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INDIA'S ATTITUDE TO THE PRESENT WAR

Congress Stands for Ending Nazism And Imperialism

BRITISH GOVERNMENT ASKED TO END IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

THE Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has issued the following statement:—

The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of War in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of a war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments. This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

Attitude to Fascism

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged

and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognised standards of civilised behaviour. It was seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principle of Imperialism, against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must therefore unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it.

Peace or War to be Decided by Indian People

The Congress has, further, laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for Imperialist ends. Any imposed decision or attempt to use Indian resources for purposes not approved by them will necessarily have to be opposed by them. If co-operation is desired in a worthy cause this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out, by the Indian people, of orders issued by an external authority. Co-operation must be between equals, by mutual consent, for a cause which both consider to be worthy. The people of India, have, in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic State in India and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom, but India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her

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MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Foreign Policy

By S. R. Muttukumar

CHAPTER I.

THE military administration in ancient India was highly organized. Every king strove after honourable peace, but was ever prepared for decisive battle. If the Hindu society at any time had been organized on any basis, it certainly was on the basis of peace and the happiness of the bulk of the people. Tiruvalluvar, therefore, says: "Form a wise plan, consolidate thy resources, and provide for thy defence. If you do this, the pride of your enemies will soon be humbled to the dust. They shall not last long who humble not the pride of men who defy them"⁽¹⁾

Preparedness for War

Poet Kurunkoliyur (கூருங்குலியூர்) praising King Cheraman Cheralirumporai (சேரமான் சேரலிரும்பரை) sings thus: "Thou who art the guardian of thy wide encampment! Whilst thy young elephants, with angry eyes and full of vigour, stand tied to their posts, warriors girt with swords are sleeping beneath the shade of thy canopy garlanded with white flowers and shedding beams like the moon. Here, while the noise of the pestle that husks the grain ceaselessly sounds, men of war like aspect with gold armlets and rich in *Tumpai* flowers, sing their eager war songs, which resounds like the din of the waves of the sea.....Thou delayest not, leading forth thy host to occupy the alien lands, while causing food to abound; for nothing dost thou neglect. Hail to thee and thy boundless wealth, O great king!"⁽²⁾

Mana also says: "Let his troops be constantly exercised, his powers constantly displayed; what he ought to secure constantly secured, and the watchfulness of his foe constantly investigated. By a king, whose forces are always ready for ac-

tion, the whole world may be kept in awe"⁽³⁾

Perpetual 'preparedness' was thus the first postulate in Hindu political theory. The rationale of this preparedness is very simple indeed. It is as elemental as human blood itself. Sukra, therefore, says that "all rulers are unfriendly", nay, 'they are secret enemies to those who are rising, vigorous, virtuous and powerful'⁽⁴⁾ Are not the rulers all covetous of territory? Such being the data of international psychology, a ruler should bring to subjection all those elements that are obstacles to the career of triumph.

Another *raison d'etre* is the possession and enjoyment of *svarajya*, self-rule or national independence. The Hindu thinkers not only analysed sovereignty with regard to the constitutional elements in a state, but they realized also that sovereignty is not complete unless it is external as well as internal, that is, unless the state can exercise its internal authority unobstructed by, or independent of, other states. This doctrine of independence implied in the conception of external sovereignty was obviously the foundation of the theory of the state in relation with other states from at least the fourth century B. C. Kautiliya says: "The country is not treated as one's own land, it is impoverished, its wealth carried off, or it is treated as a commercial article"⁽⁵⁾ This certainly reminds us of John Stuart Mills' metaphor of the "cattle farm" applied to the "government of one people by another", and what is more, of the present condition of the subject races. Sukra also says: "Great misery comes of dependence on others. There is

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(1) *Kural*, 870.

(2) *Purananuru*, 22

(3) *Dharma Shastra*, vii 102-3.

(4) *Sukra-niti* iv. i. 15-17.

(5) *Arthashastra*, Bk. VIII Chap. ii.



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1939

THE RUSSIAN COUP

EVENTS ARE FAST MOVING IN Europe. After barely three weeks of whirlwind campaign Poland is nearly conquered and Germany is withdrawing a large part of her forces to the Western Front. In flagrant violation of her Non-Aggression Pact with Poland Russia has treacherously invaded Poland under a pretence of protecting her Russian population there. In 1932 Soviet Russia entered into a Non-Aggression Pact with Poland when both the contracting parties solemnly agreed to respect each other's frontiers and not to make any aggression. The Pact was to be in force till 1945. There is reason to believe that Russia has had designs both on Poland and Rumania and has taken this hour of crisis in Polish history to pounce upon that unhappy country and take a large slice. The cup of Polish bitterness is full, but retribution will fall on the aggressors in the long run, when the irresistible French battle line, may be after some slight reverses in the first few months of the war, will sweep on over the Siegfried Line and bring Germany to her knees ultimately, by the time Britain has mustered all her strength and will be in a position to throw in her full weight. Then Poland, after so much trial and tribulation, will rise in all her glory to her proud position in the comity of nations and will not count her sacrifices vain or even too great. There are talks of a partition of Poland between Soviet Russia and Germany. It may be that when the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was negotiated, the details of the campaign and the scheme of partition had been worked out and that the Soviet has all along been concealing her intentions. The complete Polish debacle presented Soviet with an opportunity to annex a part of Poland and evade the charge of bad faith through the pretext of saving her own population. Or it may be, as is believed in some well-informed quarters, that Russia is seriously alarmed at the growing power of Nazi-Germany and is anxious that the whole of Poland ought not to fall into the hands of Germany and

desires that Poland should serve as a buffer state between her and Germany.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the Russian invasion may be, we may safely assume that the Soviet has no mind to embark on a career of conquest and aggression against the Democracies but will maintain her neutrality when her ambitions in Poland are satisfied. If that turns out to be the real case, then the balance of parties on the European theatre remains unaffected. We have strong grounds for this presumption. Besides the difficulty of Russia offering effective military assistance to Germany because of the great distance, there are internal troubles in Russia itself and disaffection on a large scale. The people have not yet taken kindly to communism and at least some sections of the population are yet pining for the right of private property and individual enterprise. So that the Soviet is conscious of her own incapacity to present a united front. Of course the assistance in raw materials and food will be of great help to Germany in neutralising to some extent the effect of the blockade. Russia may also sell some aeroplanes, which the liquidation of the Japanese trouble may enable her to do safely. Having settled her account with Poland, Germany will now concentrate all her energy and resources on the Western Front. While Britain and France are preparing for a protracted war, may be of three or more years' duration, it is significant that Germany counts on a lightning victory. For she knows that in a long war she has no chance. The better preparedness of the Democracies this time, both Britain and France being much better equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, will not give Germany a chance of a big push. Besides the Maginot line will be an impregnable defence which will take very long to break through. It is significant that in the last war all along Germany was outnumbered in men on the Western Front and, except in the first two years, in machinery also. Success will depend on the staying power of the belligerents. And in this, as all the world knows, the odds are very heavily weighted against Germany.

Germans Interned at Diyatalawa

Bandarawela, Monday.

The arrival of the German internees at Diyatalawa today, caused much interest in the locality and crowds lined the road from the Railway Station to the military camp. German internees, numbering 33 were escorted to the camp guarded by the detachment of the C. L. I. and the Police.

ACTIVE OPERATIONS AGAINST WARSAW

50,000 Polish Prisoners and War Material Captured

FRENCH ARTILLERY WITHIN RANGE OF SIEGFRIED LINE

Berlin, Tuesday.

ACTIVE operations have been resumed by the enemy against Warsaw which is being invested with a view to its reduction.

The German High Command, in a *communiqué* referring to the resumption of operations in the Warsaw district, declares: "The city is being defended by the Poles without any regard for the population of more than one million souls. The disintegration and the encirclement of the rest of the Polish army is rapidly going on."

"The battle near the Bzura river has come to an end. Up to now 50,000 prisoners and an enormous quantity of war material has been captured and it is, at present, impossible to estimate the final results."

Referring to the operations around Warsaw the German High Command states: "As no Polish officer bearing a flag of truce has appeared, the operations will be resumed."

Saarbrücken in French Hands

Paris, Tuesday.

In spite of desperate fighting on the part of the Germans to prevent the French from occupying the plateau between the Rivers Nied and Saar, the French are now in virtual possession of this area. Their guns are now able to dominate the industrial town of Saarlouis, south of Saarbrücken, and are within range of the main Siegfried Line fortifications.

General Gamelin is feeling his way carefully and is determined to avoid the "cannon fodder" drives, with terrible slaughter, of the last war. Thus far, only the French advance guards have been used.

The first real attempt of the Germans to save Saarbrücken, the capital of the Saar industrial area, which they hoped to do by means of a series of vigorous counter-attacks, has failed. Saarbrücken is now, to all intents and purposes, in French hands, and its loss, when announced, which is imminent, is bound to have a tremendous moral effect on Germany and the world.

Hitler's Tissue of Lies

The useful tissue of lies, interspersed with bluster and Braggadocio as regards the achievements of the German army, characterised the speech made by Herr Hitler at Danzig on Tuesday.

The whole course of recent events, says Reuter's Diplomatic Correspondent, was misrepresented and twisted by him to make it appear as though Germany was the victim and Poland the aggressor; to give the impression that the Germans were a humane people and the Poles were barbarians; and so saddle Great Britain with the responsibility of having egged Poland on to war.

There was a hint that when

Poland had been overrun, an effort would be made by him to 'arrange a situation in which a tolerable solution can be found by reasonable means for the future'. He also declared that both Russia and Germany had decided on the extinction of Poland in the form laid down for that country by the Treaty of Versailles.

After declaring that Germany was able to carry on the struggle for three years or more and accusing Britain of having already started war against German women and children through the blockade, Herr Hitler hinted at a new German war device, declaring: "The moment may yet come when we shall use a weapon not yet known and with which we cannot ourselves be attacked."

TRIBUTES TO PANDIT MALAVIYA

His Services to Hindu University

Benares, Sept. 18.

Tributes to the services of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were paid on the occasion of his relinquishing the Vice-Chancellorship of the Benares Hindu University, at a special meeting of the Court of the University yesterday evening when Sir S. Radhakrishnan was elected the new Vice-Chancellor.

The Viceroy as the University's Lord Rector sent a message recognising Pandit Malaviya's services and declaring his appointment as the Vice Patron of the University.

A New Advocate

Colombo, Tuesday.

In the Appeal Court yesterday afternoon Mr. M. P. Chitty Ratnam took his oaths as an Advocate of the Supreme Court, before Mr. Justice de Kretser and Mr. Justice Mihill.

Mr. Justice de Kretser, on behalf of the Bench, congratulated Mr. Ratnam and wished him success in the profession.

His Lordship added: "I notice from the annexed papers that you are a son of Dr. E. V. Ratnam, an honoured and well-known citizen, and I have no doubt that you will live up to the traditions of your family."

Mr. Ratnam bowed his thanks.

Mr. Ratnam while in England was President of the Ceylon Students' Union.

ANNUAL MEETING "Unconstitutional"

PROTEST AGAINST
JAFFNA ASSOCIATION
PROCEEDINGS

GRATITUDE FOR
TOBACCO SUBSIDY

ABOUT 150 members who were disqualified by the Chairman's ruling at the annual general meeting of the Jaffna Association on Saturday, met at the Jaffna Esplanade, and protested against the unconstitutional nature of the general meeting. Mr. P. Ragupathy presided.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the protest meeting:—

The meeting convened this evening on a notice signed by Mr. Appadurai as Organising Secretary of the Jaffna Association, an office unknown to the rules of the Association, being unconstitutional, this meeting of a clear majority of members of the Jaffna Association resolves that Mr. S. Kanagasabai, who took steps to have the meeting so convened, and the Executive Committee, which allowed it to be done, have both acted unconstitutionally.

"This meeting resolves that Mr. Kanagasabai had acted unconstitutionally even as Chairman of the improperly constituted meeting this evening in trying to alter the rules of the Jaffna Association by his rulings from the chair.

"This meeting also resolves that a sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Ragupathy, Sunderampillai and Kandapasegram be appointed to request the Joint Secretaries of the Jaffna Association, Messrs. C. Ponnambalam and Sain Sabapathy, to convene, as early as possible, a properly constituted annual general meeting with a named Vice-President as Chairman.

"This meeting consisting of a clear majority of members of the Jaffna Association requests the Joint Secretaries of the Association to convey the gratitude of the people of Jaffna to the Board of Ministers for their providing a sum of a lakh of rupees for the relief of the tobacco growers of Jaffna despite the attempts of some Northern representatives in State Council to benefit middlemen and traders at the expense of the tobacco growers."

NOTICE

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
JAFFNA

Insolvency Jurisdiction No. 119.

In the matter of the Insolvency of Abdul Latif Bahiman of Grand Bazaar, Jaffna Insolvent.
TO THE CREDITORS OF THE
ABOVE ESTATE

You are hereby required to take notice that certain S. Moorthy (Decree holder in Case No. 1255/A.C.R. Jaffna) against this estate, has applied to this court to draw his claim out of the balance amount in deposit in this case unless the creditors or any other person interested in the estate shall appear at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on the 22nd day of September, 1939 and shew cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Jaffna, this 16th day of September, 1939.

By order of Court.

Sgd. J. N. Culanthaiyvelu,
Secretary.

(Mis. 147. 21-9-39)

Side Lights and Light Sides

(By Squint Eye)

The advent of a war always tends to improve people's acquaintance with history and geography. Today's history is vastly different from that of the day before, and as for geography the world map is every day being drawn and re-drawn. Schoolboys have good reason to ask that schools be closed in critical times, at least the history and geography periods.

Some old terms of the last war are coming back into use. Mention in the news of U-boats, and the Gott-straft took us who remember the last encounter between Germany and the civilised world, to those frightful days. These terms had almost gone out of use.

In the last war it used to be said the two sides were "the Allies" and the All-lies.

In the present one also the nomenclature seems to suit.

Japan says that Hitler has miscalculated in his embarking on this war business.

So did China say when Japan tried to over-run that country.

Chinaman no wantee warree aller
lifee long,

Nipponee come lettee gassie and
the bally bomb.

Chin-chin Chinaman, now velly glad,
Nippon man now going home
pletty muchee sad.

In deciding a case in Mysore in which the point at issue was whether a competition involved skill or was a matter of chance, the Chief Justice remarked that one could not suggest any game of skill in which there was no element of chance, and even in a University examination chance as affecting the result could not be entirely ruled out.

The gilt edge of University degrees is thus wiped off.

Copenhagen, Sept. 7.

German Jews have been ordered to report immediately for civil air defence service, according to the Berlin correspondent of *Berlingske-Lidende*. (Reuter.)

Is it Jew-baiting?

In the Srirangam temple recently a crowd of brahmin women tried to prevent the Minister for Temple administration, himself a brahmin, from going into the temple, because they apprehended that he was going to take untouchables with him into the shrine. In the melee that resulted the police had to intervene, but were forced to beat a retreat when the women threw handfuls of fine chilli powder in their eyes.

Here is the woman's weapon come into use in another form. She relies on tears in all dealings with the sterner sex, and what better to induce tears than chilli powder in the men's eyes? There is no confirmation of the report that a squad of these women are being formed for Indian defence under the new scheme.

Conflicting reports have been coming from the Polish front about the possession of Warsaw.

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India's Attitude to the Present War

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Europe, Africa and Asia, and more particularly the past and present occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being or are going to be, acted upon. The true measure of democracy is the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way, but the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.

'War Aims' to be Clarified

In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds, the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage, so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at and the position of India in the present and in the future. But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves. The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their "War Aims" are in regard to democracy and Imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of Imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people?

A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action to-day and give shape to the future.

War and its Root Causes

War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate but war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during the past year in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities. Cold-blooded massacres, torture and the almost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows and violence, and the threat of violence, overshadow the world, and, unless checked and ended, will destroy the precious

Farewell to Inspector of Schools

In response to invitations issued by the Mallakam Maha Sabai, a large gathering was present at the Mallakam Hindu English School Hall on the 3rd instant at 5 p.m. After light refreshments were served and a discourse of music by some of the best sets of oriental musicians in Jaffna, proceedings commenced with Mr. M. S. Subramaniam, Proctor in the chair and with the singing of Thevaram. After farewell songs composed by Guru Manicka Thiagarajah and his son Coomaraswamy were sung by them respectively, speeches were made by the Chairman and Mr. M. Sabaratnasinghe, Proctor Nagendra, and teachers Vettivelu, Ratnam and Bharathi, eulogising the qualities of the guest of the evening Mr. Saravnamuttu, to which he suitably replied. Mr. S. Nadarajah Proctor, Secretary of the Maha Sabai, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair and to those assembled and the proceedings of the meeting terminated with the singing of Thevaram. Mr. Saravnamuttu was taken to his residence in a procession to the accompaniment of music and fire-works. (Con.)

Personal

Mr. M. R. Karalasingham, Proctor, S. C., is practising in the Jaffna Courts. He has his offices at "Kasturiar Valava", Vannarponnai East, and at Suthumalai. Mr. Karalasingham is a son-in-law of the late Mr. C. Mutthucumaru, Ayurvedic Physician of Vannarponnai.

Mr. V. S. Nadarajah, Proctor S.C., who took his oaths recently is practising in the Jaffna Courts. Mr. Nadarajah is the son-in-law of Mr. S.T. M.P. Sithambaranatha Chettiar of Vannarponnai.

inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China, but it will not end till its root causes of Fascism and Imperialism are removed. To that end the Working Committee are prepared to give their co-operation but it will be an infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of Imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with German people or the Japanese people or any other people but they have a deep-rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperialist oppression.

Appeal to India

The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and in this grave hour of peril to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation, calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.

INDIA'S ATTITUDE TO THE PRESENT WAR

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and such limited freedom as she possesses is taken away from her.

Secret Treaties

The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression, but the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals proclaimed and the real motives and objectives during the war of 1914-18. The declared 'War Aims' were the preservation of democracy, self-determination and freedom of small nations and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carving out of the Ottoman Empire.

Killing of the League.

While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European war itself signifies the abject failure of the Treaty of Versailles and of its makers who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of that treaty, the League of Nations, was smuzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

Subsequently history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly fervent declaration of faith may be followed by an ignoble desertion. In Manchuria the British Government connived at aggression; in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it; in Czechoslovakia and Spain democracy was in peril and it was deliberately betrayed and the whole system of collective security was sabotaged by the very Powers who had previously declared their firm faith in it.

Again, it is asserted that democracy is in danger and must be defended and with this statement the Committee are in entire agreement. The Committee believe that the peoples of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices, but again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them.

India and Democracy

If the War is to defend the *status-quo* of imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy, and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or

elsewhere and Imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end Imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a constituent assembly without external interference and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation. We will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

Nature of Present Crisis

The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises or wars, leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to re-fashion the world for good or bad, politically, socially and economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last Great War and it will not be finally resolved till those conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all. India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern Imperialism and no re-fashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation.

But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end. Freedom to-day is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster.

Democratic Principles and Indian Princes

The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they make their professions in favour of democracy abroad, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States, in which to-day undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the rulers themselves as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe.

As they (the Working Committee) view the past events in

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Military Administration in Ancient India

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no greater happiness than that from self-rule" (6)

Alliances

A great many rules have been laid down about the policy of kings, some of which are quite interesting. First of all, the king was to consider his immediate neighbour his foe, and the next king beyond to be his friend, a rule which finds apt illustration in the Continent of Europe at the present day in the policies of France, Germany and Russia.

This is known among the Hindus as the doctrine of *mandala*, and is exhaustively treated by Kautiliya in his *Arthashastra* (7). Sukra also says that "the enemies diminish in importance according as they are remote from the 'centre of the sphere'. First to be dreaded by the *vijigishu* (aspirant to conquest) are those who are situated around or very near his own state, then those who live farther away, and so on. Whether a state is to be treated as inimical, indifferent, or friendly depends *per se* on its propinquity or distance" (8).

Manu says: "Let the King consider as hostile to him the power immediately beyond him and the followers of that power; as amicable the power next beyond his natural foe; and as neutral the powers beyond that circle. All those powers let him render subservient to his interest by mild measures and the other three expedients, viz: gifts, dissension and force, either separately or united, but principally by valour and policy in arms and negotiation. Let him constantly deliberate on the six measures of a military prince, namely, waging war, and making peace or alliance, marching to battle, and sitting encamped, distributing his forces, and seeking the protection of a more powerful monarch" (9).

According to the teachings of *Kural*, the power of the king, who has tact to convert enemies into allies, will last without end. If he has to contend alone and without allies against two enemies, he must try to gain over one of them to his side. The world abides in the greatness of that king whose nature is such as to turn hatred into friendship. (10)

Precautionary Measures

The king should act on all occasions without guile, never treacherously. Keeping himself on his guard, he should discover the fraud intended by his foe. He should not let his enemy know his weak point, but he should know the weak point of his enemy. Like a tortoise he should draw in his members under the shell of

concealment, and diligently repair any breach that may be made in it. Like a heron he should meditate on gaining advantages; like a lion put forth his strength; like a wolf snatch his prey; like a hare should double to secure his retreat. When he has thus prepared for conquest, he should subdue all his opponents by negotiation and the three other expedients already mentioned. If his enemies cannot be subdued by the first three methods, he should firmly but gradually bring them to subjection by military force. Among those-four methods of obtaining success, negotiation and force were preferred by wise men for the prosperity of a kingdom" (11).

Tiruvalluvar asserts the same when he says: "At the time when a king should use self-control, let him restrain himself like a heron, and like it, let him strike, when there is a favourable opportunity." (12)

Diplomacy

Indian statesmen have always shown a leaning towards the employment of diplomacy in preference to force. Tiruvalluvar says: "If a King meets his enemy, let him show him all respect, until the time for his destruction comes; where this is come, his head will be easily brought low." (13)

The dictum of Kautiliya that intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege and assault are the five means to capture a fort" is characteristic, and indicates the nature of the subsidiary means employed by him to create the Maurya empire. Kautiliya remarks "that the arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man, but skilful intrigue devised by wise men can kill even those who are in the womb". (14) This theory of politics is substantially identical with that of *The Prince* of Machiavelli who proves by many examples that the prince who "best personated the fox had the better success." (15)

Manu also says that "when the king knows with certainty that at some future time his force will be greatly augmented, and when at the time present, he sustains little injury, let him then have recourse to peaceful measures. But, when he sees all his subjects considerably firm in strength, and feels himself highly exalted in power, let him protect his dominions by war. When he perfectly knows his own troops to be cheerful and well supplied, and those of his enemy quite the reverse, let him eagerly march against his foe. But, when he finds himself weak in beasts of burden, and in troops, let him then sit quiet in camp, using great attention and pacifying his enemy by degrees. When a king sees his foes stronger in all respects than himself, let him detach a part of his army to keep the enemy amused and secure his own safety in an inaccessible place. But, when he is in all places assailable by the hostile troops, let him speedily seek the protec-

(Continued on page 5)

(11) *Dharma Shastra*, vii 102-109.

(12) *Kural*, 490.

(13) *Ibid*, 498.

(14) *Arthashastra*, Bk. x. chap. vi. p. 453.

(15) Quoted in Smiths' *Early History of India*, p. 84.

(6) *Sukra-niti*, ii 34.

(7) *Op. cit* Bk. VI. chap. ii.

(8) *Sukra-niti* IV. i. 39-41.

(9) *Dharma Shastra*, vii. 158-161.

(10) *Op. cit.* chap. 88.

Motor Vehicle Licences

New Regulations

New regulations regarding the licensing of motor vehicles for 1940 have been issued to the licensing authorities.

Licensing authorities have been instructed to see that applications are complete in all respects, and where necessary, should include such details as time and fare tables.

Applications coming through licensing authorities are expected in some way to reflect opinion on the problem of motor transport in the area.

A licence will not be issued for any vehicle, except a trailer, or a vehicle in use by the Crown or a local authority, unless a valid certificate of insurance or a certificate of security against third party risks is produced before the licensing authority.

Regarding private cars and motor cycles, the certificate of insurance should accompany the application for a licence, but in the case of buses, lorries and motor cabs, it would be sufficient if the certificate is produced before the licensing authority at the time the licence is issued.

Sir Duraiswamy Vidyasalai, Pungudutivu

On the 15th instant at 1.45 p.m. Mr. S. Rajaratnam accompanied by Mr. V. Pasupathipillai, Chairman V. C., Pungudutivu, went to Irupiy south, Pungudutivu and laid the Foundation for the New School "Sir Duraiswamy Vidyasalai." The villagers who were interested in the School were present in large numbers. The Religious ceremony was performed by Thamboo Asary. The Building is expected to be finished and the School will be opened on Vijayathasamy Day in October and conducted by the Hindu Board of Education.

Side Lights and Light Sides

(Continued from page 3)

Although Warsaw saw war and the Germans occupied the corridor they can not have LUCK in Poland. (Luck is a town in that country)

* * *
Worshippers in the principal London churches are reported to carry gas-masks.

Such is the faith of people in God!

* * *
Astrologers were thriving on predictions about the international situation, and just before the event that started the present war Naylor from London asked his readers not to worry as the tension in Europe would certainly ease and peace would prevail. Our own Eulathsinhala of Nugegoda definitely told us that war was not coming, and a Jaffna scribe in a Tamil paper also had his say, to the same effect.

I congratulate these great minds on their singular unanimity, which is rather extraordinary in a crowd of astrologers. But why on earth do they publish their tomfooleries?

THE JAFFNA ASSOCIATION

New Office-bearers

At the annual general meeting of the Jaffna Association held on Saturday, the election of office bearers resulted as follows:—

President: Mr. S. Kanagasabai

Vice Presidents: Messrs. A. V. Kulasingham, V. Veerasingham, R. Sivagurunather, A. Supramaniam, T. M. Sabaratnam and Chevalier P. Moses; Joint Secretaries: Messrs. C. Arulambalam, Advocate, and N. Chelvadurai, Proctor; Organising Secretary: Mr. S. Appadurai; Treasurer: Mr. V. Manickavasagar, Proctor; Auditors: Messrs. S. Canagasabapathy and P. Chinnadurai,

Executive Committee: Muhandiram S. Kandaiya, the Rev. James S. Mather, Dr. C. Sivasithanabaram, Messrs. C. K. Swaminathan, A. Cumaraswamy, J. T. Solomons, Alfred Swampillai, S. R. Kanaganayagam, T. N. Subbiah, V. S. Kaithigesu, J. C. Amerasingham, N. Krishnar, K. Muttucumar, V. K. Ganasunderam, T. Arumainayagam, C. Balasingham, A. Sambandhan, S. Patanjali, A. S. Vargascoriar, A. W. Nadarajah, C. K. Thambi, R. Sinnadurai, R. Subramaniam and K. Aiyadurai.

A sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. V. Sivasubramaniam, S. Soorasangan and N. Sivagnanasundaram, was appointed to revise the rules of the Association.

Auction Sale

No. 22284.

1. Joseph Joachim Joseph and wife
2. Mary Muttukuddy of Tellipalai P. S. Ayadurai of Van, East Plaintiffs.

(Substituted.)
Vs.

1. Ellen Margaret Chittampalam of Kankesanthurai (D. ad.)
2. Alfred Mathew Chittampalam of Colombo
3. Vetharanyam Sangarapillai Thuraiingham and wife
4. Christiana Devaratnam Chittampalam of do
5. Elizabeth Jeevaratnam Chittampalam of Kankesanthurai
6. Joseph Mathew Chittampalam of Colombo
7. Murugesar Ramupillai and wife
8. Panchenthram of Tellipalai East

(2, 4, 5, 6, 8 Defendants are substituted in place of the deceased.)

PROPERTY

(1) An undivided $\frac{2}{3}$ share of a piece of land situated at Thady in the parish of Malliddy Jaffna called Thaddy Oorikkadoo, Vellarayan Oorikkadoo, Mathan Oorikkadoo and Oorikkadoo containing in extent 59 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lms. V. C. with stone built bungalows, houses and huts, well, old and young palmyras, coconut palms, mango trees and bounded on the East by the property of the heirs of the late Thambiah S. Cooke, North by sea, on the West by the property of Sinnathamby Ponudurai, South by Road.

In terms of the Commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna in Case No. 22284, I shall sell the above properties by Public Auction on Saturday, 14th October, 1939 at about 3 p.m. at the respective spots.

N. KANDAH,
Commissioner.
Van, West

(Mis. 148, 21-9-39.)

Military Administration in Ancient India

(Continued from page 4)

tion of a just and powerful monarch" (16)

Finally, 'let him arrange all his affairs, that no ally, neutral prince, or enemy may obtain any advantage over him; this in few words, is the sum of political wisdom' (17)

In conclusion, it may be stated that, long afterwards, Akbar was content to secure by bribery the fortress of Asingari, which his arms were unable to reduce, and Aurangzeb gained possession of Maratha forts usually by the same ignoble means.

(16) *Dharma Shashtra*, vii. 169-174.
(17) *Ibid*, vii, 180.

(To be Continued.)
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Obituary

MR. S. ARUMUGAM

We regret to record the death of Mr. S. Arumugam which occurred on the 7th September at Manipay. At the time of his death he was 74 years old. He was the teamaker of Pitakande Group, Matule, for about 30 years.

The funeral took place on the following day and the remains were cremated at the Manipay Crematorium according to the rites. His only son Mr. A. Mahalingam set fire to the funeral pyre.

He leaves behind a son, a daughter, a widow and a host of relations to bemoan his loss. The funeral was well attended. (con.)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 417.
In the matter of the estate of the late Canapathippillai Thambiah of Urumpiri Deceased.
Sevaretnam widow of Canapathippillai Thambiah of Urumpiri Plaintiffs.
Vs. Petitioner.

1. Thambiah Paripoornam
2. Thambiah Ganesadasan
3. Thambiah Sivadasan
4. Thambiah Thanapooranam all of Urumpiri minors
5. Pasupathipillai Ambalawanar of Nugegoda Respondents.

This matter of the Petition of the abovenamed Petitioner praying that the abovenamed 5th Respondent be appointed guardian ad litem over the minors the abovenamed 1st to 4th Respondents and that Letters of Administration of the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the Petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy, Esquire District Judge Jaffna on the 20th day of October 1937 in the presence of Mr. V. K. Gnanasundram, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and on reading the affidavit and petition of the Petitioner.

It is ordered that the abovenamed 5th Respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the minors the abovenamed 1st to 4th Respondents and that Letters of Administration of the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the Petitioner as the widow of the abovenamed deceased unless the Respondents abovenamed appear before this Court on the 22nd day of December 1937 and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 1st day of December 1937.
Sd. S. Rodrigo,
District Judge.

23-8-39. Extended for 27-9-39.

Sd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.
(O. 44, 21 & 25-9-39.)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 761.

In the matter of the Intestate Estate of the late Anne Nallamma wife of Reginald Francis of Changanai Deceased.

1. Gnanapragasam Joseph and wife
2. Grace Annam both of Alaveddy Vs. Petitioners

1. Reginald Francis of Changanai
2. Lourdes Antoniette Joyce Selvamalar Selvanayagam of St. Cecilia 4th lane Wellawatto
3. Bede Cecil Alagarajah Selvanayagam widow of Nicholaspillai Selvanayagam of do Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the petitioners coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 14th day of July 1939 in the presence of Mr. S. Dayatambi Proctor, on the part of the petitioners and the affidavit and petition of the petitioners dated 12th and 14th day of July 1939 having been read.

It is ordered that the abovenamed 4th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the 2nd and 3rd Respondents minors and the petitioners as the brother-in-law and sister and an heir respectively of the said deceased be declared entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said deceased and that the same be issued to them accordingly unless the abovenamed Respondents or any other person shall on or before the 25th day of August 1939 appear before this court and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 18th day of July 1939.

(Sgd.) C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.

25-8-39

Order Nisi extended for 29-9-39.

(Sgd.) C. C. D. J.
(O. 45, 21 & 25-9-39.)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No 766.

In the matter of the last Will and Testament of the late Wijayalaxshimiammal wife of T. R. Nalliah of Jaffna Town. Deceased.

Thurai Retnam Nalliah of Jaffna Town.

- Vs. Petitioner.
1. R. R. S. Nalliah,
 2. W. R. S. Nalliah and
 - Minor 3. J. R. S. Nalliah all of do Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before S. Kanagasabai Esquire Acting District Judge, Jaffna on the 12th day of August 1939 in the presence of Mr. C. R. Tambiah, Proctor for the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner and of the Witnesses to the Last Will and Testament having been read:

It is ordered that Probate of the said Last Will and Testament be granted to the Petitioner as the Executor named therein and that the abovenamed 1st Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minor 3rd Respondent for the purpose of protecting his interests and of representing him in these Testamentary proceedings unless the Respondents appear before this Court on the 20th day of September 1939 and state objections to the contrary.

The 22nd day of August 1939.

Sd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.
(O. 43, 18 & 21-9-39.)

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