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## LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

### Leaders of Thought and Leaders of Masses

#### COMPLAINTS AGAINST DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

By J. M. Ganguli

Complaints are often made against democratic institutions because of their going under mob control, as it is said, to the exclusion of thoughtful non-party men. That democracy means popular control is well recognised, but where such control tends to lead is not comprehended. When control passes to the people, those who are popular and exert influence with them, must naturally come to power; and to enlarge and consolidate their power they would no doubt seek to have the weight and support of numbers behind them. Qualities of leadership will, therefore, obscure those which may be of a higher order but which do not appeal to the sense and imagination of the common people. And as the man in the street is not, and in fact cannot be, possessed of very keen perception and subtle discriminating power, thoughtful people who appeal more to the intellect than to impulse or emotion, do not impress him as do those who play on sentiments, if not also on his weaknesses. It is generally those who are intellectually not much higher than the masses but who are certainly much cleverer than they, who become their leaders. Those people possess the knack of organisation and the fighting spirit and stamina for securing and maintaining their leadership: whereas the thinking intellectuals have neither the mentality for roughing it out with rivals for supremacy, nor the desire to descend from their mental plane and to discard their principles and ideals for mass leadership. The deeper and more advanced such thinkers are, the more unfit psychologically they become for party organisation and party leadership. Retire within themselves as they generally do, they prefer, often even

not knowing it, to view things from the quietness of distance, from where they get a better and truer perspective, rather than to push and pull through crowds and multitudes. Their nature and their developing mentality tend more and more to make them, what are called, intellectual aristocrats, people whose temperamental reserve and mass-shyness make them unsuitable for democratic leadership.

That, however, is as it should be. For the rush and roar of mass life and the tactics of party organisation are not congenial to the growth and development of fine mental perceptions. And the law of nature which preserve the physical creation as much as the mental and spiritual are such that the more the mental and spiritual faculties are developed in an individual the more nature makes him retiring in temperament and disinterested in putting his hand to the actual field of work. But that does not mean that he is not interested in the world of action. Rather the contrary; for as he derives his inspiration from there, it is that practical world which supplies him with food for thought and gives direction to his imagination and mental keenness. He lives, to all intents and purposes, in that sphere, just like any other man, even unmarked and undistinguished, and yet, his more or less mental, detachment to these, what appear to him to be, insignificances of life, though they constitute perhaps the fundamentals of material and corporate life, raises an invisible barrier between him and the common folk. He goes about in the world, but has another ever expanding world pictured before his imaginative mind.

What link is there between

(Continued on Page 6.)

## MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

### Warfare in the North (Contd.)

#### MARCH OF TROOPS

By S. R. Muttukumar

(Continued from our issue  
of 21-12-39)

#### CHAPTER VI.

WHEN all means of policy and statescraft failed, and when there was danger to the national existence, the King should declare war and march his troops. The *Agni Purana*<sup>(1)</sup> says that "having worshipped the gods a king should march against his adversary by drawing up the six divisions of his army in the prescribed arrays. The six divisions of an army are the Moula (the main body or the centre), Bhuta (the front or the van-guard), Shrouni (the auxiliary), the Vishad and the Alavika (pioneer), each preceding division being held as more important than the one immediately following it. The commander-in-chief of the royal forces should place soldiers of all kinds, such as the foot-soldiers, cavalry, car-warriors and elephant-men duly drawn up in the proper array, to guard the passes of the mountains, banks of rivers and the tracts of wilderness wherefrom any danger could be possibly apprehended. He should be present in person at one of the above-said places of vantage, accompanied by his counsellors and treasures.

"The officer commanding the van-guards of an army should march at its head, surrounded by picked men of the host, while the women, the king and the treasure, together with the secret forces, should be placed in the middle. The flanks of an army should be guarded by cavalry, while car-warriors should be placed beside them on both sides. The elephant-men should be placed on both sides of the car-warriors, while the pioneers should be placed beside the elephant-men. The commander-in-chief should command the rear of an army and go on encouraging the dejected and the march-worn."

Sukra says that "a king

should commence military operations all on a sudden and withdraw also in an instant and fall upon the enemy like robbers from a distance. The time and character of the aggression are to be quite unexpected. The army must be adroitly manoeuvred in such a way as to take efficient stand in any capacity. Agility, elasticity and flexibility are the qualities of generalship that would be required for the purposes of quick move and quick change of front."<sup>(2)</sup>

Manu says that "the commencement or end of the cold season is the proper season for marching troops, so that the king may find autumnal or vernal crops in the country invaded by him. Even in other seasons, when he had a clear prospect of victory, and when any disaster had befallen his foe, movement of troops should be commenced."<sup>(3)</sup>

He also states that, "having made due arrangements of affairs in his own dominions, and a disposition fit for his enterprise, having provided all things necessary for his continuance in the foreign realm, having seen all his spies despatched with propriety, having secured the three sort of ways, over water, on plains, and through forests, and having placed his sixfold army, elephants, cavalry, chariots, infantry, officers and attendants, in complete military form, he should proceed by fit journeys toward the metropolis of his enemy."<sup>(4)</sup>

Manu further directs that "a king should be much on his guard against every secret friend in the service of the hostile prince, and against emissaries, who go and return, for in such friends he might find very dangerous foes."<sup>(5)</sup>

We get curious glimpses here and there into the rules which

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(2) *Sukraniti* IV. vii. 747-8.

(3) *Dharma Shastra*, vii. 182-3.

(4) *Ibid.*, vii. 184-85.

(5) *Ibid.*, vii. 186.

(1) *Op. cit.* cccxlii, 1-6



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(Mis. 244. 4 & 8-1-40)

**Acknowledgment**

Mr. & Mrs. A. Sinnatamby thank all friends and relations who attended their wedding and all those who sent them messages of congratulation.

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(Mis. 245. 4-1-40).

**DENTAL NOTICE**

S. Imai, (Japanese Dentist)  
Colombo,

will be at Jaffna at Tiruchelvam Buildings, Main Street, Jaffna, from 7th to 16th January, 1940.  
(Mis. 208. 4-1-40).

**Hindu Organ.**

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1940

**IN RETROSPECT**

THE YEAR THAT HAS JUST closed will go down to history as the one when the present European War broke out. Whether this war will be on a vaster scale than the Great War and whether the whole of Europe and the U. S. A. will be eventually drawn into it are questions which it is too early to forecast with certainty. It will all depend on the caution and foresight of two men, HITLER and STALIN. But its reactions on traditional ideas, on the social and economic and political structure of the world will be no less profound and far-reaching. The aggression on Poland which set Europe aflame has paved the way for STALIN'S aggression on Finland. German offensive has spent itself with the lightning conquest of Poland and in the three months that followed the conquest of Poland there has been practically no news on the Western front. The British navy has swept the seas of German commerce and German shipping and has maintained in tact the communications on the seven seas. The allied air arm has shown itself at least equal to the German, if not actually superior.

On the neighbouring continent in India a fanatical communal body has widened the gulf between the major communities, which has culminated

in the observance of the Deliverance day by some section of the minorities on the 22nd ultimo. An unimaginative Imperialism has taken advantage of the communal tension to reject the Congress demands and to pursue a policy of wait and see instead of making an earnest contribution to the bridging of the gulf. The constitutional crisis created by the resignation of the Congress Ministries will have to be removed soon if the European War grows in intensity, as there is reason to believe it will. After two and a half years of incessant fighting Japan is yet unable to force a decision in China, but peace prospects seem to be not distant. The strain of the Chinese war and the attitude of the U. S. A., together with dissatisfaction at the alliance of Germany with Russia, have forced Japan to adopt strict neutrality as regards the European War.

Coming nearer, Ceylon has had an altogether prosperous year. The price of all her major products tea, rubber and coconut has risen fairly and there has been no shrinkage in trade as a result of the war. Last year's exports will exceed those of 1938 by about 40 million rupees and the total volume of trade will be the highest since 1930 and almost equal to that of 1937. There has been slight improvement in the public health during the year under review. There were no epidemics and the toll of malaria did not assume serious proportions as in the past. The Ministry of Health is showing great energy in taking preventive measures in various parts of the island. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has taken advantage of the war conditions to advance industrial development. Provision has been made for the establishment of a factory for the manufacture of motor car tyres, a factory for boots and shoes and tannery and a quinine factory. We wish that more earnest efforts will be made in 1940 in this direction, for the war will be a blessing in disguise for our industrial development, if only we have the necessary enterprise to seize the opportunity. The Minister of Agriculture is carrying on a food production drive to make the country self-contained as regards her food supply. One million rupees have been voted for the encouragement of food production and a special department has been set up for this purpose. Financed on a generous scale, the Department is expected to make substantial additions to the food resources of the island. The year also witnessed considerable activity in the sphere of social legislation, among which we may mention the Poor Law Bill and the Shops Ordinance. The Village Committees' Ordinance has given increased powers to local bodies which will be used for

the real improvement of the villages. The Shops Ordinance is intended to save shop assistants from over-work and long hours. The discontinuation of daily paid Indian labourers in State employment has brought about a strain in our relations with India. The ban on immigration imposed by the Indian Government has caused some hardship to the proprietors of estates, which cannot be entirely removed by the supply of indigenous labour. This short-sighted policy may have further adverse effects on our trade relations with India. The Indo-Ceylon trade negotiations have been suspended and will not be resumed unless the discrimination against Indians is removed to the satisfaction of the Raj. In the sphere of politics, the question of constitutional reform which gave rise to a large volume of communal bitterness has been shelved during the pendency of the war. The short-sighted policy of our Ministers with their lack of vision and courage has stood in the way of their pressing their demands as India has done. But one good result of the war is that the communal passions which were so much in evidence just before the out-break of the war have been hushed at least for the time being.

**All-Ceylon Hindu Conference****Sessions Open Today**

The All-Ceylon Hindu Conference commenced today at 9 a. m. at the Jaffna Hindu College Tamil School. Mr. G. K. Subramania Mudaliyar, B. A., B. L., the President, was taken in procession from the Naval School to the Conference hall. The hall and the road leading to it were gaily decorated. There was a large gathering present. After the varam and welcome songs, Mr. R. Sivagurunathan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the President, the distinguished visitors and others and called upon Mr. Subramania Mudaliyar to take the chair.

The President delivered his presidential address in Tamil, copies of which were distributed among the gathering.

**The Jaffna College Alumni Association**

The members of the Jaffna College Alumni Association will be at Home to Tea on Saturday 6th January 1940 at 4 p. m. at the Town Hall, Jaffna to meet Dr. M. H. Harrison M. A., Ph. D., formerly Professor at Jaffna College and now Principal of the Union Theological College, Bangalore, and Mrs. Harrison.

**MR. BANDARANAIKE ON NATIONALISM****NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY****"MISTAKES POLITICIANS MAKE"**

**S**PEAKING on the subject of Nationalism at a conference of the Sinhala Maha Sabha held at Ananda College last week, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike traced its growth from the cave-man era down to the present day, and declared that it was perfectly clear that Nationalism was a natural development of human society. It was true that sometimes it had been misused, but to condemn it for that reason was a great mistake.

It was under the stimulus of Nationalism that some of the most cherished treasures of mankind had been obtained—Literature, Art, Philosophy, Political System, and human achievements in various fields. Nationalism, used in the right way, could enrich the pattern of human progress by each nation making its own distinctive contribution to the whole.

"Particularly in a case such as ours, when a nation has fallen into stagnation and decay, chiefly owing to the domination of a foreign race, no one can deny the value of a national spirit for the achievement of freedom and progress."

"The mistakes our politicians made," concluded Mr. Bandaranaike, "was to think along lines of British political thought unintelligently and without any considerations of the particular conditions of their own country. Hence the tears."

"And now for the remedy. On the principle of first things first, Sinhalese must first try to unite the Sinhalese, remove from amongst themselves such meaningless differences as those of caste, and create the necessary enthusiasm and selflessness, by fostering a spirit of nationalism. Others should do likewise."

"While doing so, all must realise that there are common problems, arising out of residence in one country, that must be faced together, and strive to bring about mutual confidence and friendly co-operation, not by denying existing differences, but by admitting them and helping each other in the needs of each. This is what the Sinhala Maha Sabha is trying to do. You will observe that the problem is two-fold: (1) to foster Sinhalese nationalism, (2) to establish friendly relations with other communities."

**Basis for Co-operation**

In the discussion which followed and was continued after an interval for lunch, delegates spoke in favour of creating a Sinhalese national consciousness. When the question was broached of finding a basis of co-operation with the Ceylon National Congress, Mr. Bandaranaike undertook to confer with members of the Congress on the matter.



## "A JOKE IS A SERIOUS THING"

### Manipay Hindu College Old Boys' First Dinner

#### "WE DON'T WANT FIFTY-FIFTY BUT POLITICAL JUSTICE"

THE first annual dinner of the Manipay Hindu College Old Boys' Association came off on Thursday.

The dinner was held in the College hall with Mr. V. Veerasingham, the Principal, in the chair. Covers were laid for 85.

After the loyal toasts Mr. M. Balasundaram, Advocate, proposed the toast of Ceylon. In the course of his speech he said that while the buffoon, however humble he might be, bore in him the great tradition of men like Aristophanes, Juvenal, Rabelais, Moliere, Voltaire, Sterne, Swift and Shaw, in Ceylon the Jester seemed to have been looked down upon. Sir Thomas de Sampayo had said in one of his judgments that "a joke is a serious thing," and he (the speaker) had found to his cost in Jaffna that a joke was a dangerous thing in Jaffna. (Laughter).

#### "Ownership" of Ceylon

"Another reason why I was reluctant to propose the toast of Ceylon," continued the speaker, "was that I felt that it was a ticklish subject to deal with at present, because there are so many who claim exclusive ownership of the Island. We have Mr. Bandaranaike and his followers, who claim that they were the original owners of the Island. There are others who say that it once belonged to a race of turbaned heads, some specimens of whom can be seen in an excellent state of preservation in the Jaffna Association (laughter). There are others who assert that the name of Ceylon, or at least that part of it which the Sinhalese call Yalpani, should be changed into Ponnampuni" (continued laughter).

Mr. C. Coomaraswamy, District Judge, Jaffna, proposing the toast of the College, referred to it as an institution in which all Hindus should be interested. It was needless for him to speak of the great founders to whose patriotic action that College owed its existence. When they looked at the results they felt that there was no doubt that the College supplied a great want.

#### "Half-Educated Scoundrels"

The Chairman (Mr. Veerasingham), replying to the toast, said that English education was doing a great deal of good as well as much harm. They came across the greatest scoundrels on earth among the half-educated of the English educated people. These half-educated men were selfish and lacking in character. Perhaps the happiest moments of his (the speaker's) life had been spent in the midst of villagers, and he would say "back to the villager and to his virtues."

Dealing with the remarks of Mr. Balasundaram, the speaker

said that as one connected with the Jaffna Association, he would say that it had been functioning well, reflecting the views of Jaffna as a whole. Any son of Jaffna who worked for the uplift of Jaffna could find a place in that body. "We don't want fifty-fifty representation in Council, but we only want social justice, political justice", concluded the speaker.

Dr. A. Kandiah, Professor, University College, in proposing the toast of the old boys, stated that if there was more unity among the Tamils, they could achieve great things. In Jaffna one found that for every Association there was an opposition. It was not so in the past when united effort prevailed.

Mr. S. Pohnambalam, Assistant Superintendent of Surveys, replied.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Secretary, Old Boys' Association, in proposing the toast of the Sister Colleges, said that the spectre of unemployment was a great menace and that unless all the Principals of Colleges put their heads together in evolving a better system of education, the economic future of Ceylon would be very dark indeed.

Mr. K. Nesiiah of St. John's College, responding, said that their Schools, particularly the English Schools, did not convey to their students what was valuable in their national culture. Education must, he said, derive its source of inspiration from the soul of the people.

Mr. S. Shanmukham, Advocate proposed the toast of "Our Guests."

Mr. S. Sateunam replied.

## CONFIDENCE IN CHINESE VICTORY

### 400,000 Japanese Casualties

Chungking, Jan. 1.

General Hsuparikeng, Counselor of War Operations, reviewing the war in the past year declared that in 1939 the Japanese sustained 400,000 casualties in over 60,000 engagements.

He expressed confidence in ultimate Chinese victory.

## Russo-German Trade Pact

Berlin, Jan. 2.

The Russo-German Commercial and Financial Agreement of December 19 1938 has been prolonged until December 31, 1940, says a Moscow despatch.

## The Late Islands Maniagar

### Tributes to His Memory

Karainagar, 25-12-39.

SPECIAL religious observances in memory of the late Mr. M. Somasundaram J. P., Maniagar, Islands were held yesterday at Karainagar which were rounded off with a public meeting presided over by Mr. V. Veerasingham, Principal, Manipay Hindu College. The venue of these celebrations was the Saiva Paripalana Vidyasalai. There was a large gathering present. There was a special religious ceremony in the morning at the Murugamoorthi Temple and in the noon, there was a splendid ceremony in the name of the Maniagar, at the school attended by earnest prayers from the gathering, and the feeding of children. Among those present at the ceremony was Mr. V. K. Naiban Divisional Inspector of Schools, Eastern Province.

In the evening there was a procession with music, from Saiva Maha Sabai buildings. A portrait of the late Maniagar was carried in a decorated car. Nurai Kudans greeted the procession en route to the school.

The public meeting opened with prayer and Mr. Veerasingham president of the meeting addressed the gathering referred with feeling to the life of his friend Mr. Somasundaram, to the noble qualities of the deceased benefactor who was a Sir Roger de Coverly in Ceylon. He referred to the mournings of the people assembled at the funeral and said that he had not seen before such moving lamentations in a funeral in Jaffna. There was all evidence, he said, to show that the Maniagar was a benefactor *de luxe* among benefactors in the country. There was no denying, he said, that the deceased Maniagar was a beau ideal of justice, a beau ideal of honesty, a beau ideal of mercy. The character of Mr. Somasundaram, he said, inspired reverence in all good men who met him. Although a Maniagar under Government, his life was devoted to religious ideals which were his real goal in this world. As a religious celebrity he no doubt ranked high in this country.

The other speakers from Karainagar were Messrs. S. Kanapathipillai (V. C. Chairman), K. Vythingam, S. Kandiah and S. Velupillai.

Mr. A. Saravanamuttu acting, Maniagar spoke at length on the sterling qualities of Mr. Somasundaram.

Mr. R. Nagalingam, Manager of the school, who organised the celebrations, moved that a vote of condolence be passed at the meeting and the same be conveyed to the lamenting widow of the Maniagar. This was seconded by the president. The resolution was carried unanimously all standing. Mr. Nagalingam added to the resolution that a memorial building be raised in the name of the deceased Maniagar in the school so that his photo be installed there and an annual ceremony be per-

(Continued on page 4)

## A NEW CENTRAL GOVT IN CHINA

### FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES SETTLED

#### RUSSO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

Tokyo, Jan. 1.

THE "Asahi-Shimbun" declares that all fundamental issues for the formation of a new Central Government in China were amicably settled yesterday and a conference will take place shortly between ex-Premier Wang Ching Wei, Wang Keh Min, head of Japanese sponsored Government in Peking and Liang Hung Chih head of the similar organisation in Nanking.

After this, it is stated that a conference of the Central Political Council is expected to be held and the Japanese Government will then submit to the Cabinet Council a concrete plan for the formation of a Central Government.

The settlement of two outstanding questions between Japan and Russia is announced: firstly, the matter of the final instalment overdue to Russia for the transfer of the North Manchuria Railway formerly known as the Chinese Eastern Railway, and secondly, the fisheries dispute in which a provisional agreement is expected to be signed in Moscow very shortly.

Under the Soviet-Japanese Settlement the Japanese Government guarantee payment of the last instalment for the railway, due from Manchukuo, by January 4 together with the additional sum due under the Gold Clause, and interest at three per cent. from March 23, 1928, when the instalment fell due to January 3, 1940.

The payment will total 7,000,000 Yen, less the claims of the Manchukuo Government against the U. S. S. R. totaling 1,000,000 Yen.

Two thirds of the sum which Manchukuo will pay will be spent on the purchase of goods of Japanese and Manchukuan origin, provided that the assortment of goods corresponds to the demand on the Soviet side and prices are normal.

The Fisheries Agreement signed in January 1925 will remain valid until December 31, 1940.

## Chinese Attacks Repulsed

Tokyo, Dec. 31.

Repeated Chinese attempts to recapture Nanning on the highway to French Indo-China were repulsed according to a Domel Agency despatch from Canton, claiming that the Chinese have lost 13,500 men in their efforts to recapture the town since the middle of December.

Another despatch claims that the Japanese drove the Chinese defenders from Yingtak, 85 miles north of Canton, on the Hankow railway.

Chungking, Jan. 1.

### Railway Bombed

Chinese and French quarters here claim to have received confirmation that Japanese aircraft yesterday bombed the railway from Hanoi to Kunmin the capital of Yunnan province at a spot fifty miles North of Indo Chinese border. Traffic was only interrupted for an hour.

The railway is entirely managed by French interests.



## MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Continued from page 1)

were observed in arranging troops in a march to suit different conditions. The troops were arranged like a staff (oblong), or in an even column; like a waggon, or in a wedge with the apex foremost, like a boar, or in a rhombus with the van and rear narrow and the centre broad, like a makara, or two triangles with the apices joined like a pin, or in a long line, and like a Garuda, or in rhomboid with extended wings (6). The details of these arrangements are found in the *Arthashastra*, Book X, chapter ii.

Sukra says that the Commander-in-chief should march in well-arranged regiments wherever difficulties arise on the way through rivers, hills, forests and forts. He enumerates eight species of march classified according to the nature of the obstacle to be encountered, e. g. dangers ahead, behind, on the sides, or on all sides.

I. Danger ahead:—

1. Crocodile array (*Mahara*)
2. Bird array (*syena*)
3. Needle array (*suchi*)

II. Danger behind:—

1. Vehicle (*sakata*)

III. Danger on the sides

1. Thunder (*vajra*)

IV. Danger on all sides:—

1. Octagonal (*sarvatochakra*)
2. Wheel (*chakra*)
3. Snake (*vijala*) (7)

The *Agni Purana* also has:

"An army on march should be drawn up in the array known as Makara. Similarly it should be arranged in the order resembling a hawk with up-drawn wings or in those known as *Suchi* or the *Vira vaktra*, in the event of there being any danger ahead. An army should be drawn up in the array resembling the structure of a carriage (*Shakata*) in the case where its rear would be threatened in the array known as the *Vija*, when side-attacks would be apprehended; while it should be drawn up in the order of *Sarvatochakra* where dangers from all quarters would be apprehended. A commander should take special precaution to guard the safety of his army, while passing through any defile, mountain pass or a forest, or at the time of crossing or fording any river or stream. He should avoid long and forced marches and see that his men had not been fatigued with journey, or afflicted with the pangs of thirst or hunger" (8).

In front was the leader, in the centre, the harem and the king; on the sides, horses and body-guards; at the extremity, the elephants and the surplus army; and on all sides, the army habituated to forest, and other troops following the camp. The commissariat, the army of the ally and his followers should select their own roads (9).

Keeping a mountain or a river

fortress with all its resources at his back the king should put up his tent. (10)

### Array of Troops

Having fortified a camp, the king should begin to array his troops. This might be done in four ways: 1, like a staff; 2, a snake; 3, a circle; and 4, detached order. Stationing the army so as to stand abreast is called a staff-like array. Stationing the army in a line so that one may follow the other is called a snake-like array. Stationing the army so as to face all the directions is called a circle-like array. Detailed arrangement of the army into small bodies so as to enable each to act for itself is termed an array in detached order (11). These are again sub-divided into many varieties, into the details of which I need not enter here.

One who is disguised like the king should attend to the work of arraying the army (12).

Sukra says that "the king should also be in disguise. The king should be an adept in the use of diverse uniforms and marks. The personality of the king requires to be carefully guarded; for this he is not to depend on the sentinels and troops only. But he must be resourceful enough to hide himself by various sleights of dress and appearance. The people should be about the king wearing dress almost like his own, so that outsiders may not easily distinguish or single him out from the rest of the company. Again, he should at times put on disguises to look like some other man. The art of dissimulation is an important branch of the king's education" (13).

Manu also gives the following directions. "From whatever side he (the king) apprehends danger, to that side let him extend his troops, and let him always conceal himself in the midst of a squadron formed like a lotus flower. Let him cause his generals and the chief commander under him to act in all quarters, and from whatever side he perceives a design of attacking him, let him turn his front. On all sides let him station troops of soldiers, in whom he confides, distinguished by known colours and other marks; who are excellent both in sustaining a charge and in charging; who are fearless and incapable of desertion. Let him at his pleasure order a few men to engage in a close phalanx, or a large number of warriors in loose ranks; and having formed them in a long line like a needle, or in three divisions like a thunderbolt, let him give orders for battle" (14).

Manu adds: "On a plain let him fight with his armed cars and horses; on watery places with manned boats and elephants; on ground full of trees and shrubs, with bows, and on cleared ground with swords, targets and other weapons." (15).

Sukra also adds: "The king should commence fight with any enemy whose minister and army have got disaffected by placing

## INDIAN LIBERALS' PROTEST

### Against Ceylon's Policy

Allahabad, Friday.

The resolution on Indians overseas passed by the National Liberal Federation today reads: "The National Federation strongly protests against the Ceylon Government's policy of discrimination against Indians and their decision to dismiss and repatriate Indians employed in Government departments, and to retrench Indian employees of more than five years but less than ten years' service on a racial basis if they do not voluntarily retire by the end of 1939."

"The Federation fully supports the decision of the Government of India to prohibit the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon and urges it to take the necessary measures to secure justice to the Indian community."

The Federation also expressed its indignation and resentment at the "continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa."

### The Late Islands Maniagar

(Continued from page 3)

formed treating him as a religious celebrity. This was also supported by the gathering.

Mr. Nagalingam pointed out to the audience in his closing speech that the people appreciated the Maniagar most as a religious man. He maintained that this great man's religion was justice, honesty, mercy and forbearance which have won for him undying glory.

It was clear, he said, that his heart was beat on religion and his body served Government as Maniagar. The meeting terminated with prayer. (Cor.)

### St. John's College, Jaffna.

Next Term begins 10th January, 1940.

**Thompson Scholarship.** Consisting of free tuition, tenable for two years for entry into Form I. Candidates must be under 12 years of age.

**Crossette Scholarship.** Consisting of free tuition, tenable for two years, for entry into Form VI B. Candidates must be under 15 years of age.

The examination for the above scholarship will be held at College at 9 a. m. on Tuesday the 9th of January, 1940. Applications for admission should reach the Principal on or before Monday, the 8th of January, 1940.

Further particulars from the Principal.

(Mis. 241, 4-1-40)

the firearms; both light and heavy, in the front, the infantry just behind them, the elephants and horses in the wings. The first skirmish was to be commenced by the commanders with half the army in the front and the wings as long as the region favourable for warfare was not acquired. The war should then be undertaken by ministers, with troops conducted by ministers, and then finally by the king at the risk of his own life, with troops commanded by the king." (16)

(To be Continued.)

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(16) *Sukraniti* IV. vii. 636-638.

## ITALY TO OPPOSE BOLSHEVISM

### Mussolini's Policy

Rome, Jan. 1.

"Mussolini's policy has not deviated a hair's breadth, especially where Bolshevism is concerned," says the "Relazioni Internazionali," reviewing the latter part of the year 1939 and Italy's policy.

"Russia today is waging an obscure battle in Finland. Three Great Mediterranean peninsulas—the Italian, Spanish and Danubian-Balkan—are bound together by a common civilisation and destiny.

"If Bolshevism penetrates one of them the whole Mediterranean would be endangered."

The paper adds that Italy will never allow Bolshevism to cross the Carpathian passes.

Newspapers contain many expressions of goodwill for Finland in her gallant struggle, many of them devoting three or four columns to the subject.

### Auction Sale

D. C. J. 14170

Dr. V. S. Ramanathan of Nayanmarkadu, Jaffna

Vs.

Plaintiff.

1. Suppar Muthiah and wife

2. Eliyapillai both of Nallur

Defendants

In pursuance of the commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna, in the above case, I shall sell the below mentioned properties by Public Auction on Monday the 5th February 1940 commencing at 4 p. m. at the spot.

PROPERTIES REFERRED TO:

1. All that extent of 4 Lms. P. C. and V. C. and 2 kls. out of an undivided half share out of all that piece of land situated at Nallur called Nayanmarkulam Thetkuppulam and Thethumeduvayal in extent 22 Lms. p. C. and V. C. and 12 kls. with well and bounded on the North by lane, and the property of Thangam wife of Eliathambay, East and South by Lane and on the West by the property of Kaddayan Sinnan and bye Lane.

2. All that piece of land situated at do called Nayanmarkulam Methilmedduvayal Metkupalavu and Thetkuppulam in extent 5 Lms. V. C. with share of well on the South and way and water course and bounded on the North by Lane, East by the property of Aochikuddy wife of Suppar, South by the property of Sithan baram wife of Ramalingam and on the West by Lane and by the property of Velupillai Maniakam.

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(X 64 14-6-39—13-6-40)

F.T.

(6) Ibid, vii. 187.

(7) *Sukraniti* IV. vii. 526 ff.

(8) *Op. cit.* xxxii. 7ff.

(9) *Arthashastra*, Bk. X, chap. ii p. 438.

(10) Ibid, p. 440.

(11) Ibid, Bk. X, chap. vi p. 450.

(12) Ibid, Bk. X, chap. vii. p. 443.

(13) *Sukraniti*, V 33.

(14) *Dharma Shastra*, vii. 188-191.

(15) Ibid, vii. 192.



# RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE PETERS OUT

## Fierce Blizzards Hamper Soviet Troops

### 400 RUSSIANS TANKS & 150 PLANES BROUGHT DOWN BY FINNS

Viborg, Tuesday.

Reuter's special correspondent with the Finnish army reports that a fierce blizzard has commenced in the Karelian Isthmus, bringing the fighting at Finland's "front door" almost to a standstill. The offensive of the Red Army, launched on December 31st, has thus petered out. The Finns pray for still more snow to hamper the Soviet tanks, guns and aircraft.

This afternoon, the visibility over the battle-front was almost nil, grounding the Soviet bombers and screening all objectives of attack behind an impenetrable white curtain. While the weather remains thus, a huge-scale attack is believed to be impossible.

High Finnish officials declare that, according to their views, the Russians will be forced to abandon, for the present, their plans to smash through the Mannerheim Line. Reuter also learns on good authority that at least 400 Russian tanks have been destroyed and 150 planes brought down by the Finns since the hostilities began.

## Germany's Peace Offensive Reorganising Government

Paris, Tuesday

The Rome correspondent of "Le Petit Parisien," states that paper, has sent a report which must be read with all reserve, but which indicates that the Reich is striving its utmost to organise a diplomatic offensive for a peace favourable to Germany, leaving her the essential part of her conquests. The correspondent suggests that important influences are working to make Hitler re-shuffle his regime and present it under a more "civilised" form.

He says that Hitler would become the President, Goering the Chancellor, Radicals like Goebbels, Himmler and Ley, would disappear, Mackensen probably would become Foreign Minister, and Dr. Schacht the head of the Ministry of Economy.

The new Government would be secret as regards its imperialist aims. "Political distance" would be emphasised as regards Russia. It would be assumed that Poland and Czechoslovakia would be reduced in size, according to the arbitration of a high personage, autarchy would be renounced and there would be a return to world economy.

"Le Petit Parisien" adds that Generals Reichenau and Blaskowitz are sounding the Nazi Party leaders and magnates of heavy industry. It says the captains of industry seem agreeable to any interior solution which would prevent Germany slipping further towards Bolshevism.

## Russia Asks for 200,000 Nazis

London, Jan. 2.

The Berlin correspondent of the Copenhagen paper "Politiken" says Stalin has asked Germany for 200,000 technicians, engineers and experts to recognise Russian economic life, especially the transport system.

The correspondent says Russia will not be able to continue the campaign against Finland unless the help of skilled men arrive immediately. All German experts who go to Russia will be given an entirely free hand and be under Stalin's personal protection. They will be paid good salaries.

The correspondent adds that continued Russo-German collaboration largely depends on the immediate despatch of this manpower. The only question is whether Germany can spare such a big number of skilled men.

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(M/S. 242. 4-1-40 to 31-5-40)

## Chief Justice's Advice to Lawyers

Benares.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India who visited Benares, to deliver the Convocation address at the Hindu University, emphasized the need for the strict observance of professional ethics and etiquette by lawyers as the essential prerequisite of success at the Bar, while speaking to students of University College of Law.

Equally important was it for the lawyer, he added, to study his brief with devotion and give unreservedly his best to his client.

Sir Maurice also referred to the fine traditions of the British and the French Bar built through the centuries and asked the students to endeavour to build up similar traditions in India.

## FLOODS FOLLOW EARTHQUAKE

### Turkey Afflicted

Istanbul, Monday.

Following the earthquake in East and North Anatolia comes news of disastrous floods in those parts of Turkey that escaped the ravages of the former catastrophe.

In the Smyrna, Brusa and Adrianople districts rivers have overflowed their banks, and human beings as well as cattle and crops have been swept away.

Over 700 are estimated to have lost their lives when torrents, sweeping through the Kemal Pasha region, in Western Anatolia, where the dams gave way, destroyed 400 houses. It is impossible to estimate the exact number of the dead. Floods continue to devastate large areas in the Brusa plains south of Istanbul.

### People Hasten to Mountains

Reports continue to arrive showing the devastating nature of floods in the Brusa region and the plains of Karadjabey, Kemal Pasha and Manissa, on the line from Smyrna to the sea. Marmora is also in the area of the Ismid Gulf where the naval base is situated. The waters in many places have reached a depth of six feet. The population of 20 villages have taken refuge in mountains. Five hundred people are marooned in isolated hamlets.

The floods have inundated and completely isolated numerous villages. The districts particularly affected are Brusa, Menemem, Smyrna and Mainasa. Several people were struck by lightning.

Erszingan is a "city of the dead". It suffered most severely in the earthquake.

President Inonu has arrived at the earthquake-devastated city of Erszingan accompanied by the Ministers of Health and the Interior and the Inspector-General of the Army. The President immediately started on a tour of the wrecked quarters of the city. He later had a conference with the authorities and issued orders for accelerating assistance to survivors.

## St. John's College Jaffna

**Personal:** Rev H. Peto, Principal, St. John's College, Jaffna, met with an accident at the beginning of last term while playing Tennis and fractured his leg. After spending about nine weeks in the Jaffna Civil Hospital, he entered the General Hospital, Colombo, to complete his cure. It is learned that according to the x-ray report the fracture has healed completely. Now he has left Colombo for Kandy to spend his X'mas holidays and will be resuming work at College from the beginning of the New Term. He is expected in Jaffna on January 5.

**New Classes:** Following on the Post Matriculation Form inaugurated last year, Inter-Arts and Inter-Science classes will be formed in 1940. Provision has been made for all the usual subjects and also for a course in Physics, Chemistry, Botany and zoology to meet the requirements of the syllabus for the pre-medical examination.

**Scholarships:** Next Term re-opens on January 10th at 9-30 a. m. Examinations for the Thompson and Crossetta Scholarships will be held on Tuesday the 9th at 9 a. m.

## "Greatest Sinhalese of Modern Times"

### Tributes to late Mr. F. R. Senanayake

Mr. A. F. Molamure, the former Speaker of the State Council, presided at the public meeting held on Monday in connection with the Senanayake Day celebrations, when tributes were paid to the late Mr. F. R. Senanayake, who was described as one of the greatest Sinhalese of modern times.

Speaking after unveiling Mr. F. R. Senanayake's portrait, the Rev. Fr. D. J. Anthony, O. M. I., of St. Joseph's College, deplored the attitude of people who argued that "true Sinhalese must be Buddhists." He asked what hope there would be for the Sinhalese if they were divided because of religious differences.

The meeting was held at Ananda College, and afterwards those present went in procession to the Senanayake Statue at Victory Park where several wreaths were laid and there was a "pansakula" ceremony.

## Gnana Paskarothaya Sangam

The twentieth anniversary celebrations of the Gnana Paskarothaya Sangam, Kalviankadu, came off on the 15th and 16th ultimo in the Hindu School hall. Mr. S. P. Satkuman, District Inspector of Schools, presided and Messrs K. Nesiiah, and N. Narayanan were the chief speakers.

## Obituary

### MR. A. K. SITTAMPALAM

The funeral of Mr. A. K. Sittampalam (63), retired Chief Postmaster, General Post Office, Colombo, took place at Karaveddi on the 29th December, 1939.

Mr. Sittampalam was in the Postal Department for 37 years and retired in February, 1937. He had a fine record of service in the Postal Department and he distinguished himself as an able administrator.

The funeral rites were performed by his only son Mr. S. Mahason.

The family mourners were the widow, Mudaliyar K. Chinnatambay, Mr. S. K. Rajasingam and Mr. S. K. Sadashivam (brother-in-law), Mr. A. K. Alvappillai (brother), (Mr. and Mrs. Kanagasabai and Mr. and Mrs. V. Ponniah (Sons-in-law and daughters).

### MRS. S. COOTITAMBY

The death occurred on the 19th instant at Ananda Giri, Manipay of Poonnamah, relict of the late Mr. S. Cootitambay, planter and landed proprietor, and mother of Messrs Navaratnam, Police Vidane, Navaly, Rasiiah, Station-Master, Ratnapura, and Nadarajah.

The remains were cremated the following day, when the funeral rites were performed by the eldest son of the deceased.



## LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page 1)

the masses and such a philosopher, who sees things from a higher plane than they, and thinks of values and significances, which are obvious to them? They may admire his sentiments from a distance; they may take inspiration from his thought-currents: but, for entrusting their leadership they naturally feel surer in having those from among them who have shown cleverness and skill in handling and organising their activities, and who come to them making protestations of sympathy and promises of better conditions and a better future. Those people constantly approach them, and without stopping to weigh the words they are using in making those promises or to judge of the reality in the picture of things that they are drawing before them, they carry conviction to the simple mind of the masses, and canvass their support for themselves. It is not necessarily all plain sailing for public leaders and they may now and then, from this quarter or that, meet with opposition, contradiction and even rebuff; but, tough-skinned as they are, neither these nor the tactics, fair or foul, of rivals, damp their spirit or put them in a philosophic mood of indifference to the glamour of public prominence and leadership, fighting tenacity is needed, as also ready adaptability to changing conditions without a qualm of conscience at any reversal of principles, which may be its result.

A deep thinker, on the contrary, is the opposite of one possessed of such qualities. He is thin-skinned and sentimental, easily taking to heart things and remarks, which the other would merely laugh away. He detests the canvassing tricks of his opponent, and is discouraged by the latter's unscrupulous fighting zeal to continue in rivalry. He would not change his position or modify and delete his principles to suit the exigencies of the hour. He quickly feels out of tune with the thundering shouts of the crowd and out of place among the bustling and elbowing multitudes; a d, instead of fighting to the last to reach the platform at the head of

supporters crashing the gates, he is left behind, or he rather prefers to squeeze himself out and back into the freedom of his world of thinking, where he can revive himself at leisure through soliloquy or writing undisturbed by the din of crowds, or the fury of rivals.

Those thinkers, therefore, who complain of getting no place of leadership in democratic institutions, seem to have neglected the study of their own mentality and psychology while devoting their attention to other matters and to the mentality and tendencies of other people. Had they done so, they would have realised their incompetence and psychological unfitness for leadership in mass organisations.

But that does not mean that they have no part to play in democracy. They have, and they do, in fact, play the most important part by giving to people and their thoughts, ideas and inspirations, over which human social structure has always been reared and which have always provided the plan and the design of that structure. When things have gone wrong it is the deep thinkers who have seen ahead and have suggested the remedy. When the public mind has lost inspiration, it is they who influenced it and have put inspiring ideals before it. Thus, it is really the thinkink men, who are moving and leading the people by their idealism and their thought-strings, though they seem to remain out of them. It is for them to give thoughts and ideas, and for others to work them. If the latter fail to work them to perfection it is again for the former to suggest the remedy and right way. The latter may, no doubt, derive all the advantages from the working, but the former are a thousand times better rewarded by the satisfaction of having contributed to the shaping of human affairs and to the evolution and development of human organisations. (I.S.R.)

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