2-45)

**ORDER NISI
IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
JAFFNA**
(Held at Point Pedro)
Testamentary Jurisdiction
No. 20/P.T.

In the matter of the Last Will and Testament of Charles Ponniah Thamothisram of Point Pedro Deceased.

- 1 Charles Jayam Thamothisram Thamothisram
- 2 Joyce Elizabeth KirupaiRatnam Thamothisram
- 3 JayaVeeraSingham Herbert Roberts Perinpanayagam all of Point Pedro Petitioners

- 1 Ernest Lawrence Sathiyasayar Thamothisram
 - 2 Violet Ponnammah Jayasothy Thamothisram
 - 3 Beatrice Edith Arulnesar Thamothisram
 - 4 Amy Rengitham Gnana-devi Thamothisram
 - 5 Edgur Daniel Kirupai-nesar Thamothisram
 - 6 Laurel Tharmadevi Thamothisram
 - 7 Huldah Thangamma Thamothisram of Point Pedro Respondents.
- 4-7 Respondents are minors by their G. A. L. the 1st Respondent

This matter of his petition of the abovenamed petitioners coming on for disposal before E Wijayawardena Esquire Additional District Judge on the 30th day of December 1944 in the presence of Messrs Kandaiv and Malvaganam Proctors on the part of the petition and the affidavit of the petition having been read

It is ordered that the Last Will of the deceased abovenamed dated 13th January 1944 be and the same is hereby declared proved and that the petitioners are the executors named in the said Will and that they are entitled to have Probate issued to them accordingly unless the respondents or any other person shall on or before the 11th day of January 1945 show cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 30th day of November 1944
Sgt. E. Wijayawardena,
Additional District Judge,
(O. 110 14 & 18)

**Rome Crowds Wreck
"Black Market"**

Hungry crowds last Thursday marched on markets in Rome where goods were being sold at "black market" prices. They smashed windows, upset counters and forced vendors to sell goods in short supply at the controlled prices. Some shopkeepers were manhandled.

Flour, intended for sale in the Testaccio quarter at the current

"black market" price of 110 lire, was carried away by the demonstrators who paid the official controlled price of 7 lire.

In the Tordimone quarter, on the Vatican side of the Tiber river, which is most blatant of Rome's uncontrolled "black markets", stocks of all kinds of eatables which were offered for sale in contravention of the nominal price regulations were thrown on to the pavement and the demonstrators helped themselves.

ARMY RECRUITING

**Royal Army Service Corps
and
Ceylon Defence Force**

A Recruiting Officer will tour the Jaffna Peninsula towards the end of December 1944.

He will register the names of those who wish to join up. They will be called up during January 1945

He will be at the following places on the dates and at the times stated below:-

- JAFFNA TOWN** At the Urban Council Hall from 2-30 to 4-30 p.m. on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, '44.
- CHAVAKACHCHERI** At the Rest House from 10 a.m. to 12 noon on the 29th December, '44.
- POINT PEDRO** At the Rest House from 10 A.M. to 12 noon on the 30th December '44.
- TELLIPALLAI** At Union College from 10 A.M. to 12 noon on the 31st December '44.

An education in English is not essential but only a good education in the recruit's own language.

Recruits must be over 19 years of age for the R. A. S. C. and over 18 for the C. D. F.—be in good health and have a good physique.

Those who wish to join the R. A. S. C. must be prepared to go overseas. This is an excellent opportunity for the youth of Jaffna to see something of the world. They will be taught English and this will be useful to them after the war.

CHIEF RECRUITING OFFICER,
CEYLON.

(G. 90, 14, 18 & 21)

**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. 21-11-44—20-11-44) (T's) Shroff.