

THE Hindu Organ.

THE ONLY NEWSPAPER IN CEYLON FOR THE HINDUS

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND THURSDAY

(Registered as a Newspaper in Ceylon)

[P. M. G., No. H. A.—59/300 of 1939]

Estd. Sept. 11, 1889

VOL. L.

Phone 56,

JAFFNA, MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1939.

Price 5 Cts.

NO. 95.

THE "RIGHT PEOPLE" IN ENGLAND

An Unsparing Analysis of British Democracy

"NEITHER POLITICALLY NOR SOCIALLY BRITAIN IS A DEMOCRACY"

By J. B. Priestley

PROBABLY our commonest error in speech is our description of England as "a democracy." It is nothing of the kind. Moreover, in my opinion, it is further away from true democracy than it was 20 years ago.

Just after the War it did look as if we were about to say goodbye to feudal Britain for ever. But since then—especially these last few years—we have gone back again. Indeed, in many respects we were nearer to being a democracy back in 1912. Why, fifty years ago, politicians said things in public here that men in similar positions would not dare to say now.

But, I repeat, it is during the last few years that we appear to me to have retrogressed so disappointingly and dangerously.

Neither politically nor socially is this country a true democracy. What it really is nobody quite knows, but I think it might be truthfully if clumsily described as a plutocracy roughly disguised as an aristocracy.

All our real government is done by the Right People. Let us make no mistake about that. And it is not just a question of Parliament, to which I will turn soon. It is a question of all the various positions of authority, in the Civil Service, the Church, Finance, the fighting services, and so on. There is always a steady pressure exerted to maintain in all these posts the Right People.

In the United States they are still very crude about this kind of thing. When a political party comes into power all the good jobs are dished out to the boys, and no nonsense about it. Here,

we go to work with more subtlety. Nothing is said here about "taking care of the boys." All we hear are murmurs from on high about finding "men with the right background," "maintaining the best traditions," "good public school and university types," and so on. But the result is the 29 times out of 30 the Right People get the jobs. And then they proceed to govern us.

I was talking the other day to the headmaster of a large public school. He knows the Right People game professionally and perfectly, and he did not hesitate to condemn it. Outside the sciences a clever lad who had not the right background, he declared, did not stand much of a chance. And he gave me instances.

But then it is not so very long since Professor John Hilton startled everybody by producing figures to show from what a high and narrow source nearly all our governors spring.

Parliament is different, eh? We elect our members of Parliament. But this only means in practice that every few years we are free to choose one of several candidates. And suppose the game is so rigged that the winning candidate will be one of the Right People?

We have just been told, by prospective Conservative candidates themselves, that in many constituencies a candidate will not be adopted by the local Conservative Association unless he agrees to contribute a thousand pound or so for his election expenses and another thousand a year or so to the local party. In other words, he cannot enter Parliament un-

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Mr. Francis de Zoysa's Appeal to Members

Mr. Ponnambalam Attacks Reform Proposals

His Unfinished Six-Hour Speech: Beats State Council Record

Colombo, Thursday.

ANYBODY who raised the cry, "Ceylon for the Sinhalese," should be hounded out, said Mr. Francis de Zoysa, speaking in the State Council on the Reforms motion.

Mr. Francis de Zoysa, K. C. (Balapitiya) said that he could not help expressing his agreeable surprise at the attitude that the European Members were taking on that matter. From 1906, when he took to politics, he had had the painful experience of finding the European community always against them and at every step objecting to any Reforms. To find that there was a change of mind in 1939 made him feel very happy. They had had in the past leaders from the European community such as George Wall and T. N. Christie whom they followed very readily because they had the interests of the country as a whole. They had Burgher leaders like Lorenz and Dornhorst, and Tamil leaders, like Sir P. Ramanathan and Sir P. Arunachalam whom they readily followed. But the moment a great Sinhalese leader like Sir James Peiris came to the fore, there was a Sinhalese-Tamil split and a communal cry was raised. They had now a Sinhalese leader in Sir Baron Jayatilaka. With all his faults and lack of some very necessary qualifications of a leader had they anybody better than Sir Baron who could lead them?

He went on to deplore the cry of "Ceylon for the Sinhalese." Anybody, who raised that cry should be hounded out, he said. He did not say that the Minister of Local Administration raised that cry.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: Never.

Mr. de Zoysa: I accept that statement.

Continuing, he said that he was very much worried poli-

tically because there had been a great deal of agitation by people who called themselves minority communities. He, in all his life, had nothing whatever to do in communal questions and had always tried to reform this country as a country for the permanent inhabitants.

The Council adjourned at this stage till 2.30 p.m.

"Sub-Indian Conferences"

Mr. Francis de Zoysa, continuing his speech when the Council resumed at 2.30 p.m., said that the Member for Jaffna had said that the real trouble between the minorities and the majority community was that they could not agree as to the number of seats to be given to Jaffna. If the Sinhalese leaders had agreed to give two or three more seats to be given to Jaffna the Tamils and the other minorities would have stood by them.

Mr. Mahadeva said that he made no reference to the de-

(Continued on page 2)

FOR SALE

A well-built stone house of drawing room, dining room, four bedrooms, with large verandahs, out-houses etc., standing in about thirty (30) lachams of land situated on the Uduvil-Manipay Road in close proximity to Uduvil Girls' School and Hospital. Excellent water. Offers invited. Half the purchase amount could be allowed at 6%.

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MR. FRANCIS DE ZOYSA'S APPEAL TO MEMBERS

(Continued from page 1)

mands of the other minorities.

Mr. De Zoysa said that the impression he got was that all the trouble was due to some Sinhalese coterie wanting to have all the power and not giving more seats to Jaffna. He knew nothing of the subterranean conferences referred to by the Member for Jaffna and he was not in favour of those conferences, compromises and pacts. The demand for a few Tamil seats and their refusal were equally silly. He was not in favour of any communal seat but he was not so stupid as to think that one or two seats more or less on a communal basis for the good of the country would be absolutely objectionable. A few more communal seats would not affect the main principles of the constitution. So long as the members returned were prepared to fight for Ceylon as a whole he had no objection. The Muslims had undoubtedly been in a weak position because they were scattered all over the country and because they had not been in the past taking sufficient interest in public affairs and were not sufficiently advanced. Let them not say that they were Bedouins of Arabs and had something different from the Sinhalese but if they stood by the Sinhalese and worked with them they would get their full reward. He appealed to members like the Member for Point Pedro and the Minister for Local Administration to give up ideas of dividing the Sinhalese and the Tamils and to think of leading the whole of Ceylon.

"At The Cross Roads"

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam (Point Pedro) said that any demands made by his community were due to a complete realisation of the fact that they were at the cross-roads and that the position of various communities should be recognised. There had not been one single utterance of his which had been directed from a feeling of malice towards the major community. Self-government was one thing, but a deliberate progression towards the imposition of power by a junta was another thing. What was sought to be created by the Governor was the creation of not one cabal but two, one at Queen's House and the other in the sanctum of the Council. The Minister for Local Administration had once remarked that no self-government not even independence, would be worth while if the minorities were given their due.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (Minister for Local Administration): I did not.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that he had a newspaper cutting of that statement and he also remembered it.

Mr. Bandaranaike said that he denied that statement in toto.

The Speaker said that, as the Minister had denied it, it was

only right to accept the denial at that stage.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that their position was that they had lived in Ceylon as a branch of the Tamil community for a considerably longer period than the Sinhalese and that Ceylon, being their home, they did not propose to be treated as undesirable aliens. He would not say anything against the Legal Secretary except that he had announced his own demise, given his funeral oration and died well.

Mr. Ponnambalam next argued that the Ministers' Memorandum on the reform of the constitution should have been submitted to the House for consideration. The Leader of the House had stated that as soon as it reached the Secretary of State it would be placed before the House and every opportunity would be given for discussion. That had not been done. That gave them a foretaste of what was going to happen when the Cabinet system came with a dictatorship of seven or nine Ministers, who would remain there unalterably.

Parliamentary Commission

Was it the conduct of responsible men forming the Executive of this country that, when they found that the presence of two members of the minority communities on the Board of Ministers prevented them from putting forward a united demand before the Secretary of State, they should have eliminated minority representatives, in order that they could persuade the authorities at Whitehall that there was no difference of opinion in the country on the demand they were making? Now that the majority community had come in for a political windfall, what had they to fear the thorough examination of the whole situation by a Parliamentary Commission before the lines of further reforms were determined? It was the minorities who had been relegated to political subservience and they demanded that the Parliamentary Commission should ascertain whether demands made by the Board of Ministers were in the interests of the country as a whole. The attitude taken up by the Board of Ministers implied that they do not recognise the existence of minority communities in this country.

Mr. Ponnambalam referred to the Governor's description of the Tamil demand of 'Fifty-fifty' as a crude arithmetical formula and maintained that what they had asked was balanced representation in order that one community might not be in the position of being able to outvote the other communities and they asked for a delimitation of electoral areas in such a way as to bring about such a system of representation as they proposed. That was not a demand made for the first time today but a demand that had been made during the last 15 or 20 years. In 1927 the then "Mr. W. Duraiswamy" had been one of those who advocated that Tamil and Sinhalese members should be in the proportion of one to two.

At this stage Council adjourned for tea

Advice of "Elders"

Mr. Ponnambalam, continuing his speech when Council resumed

at 5 p. m. said that "Mr. W. Duraiswamy" had proved a prophet and that all his anticipation about the homogeneous Board of Ministers had come true. "It is apparent that the Government and the majority party will form a bloc and the position of the minorities will be weakened" were the words used by "Mr. W. Duraiswamy" before the Donoughmore Commission. He went on next to quote the words of Mr. K. Balasingham in 1918, speaking on the Reforms debate to the effect that what the Tamils wanted was that whether territorially or communally the ratio of representation then existing should be retained. He quoted the words of those "elders" in order to show that what the Tamils were doing today was to follow their advice.

One wondered, said Mr. Ponnambalam, whether the Governor within the short space of six months before he wrote his Reforms Despatch, could have gone through these various debates and declarations of the various leaders of this country in the past. Instead of doing that, His Excellency had been quite ready to receive a large number of private letters from persons. He had also acquiesced in the undemocratic action of the Board of Ministers by sending out his Despatch to the Secretary of State without ascertaining the opinion of the members of that Council.

"Persistent Pressure"

Why that "indecent haste" on the part of the Governor? The reason was that there was persistent pressure brought to bear on him by the Board of Ministers in order that their pet scheme hatched in darkness, might receive the approval of the Secretary of State even before the House had considered it. He wished to pay his tribute to the British Colonial authorities that they thought it fit to send back the Governor's Despatch for the consideration of the State Council before taking any action. "Otherwise we might have been completely shut out," said Mr. Ponnambalam. One could hardly imagine that, where the interests of 5½ millions of His Majesty's subjects in this Island were concerned the Governor would have allowed himself to come to definite conclusions so lightly as he had done. "He does not give his reasons. He does not argue. He merely condemns us because he says it would perpetuate sectionalism and preclude the formation of parties..." If the Governor thought that the minority demand was calculated to introduce a sectional element that was not in the interests of the country, his entire reading of the history of the pre-Donoughmore era in Ceylon was altogether wrong, because "without exception we were able to rise above communal and sectional interest and take an All-Ceylon point of view," said Mr. Ponnambalam. He appealed to the House not to pay lip-service to unity but to see that the minorities were, as in the past, in the vanguard of the national movement in this country. The breadth of outlook of Sinhalese leaders of the past was completely absent today, he said.

Seats For Minorities

Continuing, Mr. Ponnambalam said that the Member for Kandy had on the previous day, stated that the Member for Jaffna (Mr.

Mrhadeva) had signed a document which sought to cast aspersions on the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam. It had been stated that Sir Ponnambalam had seceded from the National Congress because he had been thwarted in his ambitions to capture a seat in Colombo. That allegation the Member for Jaffna denied.

Mr. G. E. De Silva (Kandy) proceeding to read from a memorandum) said that Mr. Mahadeva's name was as clear as day in that document.

M. Ponnambalam (quoting the document) remarked that it was clear that Mr. Mahadeva had not signed that document. It had been signed by three other persons and Mr. Mahadeva's name appeared there as being one of the Members of the Executive Committee of the Congress. And still the Member for Kandy spoke of that as a signature.

Mr. G. E. De Silva; I did not say "signature." The member must withdraw that statement I ask you, Sir, to call upon the Member to withdraw that statement.

Mr. Ponnambalam; May I be permitted to continue, Sir, without interruptions from the Member for Kandy.

The Speaker: May I ask Members to keep silent when a Member speaks. The Member can now proceed.

Mr. Ponnambalam, continuing said that the point he was going to make was that the same aspersions and abuse, which was the lot of the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, merely because he had seceded from the National Congress, was the lot of those who now made their demands on behalf of the minority communities.

Referring next to the proposal of the Governor that there should be no more than ten extra seats, Mr. Ponnambalam remarked that His Excellency had not given the *raison d'être* for that recommendation. His (the speaker's) submission was that the Governor had accepted that number form the Board of Ministers because "ten extra seats" had been mentioned by that body long before that Despatch was penned by the Governor.

"Private Talks"

Mr. Ponnambalam next referred to private talks he had had some time ago with the Member for Galle when the latter had expressed himself in favour of granting to the minority communities 40 per cent. of the elected seats in addition to nominated seats for Burghers and Europeans.

Mr. H. W. Amarasinghe (Galle): Forty per cent. of the elected seats to include the nominated seats.

Mr. Ponnambalam: That seems to be an afterthought. I had very distinct recollections.

Continuing, Mr. Ponnambalam said that the Governor, who had expressed himself against sectional or communal representation, had urged representation for Kandyan rural interest, which had not been mentioned even by the Board of Ministers. His Excellency's proposal, he submitted, amounted to this—that the two Indian Tamils, who were today able to enter that Council through territorial representation in the Up-country districts, should be deprived of their seats.

Mr. A. Ratnayake (Dumbara). Can the member discuss the

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IMPROVING CLIMATE BY PLANTING TREES

Proposal Rejected as Impracticable

DISCUSSION BY CENTRAL BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

A RESOLUTION recommending a scientific investigation as to whether climatic conditions, particularly the distribution of rainfall, could be improved in the dry zone by a planned and systematic planting of high-grown trees, was rejected by the Central Board of Agriculture at its meeting on Friday.

The resolution, which was proposed by Mr. C. Arulambalam, was as follows:—

The Central board of Agriculture recommends to the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands to have scientific investigation made as to whether by planned and systematic planting under State supervision, of high-grown and wide-spreading trees of suitable types throughout the dry zone of the Island, the climatic conditions in that zone could be improved with particular reference to better distribution of rainfall in the zone throughout the year so as to prevent both unseasonable rain and long-continued droughts now characteristic of the dry zone and the cause of serious losses to agriculturists.

"This Board further recommends that the proposal embodied in the above resolution be carried out without delay when favourably reported upon by the scientific advisers of Government."

In support of his resolution Mr. Arulambalam submitted a memorandum urging that the subject was worthy of scientific investigation.

Mr. M. M. Ebrahim seconded the resolution.

In South India

Dr. S. C. Paul declared that whatever the scientific opinion might be, he noticed while travelling in South India recently, that there were a few trees in that part of the country and yet it supplied Ceylon with all the rice it wanted. There, at any rate, the denudation of forests had not had the effect of the diminution of rain.

It might be true that in some countries rain was considerably influenced by the presence of trees, but though the North-Central Province was full of trees it could not be said that it had more rainfall than the Jaffna Peninsula, which was practically without trees.

What Proposal Involves

Mr. V. Coomaraswamy (Conservator of Forests) said he was in sympathy with the reasons that Mr. Arulambalam had adduced, but he could not agree with him as to the practicability of the motion.

As he understood it, the motion was that the Government should undertake a scheme of replanting existing forests in the dry zone with high-growing and wide-spreading trees. The resolution might be considered from three

view-points: Is it reasonably possible and practical to carry out the proposals? What it would cost the country? Would more beneficial and better climatic conditions result by carrying out the plan?

The principal difficulties in the way of establishing forest plantations in this part of the country, except perhaps on a very small scale were: The paucity of suitable tree species which could be raised successfully under artificial methods to replace the existing material in the dry zone forests, having regard to the soil and climatic conditions; the very uncertain and adverse climatic conditions; the large extent of the territory involved—about four to five million acres; the protection necessary against wild animals, fires and so on; and the difficulty of obtaining suitable, sufficient and reliable labour at the right time.

Species Available

The only two species which, in the opinion of the Forest Department could at present be considered suitable and capable of being used for establishment in plantation form in the dry zone, he said, were teak and casuarina. The former was leafless during dry weather and therefore of little protection to the soil, while the latter was only useful as fuel.

Even in the most accessible portions of the dry zone departmentally established plantations of casuarina had cost much more than was economically justified, ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 an acre. He estimated that to plant an acreage of four to five million acres would involve about a thousand million rupees!

Even if the proposal to plant up the dry zone was practicable or economic, it was considered very unlikely that any appreciable results, which would improve the climate or bring about a greater amount or better distribution of rainfall would be achieved.

The effect of forests upon climate was a controversial and complicated subject and modern scientists considered that the effect of forests on the actual climate of a country was small, and then only noticeable over very large tracts of flat land.

An amendment proposed by Mr. J. S. Armstrong that the resolution should be referred to the Executive Committee of the Board and the resolution were both rejected by the meeting.

The Empire of India Life Assurance Co.

Good Progress

Bombay, March 11.

The working of the Empire of India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Bombay, during the ten months ended December 31, 1938, was reviewed by the Chairman of the Company, Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, presiding over the 42nd annual general meeting of the shareholders on Friday. The Chairman added that the period had given eminently satisfactory results.

Moving the adoption of the report, the Chairman said:—

The Report and Accounts have been in your hands for some time and I propose with your consent to follow our usual custom and take them as read. Before proposing their adoption I would like briefly to review the operations and results.

In the first place you will notice the Report and Account refer to a period of ten months only and for the first time the Company closed its financial year on the 31st December instead of on the 28th February as formerly. I mentioned at the last Annual Meeting that we had decided to make this change without delay so as to comply at once with this requirement of the Insurance Act, 1938, though the Act has not yet come into force.

Very Good Results

The Report and Accounts show that the period of ten months has given eminently satisfactory results. The new business is Rs. 1,37,31,000 divided between 8,669 Policies and the total business in force is Rs. 14,29,36,000 under 77,500 Policies. Claims by death were Rs. 10,83,000 and those by maturity amounted to Rs. 25,82,000. It is satisfactory and we are glad to find that so many Policyholders lived to take the proceeds in their lifetime and we hope they may live long and continue to enjoy the fruits of their foresight.

The Balance Sheet continues as before to show a very strong position. There was a material addition to the Life Assurance Fund which including the Reserve Funds now amounts to Rs. 4,96,74,000. The total Assets are Rs. 5,18,57,000.

The difficulties of investment to which I have alluded in recent years still continue. Our investments are in gilt-edged securities of the highest class and all the Stock Exchange securities are redeemable at par at fixed dates. These securities stand in our books not only substantially below their market value but very considerably below their value at redemption. The aggregate difference, or appreciation, is excluded from our accounts and constitutes a substantial reserve margin against future shrinkage of capital values.

Reserve of Strength

With such reserve of strength I feel that Shareholders and Policyholders are in a most satisfactory position and can with confidence recommend this Company to their friends and thus extend the field of the Company's business.

As I have said at former meetings the importance and advantages of life assurance cannot be over-estimated. When deciding upon effecting an assurance on one's life the stability of the Office and the rates of premium should be naturally the

WHAT WAS WRONG WITH MALLAKAM?

DEADLY INFLUENCES AT WORK

LAWYERS URGE IMPROVEMENT TO COURT HOUSE

"AS members of an honourable profession, as members of a responsible body and as those to whom the people looked up for advice and guidance, it is our most sacred duty to preserve and maintain the high ideals of justice and fairplay in all our dealings," observed Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam speaking from the Chair at the Annual General Meeting of the Mallakam Lawyers's Association.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association, which was held at the Mallakam Library was preceded by a Social.

Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam, the President, presided.

Mr. M. S. Subramaniam, the Secretary speaking on the period under review, stated that it behoves them as members of an honourable profession to cleanse the Augean stables, to set both the Houses in order and to do all that was best in the interests of the profession to justify the existence of the association and the library rooms.

After adoption of the report, the election of office-bearers took place. For the office of president, two names were submitted, namely those of Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam and Mr. M. Vythilingam.

Mr. Rajaratnam vacated the

(Continued on Page 5)

primary consideration. Life Assurance is a long term contract and the prudent person should therefore always bear in mind this aspect when considering the provision he desires to make for himself or his family. Those Policyholders and Shareholders who help the Company to increase its business will also further its prosperity in which both will share.

I have now concluded my brief survey of our operations and accounts, but before closing my remarks I am sure you will wish me to express to our officers and staffs both at the Head and Branch offices and to all our Agents our appreciation of their combined efforts to effect this excellent result. Such results show that the same care and efficiency of management which distinguished the former administration of the Company are steadily maintained. We welcomed the return of Mr. E. F. Allum to Bombay with much pleasure. His experience and advice as our colleague on the Board have been of very great assistance to our deliberations and we look forward to him being able to repeat this visit in the future.

Policyholders have shown their confidence in Dr. Vakeel as a Director by his recent re-election to the Board.

* * *

This Company has been transacting Life Assurance business in Ceylon for the last 41 years and has been successful in insuring the lives of many eminent Ceylonese. It offers assurances at the lowest cost consistent with complete and absolute security and one of its distinguishing features is its low rates of Premium.

Broadcasting

AKASH-VANI,
MYSORE

This Week's Programme

Wavelength: 70.2 Meters Frequency: 4265 Kc/S.

CALL SIGN: V. U. 7. M. C.

Monday, the 20th March, 1939

6 p.m. Hindusthani Light Music
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements
7 to 8-45 p.m. Karnatic Instrumental Music
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Tuesday, the 21st March 1939

6 p.m. Nadhaswaram
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements
7 to 8-45 p.m. Karnatic Vocal Music
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Wednesday, the 22nd March 1939

Lunar New Year's Day
6 p.m. Devotional Music
6-15 p.m. News & Announcements
6-30 to 8-45 p.m. Harikatha: "Pandava Sathya Pariksha" by Brahmasri Subramanya Bhagavathar
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Thursday, the 23rd March 1939

6 p.m. Film Hits
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements
7 to 7-20 p.m. Readings from Kannada Poems by Mr. G. Vasudeva Rao
8 p.m. Tamil Drama: "Pundarika"
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Friday, the 24th March 1939

6 p.m. Karnatic Light Music
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements
7 p.m. Hindusthani Music
7-10 p.m. View points: "Examinations as the students see it"
7-45 p.m. Readings from Koran
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Saturday, the 25th March 1939

6 p.m. Orchestral Music
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements
6-30 to 8-45 p.m. Vocal Music Performance by Sloka Sangitha Gamaka Vidwan K. G. Sampathkumarachar of Bangalore, accompanied by Vidwan Subrahmanyam (Violin) and Vidwan Ramiah (Mridangam)
8-45 p.m. News in Urdu

Sunday, the 26th March 1939

No Broadcast.

NOTICE

The Retrenchment Commission has under consideration proposals to close down the Kachcheries at the undermentioned places:—

Kalutara,
Matara,
Maanar,
Matale and
Newara Eliya.

Associations and members of the public who desire to give evidence before the Commission on any of these proposals are requested kindly to communicate with the undersigned.

K. VAITHIANATHAN,
Secretary.

Audit Office, Retrenchment Commission,
Colombo, 16th March, 1939.
[G. 47, 20-3-39.]

MATRIMONIAL

MUTTUKUMARU—
PONNUDURAI

The marriage of Miss Ananda Savitri Devi, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. Ponnudurai, with Mr. Sivaloganathan Muttukumaru, son of the late Mudaliyar V. M. Muttukumaru, Maniagar, will take place at "Poomanai", the Bride's residence, on Monday the 3rd April 1939 at 12 midnight.

Mr. and Mrs. Ponnudurai on behalf of the Bride and Mrs. V. M. Muttukumaru and Mr. and Mrs. V. Ponnusamy of "Wijia Ashrama", on behalf of the Bridegroom will be pleased to see their friends and relations on the occasion.

Maruthanamadam,
Chunnakam.

(Mis 298 20 & 23-3-39)



Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1939

THE GERMAN
DEMARCHE

THE OCCUPATION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA by Germany last Wednesday and the proclamation of a German protectorate over the entire area is the logical sequel to the Munich settlement. It is part of a calculated plan to make Germany self-contained as regards war material, a plan which took definite shape in HITLER's brain many years ago. The one lesson which the collapse of Germany in the Great War taught the Fuehrer is that Germany would have no chance in a World War so long as it had to depend for her food and war material on her oversea supplies. The occupation of Bohemia and Moravia becomes significant in the light of this necessity. The world famous Skoda Factories which have now passed into Hitler's hands will give him a decided superiority in the matter of munitions. It is strange that the British Premier could not foresee the present turn of events and credited Hitler with an honest desire to keep good faith and fulfil the terms of the Munich Pact. Hitler believes in ruthless application of brute force with an uncanny sense of the European situation and the chances of his success. Only a calculating prudence can set a limit to his vaulting ambition, not any consideration for the rights of other peoples or for the honour of international undertakings. Just before the annexation last March of Austria he declared his intention to respect the integrity and sovereignty of Austria. Again in September he gave an undertaking to make no further move in

Czecho-Slovakia without previously consulting the other signatories to the Munich Pact; and denied that he had any further territorial ambitions on the continent. Mr. Chamberlain who in October defended the Munich Pact as the first stone in his edifice of European appeasement now feels constrained to admit his mistake and shares the rude shock which HITLER's latest move has given to world opinion. At Newbury he questioned whether this was the end of the last plan or the beginning of a new plan. We believe that, in furtherance of his policy of making Germany self-contained, he has to seize the Ukraine and the Rumanian oil-fields and will proceed to do so when the moment is ripe. Already some discontent is being fomented by his agents in the Ukraine and opinion in the United States anticipates some further move before the end of March.

Already world opinion has considerably hardened against Germany. The conservative press in Britain which has been consistently supporting Anglo-German friendship are now indignant at Germany's bid for the hegemony of Europe and the immediate re-action to this policy has been the suspension of the British Ambassador. It seems that Germany will also recall her ambassador to St. James's Palace. Though this does not sound as severance of diplomatic relations, yet it points to a stiffening of British attitude towards Germany. Mr. Chamberlain still sticks to his policy of peace at any price and is opposed to any serious commitments unless any vital interests of Britain are directly threatened. Yet it is significant that there is already some talk of a cabinet reshuffle in which Mr. EDEN may find a place. The United States also is making no secret of her disapproval of Nazi methods and the possibilities of that country throwing her vast resources on the side of the European democracies seem to be growing brighter. In Europe too the growing sense of insecurity may leave Germany morally isolated and without allies! The smaller states like Poland, Hungary, and Rumania are already apprehensive of their future and the bond between Poland and Russia is becoming closer. The Anglo-Soviet Trade agreement also indicates a closer co-operation between Russia and Britain. History is repeating itself. All great conquerors have over-reached themselves and, miscalculating the enemy's strength, have worked their own downfall. Germany too which is now at the height of its glory might find itself in a similar predicament by challenging world opinion. The stage is perhaps being set for a world conflict which will destroy Western civilisation.

The Communal
Problem in CeylonAn Appeal to Sinhalese
Patriots

By Historicus

ONE of the worst results of the Donoughmore Scheme, which now stands universally condemned as an unworkable constitutional experiment, is the creation of a serious communal problem in Ceylon, which, thanks to the Sinhalese Maha Sabha, portends to upset our social or political equilibrium. With the solitary exception of the unfortunate riots of 1914 the various communities in this happy Island continued to live in perfect amity; and it has been a proud boast of Ceylon that she has been singularly free from the savage outbursts of communal frenzy that have been so rampant in the neighbouring continent. It was in a spirit of amity, faith, and trust that the greatest Ceylonese patriot, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, went on a deputation to get redressed the grievances of the Sinhalese. It was in that spirit of communal harmony that his illustrious brother, Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam, with Sir James Peries, founded the Ceylon National Congress to achieve National freedom. To the great grief of all Ceylon, that august body is now neither Ceylonese nor national nor a Congress. It has degenerated—without a single non-Sinhalese leader of any note in its rolls—into a Sinhalese communal caucus aiming at Sinhalese domination. It seems almost political blasphemy for such a body to speak for National freedom and National unity.

It is unfortunate that, in place of love, faith and trust, we are now faced with hatred, suspicion and distrust. Every step taken by the majority community has tended to increase the distrust and dissatisfaction of the minority communities. The racial cry of Sinhalese versus the Tamils has been the favourite election tactics where a Tamil has contested for a seat with a Sinhalese. The curriculum of the Clerical Examination has been so manipulated as to eliminate mathematics for fear that a Tamil was too clever at it. A clever jugglery has been resorted to to prevent the election of a Tamil U. D. C. Chairman at Anuraphapura. Enormous sums of money have been spent on Sinhalese colonization schemes, whereas comparatively little has been done for the development of the Tamil districts. It is needless to multiply instances. Our Sinhalese ministers have frequently declared that they have been rather partial to their minority friends; certainly where perhaps they could not help it. Suffice it to say that it has sunk deep into the hearts of the minorities that every step taken by the Sinhalese ministers has been with the studied purpose of promoting not the national but the communal progress of the Sinhalese. The most notorious of these communal feats is the formation of the homogenous Sinhalese ministry. I do not know if now Sir Baron considers this his greatest

(Continued on page 5)

The Communal Problem in Ceylon

(Continued from page 3)

political achievement but it certainly is the crowing touch to Sinhalese communalism. It has taken away from the minorities the last shred of any faith in the political justice and equity of the majority community. Here was a golden opportunity for the Sinhalese ministers to have proved that political impartiality which they have so frequently professed in words. At least three out of seven ministerial portfolios could have been allotted to the minorities—a magnificent and magnanimous gesture which would have disarmed any distrust on the part of the minorities.

Now let us turn to the neighbouring continent and see how this very problem had been tackled by her patriotic leaders. There the communal problem is a vastly more complex and intricate one, owing to the various social and religious communities that inhabit that vast country. Yet the constitution has found a partially satisfactory solution. The majority communities have been neither reduced to a state of impotence nor have the minority communities been deprived of their just and legitimate rights which are guaranteed to them by due weightage and constitutional safeguards. The really patriotic Indian premiers both Hindu and Mohammedan have justly recognised the rights of the minorities. It seems passing strange why our Sinhalese leaders are fighting shy of this easy solution adopted by the Indian constitution. It seems stranger that His Excellency could have ignored this just and satisfactory solution of the communal problem in Ceylon. The Indian methods of due weightage and constitutional safeguards for the minorities is the only just and safe method that can be practically adopted in Ceylon as well. It alone can conciliate the minorities and weld the different races and communities in this beautiful but unfortunate island of ours into one united nation. It is never too late to mend. It is for Sir Baron and the sner heads among the Sinhalese politicians to shed off their communalism, if they have any, and to assert themselves over their hot-headed communalists and lay the true foundations of a united Ceylonese nation. It must be said to the credit of Mr. Francis de Zoysa that he has successfully diagnosed our malady and has made a practical suggestion for the regeneration of the Ceylon National Congress. His clarion call to the minorities to join the Ceylon National Congress is very opportune. Let the Tamils, the Moors, the Malays and the Burghers join it in large numbers, I say, capture it and scotch the demon of communalism for ever.

But it must be pointed that, unless and until there is a guarantee that the position of the minorities is constitutionally safeguarded, there is little chance that the minorities will feel disposed to join the Congress which has so far aimed at the domination of the Sinhalese community. The only effective way to achieve this is to call—as has been already suggested by the Muslim Knight—a Round Table Conference of all the communities in Ceylon. The success of this conference will to a large extent depend on the reality of the patriotism of the various communities and of the magnanimity of the majority community. Communalism has been the bane of our political life. Communal jealousies and differences must necessarily retard, nay put off, the realisation of self government for ever. I repeat this provocative

suggestion in the sincere hope that our leaders, both of the majority and minority communities, will put their heads together and save this unfortunate island from the communal cancer that has been eating into the very vitals of our political life. It is at the same time a challenge to the reality and sincerity of the national patriotism of Sinhalese politicians who are never tired of repeating that it is the reactionary minorities that stand in the way of Ceylonese national progress. But let me assure them that it is they by their selfish ungenerous treatment of the minorities that have forced them to become reactionaries.

If this communal problem is not going to be justly and equitably settled, the attainment of a united Ceylon should be put on the Greek Kalends. Let it be clearly understood that the Tamils, who had perhaps settled earlier in this island and who had a flourishing kingdom of their own during pre-European times, will never consent to give up their just and legitimate rights. History has repeated itself more than once and any attempt on the part of the Sinhalese by an arbitrary majority to arrogate to themselves the political power in the island will result in the creation of a Sudeten Germania in Ceylon. Dissatisfaction and discontent in one community, however small, is bound to have its repercussions in the economic and political life of the nation. If Sinhalese nationalism is going to be as aggressive as it portends to be, it may lead to the dismemberment of this ancient kingdom. In my humble opinion there is nothing much which radically separates the Sinhalese and the Tamils. From the earliest times, they intermarried and intermingled, fought and lost. They have still continued to live in amity and accord for generations together. If now the Sinhalese wish to find a natural outlet for individual self-expression as a separate entity, they are quite welcome to do so; the Tamils have no quarrel with them; they wish them every success and opportunity. But let it be clearly understood that it cannot be by a Sinhalese domination of the Tamils who have as much a right to self-expression and self-determination. If they are forced, they have to separate themselves and form a separate government of their own. Such a separatist movement is bound to divide Ceylon into its original divisions—a Sinhalese State in the South and West and a Tamil State in the North and East—may be free from racial animosities and bickerings but certainly with the weaknesses and disadvantages inherent to all small States. What a vision of a United Lanka!!!

A Curiously Shaped Egg

A hen's egg of a curious shape and size laid this morning was brought to this office by a resident of Kokuvil. This egg was of the shape of 'L', the shorter arm of the egg is formed like an elephant head with one eye, ear and the twisted trunk, all on one side, while the other side is blank.

It is said that an offer of Rs. 100 was made for the egg, but the owner has refused to part with it as he connects this freak with some vow he has taken to be performed at the Maruthady Pillayar Temple.

The egg is 1½ inches long and its girth is a little less than 1¼ inches; its head is ¾ inch long.

New Companies Ordinance

It is understood that His Excellency the Governor's assent to the New Companies Ordinance has been received.

Forms presented by the regulations will come into effect from April 1.

What was Wrong with Mallakam?

(Continued from Page 3)

chair and Mr. T. S. Kanagaratnam was elected Chairman protem.

The voting resulted in the re-election of Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam.

Before vacating the chair, Mr. Kanagaratnam felicitated Mr. Rajaratnam on his re-election and hoped that he would continue to uphold the dignity and independence of the profession and pursue as in the past the great ideals which he had set before him as a lawyer.

The election of the other office-bearers resulted as follows:

Vice-President: Mr. S. Ilyathamby
Secretary: Mr. S. Nadarajah
Treasurer: Mr. A. Nagendra
Committee: Messrs. M. S. Subramaniam, T. S. Kanagaratnam and other office-bearers.

Chairman's Address

Mr. Rajaratnam, while thanking the members for their renewed confidence in him, said that he took that opportunity to extend a hearty welcome to the new members who had joined them during the year under review, and thus gave added strength to that association.

Continuing, the speaker said that during the past year the state of affairs at Mallakam had been unsatisfactory and the atmosphere that prevailed there was anything but wholesome. He (the speaker) had been repeatedly prodded with questions by members of the public as to what had gone wrong with Mallakam but as President of that Association he had to maintain a discreet silence so as not to embarrass the authorities in their investigations. They as well as the public had now a right to know who the wrong-doers were and what action had been taken in the matter. In looking back on that dismal past, he would say that there had been among the members a lack of co-operation and an absence of responsibility.

Mr. Rajaratnam, speaking further said he would be wanting in his duty if he failed to impress on them the need for upholding the best traditions of the Bar by an honest and fearless criticism of evils no matter where they were (applause). As members of an honourable profession, as members of a responsible body and as those to whom the people looked up for advice and guidance, it was their most sacred duty to preserve and maintain the high ideals of justice and fairplay in all their dealings.

The speaker made an impassioned appeal for members to subordinate their personal interests to the larger interests of that body, and to the still larger interests of the public, and pull their full weight against all deadly influences.

In conclusion, Mr. Rajaratnam said that in all matters of public interest it was the highest duty of every man to be motivated by a spirit of truth, unity and co-operation.

Mr. T. S. Kanagaratnam then moved the following resolution:—

'That the Government be requested to take immediate steps to provide a Reference room and a chamber for Lawyers and additional furniture.'

In moving the resolution, Mr. Kanagaratnam said that the Court house which was nearly 80 or 90 years old was one of the oldest Court buildings in the island and was thoroughly unsuited to conditions that obtained today. The Legal Secret-

GERMAN ULTIMATUM TO RUMANIA

ECONOMIC SUBJECTION DEMAND

REJECTION BY RUMANIA

London, Saturday.

ACCORDING to the London correspondent of "The New York Times," Rumania has received and rejected a "virtual ultimatum" from Germany demanding that she should surrender her economic independence to Germany in return for a guarantee of her political independence and territorial integrity.

The correspondent quotes reports stated to have been received by the British Government "from its own sources in Bucharest." Dr. Wulthat, leader of the German Economic Commission in Bucharest, is reported to have "proposed."

Firstly that Rumania should by degrees cease all efforts to build up a national industry and should close down all existing factories and limit herself to being an agricultural country.

Secondly that entire exports of grain, oil, lumber, cattle and foodstuffs should go exclusively to Germany.

Thirdly, if Rumania agreed to these terms, Germany would be ready to guarantee Rumania territorial integrity and independence.

any, consistent with the policy that he now followed in pulling down old Court-buildings and erecting new ones, should do the same with regard to their Court-houses as well. Mallakam Courts was, as they were aware, so congested that there was hardly any room for the practitioners during the Motion-roll to attend to their cases.

Owing to the absence of a Reference Room and a Chamber for Lawyers, the work of that Court suffered. A good many of the chairs round the Bar-table were fit only for the lumber room (laughter). A time might come soon if the present state of affairs continued, when practitioners of their Court would be compelled to bring their own furniture to the Courts. There were thirty proctors practising in that Court besides Advocates, and Government should see its way to remedy as soon as possible the present state of affairs.

Mr. S. T. Nadarajah seconded—carried.

The following resolution was also passed:

"That as the present building is unsuited for the purpose of holding Courts, the Government be requested to provide a new Court-building or to transfer sittings of that Court to the Magistrate's bungalow and to convert the present Court-house into a Record room and Reference room for Lawyers."

Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam, Advocate proposing the vote of thanks, congratulated the Chairman on his address which they all felt came from the very recesses of his heart. A time like that demanded a man like Mr. Rajaratnam as their President, one who had earned the confidence of the public by his upright and fearless conduct as a Lawyer.

Mr. S. Ilyathamby seconding said that he entirely agreed with the President's words that the affairs at Mallakam had been somewhat unsatisfactory during the past year. He endorsed the hope that they should stand united. In conclusion the speaker congratulated both the President and Mr. M. S. Subramaniam on the good work done during the past year.

Sanitary Methods Appreciated

Health Work At Urumpirai.

It is a great satisfaction to see that the people of Urumpirai appreciate more and more the advantages of modern sanitary methods, states the sixth annual report of the Health Association, Urumpirai, adopted at the annual general meeting held on the 5th instant.

The following are further extracts from the report:—

The total number of dry earth latrines in use on the 1st December, 1937 was 81 and 5 latrines were added to the register during the year. There are 12 latrines which are not in use.

The rate of conservancy fees was one rupee per mensem a bucket

The labour force consists of two men and one boy. The men were paid Rs. 25-00 each, per mensem and the boy Rupees 5-00 per mensem.

One cart was ordered during the year at a cost of Rs. 75-00 thus bringing the total number of carts to three.

The dumping of the nightsoil was done as usual at the Vermban Cremation ground.

Finance

The total receipts during the year amounted to Rupees 977-85 against an expenditure of Rupees 912-91. The balance standing to the credit of the Association on 30-11-38 was Rupees 299-75.

Snakes

The Committee launched a campaign to destroy the poisonous snakes in Urumpirai which was advertised by means of the village tom-tom beater and also with printed leaflets introducing a system of cash rewards to be awarded to persons who kill snakes of a poisonous variety, the reward depending on the variety and size of the snake.

There were 21 snakes killed during the period and rewards amounting to Rs. 7-60 had been paid. A sum of Rs. 4-00 was incurred in the local advertisement mentioned earlier, making a total of Rs. 12-10 on this account.

It is also the intention of your Committee when sufficient funds are available to clear the undergrowth which are infested with snakes with the co-operation of the public.

Your Committee thank the Malayan Urumpirai Union for the unstinted support given to them all through. The Union had promised to render monetary help for the destruction of snakes.

Health

The Committee welcome the valuable suggestion made by the Malayan Union in their annual report with regard to the preventive measures to be taken to improve upon or strengthen the resisting powers of the people of the village so that they might become less susceptible to prevalent parasite diseases. There is at present a move on the part of the Health Authorities in Ceylon to teach people what they should eat in order to keep themselves physically fit. The Committee intends to approach

the Medical Officer of Health, Jaffna, to render assistance by extending his activities to this village also.

The Medical Officer of Health has recommended a maternity and child welfare centre for Urumpirai.

As soon as a midwife is appointed the work in this connection will be started.

Mr. P. M. Joseph continued the duties as Sanitary Inspector.

Midwife

The Ceylon Urumpirai Union, Colombo, has mooted the appointment of a midwife for Urumpirai and has succeeded in securing the support of the Govt. in getting a subsidy. The Union has paid half the contribution.

The rent on the house will be provided by the Village Committee, Neervely.

Child Welfare Centre

The cost of running the proposed Child Welfare Centre is about Rupees Four hundred as estimated, beside the equipments. Half of this sum will be paid by the Govt. if the other half, and the equipments are provided by private bodies or the village itself. Your committee note with pleasure that the Malayan Union will give their support to this noble cause.

Dispensary

Dr. K. Sangarapillai alias (Sundaralingam) D. I. M. & S. and Proficiency Certificate holder in materia medica approached the committee to give support for opening a Dispensary and Surgery. The committee after due consideration promised to render all possible assistance. He has now opened a dispensary opposite Kalpaka Pillayar temple. It appears that his services are appreciated by the public. We are made to understand that he is also giving free treatment to the poor.

General

It is a great satisfaction to see that the people of Urumpirai appreciate more and more the advantages of modern sanitary methods.

The thanks of your committee are offered to the "Hindu Organ" and other local papers for giving publicity to the activities of the Association and also for their encouraging comments thereon.

DEATH OF PT. PEDRO ADVOCATE

The oldest practioner in Vadamaradchy

Pt. Pedro, Thursday.

The death occurred last night at his residence at Valvettithurai, of Mr. C. Kulandavelu, the senior Advocate. He was 70 years old and died in harness. Mr. Kulandavelu was born at Valvettithurai and had the unique distinction of having been 38 years in practice, having become an advocate in his 32nd year. For many years he gave of his best to the civic life of this district and to the public life of the Island. He leaves behind his widow, Mr. K. Ratnasingham, Proctor and two other sons and daughters.

Hartley College was closed a little earlier as a mark of respect. The funeral was well attended. (Cor)

Reference in Court

Reference to Mr. C. Kulandavelu's death was made in the Point Pedro District Court, today in the presence of the Entire Bar. When Mr. Simon Rodrigo, District

Judge, came on the Bench, Mr. N. Ponniah B.A., Advocate, said: "Sir, before the work today commences, I being the last surviving among the elders of this Bar, on behalf of the members, I wish to express our sorrow about the death of Mr. C. Kulandavelu, Advocate, of your Court. He is known to many Judges and Lawyers of this Island. His appearance is carved out to undergo trials. He may be anywhere but his spirit will be full. This gentleman had served for the last 38 years as an Advocate in this Court. He was a man of extraordinary talents and was recognised as a great lawyer in the District. Mr. Ponniah asked that a minute be recorded and conveyed to Mr. Kulandavelu's widow and children an expression of the sympathy we have in their bereavement." Mr. Simon Rodrigo, District Judge in reply said, "Mr. Ponniah and gentlemen, I desire to associate myself in the fullest possible manner on behalf of the Judicial Bench with everything you have said with reference to Mr. Kulandavelu. This gentleman can be called the doyen of the Point Pedro Bar. There is nobody here whose absence I felt, but Mr. Kulandavelu's. Though I did not make inquiries here in the Court, yet I inquired outside for him. I have a great regard for him for his kind disposition towards others. He was a storehouse of information to the members of the Bar in giving Colombo as well as local news. We, no doubt, miss him very much here. I join you in expressing my sorrow towards the death of this gentleman. I order that the proceedings be entered here and a copy to be forwarded to the widow and children of the deceased. (Cor.)

Auction Sale

No. 13554 D. C.
Sinnappillai widow of Malavarayar Naganathar of Copay South and now of Chulipuram.
Vs. Plaintiff.
Ramalingam Cellappa of Chulipuram.

PROPERTY

(a) All that piece of land called "Pandavodi" in extent 30 Lms. V. C. with well and palmyrahs and its other appurtenances situated at Chulipuram in the parish of Chankani and bounded on the East, North & South by lane and on the West by the property of the heirs of Arumugam Sinniah and others.

(b) A divided extent of 3 Lms. V. C. on the East with its appurtenances out of a piece of land called "Koddilakaladdy" in extent 7 Lms. V. C. with well, house and

FIVE KACHCHERIES MAY BE CLOSED

Commission's Proposal

Colombo Saturday.

The Kachcheries at Kalutara, Matara, Mannar, Matale and Nuwara Eliya may be closed from the beginning of the next financial year.

This is the proposal made by the Retrenchment Commission which was appointed last year to consider ways and means of cutting down expenditure.

However, before making their final report to Government on this matter the Commission, will be hearing the views of different associations and individuals in the respective areas.

It is considered that with the present facilities for travelling the administration of these districts can be carried on from the chief provincial Kachcheries.

its other appurtenances situated at Chulipuram aforesaid and which said extent of 3 Lms. V. C. is bounded on the East by lane, on the North by the property of Muttukumaru Arumugam, on the West by the property of the undermentioned 3rd land and on the South by the property of Kanapathipillai Sellapah.

(c) A divided extent of 4 Lms. V. C. on the west with house share of well and its other appurtenances out of a piece of land called 'Koddilakaladdy' in extent 7 Lms. V. C. with well house and its other appurtenances situated at Chulipuram aforesaid and which said extent of 4 Lms. V. C. is bounded on the East by the aforesaid second land, on the North by the property of Murugar Arumugathar and shareholders, on the West by the property of Sinnadurai Appathurai and shareholders and on the South by the property of Nagamuttu widow of Ramalingam and Kanapathipillai Chellapah.

In terms of the commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna in Case No 13554 D. C. I shall sell the above properties by public auction on the respective spots on Saturday 15th April 1939 at about 4 p.m.

N. KANDIAH,
Commissioner,
Van. West.

(Mis. 297 20-3-39)

No 535

EMPIRE OF INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

(Estd. 1897.)

Head Office: Bombay)

Assurances in Force Rs. 14,29,36,991
Total Assets Rs. 5,18,57,947

FUNDS INVESTED IN GOVERNMENT AND OTHER SECURITIES AUTHORISED BY THE INDIAN TRUSTS ACT.

LOW PREMIUMS.

Branch Office:

IMPERIAL BANK BUILDING, COLOMBO

Wanted Agents on Remunerative Terms.

(Y. 60. 20-3-39 to 19-3-40)

Mr. Francis De Zoysa's Appeal To Members

(Continued from page 2)

conduct of His Excellency the Governor, Sir?

The Speaker: So far as I can see, he is not imputing any motives to His Excellency nor is he discussing the Governor's conduct. He is only commenting on the proposals.

Mr. Ponnambalam; I would not have been so indecorous as to impute motives to His Excellency.

The Governor, continued Mr. Ponnambalam, had, by that recommendation, introduced a cleavage that never existed between the Low-country and the Up-country Sinhalese.

At this stage the Speaker left the Council Chamber and the Deputy Speaker took the Chair.

Mr. Ponnambalam, continuing, said that the Tamils and the other minorities had at no stage objected to the Europeans having four seats and Burghers having two seats, but what was significant was that the Governor had in one place stated that sectionalism was anathema to the thinking people of Ceylon but contradicted himself very badly in the next paragraph when he talked of European and Burgher interests.

If His Excellency was referring to European commercial interests, when he spoke of European representation, then what about Indian commercial interests in the country? asked Mr. Ponnambalam.

He could not imagine any body of parliamentarians considering those recommendations by the Governor as satisfactory and forming the basis for constitutional reforms for any part of the world.

Under the Government of India Act of 1935, in the Federal Assembly the Hindus, who constituted 72 per cent. of the population, had only 105 seats out of total of 256 seats whereas the Muslims, who formed only one-fifth of the population were granted one-third the number of seats. The position was more or less the same in all the other Legislative Assemblies in India. The principle of weightage had been conceded to the minorities in all those legislative assemblies as well as in other parts of the world.

At this stage Mr. Ponnambalam asked the indulgence of the House to consent to the adjournment of the Council to enable him to continue his speech today.

Some members were heard to object to the grant of the request.

The Deputy Speaker remarked that the request was a reasonable one.

The Council then agreed, and the House, at this stage (7.05 p.m.), adjourned till 10.30 a.m. today.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam (Point Pedro) resuming his reforms speech, referred to the North American Confederation Act, and the utterance of Mr. Macdonald, the Attorney-General, in the Canadian Parliament regarding French Canadians and English Canadians. The same

thing, he said, applied more directly to conditions in this country.

He next referred to the acceptance of the Communal Award by the Indian Congress although that body was theoretically opposed to it. It was not against progressive opinion because at the time of the Award there was no agreement among the communities.

"So far as this country is concerned there is no demand from the Tamils for the creation of Muslim electorates. Our elders who demanded a seat for the Tamils in the Western Province might have done better in demanding that the seat should be given to the Northern or Eastern Province on a territorial basis."

Gandhi's Definition

Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Ponnambalam said, had defined communal representation as representation of a community by a member of that community.

"We do not want communal representation. We are definitely for an electorate upon a geographical or territorial basis," declared Mr. Ponnambalam.

To support his demand for a balanced scheme of representation, Mr. Ponnambalam quoted an extract from the report of the Select Committee which went into the question of communal representation in India.

The report, he said, stated that the Committee entertained no doubt that if any attempts were made to alter the communal award the consequences would be disastrous.

Mr. Amarasuriya had in his speech asked what harm had been done to the minority communities. He would tell them, he said, that good government, be it by the white bureaucracy or the brown bureaucracy or even by the homogenous Board of Ministers, was no substitute or alternative to self-government.

Mr. Ponnambalam next referred to the message of Mr. James Hensman to the all-Ceylon Tamil Conference on the need for balanced representation. Mr. H. A. P. Sandrasegara had also associated himself with that message.

He also referred to the message of the Rev. Dr. Isaac Thambyah that the bed-rock of Tamil political demands was the doctrine propounded by the Duke of Devonshire that at no time should the joint voting strength of the minority communities be less than that of the Majority community.

The words "levity" and "improper" in reference to the Governor occurred in the quotations made by Mr. Ponnambalam and The Speaker called him to order.

Mr. Ponnambalam said that he did not attribute motives but he believed that a criticism of the Governor's proposals and the sources of information would be strictly relevant. Otherwise, it would be impossible adequately to express their views on that question. He appealed to the Speaker to allow him the freedom of expression.

If the Governor had left his pedestal to tread the muddy politics in

the country, the Governor should accept criticism.

The Speaker: I hope the member will not use the words "levity" and "improper." They are not words that should be used with reference to the conduct of the Governor.

Mr. G. C. S. Corea (Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce): Did the Governor choose to tread the muddy path of politics or was he directed to do so?

Mr. Ponnambalam said that it was not their wish to relegate the Sinhalese to a minority in Council. What they suggested was that the Sinhalese be on an equal footing with all other minority communities together.

It had been the unfortunate history of the nominated members in this country, he continued, that they formed a buffer for the Governor. The nominated members had owed their seats to the kindness of the Governor and they had expressed points of view which were their own.

E. A. Communiqué

He had read a *communiqué* (published in "The Times of Ceylon") in which the Council of the European Association had expressed itself in terms which were diametrically opposite to the views expressed either by Mr. Villiers or Major Oldfield.

In those circumstances they were left in doubt and confusion.

He felt that members of this House must oppose nomination in the future. As far as the Burgher community was concerned, he felt sure that they would welcome the creation of special interest.

Mr. D. P. R. Gunawardene (Avissawella): By the Ministers.

Mr. Ponnambalam: I will accept your ruling.

Not Enemies

Mr. Ponnambalam next read a passage from a speech of Mr. Canagasabay, who presided at the All-Ceylon meeting of Tamils. It was stressed in that speech that the Tamils were not enemies of the major community.

In the last Legislature, continued Mr. Ponnambalam, the Major community was in a minority and there had been no single occasion when the minority communities joined together to thwart the wishes of the Sinhalese.

Colombo, Friday.

The State Council adjourned today at 10.20 a.m., until Tuesday because Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, who had already held the floor for six hours 34 minutes, had a bad throat and presented a medical certificate.

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The "Right People" in England

(Continued from page 1)

less he has a substantial private income. Now he may be a very nice fellow, but it is ten to one that the substantial private income has given him a very definite private income-point of view. And that point of view may not coincide—as I am sure it doesn't—with the best interests of the country.

Therefore, you may find the House of Commons crowded with fellows who have taken in their private-income outlook. Whatever protects the drawer of dividends seems right and natural to them. Moreover, being men of financial substance, perhaps born to it, they live in a style that cuts them off from the mass of the people and probably brings them into contact with a small, wealthy and privileged class. What is worrying some agreeable fellows at the club, chaps from the City will soon begin to seem much more important than whatever happens to be worrying ten thousand poor devils somewhere in the North.

This partly explains why quite nice but stupid fellow-countrymen of ours can behave in a fashion that makes the simpletons of the extreme Left see them as deeply scheming villains.

We are not really free to express ourselves politically, even at elections, unless anybody reasonably suitable can put himself forward as a candidate. And there are not many elections, and between them, with a Government like the present one in office, you and I have no political power at all. For in the new style of doing things it is not even Parliament, not even the Cabinet, but the Prime Minister and two or three of his Ministers, who make all the decisions for us.

And now they do not even tell us what those decisions are? We may not be compelled to make a fancy salute every time Mr. Chamberlain passes us—and if that means democracy then we have one—but the fact remains that you and I know no more about what Mr. Chamberlain is doing than the Germans and Italians know about Hitler and Mussolini.

Lord Baldwin taught us the first lesson in the new politics during the time of the miserable Abdication business. He went about this with no more reference to our opinions than if he were Cromwell. He then handed us over to Mr. Chamberlain, who almost plaintively demands our sympathy without giving us the least bit of information about what he is doing. What happened at Munich? I don't know and neither do you. Why this visit to Italy? We don't know.

That mysterious flitting figure Mr. Montagu Norman, has just visited his German friends. Has he gone simply to drink hock and sing part-songs, or to pledge us and our money to some Nazi scheme. I don't know and you don't know.

When he is criticised, Mr. Chamberlain complains that his opponents are "fouling the nest." But if he has turned us all into helpless little flegines, what can we do but foul the nest—

Moreover, all manners of mysterious personages, of the type of

(Continued on Page 8)

THE 'RIGHT PEOPLE' IN ENGLAND

(Continued from page 7)

Mr. Norman, men whom nobody elected, seem to be given extraordinary powers these days. We hear of them going here and there representing us. And all we are expected to do is to gape and admire and then foot the whacking great bill.

When we are not treated like babies, we are handled as if we were some drunken old fools at a disreputable night club, with people all around us giving orders and passing us the monstrous bill.

How is the trick done? How are we persuaded that we are still even a semblance of a democracy when all the time our actual methods of government are less and less truly democratic?

First, I think the Right People are kept securely planted everywhere. Then, just before and during a General Election, we are artfully stampeded. Between elections, it is assumed, rightly so far, that a great mass of our people are losing, if they have not lost, their political sense. (And do not forget that hundreds of thousands of potential sensible voters, some of them possible political leaders, were lost to us by being killed in the War).

It is quietly assumed that we are all too worried and tired, or too much occupied with the wireless set or the car or the football pools, to be members of a real democracy.

* * *
Let us make no mistake about this. Democracy is no political creed for tired or thoughtless men and women. This is the reason—and not some fatal flaw in the creed itself—why it has failed in some countries, and notably those countries that suffered most from the War. When we are nervous, tired, or dreamily pre-occupied, we do not want to have to make decisions. It is easier to hand over all responsibility and simply obey orders, just as it is much easier to be a good soldier than a good citizen.

We suffered from the War, and we are paying the price. Not the full price, because we have not yet handed over, as if on a plate our whole heritage of liberty and political responsibility. We are still men and women, not robots. But of late, as a people, we have

not had the energy and courage and public spirit to be true democrats.

We have let things slide. And if they slide much further, very soon we shall be desperately trying to defend something that is hardly worth defending any longer. The Britain that was deservedly called Great will have vanished.

(The News Chronicle.)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.

(held at Point Pedro)

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 91 P.T.
In the matter of the Estate of the late Arumuga Chettiar Pasupathy of Puloly East Deceased.
Packiam widow of Pasupathy of Puloly East

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Saraswathy daughter of Pasupathy
2. Sivagnanasundaram daughter of Pasupathy
3. Pasupathy Duraisingham
4. Pasupathy Kanagasingham
5. Pasupathy Thanabalasingham
6. Pasupathy Navaratnasingham
7. Vyrarnuttu Chettiar Sanmugam all of Puloly East

Respondents

This matter coming on for disposal before S. Rodrigo Esquire, Additional District Judge of Jaffna, on the 6th day of March 1939 in the presence of Mr. K. Muttukumaru Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the Petition and affidavit of the Petitioner having been read.

It is hereby ordered that the 7th Respondent be and is hereby appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 1st—6th Respondents to represent them in these testamentary proceedings and that the Petitioner be and is hereby declared entitled to take out Letters of Administration to the above Estate as the widow of the deceased and that Letters of Administration be issued to her accordingly unless the Respondents abovenamed appear and show cause to the contrary on or before the 24th day of March 1939.

Sgd S. Rodrigo

Additional District Judge.

The 10th day of March 1939.

(O 94 16 & 20-3-39.)

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[M.]

Printed and published by S. ADCHALINGAM, residing at Vannarponnai East, Jaffna, for and on behalf of the Proprietors, the Saiva Paripalana Sabai, Jaffna, at their Press, the Saiva Prakasa Press, Vannarponnai Jaffna, on MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1939.