

THE Hindu Organ.

The Only Newspaper in Ceylon for the Hindus

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND THURSDAY

Editor:
A. V. Kulasingham

VOL. LVI.

'Phone 56.

JAFFNA, MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1944.

NO. 70.

WHAT THE JAFFNA ASSOCIATION STANDS FOR

By "SENTINEL"

Since the Executive Committee of the Jaffna Association resolved at its meeting of the 11th inst. that the Association's representations to the Soulbury Commission should not deviate from the principles already laid down in its several resolutions and memorials on the subject of Constitutional Reforms, it will be well if the country knows at the present time what those principles were: I give a few below:

On the 28th of January, 1938, under the chairmanship of the late Dr. Isaac Tambiah, the President of the Association, the following resolutions were passed:

1. That a deputation of the Jaffna Association, consisting of the President, Messrs. S. Kanagasabai, A. V. Kulasingham, S. Arulambalam, V. Veerasingham, N. Chelvadurai, A. M. Brodie, C. Ponnambalam and Sam. A. Sabapathy do wait on His Excellency Sir Andrew Caldecott, the Governor, on the subject of Political Reforms during his visit to Jaffna.

2. That the deputation be guided by the following principles viz:

(a) That adult franchise might continue, but the restriction placed on the Indians be removed and all British subjects resident in the Island for six months be allowed to vote at elections.

(b) That at no time should the voting strength of the minorities be jointly less than that of the majority community in the legislature i.e. the principle enunciated in the Duke of Devonshire's despatch of 1923 be adopted.

(c) That the Committee System may be abolished and Parliamentary government substituted provided minorities are adequately safeguarded in the legislature by Balanced Representation and provided also that specific provisions are included in The Royal Instructions to the Governor to ensure that minorities are represented in the Cabinet.

(d) That Public Services in the matter of appointment, transfers, promotions, etc. should be free from political influence.

(e) That the Public Service Commission be nominated by the Governor.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on May, 5, 1939, with Mr. S. Kanagasabai, Senior Vice-President, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed after Messrs. A. Mahadeva, S. Natesan and G. G. Ponnambalam, Council members, addressed the meeting.

1. The Jaffna Association unequivocally re-affirms the demand of the Tamils for an immediate amendment of the Constitution for the restoration of a scheme of representation on the principle that no single community should be in a position to outvote a combination of other communities. Proposed by Mr. V. S. Karthigesu. Seconded by Mr. A. R. Subramaniam and supported by Messrs. P. Moses and T. N. Subbiah. Carried *nem con.*

2. This Association demands that the Northern and Eastern Provinces be allotted at least seventeen seats in a Council of sixty elected and eight nominated members. Proposed by Mr. C. Arulambalam, seconded by Mr. N. Chelvadurai and supported by Mr. A. Cumaraswamy. Carried unanimously.

3. This Association demands the continuance of government by Executive Committees in the best interests of the country. Proposed by Mr. A. Cumaraswamy, seconded by Mubandram S. Kandiah and supported by Mr. C. K. Swaminathan. Carried unanimously.

4. This Association requests that a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament should examine and report on the constitutional position in Ceylon before any final conclusions are reached regarding the future reform of the Constitution.

An emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jaffna Association was held on Saturday 2nd March, 1940, with Mr. S. Kanagasabai in the chair, to consider the constitutional crisis then brought about by the resignation of the Board of Ministers and the movement for non-cooperation initiated by the Ministers. On invitation Messrs. A. Mahadeva, S. Natesan, G. G. Ponnambalam and R. Sri Parthmanathan were present and addressed the meeting. After discussion the following resolutions were passed without a single dissentient:

1. This Association condemns the present movement for non-cooperation initiated by the Ministers as being detrimental to the best interests of the country. Proposed by Mr. N. Chelvadurai and seconded by Mr. A. R. Subramaniam.

2. This Association records its opinion that the absence of a scheme of balanced representation in the Donoughmore Constitution has rendered the formation

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mr. Mahadeva And His Critics

Sir.—There may be honest differences of opinion between the Hon. Mr. Mahadeva and a section of Ceylon Tamils who are still in favour of the formula of representation known as the fifty-fifty as the only way to settle the minority problem, but there is no justification whatever for the press campaign directed against him personally for his advocacy of a policy of conciliation and reasonableness on the eve of the arrival of the Royal Commission in Ceylon.

It is true that Mr. Mahadeva himself advocated the 50:50 Scheme during the by-election for the Jaffna seats in 1934 as a means of preventing racial domination. It is wrong however to say that that he has broken any election pledge if he advises his community now to accept a modified scheme for the purpose of securing an agreed settlement and establishing friendly relations between the various communities living in this country.

It is equally wrong to say that he is an opportunist who has sacrificed the interests of his community to please his Sinhalese friends who have made him a Minister. He has always acted as an honourable man in public life, and if he had deviated from his original scheme of representation he had done so long before he became a minister, in the interest of his community and his country. Like all sane leaders he was always prepared for a reasonable compromise if it could be secured without sacrificing the primary objective of preventing domination by the majority community.

Mr. Mahadeva advocated the 50-50 scheme relying on the probability of united action of all the minorities on all important matters; but this hope was falsified by subsequent events. The minorities were themselves partly responsible for the all-Sinhalese ministry which was formed after the last general election. It is well known that a section of the Sinhalese members actually negotiated with the Tamils for securing an equitable distribution of ministerial offices, but the divi-

of an alternative government impossible in the present circumstances. Proposed by Mr. V. S. Karthigesu and seconded by Mr. C. Arulambalam.

3. This Association is of opinion that the need for a revision of the present Donoughmore Constitution in a form acceptable to all communities is urgent and should not be delayed. Proposed by Mubandram S. Kandiah and seconded by Mr. A. S. Vanigasooriar.

sion among the Tamil members along with the support given by an important minority group to the Sinhalese leaders contributed to the total elimination of the minority members from ministerial offices. When the minorities would not unite when union was most necessary it became clear that it was unwise to depend upon the 50-50 scheme as a real safeguard for the minorities. The advocacy of this scheme has only created bitter feelings and widened the existing cleavage between the Sinhalese and other communities still further.

Thoughtful public men among the Sinhalese as well as the minorities soon began to realise that for the orderly progress of the country as a whole, communal strife should be ended and they therefore began to support a policy of conciliation based on mutual concession. It was in this spirit that Mr. A. V. Kulasingham, the present editor of the "Hindu Organ", spokesman of the Deputation that waited on his Excellency the Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott during his first visit to Jaffna, accepted as a reasonable compromise the suggestion of the Governor in favour of 40 per cent of the seats for the minorities; and nobody accused either Mr. Kulasingham or the other members of the deputation having betrayed the sense of the Tamils. It was in the same spirit that Mr. Mahadeva, acting on behalf of his community, brought about an agreed settlement in 1938 on the question of representation by a representative committee of members of the State Council including all the minority members then in Ceylon (excluding the Europeans and Burghers). This settlement gave 42 per cent of the seats to all the minorities and 15 seats to the Ceylon Tamils in a Council of 68. In this instance he acted not only in the very best interest of the minorities but also did, in conjunction with other Tamil members, what was expected of him primarily viz to have the aims of the Ceylon Tamils thoroughly safeguarded in whatever scheme he put forward. This settlement, if it had not been torpedoed by Mr. Senanayake, would have resulted in the establishment of cordial relations among the different communities.

Mr. Mahadeva did at no time any thought of appeasing his Sinhalese colleagues for personal ambition. He certainly acted against them when he wrote his letter to the Ministers, despatched reforms asking for a commission to settle the question of representation. We must all acknowledge the fact that his rides

(Continued on page 4)

FOR S. S. C. & H. S. C. STUDENTS

Private Tuition—Latin

S. Ganesha Iyer,

Grand Bazaar, Jaffna.

(Mts. 175. 18-12—)



Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1944

TAMIL CONGRESS IN JAFFNA

THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE Tamil Congress held at the Town Hall on Saturday last provided a convincing demonstration of the feelings and opinions of the Tamils in regard to the situation created by the attitude of the Ministers towards the minorities. It was evident to anyone present at the meeting that the Tamils were not prepared to allow minor differences amongst themselves to stand in the way of their presenting a united front when the Commission arrives. These differences, as anyone who has read the editorials in these columns knows, were due to the desire of the moderate section to see that nothing should be done to render a settlement with the Sinhalese community impossible. Even this section is now convinced that the prospects of such a settlement have definitely receded within the last few months. They have receded because the men in power in the South are not statesmen. They do not possess the qualities of leadership needed by the country. If their ignorance and arrogance have repelled all Tamils with any pretence to self-respect, the vulgar abuse of the Tamil community in which some of them indulged on a recent occasion has made it plain that, unless and until the Sinhalese community puts forward a better type of leaders to exercise political and administrative authority, nothing is to be gained by taking into account the chances of a settlement. We know that the Sinhalese community is not bankrupt in brains and character. There are Sinhalese public men who are undoubtedly men of character and ability and who take a large view of things. Unfortunately for the Sinhalese and the Tamils, these men are not to be found at the helm of affairs, and they are not in a position to control those in authority. The "Ceylon Daily News" was utterly blind to realities when it reproached Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam and his "henchmen" with trying to wreck the political advancement of the island. We may assure our contemporary that there are few "henchmen" on

this side. The Tamils are the last people to tolerate any attempt at dictatorship either by Mr. Ponnambalam or by anybody else, but, on the other hand, it is the Sinhalese community that has continued to yield to the pretensions of men like Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. There would have been no difficulty in keeping Mr. Ponnambalam under control, but these two leaders of the Sinhalese are a law unto themselves and their vapourings and their abuse have filled us all with disgust. In the face of such a situation, the Tamils have no other alternative than to sink their own differences and unite.

And unity at this juncture is imperative. There was one great question that was present in the minds of all those who attended the monster meeting on Saturday, and this question overshadowed everything else. The question was: Are the Tamils going to be the slaves of the Sinhalese caucus in power, or are they in consonance with their past traditions, going to have a real share in the government of this Island? To this question Saturday's demonstration in the Town Hall gave a fitting and impressive answer. We would like to add here that it is not merely a question of representation in the Legislature. Representation is only a means unto an end and the end to be attained now is to have a system of representation and government that will effectively prevent an oligarchy like the one now in power from the exercise of political or administrative authority.

The task is one that will tax the resources of the Tamils and the other minorities. To the successful accomplishment of this task the Tamils can contribute much, only on one condition: they must be united. Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils must, in the face of the common danger that threatens them, act together and act with determination. Afterthoughts, regrets—these are useless. Our friends in the South have, it is evident, no such afterthoughts and no regrets in regard to the scurvy treatment meted out to the Tamil community—a community which, more than any other, contributed to the political progress of Ceylon. Bankrupt in statesmanship, all that the Sinhalese leaders are able to do is to tell Australia and Britain that the Tamil coolies who produce the island's tea and rubber and whom they have done their best to oppress have done much for the war effort of the island. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke must have said all this with his tongue in his cheek, while his chiefs in Ceylon demonstrated their affection for the Tamils. It is the duty of the Tamils to see that the truth is made clear to the Soulbury Commission and to everybody else.

Notes and Comments

Neglect Of Mullaitivu

A well thought-out letter from the pen of Dr. Sivasithambaram appeared in our last Monday's issue on the subject of "Hospital Policy". He is a retired Provincial Surgeon and knows what he is writing about. His suggestions are valuable and deserve serious consideration at the hands of the authorities and the public. Incidentally he gives the example of Mullaitivu, one of the most neglected areas in the Island. It was once very flourishing; but in the course of the last fifty years it has become depopulated and, with the removal of the Kachcheri to Vavuniya the town has been reduced to the state of a fishing village. In the Census Report of 1921 it was said that the district was "rotten" with malaria and that the population was dwindling year after year. As the Doctor pertinently asks did the Ministry of Health care to find out for the last fourteen years the cause of depopulation and seek to effect any remedy? Lakhs and lakhs of rupees were freely spent by the Government on anti-malarial work throughout the Island. Was any fraction spent either in Mullaitivu or Mannar or Tenmaradchi which are the most malaria-stricken areas in the North? Mr. Sri Pathmanathan, the late member for Mullaitivu urged on the Government year after year the urgency for building a new hospital and improving medical facilities in the Mullaitivu District. Did the Ministry ever care to lend its ear to that appeal? As Dr. Sivasithambaram points out, the recommendations of a former D. M. and S. S. also have been before the Ministry for the last fourteen years. Was any action taken on it?

The Jaffna public have been agitating for a maternity ward to be added to the Jaffna Civil Hospital for a number of years. In every budget speech mention was made of it by the Northern members. Although the Hospital was originally built by the people and handed over to the Government, and the Government took it over without any initial outlay on it, yet the maternity ward had no chance of making its appearance for the last twenty-five years until the Commander-in-Chief's attention was drawn to it and he ordered the release of cement for its immediate construction. Before the cement and other materials became scarce did the Government care to do anything? These and other matters concerning the neglect of the North under the present regime might well be brought to the notice of the Soulbury Commission. Another instance of wilful neglect of the North, in the matter of medical facilities, will be found in the closing of the Kilinochi Hospital as soon as the Donoughmore Constitution began to function, during the absence of the Jaffna members in the Council. It was after the Jaffna members entered the Council in 1934 and brought repeated pressure to bear on the Minister the Hospital was reopened. Without a hospital at Kilinochi, taking labourers to such a malarial place and cultivating lands at enormous expense and sacrifice was out of the question. Yet the Ministry of those days had the hardihood to close the hospital in the absence of Jaffna members in the

Council. Still the neglect of Mullaitivu and Mannar continues.

Stable Prices For Foodstuffs

The Government of Madras expects to incur a total expenditure of 116 lakhs in the current year in making available to the public, at reasonable prices, foodstuffs and other necessaries of life and in arranging equal distribution to consumers as far as possible. This subsidy is exclusive of the capital expenditure of Rs. 5 lakhs incurred on the purchase of lorries and Rs. 10 lakhs spent on the construction of godowns. The total expenditure next year is expected to go up to about one and a half crores i. e. Rs. 15,000,000.

Stabilization In Ceylon

One of the reasons why Government is not able to get its full quota under the Internal Purchase Scheme and for the flourishing of the black market in rice is the low price of Rs. 6.00 paid by Government per bushel of paddy. We understand that the cost of production averages over Rs. 15.00 per bushel in the North and yet when farmers clamoured all over the Island that they be paid at least Rs. 10.00 per bushel the Minister of Agriculture turned a deaf ear. How can the farmers be expected to sell their surplus paddy to the Government at Rs. 6.00 per bushel when starving people are ever ready to pay as much as Rs. 35.00 per bushel in the black market? It is in order to kill the black market and enable people to obtain foodstuffs at reasonable prices the Madras Government is giving a subsidy of Rs. 15,000,000. The Central Board of Agriculture of Ceylon has rightly asked the Government to guarantee the price of paddy at Rs. 6.00 per bushel for a period of five years after the war, so that people might be encouraged to take to further paddy cultivation. In our opinion the request is a very mild one since in India the Government has undertaken to keep up the prices of important food grains at reasonable levels for a period of years after the cessation of the war, and not merely for five years.

Government Monopoly

As a further step towards stabilizing prices Mr. Somerset Butler, Special Officer, Department of Food, Government of India recommends the continuance of the present monopoly procurement of food grains in India. He says: "Given the will and determination a Government monopoly can be introduced successfully, in spite of administrative difficulties and the possible opposition of vested interests." He also says: "To be able to achieve by monopoly procurement control in deficit areas, sufficient to institute fixed prices at predetermined levels and to be confident of maintaining those prices must, in my view, be the final and decisive argument against all those opposed to Government monopoly." Among his many recommendations the first is this: "Great attention should be paid to the cultivator being allowed to retain from his produce, grain sufficient for his needs. One of the most vital aspects of monopoly procurement is to assure the cultivator that his interests as well as those of his dependants and of his village are protected."

Under the present Internal Purchase Scheme in Ceylon no cultivator gets a sufficient proportion of his produce for himself and his dependants and the maximum is 50 bushels in the North and 100 bushels in places where two cultivations can be carried on under irrigation facilities.

ALL - CEYLON TAMIL CONGRESS

Mammoth Gathering's Support in Jaffna

"I see before me gathered here in thousands my brothers and sisters not merely from the different parts of Jaffna but from Colombo, Kandy, Matale, Anuradhapura, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu, from distant Tirukovil, Batticaloa, Matara, Hatton and Bandara-wela. I am deeply grateful for the confidence reposed on me by such representative Tamil leaders from all parts of the Island and I derive my entire inspiration from your presence in such large numbers at this memorable meeting, and from the looks on your faces. I know why you have spontaneously gathered here. The Tamil giant that has been slumbering placidly is awakening from its slumber and will not rest till it is appeased. To change my metaphor this vast and mammoth gathering is an expression of the determination of the TAMILAKAM to demand its just rights and to ensure for itself a sure future in the political hierarchy of to-morrow. Ceylon is the original homeland of the Tamils. We were not merely the original settlers but original rulers of the island holding sway for centuries from Point Pedro to Pt. Dondra; and we acknowledged no rulers and owned no masters till the advent of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British maritime powers," said Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, the President of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, presiding over the Special session held at the Jaffna Town Hall on Saturday evening. He was brought in procession with Messrs. I. X. Perera, Mr. K. Natesa Iyer and J. Tyagaraja, Members of Council, from Kockuvil, the furthest end of Urban Council limits, to the Jaffna Town Hall accompanied by hundreds of people. Most of the shops in the Grand Bazaar area and on the Kankesantural road were closed and all along the route the people garlanded Mr. Ponnambalam and the visitors and shouts of "Ponnambalam, Ki Jai; "Long live Ponnambalam, the Tamil leader" were raised. Congress banners were carried in front and great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the town. Buses and cars were streaming in from all parts of Jaffna and hundreds were marching to the Town Hall on foot. Over 5000 people had gathered in the hall long before the procession arrived and an attempt was made by the organisers to hold the meeting in the open, but as the weather was threatening it was decided to pack up the balcony and all the available space behind the platform and on the verandhas which began to overflow. A large number had to content themselves by standing out on the lawn.

"The stores of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa even to-day speak eloquently of the Tamils", continued Mr. Ponnambalam. "Every stone is a monument to the glory and historicity of the Tamil race, a race which entertained its sway from the Himalayas in the North to the Ruhr of the Chaldeans in the West and to the Arkorot Borabador and the East Indian Archipelago. The branch of this race demands an honourable and

honoured position in any future constitution. England cannot and will not, I venture to think, perpetrate another constitution like the present which will be an iniquity and an act of hostility to our ancient race. Any constitution for Ceylon must be based on the recognition of the fundamental structure of society of a number of people living their separate existence speaking different languages, professing different faiths and pursuing vastly divergent creeds. This political and racial heterogeneity was duly appreciated by British administrators and statesmen from very early times. Sir Henry MaCallum, the Earl of Crewc, Sir Henry Gollan, Sir William Manning, the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Edward Stubbs, all actively participated in enunciating the principle of representation based on no domination viz. no community should be in a position to outvote all other communities put together.

"No constitution can possibly be acceptable to the Tamils in the future except upon the basis of this fundamental concept in the Constitution of 1920 to 1931. Out of a total of 37 members, 18 were Sinhalese and 19 belonged to the minorities. During the whole period there was no single communal division in any debate. Sir Herbert Stanley had to acknowledge this in his despatch to Lord Pasfield. Ever since the inauguration of the Donoughmore Constitution the communal cry has become a regular feature of debate. From 1931 communalism in the country has become rampant from a narrow section at all elections. It has been so deposed by Governor Stubbs at the opening of the second State Council. In 1931 we Tamils perpetrated an act of folly by boycotting the State Council as encouraged by Sinhalese leaders. We remained out whilst they pursued the one objective of further concentrating power in their own hands. Within one year of the inauguration of the State Council they started debates on Constitutional reforms and became importunate with the Governor and the Secretary of State for Colonies for immediate reforms. At a time when we were out of Council and when we wanted a fresh nomination day there was no Sinhalese leader or Minister to support us or give a helping hand. They in fact felt the gesture of the boycott should be encouraged while they continued in the saddle of power. After the Tamils entered the Council, like a hardy animal the Ministers' memorandum was forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and none of these reforms were ever made known to the minorities or debated. More recently the Secretary of State, in May 1943, declared that there would be full internal self-government for Ceylon. We were never consulted on this with regard to our place in the Constitution or with regard to our share. And when I demanded that it should be debated, Mr. Senanayake with his characteristic impertinence spoke of present

ing 'The finished product' to... product manufactured in England and finished by him. For fifteen years we wanted to present an agreed and united front to His Majesty's Government in the matter of reforms. There has been uniformly an unsympathetic attitude manifested by Sinhalese leaders and Ministers, and yet we are told that three zero hour had nearly arrived and that settlement should be arrived at. Mr. Mahadeva tried to make out that his friends, the Ministers, would give the Tamils of Ceylon twenty seats we renounced our claim for Balanced Representation. This was completely and flatly contradicted at the un-official Reforms Committee meeting on the 8th. of November. It will do well for Mr. Mahadeva to remember the circumstance in which his illustrious father had to secede from the National Congress and found the Tamil Mahajana Sabha in Jaffna. Later when the Tamils and the Sinhalese signed the Pact it was jettisoned by successive National Congress Presidents. The history of broken pledges and gross betrayal by Sinhalese leaders is well known to you all. I therefore now appeal to the Tamil community to stand united, firm in the faith they have in themselves, as manifested in meetings and culminating in to-day's proceedings, and to see that the Tamil representatives honour their election pledges as the only condition at present for the just recognition of their rights."

Welcome speech

Dr. S. Subramaniam, (Retired Provincial Surgeon) Chairman of the Reception Committee and who presided over the Consulative meeting in Jaffna some weeks ago for the formation of the Congress, welcoming the delegates from various parts of Ceylon and the large audience present that day, said that the progress of the movement had been one of uninterrupted success which the cause justly deserved. On behalf of the people of Jaffna he welcomed specially members and delegates who had come at great inconvenience from all parts of the Island and particularly he was glad to welcome members of the Indian Tamil community viz: Diwan Bahadur I. X. Pereira, and Messrs. K. Natesa Iyer and G. R. Motha. Knowing the people of the Eastern Province intimately as he did he was sure that their Tamil brothers and sisters over there would rally round the Congress because he knew Jaffna's aspirations and ideals would be shared by their friends in the East. He was again happy that the Indian Tamil community had united with the Ceylon Tamil community in the noble movement to preserve their race and to make Ceylon progress in accordance with the highest ideals of disinterested service and democratic equality. He had the benefit of living in South India and receiving part of his education in Madras before he proceeded to Calcutta and England and was not sure whether all those present in the hall knew the close connection that existed between the Jaffna Tamils and those of South India in the past. It might interest them to know that the first two graduates of the Madras University were Jaffna Tamils and that from generation to generation people from Jaffna had gone to South India to give of their best. Some of Jaffna's great Tamils had held the highest

appointments available to natives in India and laboured hard among the people of South India.

The Tamil community in Ceylon had made unique contributions to the prosperity, happiness and advancement of Ceylon in all spheres of activity, educational, administrative, agricultural and political. Without the efforts of the Tamils, Ceylon would not have been in the position which she had attained prior to the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution. The Tamils had now formed the All-Ceylon Congress for the purpose of the common weal and it was intended to promote the interests of the Tamil people socially, economically and politically. For the time being the political programme in their work might appear more evident to onlookers than the other sections of their activities in view of the present situation in Ceylon. They knew well that without political power, it was not possible to make any progress whether it be cultural, intellectual, social or moral. In order to achieve progress a just and proper achievement was an indispensable pre-requisite. All the minority communities in Ceylon deeply felt that the present constitution was highly detrimental to the welfare not only of each one of the minority communities but of the whole Island. To repeat the statement of the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan the Donoughmore Constitution meant death to the minorities. He felt it his duty to state that if Ceylon was to be a happy contented and prosperous State the present Constitution should be immediately replaced. One of the objects of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress was to work for a proper and just form of government. The sovereign remedy for most of their political evils was to get a scheme of government under which no single community would be in a position to dominate over the others.

"The present political situation," the speaker said "in Ceylon which has arisen as a result of the working of the Donoughmore Constitution during the last 15 years reminds me of an interesting episode in connection with the Donoughmore Commission during its sojourn at Batticaloa where I was the Medical Officer at the time. The Commission's inquiry was interrupted by Lord Donoughmore suddenly taking ill with indigestion as a result of consuming oysters and my humble services as a doctor were requisitioned to cope with the situation. Fortunately Lord Donoughmore was relieved of his pain within a short time. But the constitutional indigestion which the noble Lord and his worthy colleagues inflicted on the body politic of Ceylon has not yet been cured or treated; and for fifteen years we have suffered from this malady unrelieved. We must be thankful to our President Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam for saving us from the yet greater calamity that might have befallen Ceylon in 1938. But for his statesmanlike and timely action the move on the part of the Board of Ministers and our late Governor to have a still worse constitution imposed on us might have materialised."

(To be continued. Other speeches will appear in our next issue.)

Letters to the Editor

(Continued from page 1.)

was largely responsible for the very wide terms of reference in the appointment of the Soulbury commission. It is not therefore fair for any one to allege that in making his suggestions for minority representations at the recent conference of Council Members, he attempted to betray his community to the Sinhalese. On the other hand he fought for his community in asking for 20% of the seats for them. His suggestion to accept 48 seats out of 108 for the minorities was a valuable contribution to the solution of the communal problem. This scheme gave a larger proportion of seats to the minorities than the number assigned to them in the scheme proposed in 1938. The protracted nature of the proceedings clearly showed the general desire for settlement. The Sinhalese members were willing to make considerable concessions and many of the minority members were equally ready to relax their demands for the sake of peace. It was therefore clear that Mr. Mahadeva was not acting alone when he proposed his terms of settlement.

Besides his desire for conciliation, there is another important consideration which is largely influencing his course of action. He knows from personal knowledge that the abandonment of the demand for 50-50, which has proved a veritable apple of discord, will automatically bring about a division in the ranks of the majority community resulting in the formation of rival groups with rival leaders seeking the cooperation of minority members to form ministries. The securing of a real share in the executive is a greater safeguard than equal representation of the majority community and the minorities, and Mr. Mahadeva, as a practical statesman, prefers to advise his community to accept adequate representation and the certainty of a share in the administration to the very uncertain possibility of all the minority members combining against the majority members to prevent the formation of an exclusively Sinhalese ministry in the future. In the light of these facts no one can say that he has let down the Tamils, and those who are seeking to undermine his position as a leader at this critical juncture when his services are most needed, are doing a distinct disservice to the Tamils.

Yours etc.
Jaffna Tamil

[We must correct our esteemed correspondent on the point. What Sir Andrew Caldecott asked the Deputation was whether the Tamils would refuse to accept an offer of, say, 40:60 in the matter of representation. The Editor of this paper, who acted as the leader of the Deputation, replied that there was no question of the Tamils' refusing to accept any terms: the Tamil demand was for 50:50

—Ed, H. O.]

Fusion Of Parties And Policies

Mr. C. Elphinston, Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, speaking at the annual meeting of the Chamber on December 4, dwelt upon a number of important topics of general interest.

Politically no progress is apparent, said Mr. Elphinston, and we are not nearer an understanding. It is difficult to understand the mentality of so many Indian journalists who take a delight in vilifying everything British. This represents an odd line of approach towards someone from whom something is wanted for apparently the British Government is still looked to for the solution of the present impasse. Edmund Burke once said, "If I cannot reform with equity, I will not reform at all" and it seems to me that until there is a general fusion of parties and policies in this country, no real progress can be made. It is only a Government built up on these lines that can secure the confidence not only of the people of India, but the world in general. When writing of the fall of France, Andre Maurois has said that it is not possible to govern a country against the wishes of 40 per cent of its inhabitants, and, as a prominent American businessman stated recently with some irony and humour, a statesman is one held upright by equal pressure from all directions. The defeat of Japan will be the beginning and not the end of profound historic change in the Eastern world. External security will call for equal consideration with internal stability in this country. These facts postulate that the Government of India will be called upon for early and important decisions, both as regards men and matters.

Insult to Tamil Race

A largely-attended mass meeting of the Tamils of Kalmunai was held at the Esplanade on Wednesday, presided over by Mr. P. V. Kathirayappan, retired Electrical Engineer, which protested unanimously against the disgraceful references to the Tamil race implied in the abusive language used against Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, President of the Tamil Congress, by the Leader of the House and a Minister of the State Council. They felt that it was not abuse of an individual but a pronounced insult to the Tamil race.

The above sentiment was embodied in a resolution which was moved by Mr. M. A. Marimuthu, Advocate, and seconded by Mr. S. V. Chelish. The resolution was supported by Mr. Sam Stephens.

The meeting further resolved that the Representative, Eastern Province, be requested to support the minorities in their demand for equal representation with the major community. Pundit Periyambam proposed this resolution which was seconded by Mr. Atasaratnam.

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 Thambirajab Thamothisram
 - 2 Joyce Elizabeth KirupaiRatnam Thamothisram
 - 3 JayaVeeraSingham Herbert Roberts Perinpanayagam all of Point Pedro Petitioners
 - 1 Earnest Lawrence Sathiyansar Thamothisram
 - 2 Violet Ponnammah Jayasothy Thamothisram
 - 3 Bratice Edith Arulnesam Thamothisram
 - 4 Amy Rengitham Gnanadevi Thamothisram
 - 5 Edgur Daniel Kirupainesar 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 the 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 Majivaganam 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 object or before the 11th day of January

Distribution of Subsidiary Foodstuffs

The under-mentioned commodities will be issued in the Jaffna District to all consumers except those served by the Co-operative Stores on the basis of the ration given below for the period 4th December to 31st December 1944:

Gram Dhall at	1 oz
Kasally Dhall at	2½ oz
Toor Dhall at	½ oz
Green Gram at	1 oz
Corriander at	½ oz
Tamarind at	½ oz
Tumeric at	½ oz

2. Consumers are advised to draw their rations of the above articles along with their rations of other commodities.

E. Gunaratne,
Asst. Govt. Agent (E)
Jaffna

(G 93, 18)

HOME FRONT

WASHING NEWS

Ervine Brand Soap

Stocked By All
Leading Stores

CHIEF DISTRIBUTORS

Messrs: Mohamed Ally
Abud Ally, Jaffna

SOLE AGENTS:

Samuel and Sivasubramaniam
Wholesale Merchants
JAFFNA and MANIPAY
(Mis. 165, 4-11-1-2-45)

945 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)

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)