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## DEMOCRATIC Vs. TOTALITARIAN FORM OF GOVT

### The Modern Controversy

## COMMUNALISM THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO PARTY SYSTEM

**S**PEAKING on the subject "Modern Controversy about the Democratic versus Totalitarian Form of Government", at the Intermediate College Association, Bangalore, Sir Shanmukham Chetty said that at one time it was almost taken for granted as a matter of political axiom that democracy was the best form of Government suited to any country in the world. In the post-war period, the emergence of Totalitarian States had not only cast serious doubts about the efficacy of democracy, but had given rise to a school of thought which seriously suggested that the days of democracy as a political institution had come to an end. At such a time, it would be worthwhile for the students of the University to ponder over the implications of Democracy, and if it came merely to restate the old established doctrine, they might see in a true perspective the relative merits of the various forms of Government. In the post-war period people had come to attach a great deal of importance to forms of Government, even more than the results achieved. People were not satisfied merely with the form of Government. They wanted the form of Government to their liking, even though the administration might not be so good.

#### March of Events

The doubt about Democracy as a satisfactory form of Government, he continued, was due to the result of the spectacular success achieved by an alternative form of Government in Russia, Turkey, Germany and Italy. But, it should not be forgotten that the post-war experience of these countries was not by itself a sufficient justification for the condemnation of Democracy. The example of these four countries would not by itself justify

the conclusion that Democracy as a form of Government had failed in the post war period. Frequently they heard the leaders of these Totalitarian States jeering at the democratic countries in the West. They had gone to the extent of saying that the democratic countries were like old dilapidated men who could not bear the stress and strain to which modern Governments all over the world were subjected. Under these conditions, they in India would do well to ponder over the implications of Democracy and decide whether after all there was any truth in the arguments made by the leaders of the Totalitarian States that Democracy had ceased to be an effective political institution in human society. The speaker did not think that there was any political party or politician of eminence in India, who would say that, even after the results of the experience of European countries, they would rather have Totalitarian State than Democracy. "We still have some sort of faith in Democracy and impelled with that faith, it is useful for us to ponder over the implications of a democratic form of Government, and especially to analyse the factors that go to make Democracy a success and what we should do in India to shape not merely our political institutions, but even our social life, to make us fit to handle democratic institutions in this country."

#### Essence of Democracy

Proceeding, Sir Shanmukham Chetty referred to the direct form of Democracy as understood by the ancient Greeks, in which every citizen of the State took direct and active part in the interests of the Governmental machinery. "But, to-day, when we talk of Democracy, we are not think-

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## INDUSTRIAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR HONOURS GRADUATES IN CHEMISTRY

Suggestion By Chemistry Professor

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AND ACCOMMODATION PROBLEM

**"I**N these days of very keen industrial competition among the advanced industrial countries of the world it is essential for the success of industrial undertakings that our nascent industries should be in the hands of Ceylonese of proved scientific ability, possessing sound technical knowledge of the particular industries and imbued with enthusiasm for their work. I would therefore venture to suggest that it would be in the larger interests of the country to select from among the excellent Honours graduates in Chemistry now available, those that are suited temperamentally and have the necessary aptitude for an industrial career and send them abroad for training on Industrial Scholarships" says Prof. A. Kandiah of the University College, Colombo, in his annual report embodied in the Administration Report of the Principal, University College for 1937-38.

#### Accommodation

The following are further extracts from the Principal's report:—

The total number of students admitted in July, 1938, was 664. This number is much in excess of the available accommodation, and it became urgent to take measures for the still more acute problem that would face the College in July, 1939. The alternative before the authorities was either to build extensions and materially increase the staff or to alter the conditions of admission. The State Council ultimately agreed to a proposal whereby admission should be by an Entrance Examination conducted by the College or on the production of a certificate from the Principal of an approved secondary school to the effect that the applicant had successfully completed at least one

year's Post-Matriculation work in an approved school.

It is to be anticipated that in 1940 the number of applicants recommended for admission on the strength of Post-Matriculation work will greatly exceed the number of places available. As there is no satisfactory way of selecting the required number from that list, it becomes urgent to consider whether the logic of circumstances does not irrefutably point to admission by an Entrance Examination only. This proposal was advocated some time ago by a resolution of a Headmasters' Conference but has not been adopted by the authorities. It would appear to be the fairest method of controlling admissions, and if adopted could be utilized for the award of a number of free studentships to competent candidates who otherwise might find it difficult to pay the University College fees. The problem for 1940 is unescapable. If the authorities are reluctant to apply the obvious solution the only alternative is either to build extensions and duplicate classes, with the necessary consequence of increased expenditure on buildings, staff and equipment, or to explore the possibility of transferring the Pre-Medical classes elsewhere. The determining factor, so far as science goes, is the limited accommodation available in the elementary science laboratories. This problem would be solved immediately if the Pre-Medical classes were transferred from the University College to other institutions. Various difficulties stand in the way of such a solution and there is no reason in principle why the University College should not conduct Pre-Medical classes. Nor would it be wise to deprive students of the opportunity of studying concurrently for the Pre-Medical Examination and for the Inter-

(Continued on Page 2)



## CO-OPERATIVE CENTRAL BANK

### RAPID PROGRESS OF THE INSTITUTION

#### ANNUAL MEETING

IN moving the adoption of the Report and the accounts of the Co-operative Central Bank, at the annual meeting of the Bank, Mudaliyar V. Ponnampalam, the President, said:—

The Report and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet have been in your hands for sometime and all of you would have gone through them carefully. However it will not be out of place for me to refer to some of the salient points connected with the progress of the Bank since its establishment in 1929.

The accounts show a net profit of Rs. 12,893.97 indicating an increase of Rs. 5,192/- over last years profits. This is the record figure in the history of the Bank. I am sure all of you will rejoice over the rapid progress and stability of the Bank which is catering to the whole of the credit side of the Co-operative movement in the District.

What encourages me is not only the material success achieved by us as our profits indicate, but also, the all important fact that the Co-operative Movement is flourishing in our District. Increase of profits clearly proves that the public has implicit confidence in this institution and of this we can certainly be proud.

The axiom of leading economists that a country's soundness depends on the strength of co-operation in the country should never be overlooked by any patriotic citizen among us. If we remember this, I have no doubt that our Central Bank will achieve more phenomenal successes in time to come.

The co-operative movement in this country is but a small fraction of a world-wide edifice. Whatever it may be, I would like to stress in the minds of you all present here that it is our bounden duty to do everything in our power to forward the movement in our respective areas and in doing so we reap for ourselves the rewards of our labours.

#### Membership

At the close of the last Bank year the number of share-holders was 272, composed of 39 individuals and 233 Societies. At the close of the year under review the number had risen to 311, composed of 39 individuals and 272 Societies. It is noticeable that there was a steady increase in the number of Society share-holders proving the great popularity of the Bank.

#### Fixed Deposits

During the last year the amount received under this head was Rs. 494,341.77 as against Rs. 549,854.86 received during the year under review.

#### Loans to Co-operative Societies

During the year under review 916 loans were granted amounting to Rs. 381,864.23 as against 717 loans amounting to Rs. 3,7,065/- granted during the previous year.

The amount outstanding with Societies at the end of April 1939

was Rs. 434,219.77 of which a sum of Rs. 29,179.95 is overdue as against Rs. 72,955.66 at the end of the previous year. The marked improvement effected in the repaying capacity of societies is considered to be satisfactory, but it will however be admitted that there is still room for improvement in this respect.

#### Liquidations

This is a matter over which the Directors are much concerned. The dues from liquidated societies amount to Rs. 16,737.26 at the end of April 1939 as against Rs. 12,776.72 in the previous year. It is feared that a good part of this amount may become altogether irrecoverable, but the Departmental officers are doing their best to help the Bank in this matter.

#### Investments

A sum of Rs. 180,000/- has been invested in Ceylon Government 3½% Loan and another sum of Rs. 6,000/- in the Post Office Savings Certificates. It will thus be seen that no money is lying idle and every deposit begins to earn interest as soon as it is received.

#### Reserve Fund

The Statutory reserve Fund of the Bank at date is Rs. 15,205.24. The other permanent Funds amount to Rs. 17,764.52 making a total of Rs. 32,969.76, which is another indication of the soundness of our Bank.

Well, Gentlemen, you will notice that the running expenses of the Bank have been kept as low as possible to 7% of the Working capital—a record for any Bank. The greatest care has always been taken by the Working Committee when issuing loans to Societies. The success of the Bank is due entirely to your loyalty and co-operation and the presence of such a number of delegates representing various societies in Jaffna is a sure augury of further success and expansion of the Bank.

Before concluding I wish to place on record the valuable services rendered by Mr. C. Arulampalam as Honorary Secretary of the Bank from 1939 till last year, when the present Manager Mr. Subramaniam Lewis was appointed to the work of the Secretary as well in addition to his work as Manager. Mr. Arulampalam did his work ungrudgingly and efficiently and our heartfelt thanks are due to him, and you will be pleased to know that he is continuing his services in a new sphere—The Northern Division Co-operative Federation—of which he has been the Secretary since its inception in July 1937.

I wish to express on behalf of the Bank our deep sense of gratitude to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for his helpful advice and invaluable guidance from time to time and our thanks are also due to the Asst. Registrar, Mr. Rangunathan, who has been ever ready and willing to help us by taking a personal interest in the efficient working of the Bank.

I thank my colleagues on the Directorate and on the Working Committee for their loyal co-operation and assistance given to me. I feel it is my duty to express my appreciation of the excellent work done by the Manager and his staff for keeping everything ship-shape.

I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report and the audited Accounts.

## Industrial Scholarships For Honours Graduates In Chemistry

*Continued from Page 1)*

Science Examination in the same subjects. The problem of the Arts classes would also remain. It could be solved to some extent by duplication of classes with the help of increased staff. But experience has shown that a fair percentage of those admitted by the sole test of the London Matriculation examination are unsuited for University education, and it would be difficult to justify largely increased expenditure on their behalf. The most important practical consideration, however, concerns the future University. If it is being built for 800 to 1,000 students, it is necessary at all costs to avoid having at the time of its inception a large number of students actually in attendance at the University College than can be admitted to the University. If the action taken to restrict the number admitted is not continued, the College will find itself in the position of having to admit some 800 new students in July, 1940, in addition to the 400 who will be continuing their studies, i.e., a total of well over 1,000. It is impossible to say when the peak will be reached. With the spread of private coaching in institutions, one may safely prophesy that the numbers who pass the London Matriculation Examination will increase yearly for a considerable time.

#### Post-Graduate Courses

Though post-graduate courses in Ceylon History for a Ceylon University College Certificate were initiated in 1938, only three students took advantage of them. The proposal to conduct a short course in Ceylon History for the benefit of teachers came to nothing owing to lack of support from the teachers. It was hoped that some of our History Honours graduates would continue their studies and read for a two-year post-graduate Diploma of M.A. standard in Ceylon History. By this means if seemed possible to hold out hopes of training men for advanced work in the various periods of Ceylon History most of which offer a fruitful field for research. The immediate prospect is not hopeful. In this respect too there is needed the stimulus of post-graduate and research studentship. Had the University come into being at an earlier date, these and similar difficulties, together with the co-ordination of research work in allied subjects, would have come under the survey and direction of the general Board of Studies and Research which I recommended should form part of the University scheme. It is to be hoped that this Board will retain its place in the University Ordinance when it comes before the legislative authorities.

Measures have been taken for the acquisition of a site for the University at Paradeniya and the details of buildings required have been given to the Public Works Department. A contour survey of the site is nearly completion. The acquisition process once completed, it will then be for the architect to prepare a suitable layout for the various buildings required. Though no single build-

ing will be of exceptional size, the total number of buildings required will be large, and it is to be anticipated that they cannot be completed before 1945. In the meantime the University College must continue to suffer from the now prolonged inhibition of its aspirations and activities. It has been distressing to be compelled for a long period of years to abandon projects for improvements on the ground that as the University is to be built in Kandy, it is unprofitable to incur expenditure on improvements and extensions in Colombo. Those who have worked at the University College for nearly twenty years may be forgiven a certain regretful *desiderium* over the things they might have achieved had their institution not been cabined within an inadequate habitation. But they have the satisfaction of knowing that there is no sphere of public and professional life in which its products do not fill honourably and efficiently numerous and important places. The Donoughmore Commissioners saw in the University College and its successor, the University, the vital source of man-power for the various services in the progress to self-Government. If University College men have been absorbed in large numbers into state and public activities and are rendering a good account of themselves, the credit is due to the loyal and devoted work of my colleagues on the staff of the College. I trust that the future historian of the University project when he marks down the defects of this institution will not forget the obstacles under which these officers have laboured. The pioneers who clear the site of jungle and prepare it for luxurious growth deserve well of those who will ultimately reap the profits. I take this opportunity of recording my deep and lasting gratitude to the able and loyal band of colleagues on the academic and administrative staffs of the College who have given the best of their talents in what may claim to be reckoned as national service of the first importance.

## Auction Sale

### IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8185. In the matter of the estate of the late Apirampillai wife of Namasivayam Thampipillai of Anaikoddai

Deceased.

J. N. Kulanthavelu Secy. D. C. Jaffna  
Official Administrator.

1. Salkunathevy daughter of N. Thampipillai
2. Thampipillai Nadarajah
3. Valambikai daughter of N. Thampipillai
4. Chelliah Sinnathamby all of do

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd Respondents are minors appearing by their Guardian-ad-litem the 4th Respondent—Respondents.  
PROPERTY  
All that piece of land situated at Kokuvil in the parish of Nallur called Kalakokkan and Anrinchilady in extent 28 Lns. V. C. with its appurtenances and bounded on the East by lane and others, North by the property of Sellam wife of Sivakolunthu, West by the property of Sinnathamby Sivasambu and on the South by the property of the said Sivasambu.

In terms of the Commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna in Testamentary case No. 8185, I shall sell the above property on Saturday the 2nd September 1939 at about 4 p.m. at the spot.

N. Kandiah,  
Commissioner of Sales.

(Mis. 121. 17-8-39.)



## RETALIATORY ACTION CONTEMPLATED BY RAJ

### Increased Tariffs On Ceylon Goods Likely

### EMIGRATION ACT BEING STRICTLY ENFORCED

**T**HERE is a likelihood of the Government of India taking strong action against Ceylon, as a reprisal to the latter's repatriation measure.

THE Commerce Member of the Government of India, it is learned, is seriously considering the question, and there is a possibility of the Government taking independent action as regards tariff rates on Ceylon's exports to India.

#### Representations to Whitehall

It is understood that the action taken by the Government of India with regard to the emigration of unskilled labour to Ceylon is not likely to end with the ban which was recently placed by that Government on such emigration, and that there is a prospect of some measures of a retaliatory character being enforced.

The Government of India, it is learned, has made strong representations to Whitehall through the Secretary of State for India against the measures taken by the Ceylon Government for the discontinuance of daily-paid non-Ceylonese labour from its employ.

It is learned that correspondence is still going on between the Ceylon Government, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of India on the latter's representations to the Colonial Office.

#### Raj Attitude

It would appear that the Indian Government is seeking a re-opening of the question of emigration to Ceylon on terms proposed by it.

It is understood that so far the Board of Ministers has taken up the position that it is prepared to enter into a discussion of all the outstanding questions between the two Governments, but that it is unwilling to consider any proposals on the subject of immigration which go beyond the scope of its modified scheme.

The Indian Government, it is learned, has so far not expressed its willingness to enter upon such discussions.

The proposed trade talks between India and Ceylon were recently postponed indefinitely.

#### "Strong Action" Proposed

It is also learned that Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, the Commerce Member of the Government of India proposes strong action against Ceylon and that, although the Raj has not yet arrived at a final decision in the matter, there is a likelihood of its taking independent action as regards tariff rates on Ceylon's exports to India.

#### Labourers Sent Back

Madras, August 11.

One hundred and twenty labour emigrants to Ceylon are still detained at Mandapam, pending exemption by the Government of

India and 540 labourers have been sent back to their homes at the cost of the Ceylon Labour Commission according to the "Madras Mail."

Those detained are stated to be the wives and children of labourers already in Ceylon.

Asked about the dislocation of goods traffic at Dhanushkodi pier and at Talaimannar following the ban on labourers working under the Madura Company and the South Indian Railway Company for transshipment of passengers' luggage, goods and mail, the Protector of Emigrants, Mr. N. Dharmalingam Pillai, said he had allowed the Company five days to get exemption from the Government of India.

Meanwhile he had orders from the Commissioner for Labour, Madras, permitting the Madura Company's labourers, until further orders to go to Talaimannar pier, on condition that they returned to Dhanushkodi the following day.

The Protector also said that in view of the Government of India's ban he had to scrutinise even ordinary third class passengers to Ceylon in order to check and prevent illicit emigration of unskilled labourers under the guise of skilled labourers. In view of this increasing work, the clerical staff of the office has been enlarged.

The Ceylon Government's scheme of compulsory repatriation of daily paid Indian workers seems to be in full swing and a large number of repatriates are daily returning to India.

#### Labour Conference

Colombo, August 15.

A labour conference is to be held this afternoon in the office of the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce to discuss the question of the Indian emigration ban and the recruitment of Ceylonese labour.

Representatives of a few associations interested in the recruitment of labour have been invited to attend this conference.

The Deputy Controller of Labour it is stated, has stated in a memorandum that the ban placed by the Indian Government on the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon will have no immediate adverse effect on the planting industries of Ceylon.

"The total estate labour available

## Profiteering by Schools

### Education Board's Decision

Colombo, Tuesday.

Profiteering by schools is not to be suppressed by Government, laments an Education Ministry press communique which discloses the results of a Board of Education meeting which was held to consider certain amendments to the Code.

Among the amendments which the Board refused to pass was one suggested by the Education Ministry to vest power in the Director to deduct the profits earned by schools from grants payable to them.

"It is a common thing for certain schools to make profits" states the Communique. "The profits can be increased by increasing the fees over which the Department has no control."

"The profits are used for such purposes as putting up extensions, building up reserve funds and granting free passages."

"The amendment was dictated by the necessity to regulate profiteering in school management, but the Board did not want the freedom of Assisted school authorities to profiteering curtailed."

"And the Government is to continue to assist profiteering concerns and schools that are fast beginning to cater for only a class!"

The Board also rejected a request of the Educational Suppliers Association that the promotion time for all schools should not be fixed the same month.

In Ceylon today is 535,000 which he thinks is more than sufficient for the needs of the tea and rubber industries.

#### The Future

In the past, it is stated, the labour supply was adjusted to the needs of the industries concerned, but, in future, if the ban remains such easy adjustment of the supply of labour to the demand will be difficult if not impossible.

It is further stated that if there is any sudden alteration in the condition of the tea and rubber industries a difficult situation might arise, for in the event of the industries requiring more labour at short notice, difficulty might be experienced in obtaining that additional labour.

As regards non-estate unskilled labour, the effect of the ban on this class will be that the rate at which such labour will return to India will probably be greater than in the case of estate labour.

Consequently, the supply of such labour will go down, and if the reduction is appreciable Ceylon unemployment labourers should be absorbed.

In those circumstances, the memorandum states, the possibility should not be overlooked, of a shortage of non-estate labour arising.

If such happens, wages may tend to rise and the conditions of urban employment to become in other ways also more attractive, which in turn might attract estate labour to the towns.

## PROTECTION FOR INDIAN COCONUT

### JOINT DEPUTATION TO INDIA GOVT SUGGESTED

### INTERVIEW WITH MADRAS PREMIER

Madras, Aug. 14.

**M**R. Changaracherry K. Parameswaran Pillai, President of the Travancore Coconut Growers' Association, interviewed the hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, yesterday regarding a proposal to send a joint deputation by the Governments of Travancore, Cochin and Madras to the Government of India to discuss the question of protection for the coconut industry.

Referring to the position of the industry, Mr. Parameswaran Pillai told a HINDU representative: "It may seem that our activities at the present moment, when Ceylon is in conflict with India regarding the repatriation of Indian Labour, are an attempt to exploit the situation arising from the Ceylon repatriation scheme. May I say emphatically that it is not so?" He did not want any protective duty to be imposed on Ceylon copra as a matter of retaliation, but it should be done on its own independent merits.

The coconut protection question had been pending before the Government of India for five years without any final decision being arrived at. They had been agitating systematically. In the meantime, imports of coconuts and coconut products from Ceylon had mounted enormously. While during the period from January 1, to July 20, 1938, 51,185 cwts. of oil and 223,665 cwts. of copra were imported into India from Ceylon, the imports had risen to 118,522 cwts. of oil and 830,265 cwts. of copra during the same period this year. This was an increase of 220 per cent in the case of oil and 170 in the case of copra. Nobody could say that this was due to any normal increase of demand from India. It was due to dumping. Copra was being sold in India practically at the same price as in Colombo though Ceylon has to mount over a tariff of Rs. 30 per ton and to meet freight and other charges to the extent of Rs. 10 per ton. If this was not dumping, Mr. Pillai failed to see what it was. These were some of the reasons why they were endeavouring their utmost to get some measure of protection for the industry.

Mr. Parameswaran Pillai added that he had an interview with the Prime Minister yesterday and that the Prime Minister was considering the question. Mr. Parameswaran Pillai had every hope that ultimately the three Governments would accept the proposal for a joint deputation.



## Broadcasting

AKASH-VANI,  
MYSORE

## Programme

Wavelength: 70.2 Meters Frequency: 4265 Kc/S.

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

Thursday, the 17th August 1939

6 p.m. Violin  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
7 to 7-20 p. m. Popular Science: "Baby Earth" by B. N. Sivaramiah, Esq.  
7-45 to 8-15 p. m. Purana Kalakshepam by K. Sripadachar, Esq. M. A.

Friday, the 18th August 1939

6 p.m. Karnatic Light Music  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
6-30 p.m. "Qirat"  
6-45 p.m. Recitation from Urdu Poems by Mr. Mir Md. Husaine  
7 to 8-30 p.m. Hindusthani Music

Saturday, the 19th August 1939

GARUDA PANCHAMI  
6 p.m. Bhajana  
6-15 p.m. News & Announcements  
6-30 to 8 55 p. m. Harikatha: "Sri Krishna Garudi" by Brahmasri Venugopala Das & Party

Sunday, the 20th August 1939

No Broadcast

## Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT  
OF BADULLA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. B 1023

In the matter of the Intestate Estate of the late Paraniurupasingham Thangamma of Bandarawela Deceased.

Between Philip Rajasingham Paraniurupasingham of Bandarawela

And Petitioner.

1. Sivayogammal aet' about 11 years, and
2. Rajasingham aet' about 9 years (minors) represented by their Guardian-ad-litem, their uncle
3. P. R. Thambiah of Haldumulla Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before R. R. Selvadurai Esquire, District Judge of Badulla on the 3rd day of August, 1939, in the presence of Mr. K. V. Nadarajah, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner abovenamed and his affidavit dated the 26th day of June, 1939, having been read.

## IT IS ORDERED:-

(a) That the third Respondent abovenamed be and he is hereby appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the 1st and 2nd named minor Respondents abovenamed for all the purposes of representing them in the above styled proceedings, and

(b) That Letters of Administration in respect of the above estate be issued to the Petitioner abovenamed as the lawful husband of the deceased intestate, unless the Respondents abovenamed or any person or persons interested therein shall on or before the 22nd day of August 1939, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

The 3rd day of August, 1939  
(Sgd.) R. R. SELVADURAI  
District Judge

(O. 38, 17 & 21-8-39)

## A Variety Entertainment

In Aid of the

Hindu Organ Golden  
Jubilee Fund

on

Saturday, 26th August, 1939

at

The Jaffna Hindu College.

Boys and girls from different Schools and talented amateurs will contribute items

Details will be announced through handbills



## Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17, 1939

JAFFNA'S ECONOMIC  
FUTURE

IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS that are taking place around us, it is becoming clear day by day that Jaffna cannot hope to remain where she is and rest satisfied with merely taking things as they come. There is need for an all-round stock-taking of the present economic position of the Peninsula and for a well thought out planning for her future in order to ensure a self-contained and happy existence. Her past was really an enviable one, when her sons and her economic products commanded much respect and were in great demand in Ceylon and elsewhere. Those were the glorious days when the Jaffna man ventured out as the pioneer in developing undeveloped countries like Malaya and the Straits, and when Jaffna tobacco was almost a necessity in every Malayalam home, and the Jaffna cheroot and tobacco held the pride of place in the markets of South Ceylon. One need not be a prophet to tell us that those days will never return. The present gives a clear indication of what the future holds in store for Jaffna if she means to rest on her oars. The spread of education in the Malay States and the present policy of the Government there have terribly narrowed the possibilities of future employment for Jaffnese. The changing tastes of the people and the flooding of the market with cheap varieties of cigarette and beedy have hopelessly decreased the consumption of the much relished Jaffna cheroot and tobacco in Ceylon, and more pathetically so in the very land of their production. The cultivation of tobacco in some parts of South India and the enhanced duty on Jaffna tobacco have seriously affected Jaffna's export trade in tobacco. And

to crown all, the chances of Government employment for Jaffnese which were adequate some years back, have become restricted with the increase in the number of aspirants for jobs under Government. We thus see that prospects before Jaffna are not what they were a few years ago, and that there is the imperative need for Jaffna to see into and mould her future.

Jaffna's economic future cannot and should not be allowed to depend on the present sources of her wealth. These, as we have pointed out, have dwindled and become precarious. Hope therefore lies in consolidating all that have a promise of surviving the vicissitudes of changing times and discovering new sources that hold prospects of development and profit in the future. This is a great task that requires comprehensive study. Men with foresight and practical wisdom alone can undertake a task like this. The National Planning Commission of India affords an example of how countries similarly placed like Ceylon and particularly Jaffna are making efforts to find new sources of wealth and means of employment for their nationals. Jaffna being entirely an agricultural district, her sources of wealth are so limited, and with the limitations imposed by niggardly Nature, she has to seek pastures new for supplementing her very meagre income. We would not venture, at this stage, to present a scheme or plan, by which we might hope to ensure the future economic well being of the Peninsula. But we would appeal, in all earnestness, to patriots in this country, to make a start in this direction. It is time that our leaders thought of doing something that will be of lasting benefit to Jaffna which is now on the edge of an economic precipice instead of wrangling over impossibilities and diverting the attention of the people from what really contributes to their happiness. We suggest, therefore, that the best brains in the country come together leaving aside their political predilections, meet and discuss the possibility of setting up a competent committee to undertake the task of studying and suggesting ways and means of ensuring Jaffna's economic future. That way lies Jaffna's economic well being.

Chief Justice Returning  
in October

Colombo, Wednesday.

Sir Sidney Abrahams, the Chief Justice, is expected to leave England on September 22, and will arrive in Ceylon on October 11.

Mr. Justice Moseley will return to the Island on September 21. He will then act as Chief Justice till the arrival of Sir Sidney Abrahams.

Mr. Justice Keuneman will be leaving for England tomorrow on six months' leave.

Hindu Board of  
EducationAnnual General  
Meeting

The fifteenth Annual General Meeting of the Hindu Board of Education was held at the San-Marka Bodhini Bilingual School Hall with Dr. S. Subramaniam J. P. the President of the Board in the chair. Over four hundred members were present. The meeting commenced with the singing of Thevaram. The minutes of the previous annual general meeting were read by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. Ponnambalam, Advocate, translated and adopted. The Secretary's Report was read and adopted. The audited Balance-sheet of the Hon. Treasurer having been circulated was also adopted on the motion of Mr. P. K. Somasundram, Proctor S. C. and seconded by Mr. C. Muttuvelu J. P. Several important resolutions were passed with comments by some members.

The Directors belonging to Set A having retired and a few vacancies having arisen in Set B, the following new Directors were elected:—Messrs. C. Muttuvelu J. P., P. K. Somasundram Proctor S. C., K. Muttukumara-swamypillai B.A., Headmaster; R. Chinthamani, Retired Office Assistant to the Government Agent Jaffna Kachcheri; V. Subbiah, F.M.S. Pensioner; V. M. Chelliah, F.M.S. Pensioner; C. Subramaniam, Chairman V.C., Rambukpitiya. Eight Directors of Set A were re-elected. Light refreshments were provided by the President and the Annual General Meeting terminated with the singing of Thevaram.

The Board of Directors met immediately after to elect the Office-bearers for the ensuing year. The election resulted as follows:—

President: Dr. S. Subramaniam J. P. (Re-elected.)

Vice-President: Mr. N. Krishner J. P. Re-elected.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. C. Ponnambalam, Advocate (Re-elected).

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. A. K. Navaratnam, Proctor, S. C. (Re-elected).

Hon. General Manager of the Tamil, Sinhalese and Classical Schools: Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Advocate.

Hon. Manager of the Saiva Training Institute, English and Bilingual Schools: Mr. S. Adenalingam, Manager, Hindu Organ, Jaffna.

Committee Members other than Office bearers: Messrs A. Chellappa J.P., S. R. Kanaganayagam, Advocate and M. Vaithalingam, Head-Master.

Hon. Auditors: Messrs V. Viswalingham C.S., and a Muttuthamby, Jaffna Kachcheri.

A vote of thanks to Mr. A. Chellappa J.P. for the services rendered as General Manager during the previous year was enthusiastically carried.

## Minister Regrets

Communique on Schools  
Grants

Colombo, Wednesday.

The Minister for Education regrets the issue of the Press communique, dated August 12th, purporting to have had the authority of the Ministry on the subject of an amendment to the Code empowering the Director of Education to deduct profits made by the assisted schools from grants.

The communique referred to, which was by the Secretary to the Board of Education was, it is understood, by error issued in the name of the Ministry of Education.



## "PEACE PLANS" ARE BEING CANVASSED

### Prof. Burckhardt's Talk With Hitler

## DANZIG AND POLAND QUESTIONS DISCUSSED

Danzig, Aug. 15

THE first official statement on Professor Burckhardt's conversation with Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden was issued tonight by Professor Burckhardt himself.

The statement declares that Professor Burckhardt had a short conversation about internal Danzig question.

It denies that Professor Burckhardt intended going to London and adds: "I have not been to Geneva and have had no meeting with the General Secretary of the League."

### Nothing New Produced

London, Aug. 16

"The sudden and secret meeting of Professor Burckhardt and Herr Hitler does not seem to produce any thing new," says "The Times" Diplomatic Correspondent.

All accounts from abroad agree that Hitler did most of the talking and explained again, no less energetically than before, his views on Danzig and Poland and even on wider questions.

"Professor Burckhardt had little chance to give his own views, although as a diplomatist who kept himself in very close touch with both sides, it may be supposed that he has his own shrewd opinion as to how a peaceful solution may be found."

No concrete news has yet come of the Hitler-Ciano meeting. Various "peace plans" are being canvassed, "The Times" Diplomatic correspondent continues, but nothing is known of them in London and no plan is likely to bear good fruit, if it proposes to leave Poland out of the negotiations, or ignores the progress which London and Paris have made towards a defensive pact with Russia.

### Germany and Islam

About thirty years ago European writers on the Far East frequently remarked that the only factor which would make either China or Japan Christian, was a vague impression that the support of European powers would naturally be received by any Asiatic Christian nation. With a view to enabling them the better to adapt themselves to conditions in South America, the Japanese Government "converted" colonists to Brazil to Christianity before sending them out. No one could have dreamt that any Western power would reverse the process. Yet Mr. Elwyn Jones in "The Attack from Within," a recent Penguin Special tells us of Nazi Germany's approach to Islam. "While synagogues have been burned in Germany, a mosque has been built in the heart of Berlin, where Muslims may perform their devotions... Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry professes to discover a number of

### Swami Wished Success

### Batticaloa's Farewell to Swami Vipulananda

Batticaloa, Tuesday.

Scimath Swami Vipulanandaji, who is shortly leaving for India to take up the editorship of "The Prabuddha Bharata" was entertained at a garden party at the resthouse by the public of Batticaloa. He was garlanded on arrival and Mr. N. S. Rasiiah, chairman, U. D. C., read and presented an address.

Mr. M. Prasad, G. A., E. P., said that he had seen the Vidyalayam's students both at work and play and was much impressed with their vocational attainments. The school, situated amidst rural surroundings, had an atmosphere of peace and quietude and was developing on the right lines.

The schools started by Swami Vipulananda were truly national in spirit and character. He wished the Swami every success in his new sphere of labour.

### Awakening In India

The other speakers were Messrs. M. C. Abdul Cader, K. M. D. Jayanetti, S. Dixon, Sam W. Stephens, M. Rasiiah, K. V. M. Subramaniam and Dr. J. M. Somasundaram.

Swami Vipulananda, in reply, thanked the speakers for their expressions of goodwill and paid a tribute to his teachers, all of whom had left their mark and impress on his life. He paid a special tribute to the Rev. Father Bonnel.

While they in Ceylon were tackling the "repatriation" problem and other minor issues, great things were happening in India. "There is an awakening in the mother country, a new life is pulsating all over the land, a new India is in process of formation and she is striving to hold pride of place among the nations of the world."

The economic conditions of the district needed improvement. There was wealth in the soil and the Eastern Province could become the granary of the whole island.

The Swami, it is learned, is leaving for India tomorrow from Colombo.

points common to the Nazi creed of the sword and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. Not only has a school been opened in Berlin, where Muslim students are given free education and board; it has been decided to 'convert' 25,000 Nazis to Mohammedanism. They will be sent into various Moslem countries as trade and political missionaries."

(J. S. R.)

### Dope In Mangoe Package

### Jaffna Men Charged In Colombo

Colombo, 15.

That two pounds of ganja and four pounds of opium were concealed in a package of Jaffna mangoes and sent to Colombo, was related before Mr. M. Mahroof, Additional Magistrate of Colombo.

Nadarajah, of Forbes Road, Maradana, and Casiepillai, of Urumpirai, Jaffna, were charged with having possessed the dope.

Corstable Zoysa, of Maradana, stated that yesterday he received information that two Jaffna men were frequenting the Maradana Railway Station and that one of them was a dope dealer.

The two men were tracked and they were seen carrying a parcel from a rickshaw down a lane. They were arrested and the "dope" found inside the package was weighed at the railway station. There were mangoes on the top of the package.

The two men pleaded not guilty and the trial was fixed for August 30th.

### OPENING OF NORTHERN PORTS

### Minister on Inspection Tour

The Minister of Communications and Works will pay a visit to the Tondaiman-Aar Lagoon on Saturday the 19th inst. at 3.45 p.m. He will be received by Mr. V. Suppiah, Chairman of the Tondaiman-Aar Harbour Committee who will take him round and explain the proposed scheme of converting the lagoon into a harbour for Jaffna.

The Minister has agreed to receive a deputation of those supporting the opening of the Kankasanturai harbour for passenger traffic with India, at 8.30 a.m. on Sunday, 20th inst.

### Order Nisi

#### IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 723  
In the matter of the estate of the late Thamamuttu wife of Velupillai Sivasambu of Myliddy South  
Deceased.  
Velupillai Sivasambu of Myliddy South  
Petitioner

Vs.  
1. Gnanammah  
2. Thambiturai and  
3. Retnam, Children of Sivasambu and  
4. Ramar Ramaswamy all of do.  
Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 27th day of March 1939 in the presence of Mr. R. R. Nalliah Proctor for the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner having been read: It is ordered that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the Petitioner as her lawful husband and that the abovenamed 4th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-Litem over the minor 1st to 3rd Respondents for the purpose of protecting their interests and of representing them in these testamentary proceedings unless the Respondents appear before this Court on the 24th day of May 1939 and state objections to the contrary.

The 4th day of April 1939.  
Sd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.  
Time to show cause extended to 16-8-39.

Hd. C. C.  
D. J.

(O. 35. 10 & 17-8-39)

### CEYLON TEACHERS' GRIEVANCES

### CABLE FROM TEACHERS IN ENGLAND

### REPRESENTATIONS TO WHITEHALL

Colombo, Wednesday.

The National Union of Teachers in England have sent a cable to the All-Ceylon Swabasha Teachers' Union that they will communicate with the Secretary of State for the Colonies regarding the grievances of the Ceylon teachers over the proposal to grade them, reduce their salaries and introduce a quota system.

At a special general meeting of the Union held at St. Mary's School, Pettah, it was argued that the proposed amendments to the Code would lower the status of the teachers and also open the way to bribery and corruption among inspectors, managers and teachers.

### NOTICE

NALLUR KANDASWAMY TEMPLE ANNUAL FESTIVAL, 1939

20th August, 1939 to 14th September, 1939

Permission is hereby granted to move processions and conduct religious assemblies according to custom round the Nallur Kandaswamy Temple and along the adjoining sections of the Point Pedro and Old Store Roads during the period of the festival, notice is hereby given to the Public that traffic will be diverted from sections of the Point Pedro Road and Old Store Road adjoining the Temple, along Wyman Road, Navanthurai Road and Nallur Cross Road No. 1 during the time that such processions and religious assemblies are moving round the Temple.

P. R. KRISHNARATNE,  
Asst. Supdt. of Police, N. P.  
Police Office,  
Jaffna, 7th August, 1939.  
(G. 16. 10 & 17-8-39)

### Order Nisi

#### IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 599.  
In the matter of the estate of the late Pakkiam wife of Kanagasabai Nagalingam of Pungudutivu East  
Deceased.

Kanagasabai Nagalingam of Pungudutivu East  
Petitioner.  
Vs.  
1. Meenambal daughter of Kanagasabai Nagalingam of do  
2. Nagalingam Muttukumaraswamy of do  
3. Sethar Sinnathamby of do now of Maho  
Respondents.

This matter of the Petition of the abovenamed Petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 16th day of May 1938 in the presence of Mr. V. K. Subramaniam Proctor, for Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 16th day of May 1938 having been read: It is ordered that the abovenamed 3rd Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-Litem over the said minors and it is ordered that the Petitioner as the husband of the deceased is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said deceased issued to him accordingly unless the abovenamed Respondents or any other person shall on or before the 20th day of June 1938 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 10th day of June 1938.  
Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.  
Extended for 21st August 1939.  
O. 37. 17 & 21-8-39.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## WHITHER, MR. PONNAMBALAM?

III

Sir,—Once the glory, now the grief (?): The past of the Jaffna Tamils in the history of Ceylon has not been an unworthy record of which they need be ashamed; the present—there is nothing the wrong with it, nothing which the Tamils have not in common with the other races in Ceylon and beyond it, nothing which is not a problem to the rest of the world as well, except that Mr. Ponnambalam and his camp are causing grief and grill where they ought to promote good will and gaiety; the future, the philosophers say is the creature of the past and the present; and the future of the Tamils of Jaffna will be fruitful or fruitless according as they infuse the spirit of their past into the present, shedding that much of it which does not fit into the scheme of things, in the manipulation and working of which the several races in Ceylon bring their *pro rata* share of contribution and co-operation. Mr. Ponnambalam and those who mash themselves on him do not produce any analysable evidence for their consternation that the glory of the Tamils yields place gradually to grief. They feel for the Tamils, but they do not think and reason. They preach the *status quo* in the division of political power and preferment, but they do not in their panic perceive that the old set of conditions has gone by and a new set rules the roost.

The historical accident that gave the Jaffna man a start over the Sinhalese in the race has been more than offset by the larger opportunities of training and equipment that have come their way. The Sinhalese parts of Ceylon being more resourceful, bigger centres of animation and activity are there and consequently the Sinhalese have developed not only understanding and imagination but a comprehensively sensitive race-consciousness which is occasionally retrospective, in that they think of the times when they ruled their own Kingdoms and when later they had to give pride of place to the Tamils owing to their lag in modern education. They have now made up the leeway and are able to think and lead and shape affairs without others' aid. And what is more, the thought rankles in their breast that the minorities, notably the Jaffna Tamils, are unhappy at their coming into their own. In the face of the grim, live facts, Mr. Ponnambalam and company are asking for a return of the *status quo*, of the old conditions which are irretrievably gone. Mr. B. C. Proctor who, I have sometimes thought, is an intelligent student of history and current events, has failed to seize the significance of the changed conditions and makes the meaningless

comment that my articles make pathetic reading. If it is any comfort for Mr. Proctor and Mr. Ponnambalam whom he encourages in his none too wise call to the Tamils to "cock their blunderbusses and be in the offensive," to ignore the facts of the situation and to ignore principles of constitutional government for which the Tamils led the agitation, and to cry, regardless of what others think, for the return of an impossible situation, none will grudge them that unctious. It is sheer fancy for Mr. Proctor to think that the Sinhalese villager will not be able to see the sun rise and set without the Tamils' philanthropy. He may as well argue that the modern Greeks, the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese may with reason call upon the British, the French and the Americans for a redistribution of the earth's surface, for the former were the successive and successful pioneers in carrying fire and sword (or as others might say light and knowledge) to those parts of the world which are now out of their hands.

Really, Messrs Proctor and Ponnambalam, such like arguments are heard nowhere beyond the nursery campus; they will not gain any whit of plausibility even if they are given a parrot-like repetition by them. Another common-sense of Mr. Ponnambalam is candid to admit that in the confusion he creates Mr. Ponnambalam himself does not know whither he bids forth. The admirer and the admired are indeed well matched. At the last fan-fare he held, Mr. Ponnambalam and those who shine in the iridium light he sheds, made their dispensation available to a group of undiscerning villagers. School boys who cannot distinguish the hero from the red herring were available to propose and second resolutions declaring war on a logical state of affairs. The graceful thing for the Tamils to do is to conform to the new order. The least proof of such conformation will make the Sinhalese generous; any want of consideration they have shown so far was retaliatory. The Tamils would be ill advised to quarrel with a scheme of decentralisation. They should be content with the reserve powers vested in the Governor. They might get a few more seats if they waited for them. That will make no difference. They will yet be in a minority. Mr. Ponnambalam knows it. Yet he is unreasonable in his attitude. We do not know why. We may know why if we know why he exhibited unholy haste in getting at an Acting Ministership when he was an uncompromising critic of the principle on which the Board of Ministers was composed. Suppose he was offered a permanent Ministership, would he abandon his campaign of setting the two communities against each other? Mr. Ponnambalam's supporters ought to ask him these questions. Pleading for reason and peaceful methods is neither weak nor pathetic. It is bidding for self-destruction to violently ask for the return of old conditions. The commonsense of the Jaffna man should not take leave of him at this crucial stage. Messrs. Ponnambalam, Proctor & Co. will do well to review their posi-

tion in the light of principle, not of an accident in the past. Let not the Jaffna Tamils be let down by incompetent leadership.

Yours etc.  
S. A. NATHAN

## One Thing and Another

Sir,—Unfortunately, poor "Panangkoddai" sings a hackneyed tune, one that had honoured the mouth and pen of many a kind soul. Government Service is not within easy reach of everyone. Entry to it is by competition. It is customary for those, who did not have the good luck, ability rather, to enter it, to bark at it, with all their might. Many had done it: a good many are yet to do it.

"Panangkoddai" makes certain generalisations, after which he undertakes the Herculean task of devising methods to give the "Heaven-borns" (they are as much earth-born as Panangkoddai is) their just due and no more. He finds that in Govt. Offices work is slack, and also that many of the Govt. servants are good-for-nothing fellows, who "would be fired in a fortnight in a commercial office." In a mighty interrogation, he concludes that "work in Govt. Departments can be done at not higher than sixty per cent. of the present expenditure." The solution is "cut the salaries all round". How prophetic! Oh! what a Daniel!!

Is it by Enumerative Induction or by Scientific Induction that "Panangkoddai" has arrived at the two generalisations, in Govt. Offices work is slack and, excepting a few select persons, the other Govt. servants are good-for-nothing fellows? It could not be the former process, since he could not have had access to each and every Govt. Dept., nor could he have attempted to examine every Govt. servant. If it is not the former, then it should be the latter process. What is the basis on which "Panangkoddai" generalises? Is there anything peculiar to Govt. servants, a Differentia, which makes him pass such adverse comments on them? Does "Panangkoddai" know that there are Departments where work is so heavy that officers are necessitated to stay back after office-hours and work without remuneration for the extra hours? The simple fact remains that Govt. Departments have enough work throughout the year and Govt. service claims a very efficient working staff. It is a "fanciful idea", a noon-day dream of Panangkoddai that Govt. servants "develop fanciful ideas of high life, ape the foreigner.....Ceylon." An impartial scrutiny would reveal facts to the contrary.

It is good, brains of "Panangkoddai" type come to the rescue of the Govt. with sane proposals at critical junctures. But, it is not so good, it is pitiable definitely, if they give vent to their envy in such illogical fashion.

Columbo, Yours sincerely,  
12-8-39, "PILAKODDAI"

## DEATH OF MR. T. P. MASILAMANY

## End of a Career of National Usefulness

The death occurred in Travancore on Friday the 11th inst. of Mr. T. P. Masilamany. The cremation took place on Sunday the 13th at Trivandrum. Mrs. Masilamani and their only son, Mr. M. Bhaskaran, have gone to Travancore for the funeral. He leaves behind the widow and three children, Mrs. Maheswary Navaratnam, wife of Mr. K. Navaratnam, Mr. M. Bhaskaran and Miss Bhuvaneshwari.

Mr. T. P. Masilamani was a well known journalist and publicist. His death occurred in Travancore where he has been staying almost continuously to look after the large family interests there. Born of Jaffna Tamil parents in Travancore, he was brought up there and had his education in that progressive Indian State. During the early years of his career he held positions of trust and responsibility in that State.

Later he came over to Jaffna with his family and settled down here to play his part in national affairs. For a long time he was a member of the Jaffna Association and was instrumental in making the association adopt vigorous measures. This was during the time when Mr. J. M. Hensman and the late Mr. Nevins Selvadurai were leading the Association. The late Mr. Masilamani however devoted the greater part of his time to journalism. That bright weekly, "The People's Magazine" which he edited from Colombo for a number of years was a great instrument of public good. "The Deshapiamani," the Tamil weekly, he was conducting for a number of years was the first of its kind in Tamil journalism. Through that journal, he led the way in several directions. He was the first to make use of modern journalistic methods in Tamil and the later journals in Tamil owe a debt of gratitude to him.

Mr. Masilamani was a competent student of the problems of Industry and his articles in his weekly and in the daily newspapers on the Industrial regeneration of Ceylon were almost the first public statements to draw attention to the problem and suggest methods of work. When nobody spoke of this subject and knew not of planned economy he had very clear views and expounded them with great ability. He published a book entitled, "A plea for Industrial regeneration". He was indeed a pioneer in many other ways. He published a text book in Tamil on Chemistry and a book on "Domestic Economy" in Tamil, a second edition of which is in the press. He was planning a book of Tamil equivalents of modern scientific terms. He took a great deal of interest in the revival of the study of music in Jaffna and it could be stated without fear of contradiction that the present wide spread interest in music is directly traceable to his work.

Belonging to a family distinguished for intellectual achievement, the late Mr. Masilamani brought credit to the family and has left behind a record of distinguished and unselfish service. Mr. Masilamani's father, the late Mr. T. Ponnampalampillai, was the head of the Excise Department and again of the Police Department in Travancore and his uncle, the late Mr. T. Chellappapillai, B.A., B.L., the first editor of the "Hindu Organ" was the Chief Justice of that State.

The death of Mr. Masilamani removes from the public life of this country a man of singular devotion and steadfastness and great ability.

(Cor)



## DEMOCRACY VERSUS TOTALITARIAN FORM OF GOVT

(Continued from page 1)

ing of direct Democracy, but Democracy of the Parliamentary type." The study of Democracy as a political institution was very often clouded by a consideration of various other extraneous factors. For example, it was taken for granted that the establishment of economic equality or social justice was an essential feature of Democracy in the modern world. It might be that, in all countries where there was economic equality or social justice, these results might have been achieved by a democratic form of Government. But, if one came to think of it seriously, he would realise that these were not of the essence of Democracy. They had only to take the example of Soviet Russia.

"What Democracy is concerned with primarily", Sir Shanmukham, continuing, said, "is not merely the ends of Government, but the means adopted to achieve those ends. What distinguishes Democracy from other forms of Government is that, while the means adopted by Government deserve equal emphasis in democratic institutions, in the Totalitarian States, all emphasis is laid on the ends achieved. Democracy, therefore, is very seriously concerned with the means adopted in the machinery of Government and you might, therefore, state as a postulate in the study of Democracy that the starting point for Democracy is the method adopted by Government."

### "Consent of the People"

If this concept of Democracy was clear, then they had next to turn to the problem what exactly the correct method in Democracy was. It recognised a participation of the people of the State in the Government of that State. The problem stated in that form might appear to be simple, but, on closer examination, would reveal the difficulties inherent in that problem. How was the participation of the people in the machinery of Government to be brought about? It was assumed that, in the democratic form of Government, there must be the consent of the people. How could that consent be secured? What exactly did this consent imply? The giving of consent implied that the ordinary citizen had the capacity to judge and take the initiative. Rule by consent of the people also seemed to be illusory in Democracy. It might be assumed that this taking of the consent of the people did not necessarily imply getting their previous consent, but making the people consent to the measures of Government. If this was to be the state, even Totalitarian States must be taken to be Democratic States. The Dictators were very careful to proclaim to the world that they had got the consent of the people behind them, than even the leaders in democratic countries. Therefore, getting the consent of the people in some form or other to a few measures, would not necessarily make the State democratic. "The only conclusion to

be drawn from a study of the working of Democracy in the various countries, is that this participation of the people in the Government is really brought about, neither by obtaining their consent beforehand nor by their ratification of its measures, but by allowing free scope in their discussions."

### Freedom of Discussion

The essence of Democracy, therefore, Sir Shanmukham said, was the freedom of discussion. In fact, it would be a very safe test to apply to any democratic institution in the world. "This process of discussion, this freedom of discussion, this conflict of varying opinions which this discussion brings about, ultimately results in a common measure of agreement, which in practice is found to get the support of the majority of the people in the State. Free and unfettered discussion is, therefore, of the very essence of Democracy."

If such a free and unfettered discussion was to be of any practical value, it necessarily followed that in a State which had Parliamentary Democracy, there must be an effective opposition to the Government. "In fact, one great difference between the Democratic and Totalitarian forms of Government is that, while in democracy, the growth of parties is encouraged, in Totalitarian State, the aim is to have only one party on a mass scale." The existence of political parties, with clear and well-defined conception of what was good for the country, would, therefore, seem to be an essential pre-requisite for the working of Democracy.

Speaking about the need for an effective opposition in a State, Sir Shanmukham said: "Here we have got a lesson to learn in India. It is very often said that in India we must sink our differences, that all of us must unite and be members of one political party. And if we do not join that party, we will be called traitors. If Democracy is to thrive in India with any chance of success, not only should we not do anything which would curb the growth of parties, but we must do everything in order to encourage the growth of political parties in the country."

### Political Party System

It might be asked whether, in the light of modern Democracy, it was necessary to have parties for the successful working of a democratic form of Government. As a result of the experience of the study of British political institutions, it used to be taken almost for granted that, for working a parliamentary form of government, it was absolutely essential to have clear and well-defined political parties in existence. The trend of events in the post-war period had really cast a doubt whether, after all, the existence of clear and well-defined political parties was necessary for the working of Democracy. In England, they had the National Government, which, in theory, at any rate, was supposed to be representative of three great political parties. Whether the existence of political parties in normal times was necessary or not, in times of great crisis, at any rate, all parties had to submerge their individual-

ity and act together on behalf of the Nation as one political force.

"In these days," Sir Shanmukham said, "it has become rather difficult to decide what exactly are normal times and what are times of crisis. The world seems to have entered a stage when crisis has become chronic to human life. I have begun to realise whether after all human civilisation in Europe has not gone back to those primitive days when human being was afraid of his neighbour. Europe to-day has gone back to that primitive stage when man was afraid of man. It is very difficult in the present state of affairs in the world to state whether the world will ever go back to what may be called normality in its life. Fortunately, in India, they had not yet gone to that stage. It was possible that they might also be forced by circumstances to come to that state. But, at present, they were having normality in their political and social life. It was, therefore, an interesting problem for study to see whether the existence of political parties was really essential for the successful working of Democracy in India."

### Communal Problem

"One of the greatest obstacles for the growth of political parties in this country," Sir Shanmukham, proceeding, said "is the existence of sharp differences among the various communities. In fact, people who agree on the fundamentals of Government, on Government programme and the rest of it, find it difficult to cast their lot in one political party, because of the fear that the community that one represents, the interests of the community that one represents, would be jeopardised by joining any one political party. The existence of communal differences, therefore, is a factor which has to be seriously noticed by every true Indian patriot. Judged by western standards of political philosophy it may be argued that these communal claims are the very antithesis of Democracy. But, to state a political axiom like that is not to find the solution for the problem."

"During the last 18 years of my public life," Sir Shanmukham said, "I have given serious thought to the study of the communal question as an integral problem of our political evolution and I have come to the conclusion that it is only when you get the courage to face the inevitability of this problem in the existing social order in India, that you can make any political advance in India. The communal problem in India is not merely a religious problem. It is stated that it is the conflict between the Hindu and Muslim that is at the root of the problem. But, the communal problem exists even in communities which are bound together by the same religion. It is, therefore, no use saying that the communal problem has no place in our political life, because it is purely a religious problem. The communal problem in India is not merely a religious problem. I have not the slightest doubt that music before the mosque or the killing of the cow might be excuses, but at bottom the communal problem in India is a problem for sharing political power. We need not, therefore, bemoan the existence of the communal problem. If this problem is solved and the communities which have apprehensions are satisfied, then you will have laid the foundation for healthy

Political institutions in the country. If political parties are really to emerge and play their part in the evolution of our political institutions of the democratic type, then it becomes essential that we must be solve the communal problem in such a way that all those communities which have serious apprehensions about their political fate in a New India would be set at rest."

Proceeding, Sir Shanmukham asked how exactly these parties were to be governed. There must be agreement amongst the political parties on certain fundamental issues, whatever might be their differences on essential details. There must be agreement at least on two points, v.z., sanctity of private property, and faith in Democracy as a political institution.

### Incorruptible Civil Service

Sir Shanmukham next observed that the existence of a well organised, efficient and incorruptible civil service was very essential for the working of Democracy. "After all, in a democratic form of Government, those who are at the top are laymen who hold their offices on the whims of the electorate. Unless you have efficient civil servants, you cannot have effective democracy functioning. The existence of an efficient and independent Judiciary was next emphasised by Sir Shanmukham."

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### Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF  
JAFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 582.

In the matter of the estate of the late Gunapakiam Alias Paruppillai widow of the late Eliatamby Sangarapillai of Kanderodai

Deceased.

Eliatamby Ripley Navaratnam of Alaveddy

Petitioner.

Vs.

1. Muthupillai wife of Aiyadurai Kandiash of Kanderodai

2. Marugesu Vythilingam and wife

3. Meenadchiamma of Linga Vasa Raymond Road, Nugegoda

Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 26th day of July 1939 in the presence of Mr. V. Somasunderam, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit and Petition of the Petitioner dated 26.7.1939 having been read:

It is ordered that the order dated 22.7.39 granting letters of administration to the original petitioner Muthupillai wife of Aiyadurai Kandiash of Kanderodai be revoked and cancelled and letters of administration with the will annexed to the estate of the late Gunapakiam alias Paruppillai widow of the late Eliatamby Sangarapillai of Kanderodai be granted to the present petitioner Eliatamby Ripley Navaratnam of Alaveddy the sole heir of the deceased unless the Respondents above-named or any other person or persons shall appear before this Court on the 15th day of September 1939 and shew cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 26th day of July 1939.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.

(O 36. 10 & 17-8-39)



**Order Nisi**

IN THE DISTRICT COURT  
OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 753

In the matter of the estate of the late  
Umayavally wife of Ragunather  
MutuCoomaswamy of Kai-  
thady-Navatkuly Deceased.  
Ponnudurai Selvadurai of Vannar-  
ponnai East Petitioner.

Vs.

1. MutuCoomaswamy Chellappa-  
pillai of Vannarponnai East
2. Ragunather MutuCoomaswamy  
of do presently of 34, Green  
Lane Green Street, Colombo
3. Maiekam widow of Ramalingam  
Velupillai of Kaithady-Navat-  
kuly Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal  
before C. Coomaswamy Esquire,  
District Judge, on the 22nd day of  
June 1939 in the presence of Mr. R.  
Sivagurunather Proctor for the peti-  
tioner, and an affidavit of the peti-  
tioner dated the 22nd day of June  
1939 having been read:

It is ordered that the abovenamed  
3rd Respondent be appointed Guar-

**CHANGE OF NAME**

I, Murukasu Nadarasa Rasa-  
rathenam do hereby inform the  
Ceylon Government and the  
Public that I shall henceforth  
write my name as Nadaraja  
Rajaratnam, and sign as N.  
Rajaratnam. I have hitherto  
been signing my name as  
M. N. Rajaratnam.

N. RAJARATNAM  
69/4 Dam Street,  
Colombo

(Mis 116. 10 & 17-8-39)

dian-ad-litem over the minor the 1st  
Respondent, and that the petitioner  
as a cousin of the deceased, is hereby  
declared entitled to have Letters of  
administration to the estate of the  
abovenamed deceased, issued to him  
accordingly, unless the Respondents  
abovenamed or any other person  
shall on or before the 18th day of  
August 1939 at 10 a.m. show suffi-  
cient cause to the satisfaction of the  
Court to the contrary.

This 22nd day of June 1939.

Sgd. C. Coomaswamy,  
District Judge.

(O 34 10 & 17-8-39)

No 315

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[Y. 160. 29-9-38 to 28-9-39.]

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(Mis. 82. 10-7-39 to 9-9-39.) (T)

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