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## NATIONALISM & COMMUNALISM

### Communalism at Best a Scramble for Power

#### THE NEED FOR RECONSTITUTING THE CEYLON NATIONAL CONGRESS

(BY HISTORICUS)

**NATIONALISM** should have found a fertile soil in Ceylon. She came under European influence much earlier than any other country in the East. She has not been afflicted with a confounding diversity of races and languages. She has been singularly free from religious fanaticism. And education has been more widely diffused among her people. And yet what is our political position today? We have not certainly become a united and self-governing nation. The communal demon is stalking the land, which is resonant with the one voice of communal bickerings and communal squabbles. We are farther away from a united Ceylon than when Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and his Sinhalese compatriots founded the Ceylon National Congress. That Ceylon National Congress is now neither Ceylonese nor National and has degenerated into a communal caucus almost entirely composed of Sinhalese communalists!

#### Nationalism—Indian and Ceylonese

Nationalism, I need scarcely say, has its roots in spiritual foundations. Its adherents have an abiding faith in their country which stands only next to God in their love and devotion. It demands sacrifice—unconditional and unlimited sacrifice—from them for the cause of their country and their countrymen. It has no room for self-seekers anxious for the leaves and fishes of office and ambitious for the personal glory of name and fame. It requires a hero of every one of its followers. Herein lies the great difference between the patriotic Indian Nationalists and the easy-going Ceylonese politicians. The Indian National Congress is a compelling

force in itself—compelling by its intense selfless patriotism. And it would not be a matter of surprise that confronted by such a determined patriotic body, Britain is soon forced to capitulate and give India her due place in the comity of free nations. Oh, when will a Gandhi or Nehru rise in Ceylon who can spiritualise our politics and make our politicians think and act wisely and disinterestedly in the Government of their country.

#### Communalism Rampant

When Nationalism has not found its roots, communalism must necessarily be found rampant. Communalism is at best a scramble for power—power for oneself and for those of one's ilk. The country and nation forgotten, each community tries to get the best of the spoils. Unholy alliances are formed for the dominance of one community over the others. Every deed is looked upon with suspicion. It is only the communal eye that sees. Abuse, intrigue, plotting, manoeuvring—communal politics is indeed a dirty game and leaves little room for constructive statesmanship. Communalists forget that the country as a whole can progress only by the joint efforts of all the communities and not by the dominance of one particular community over another. If one particular community tries to assert its superiority, it excites the jealousy of all the others who combine and jointly work against it. This is what has actually happened with us.

#### Sir Baron's Blunder

The Donoughmore Constitution upset our political balance. The Tamils (and other communities) had enjoyed a power, perhaps a little disproportionate to their numbers, but the interests of the Tamils were spread over the

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## A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

### What are the Ideals?

By S. Subramaniam, B. A.

**LET** us examine the ideas centred around a national system of education. It should secure the physical and mental health of the youth of the country. It should develop strong characters based on the realisation of the spiritual world and its values. It should enable our future citizens to become acquainted with the affairs of the contemporary world in which individuals and nations have to play their part. It should acquaint pupils with the problems of social life and enable them to have sympathetic understanding of social problems and a desire to solve them. Education should not confine itself merely to intellectual studies, but should include a great range of practical activities which should gradually lead them to their future occupations. It should develop correct standards of judgement and taste which shall lead to the understanding and appreciation of the laws of beauty. The youth of our country should enter upon their work in life free from the taint of mass prejudices and predilections, and form their own standards of judgement which shall make them immune to the false propaganda of deceptive leaders. The pupils should be willing and anxious to serve their generation in the spirit of peace and goodwill, and should make up their minds to uphold the finer things of life, such as Freedom, Love, Mercy, Justice, Tolerance, and Goodwill.

#### Where our System of Education has Failed

Our educational system has lost sight of the ideals of life. It has no pretensions to any spiritual, moral, or social values. It has been confined merely to the vocational aim. Ninety-nine percent of the pupils who attend schools, colleges, and universities aim at passing some external examinations which should lead them to service under the government, or at least to occu-

pations outside fetching a monthly salary. Thus we see that even the vocational aim has been narrowed down to certain kinds of occupations or trades. Cultural subjects like History or Geography have not obtained due recognition in the school curriculum while civics find no place at all. Over emphasis of intellectual studies has led pupils to treat manual activities with the utmost contempt. Independence of judgment and nobility of character have been subordinated to routine work and lucrative servility, since the latter assure all kinds of creature comforts. Hence, education which does not lead to the particular type of occupation which they desire becomes a meaningless confusion to most parents and pupils. Subjects are taught only for the purpose of examinations without any reference to the basic foundations on which they rest, and over-emphasis of success in individual subjects in examinations has made pupils blind to their real values in life.

#### Why our Educational System has Failed

Some are so impervious to truth that they scarcely perceive any failure in the system at all. The large unemployment figures, the gradual and constant deterioration of manners and morals are not evident to them. Lack of men of vision, official and unofficial, may be regarded as one of the reasons. Leaders of communities do not care to know whither our education is tending. Teachers also have lost touch with the larger problems of education, the needs of community life, while they remain confined to their little world of examinations and sports within the bounds of their respective institutions. They stand as mere spectators, while the current of national life is losing itself in the desert sands of ignorance. Managers of schools, leading educationists, and men in

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## Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1940.

### MR. MOLOTOV'S SPEECH

THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY M. MOLOTOV, the Soviet Foreign Minister, before the Soviet Parliament last Friday is, in spite of its obvious truculent attack on the Allied policy, re-assuring in more ways than one. Unless it is construed as an attempt to camouflage a Soviet expansionist policy in the Balkans with a view to throwing the Democracies off their scent, it indicates that the Soviet and for the matter of that Germany realise it prudent not to disturb the peace of Central and South-Eastern Europe and have no desire to extend the theatre of war to the Balkans at least for the present. The friendly attitude of Turkey towards the Democracies and Allied Naval preponderance in the Mediterranean have, we may reasonably presume, made Germany and Soviet Russia pause before embarking on the hazardous venture of invading Rumania. Germany finds that she can get more trade concessions from Rumania by friendly negotiation coupled with diplomatic pressure than by military adventure. Once the Dardanelles is opened to the Allied fleet, the oil fields of Baku and Batum can be attacked by the Allied navy and air-fleet and even the transport of Rumanian oil and corn may be intercepted or blocked effectively. Thus German economic plight would be worse as a result of a Balkan war than without it. Nothing would be more welcome to Britain and France than a Balkan venture on the part of either Germany or the Soviet or both. It will also mean the extension of the war to two fronts which Hitler dreads so much. These considerations have induced MOLOTOV to openly avow the intention of the Soviet to keep on friendly terms with both Turkey and Rumania. The Soviet of course does not renounce its claims to Bessarabia which was forcibly taken from Russia in the last war, but does not mean to resort to war for its recovery.

There is reasonable ground to presume that the Tripartite

Military Pact among Germany, Russia and Italy which was considered a likely fruit of the Brenner talks between the axis partners has now receded to the limbo of forgotten things. No sympathy with the Axis partner and no amount of coaxing will deflect MUSSOLINI from his policy of wait and see. He cannot be hustled or wheedled into any false move which will result in nothing but disaster to his own personal prestige and the position of Italy as a European power. The full weight of Allied navy and air arms will fall on the towns of Italy which will be more effectively cut off from foreign supplies than even Germany. M. MOLOTOV rightly characterises the talk of Soviet designs on India and Egypt as fantastic. Without a friendly Turkey and without effective naval superiority a military venture against India or Egypt is fraught with disaster. The lines of communication through unfriendly Moslem territories can be effectually cut off and the Soviet is quite alive to the uncertainty and danger of such a move.

Perhaps having set the Democracies and Hitler by the ears, the Soviet is intent on looking on with folded arms at the mutual destruction of European capitalism while rendering effective economic help to Germany. Stalin has made himself supreme in the Baltic without paying the heavy price of a general European conflict. He may have no desire to be involved in a general European conflict or he may be biding his time for a further swoop on the Balkans. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN is for keeping Russia out of the theatre of war and for concentrating the whole might of the Allies against Germany. There is another school in Britain and France which is for a declaration of war against Russia. In their view the probable result of a war with Russia will be the earlier collapse of Germany through the effective cutting off of all overseas and Russian supplies to her. Mr. MOLOTOV cannot justly blame the Allies for having attempted to thwart Russian designs on Finland, for in spite of his professions of pacific intentions and his plea of strategic reasons for the action against Finland, Russia cannot be absolved from responsibility for the encouragement given to Hitler to start the war and for the effective economic assistance that is being rendered to Germany to prolong her resistance to the Allies.

### Veda-Agama-Siva Sithantha Sabai

The annual meeting of the above Sabai will be held on the 11th and 12th day of May 1940 at the English School, Sandiruppay.

## WEEK BY WEEK

### BY MAN ABOUT TOWN

The Youth Congress, I learn, has started a vigorous campaign against communalism. They mean business. The first of a series of meetings was held last Friday at Chittankoney. The meeting was a success. I was told that not even the organisers expected such a large attendance. No disturbance or an exhibition of rowdiness in this meeting. Nor was there any abuse of the opponents by the speakers at the meeting. People holding opposite views were not branded as traitors. In this connection I regret to note that a certain section of the Tamils do not hesitate to brand others holding opposite views as traitors. From what I could see—all parties in Jaffna are true Tamils, loyal Tamils and pukka Tamils. The only difference is in the policy and views they hold. The one thing the Youth Congress is out to preach is the gospel of love—love thy neighbour as thyself. Hatred begets hatred, spite sows the seed of spite in your opponents. So for the greatest good of the greatest number, let there be mutual trust, mutual understanding and racial harmony and a spirit of tolerance. After all, the fat is in the fire. The Jaffna man can and will know what is best for him. In spite of the communal preachings and the message of hate by some interested parties, the Tamil is at heart sound. He seems to appreciate the benefits of communal unity. Hence the large gathering and enthusiasm at last Friday's meeting.

### The Prodigal Comes Back

I was particularly happy to see an old stager in the Youth Congress ranks coming back and taking his place once again in the Youth Congress. It was an unfortunate incident in the brilliant political career of Mr. Subbiah to have at least temporarily lent his name and support to many a reactionary movement in Jaffna. He was once the hope of the youth of Jaffna. He led many a fight and in fact was one of the leaders in the Boycott days. And just as no honest politician stuck to one policy Mr. Subbiah, was forced to join the communalist for some time. For his good, for the good of the Tamils and for the good of the country, Mr. Subbiah is again in the Youth Congress. He has learnt by experience. That will profit the Youth Congress. There will be no more disillusionments for him.

### When Political Opponents Meet

I am glad the Railway has a sense of humour. Perhaps unwittingly they put together in one compartment two political opponents. This happened last month. The champion of communal unity was occupying the upper berth and the fifty-fifty champion was in the lower berth. Poor souls—they were political opponents—could not sleep. They were itching to argue but they were not in talking terms. Luckily two estimable persons came to their rescue and acted as go-betweens—in fact they were mouthpieces. Poor chaps, didn't have much sleep! I hope the Railway will not in future inconvenience its

patrons in this way.

### "An Unmitigated Act of Terrorism"

The Moo'oya Commission sittings are almost over. Nobody knows what the findings of the Commission would be. Some of the best legal brains were arrayed before the Commission Mr G.G. Ponnambalam was there for a few days at the beginning of the sessions. In fact from his cross examinations, one thought that he would stick there to the last and try to establish a case for "an unmitigated act of terrorism" on the part of the Police. But when it came to the cross examination of important witnesses in the persons of Mr. Robins, A.S.P. & Mr. Sparling, the counsel for the Indian Congress and Govindan's mother was not in his place. Nor was he there to address the Commissioner on the "act of terrorism" on the part of the police. There are rumours and rumours, but Mr. Ponnambalam alone can explain now why he was not at his post of duty. But I may be able to explain his absence after the Commission's report is out.

### The Study of Sinhalese

I am glad that students are taking interest in rural reconstruction. The Youths' Social Service League is one such body. I am told that this body has a very ambitious programme. They meet regularly at the Kala Nilayam. Their programme covers a wide field from practical farming to the study of Sinhalese. This body organised last Saturday their first spinning and Sinhalese classes. The importance of the Tamils studying Sinhalese and the Sinhalese studying Tamil cannot be stressed too much. Perhaps this will be a great factor for inter-communal harmony and understanding that is so urgent in the public life of this country. To understand your neighbour in his language is easy. You get to know him more intimately and this would help towards better understanding. Therefore these young students ought to be encouraged. This reminds me that the Hindu College has made Sinhalese compulsory for students of certain classes. I hope all other schools will follow this worthy example. The knowledge of Sinhalese by a Tamil and Tamil by a Sinhalese will prove to be a potent bridge-builder in this Island.

### INTERMEDIATE CLASSES AT JAFFNA COLLEGE

New Intermediate Classes in Arts and Science will be formed at Jaffna College on June 17th, 1940. Students will be admitted to these classes only if they pass our Intermediate Entrance Examination which will be held May 20th.—23rd, or if they have passed the Headmasters' Post-Matriculation Examination.

The Three students passing highest in this examination will be awarded our Academic Merit Scholarships of free tuition for a year in the Intermediate Class. Syllabi for this examination will be sent upon application to the Principal. Applications to take the examination should be sent to the Principal, with a fee of Re. 1/-, on or before May 10th.

The new Post-Matriculation Class will be formed at the College on May 27th.

S. K. BUNKER,  
Principal.

(Mis. 1, 1-4-40 & 3-5-40)



## YOUTH CONGRESS DRIVE AGAINST COMMUNALISM

### Chittankerney Public Meeting

#### FIFTY-FIFTY CHAMPION SATISFIED WITH FOUR SEATS MORE FOR TAMILS?

"SOME of the supporters of the Jaffna Association seemed to have doubted my being a Jaffna Tamil, but I am here to assure them and others that I am as much a Tamil as anyone of the turbaned heads of the Jaffna Association" observed Mr. M. Balasunderam, M. A. (Cantab), B. Sc. (London), Advocate and President-elect of the Youth Congress, speaking at a largely attended public meeting of the residents of Chittankerney and the adjoining villages held on Friday evening.

The meeting which was organised by some of the leading residents of Chittankerney was held in one of the spacious compounds adjoining the Sivan temple and not at the Eastern courtyard as notified owing to some opposition. The meeting lasted a little over three hours.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. S. H. Peramparavagam, President of the Youth Congress, and commenced at 6 p. m.

The Chairman in his opening remarks said that the country was at the moment passing through a severe ordeal. As such they of the Youth Congress felt it their imperative duty to place before the people their convictions. During all the 16 years of their existence, the foremost plank of their political platform had been Sinhalese-Tamil unity. They had kept alive this ideal through every vicissitude. All they wanted was to place their views before the public and let the public decide whether their creed or the fifty-fifty demand was the wiser course for Ceylon and for the Tamils. The Youth Congress had always pleaded for mutual understanding and goodwill among the races of the island because they believed in the way of love as the only true way.

#### The Somersault

Speaking next Mr. T. N. Subbiah Proctor dealt with the recent ministerial crisis and the events leading to it and explained why he once a Youth Congressite had gone over to the other camp and now once again became convinced of the soundness of the Youth Congress position. He had come to believe, after repeated disillusionments the futility of expecting any good from the European community or the Governor. He praised Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam for having introduced the resolution demanding the appointment of a Commission over the Mooolaya incident, but when he and the other Northern Councillors "performed a somersault" and sought to nullify that very resolution his faith in them was severely shaken.

#### Why the Goodwill Mission Failed

Mr. P. Ragupathy B.A. Member, Board of Education, then gave a detailed account of the good-

will mission he had undertaken on behalf of the Youth Congress to bring about a settlement on the question of the allocation of seats for the Tamil provinces although the Youth Congress had never taken seriously this question of seats. They thought it a tragedy that such a paltry issue should keep the communities embittered, that was why they had tried to bring about a rapprochement. The Sinhalese leaders were prepared to concede as many as 5 more seats to the Tamils, while Mr. A. Mahadeva said he would be satisfied with three and Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam expected only four. Yet for reasons known only to themselves the Tamil leaders had failed to effect a settlement. He also referred to the circumstances under which the last annual general meeting of the Jaffna Association was held and how by unconstitutional tactics it had been converted into a fifty-fifty caucus.

Mr. N. Ponniah speaking on unemployment in Jaffna urged the audience to seek other avenues than the Government service to combat unemployment.

#### A Bold Lead Necessary

Then Mr. Balasunderam addressing the meeting said "I feel I am called more to be looked at than to be listened. I was told that a good many people were anxious to know what sort of person the Youth Congress had chosen as their President." He then spoke the words quoted above and proceeded to say, "I am not going to speak at length because I have to speak as President and I wish not to let out now all the nice things I wish to say about communal politics and politicians. I am here only to make a few suggestions with regard to our policy. It is not necessary to apportion the blame for the present Sinhalese-Tamil tension to any party, but I am here to say that this communal feeling if it grows will do immense harm to both the communities and to the future welfare of the island as a whole. When our representatives go on fanning this communal tension do they expect in course of time to erect fortifications at Elephant Pass for the safety of the Jaffna Tamils? I can't understand how the addition of a few seats for the Tamils in the Council is going to increase the prosperity or welfare of Jaffna. I am sorry to find that this communal tension is rather worse among Government servants who should know better. It may be true that Jaffna's sons are the best commodity she has produced so far. But unfortunately the world market for this commodity has shrunk a good deal by the F. M. S. raising high tariff walls against importing this commodity into their states. It is also true that in consequence we

## TIME HAS COME FOR A FORWARD STEP

### Sinhalese-Tamil Unity Essential

#### MORE TAMILS CONGRATULATE THE "HINDU ORGAN"

In view of the claim made in the State Council by certain representatives of the North that they were voicing Jaffna's views on the recent constitutional crisis, and of the attempts made and are being made to suppress by questionable methods free expression of public opinion in Jaffna, the "Hindu Organ" has felt called upon to acquaint the public of what the thinking section of the community has to say on the "Ministerial Crisis" and how it views the attitude of its representatives in regard to this question and other relevant matters.

REV. J. T. ARULANAN-DAM, Vice-Principal, St. John's College, and President, All Ceylon Teachers Union, interviewed by our representative said:—

All communities say that they are working towards the goal of self-Government and this goal will be reached only when the various communities have learnt to work together in mutual trust and confidence. If we look to our rulers for protection and help to settling our disputes we can never learn to trust each other. No doubt we take a certain amount of risk in handing over the reins of government to the major community, but I think the time has come for us to take the forward step. We can always depend on the good sense and fairplay of the Sinhalese. I have often observed with great satisfaction in Teachers' Associations the friendly co-operation and the absence of racial and religious feelings. I believe the Sinhalese and the Tamils are working together in various other organisations. I am confident that it is possible for us to work in hearty co-operation in the field of politics too. The Tamil commu-

nity should be grateful to the 'Hindu Organ' for the great service it is doing in creating a proper understanding and friendly feeling between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

have to find markets for it at home. It is forgotten by the government servants that it is not possible to find jobs in government service for all the young men who seek such jobs. Even if all posts in the Government Services are reserved for the Jaffna Tamils, only a tiny fraction of the young men of Jaffna will find employment; the rest will have to take to some calling to earn their livelihood. In this economic condition the goodwill and friendship of the Sinhalese will be of greater benefit to the people of Jaffna than a few seats or jobs more for Jaffna. I am convinced that communalism begets communalism and the vicious circle can only be cut by someone taking a bold lead. We of the Youth Congress thought that we should do this.

Mr. P. Nagalingam, while thanking the organisers and the audience stressed the fact that the Youth Congress was engaged in a constructive mission and that they did not rely on alcohol or cash for their success.

With a vote of thanks by Mr. N. Sivaganam, the meeting terminated at about 9-30 p. m.

The entire proceedings of the meeting were in Tamil.

nity should be grateful to the 'Hindu Organ' for the great service it is doing in creating a proper understanding and friendly feeling between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

MR. C. N. DEVA RAJAN, Public Auditor and Assistant Secretary, Manipay Parish Social Service League, interviewed by our representative said:—

"That co-operation, genuine goodwill and harmony among the different communities is absolutely essential in our country for her to swim with the tide and take her proper share among the self-respecting countries of the world, no sane person will deny—he be Sinhalese or Tamil, Buddhist or Hindu, Christian or Muslim, nationalist or communalist. I need not labour the point.

Happily, under the aegis of the British Government, no community in Ceylon fears an attack on its religious, cultural or linguistic interests by any other community. The present tangle between the majority and minority communities is only a political one which with a little statesmanship can be easily solved among ourselves without foreign intervention. I am for full co-operation with the majority community in the battle for self-government on the clear understanding that adequate and just representation is given to the Northern, Eastern and North-Central Provinces in the government of the country, which will also give the Tamils their due share. I insist on this primary condition on the ground of these Provinces being backward, undeveloped and situated far away from the seat of government. The importance of the Tamils, Muslims and other indigenous communities should not be ignored by strictly adhering to counting of heads—following the examples of Canada, Australia, South Africa, India and Ireland.

As Gandhiji says it is the duty of the eldest brother to be generous towards the younger even if the latter be clamorous and troublesome. Until, therefore, the majority community inspires confidence in the minority communities of the Island and the latter also show a sense of tolerance and trust I believe the present powers of the Governor also are necessary and I am glad the Sinhalese leaders also concede that to some extent. As

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## The Dangers of Communalism

Sir,—A correspondent writing on the above subject in the "Ceylon Observer" of the 26th inst. takes great pains to justify the communal policy of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam and his colleagues. He seems to be under the impression that because there are some Sinhalese who are communal minded, the Tamils should take all possible opportunities to widen the gulf between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. Just as there are black sheep in the Tamil Community, there are some Sinhalese, notably the members of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, who want Ceylon entirely for the Sinhalese. This does not mean, however, that the Sinhalese as a race are out to injure the Tamils. There are many in the major community who recognize the rights of the Tamils and are willing to join hands with them in all affairs. But unfortunately the vicious propaganda of the communalists on both sides tends to strain the good relations that should exist between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. These two races must work together as their fate is bound up together and should not permit a few narrow minded reactionaries to split them.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, posing to be the champion of the Tamils, has put forward certain demands which he claims as necessary for safeguarding the interests of the Tamils. The addition of a few seats for the Tamils seems to Mr. Ponnambalam to be sufficient to safeguard those interests. But unfortunately Mr. Ponnambalam does not realise—cannot realise—that his demands will not benefit the Tamil community as a whole. Pandit Nehru in his autobiography says:

"Everyone of the communal demands put forward by any communal group is, in the final analysis, a demand for more jobs, and these jobs could only go to a handful of the upper middle class. There is also, of course, the demand for special and additional seats in the legislatures as symbolising political power but this too is looked upon chiefly as the power to exercise patronage. These narrow political demands, benefiting at the most a small number of the upper-middle classes and often creating barriers in the way of national unity and progress, were cleverly made to appear the demands of the masses of that particular religious group."

Mr. Ponnambalam's demands are chiefly intended to make more Government jobs accessible to the Matriolated youth of Jaffna. Mr. Ponnambalam's view of the Tamil community is thus restricted to that class whose ambition is to matriculate and join the clerical or other government service. The majority of Tamils who have not and cannot have that ambition (and what an ambition) are outside his ken. Although his demands do not concern them, he influences the ignorant masses by pretending that his demands are their demands. Further communal and religious passions are easy to rouse and Mr. Ponnambalam exploits these to his full advantage. This being the policy of Mr. Ponnambalam and his band, can any public-spirited Tamil honourably give his support to the present members of the North, who are communalists to the core. In view of these dangerous activities of the

communalists, may the real leaders of both communities adopt a broad minded and far-sighted policy and thus grant Ceylon the salvation she badly wants.

Non-Entity

Necrvely, 25-3-40

## Political Solidarity

Sir,—Political solidarity is a consummation to be devoutly wished for. How is this to be attained? Certainly not by way of capitulation of the citadels of minor communities and abject surrender of their rights.

Non-co-operation? Jaffna tried that weapon once, only to rue her folly. Our Sinhalese brethren made haste to avail of our mistake to steal a march on us. Instead of sympathy, we became subjects of their fears. As a result we are still wandering in the woods. If self-respect had weighed heavier than self-interest, Sir Baron could have resigned his leadership when the judicial Commission appointed with his approval of the personnel found that he was guilty of inexactitude, in plain words of lying.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. C. S. Corea has let the cat out of the bag when he said at a public meeting that the Hon'ble Mr. Senanayake was charged by the Governor with similar offences coupled with hot words and that it was on that account that Mr. Senanayake tendered his resignation in advance.

I am not aware who found the bye-path to enable the Ministers to get back to the Queen's House and get reconciled with the Governor, but the fact remains that nothing has been gained for the country by the rapprochement. We have the Ministers back ensconced in their seats.

Did Sir Baron consult with the minority-representatives on the impending crisis when it was brewing? He did not. And why? Echo answers 'And why'. My surmise is that he was for simulation, that he was a favourite of the Governor and for spiteful attitude towards the minorities. How could any self-respecting Jaffna representative co-operate with such a "Leader." The destiny of Ceylon is still in the hands of the Britisher. It is by sweet reasonableness that victory should be achieved.

The trouble with Jaffna does not, to my mind, arise from Communalism. It is rank territorialism that seems to ail her. The pernicious idea that the fishes and leaves emergent from politics should be eaten by those who were born and bred and have their being in the Peninsula and none other seems to rankle in the minds of a few educated young men. The idea expresses itself in different forms and ways. We know that community comprehends larger area than territorial sectionalism.

A representative in Council is expected by his constituents to express his own views honestly and conscientiously. He is not expected to accept the opinions of a few here and there and act accordingly. And the representatives from Jaffna are men of culture, noble upbringing, high social standing, education and experience. There are few in Council to equal them in character or learning.

Yours truly  
R. C. Proctor

Rajakadalawa 25 3 40

## TIME HAS COME FOR A FORWARD STEP

(Continued from page 3)

far as I can read the Tamil mind I am sure the Tamils will re-enter the Ceylon National Congress on the above two conditions being satisfied.

The "Hindu Organ's" endeavour to help in the bridging of the small gulf now existing is commendable. If it can successfully compose differences among the Tamils first and then make the different communities act in such a way as to establish peace and goodwill in the country, it will put an end to the constant bickerings which embitter the public life of this Island, and the "Hindu Organ" will have fulfilled a golden mission. I hope the "Hindu Organ", by its bold gesture of friendship towards the Sinhalese leaders, will make them be guided by that great principle which guided Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's private and public life viz. Justice. It will thereby earn the undying gratitude of all lovers of Mother Lanka.

**CANON S. S. SOMASUNDARAM**, Rural Dean, Jaffna, Church of Ceylon, interviewed by our representative said:—

I would certainly welcome communal unity between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The Sinhalese as the major community should extend the hand of fellowship to its younger brother the Tamils. But the younger brother should not insist on impossible demands like the now notorious fifty-fifty ratio of representation. Let us follow a policy of give and take.

**MR. V. PASUPATHIPILLAI**, Chairman, V. C., Pungudutivu and Managar of Schools, interviewed by our representative said that as constituted today the Jaffna Association was not representative of the entire Tamil community. To claim to speak on behalf of the North, it should have representative branch associations throughout the Northern Province without confining itself to a handful of men.

The "Hindu Organ", Mr. Pasupathipillai continued, "whose chief aim is to safeguard the interests of the Tamil community has taken up a wise attitude in the recent crisis. While safeguarding the special interests of our community we should not fail to work for the common good of the country as a whole. To attain our common objective of self-government for Ceylon, we should without prejudice to our particular interests, fight shoulder to shoulder with the majority community."

**MR. V. V. KARUNANITHI**, V. C. Chairman, Nallur, interviewed by our representative said:—

When I heard Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam declare from a public platform in Jaffna, that the "Times of Ceylon" and the "Virakesari" are the two papers of the Jaffna Tamils and that the "Hindu Organ" and "Eelakesari" do not reflect the views of the people of Jaffna, it kept me and many people wondering. The "Times of Ceylon" is the organ of the European capitalist. The "Virakesari" is a paper of the Indian capitalist. But the "Hindu Organ" and the "Eelakesari" are two papers subscribed by the Jaffna Tamils, edited by the Jaffna Tamils, published by the Jaffna Tamils and patronised by the Jaffna Tamils. If these two papers are not the views of the people of Jaffna and are not in the best interests of the Tamils, either Mr. Ponnambalam wants us to be subordinate to European and Indian interests or thinks that there cannot be any opinion other than his own. Now that it is not safe to utter any opinion against Mr. Ponnambalam's view from any platform he thinks he is secure. But they appear on paper because there is an overwhelming opinion against his views. One of the great things your paper has done is to show our leaders that they must learn to respect the other man's point of view and that true education is that which recognises that there can be views other than one's own.

**Notice to Correspondents**  
Other letters to the Editor are crowded out of this issue.

I congratulate the Ministers for their bold stand to regain our political rights. But I deplore their short-lived enthusiasm. They were not prepared to face the struggle which must come sooner or later.

Our Members have acted against the interests of our country and they cannot now be said to have safeguarded the interests of the Tamils as the Tamils are only a part of the whole. These are rapidly degenerating. In as much as they distrust the other Councillors we distrust their sincerity as only one can reflect one's own character.

I congratulate your paper on the correct lead it has given to our country at this hour. Hope you will always work for good-will and harmony between the various races.

## WONDERFUL THINGS HAPPENING IN INDIA

## Swami Vipulananda feels Sorry about Ceylon

"When I see the new life in India and compare it with the conditions in Ceylon, I feel sorry for the land of my birth" writes Swami Vipulananda in a letter to a friend of his in Jaffna. "In every direction" the Swami adds "new life is throbbing in India; the women are going ahead. Boys and girls are keen on developing their physique and making themselves fit in every way to take up greater responsibilities. In Delhi, just near the Ashram, is a Hanuman temple. Looking through my window I see everyday in the mornings young people congregating for *lathi* play, wrestling and Indian physical exercises. Everywhere they are organising *Saktidals*. In temples they are bringing in libraries and gymnasiums. Wonderful things are happening! I am happy that I am here just at the right time to witness things."

## A Correction

The V. C. Chairman of Vaddukoddai, whose interview on the recent crisis was published in our issue of the 25th ultimo was inadvertently mentioned as Mr. V. C. Muttukumaru. His name is Mr. V. C. Kathiravelu who is also the President of the Vaddukoddai Koilpathu Sangam. We regret the error.



## The Central Province Saiva Maha Sabhai Ltd., Kandy

### Fourteenth Annual General Meeting

THE fourteenth Annual General Meeting of the Central Province Saiva Maha Sabhai Ltd., Kandy was held on 16th and 17th March 1940 with the President Gate Muhandiram N. Canaganayagam M. M. C. in the chair at the "Tamil Home" Kandy, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. His Holiness Swamy Sivapragasa Yogeswarar B. A. (Hons) L. T. D. S. C. (Com) graced the occasion with his presence, while there was a large gathering present from different places. Telegraphic and other messages of greetings were received from out-station friends and well wishers.

#### First Day

The Principal speaker for the day was His Holiness Swami Sivapragasa Yogeswarar, Mr. S. Sabaratnam, Retired Town Overseer, Kandy, and Patron of the Sabhai garlanded the Swami on arrival and Dr. A. Chellappah, Retired Provincial Surgeon, sprinkled rose water on him. The Swami was then conducted to the hall, where he was received with great veneration by the large number of members and visitors assembled there.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of Thevaram. The president introduced the Learned Swami to the audience and called upon His Holiness to speak. Rising amidst applause the Swami delivered a very awe inspiring lecture on "Thiruneelakanda Vilakam".

In the course of his lecture the Swami explained lucidly the very pious and high moral life of the ancient Tamils. He also added that what the Puranas say are not mere myth and mythology, but that they are all truths and teachings explaining the principles of real life. Teachings that provide us with the knowledge of the soul and of its condition, of the goal to be reached, of the path to the goal and means of reaching the goal. Further the Swami pointed out how the stories connected with "Thiruneelakanda Vilakam" explain the above facts.

Interesting remarks were offered by Brahma Sree J. T. Sathasiva Iyer, District Inspector of Schools. A vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. A. Navaratnarajah, the joint Secretary and the proceedings of the first day came to a close at about 9.30 p. m. with the singing of Thevaram.

#### Second Day (morning)

As usual the proceedings began with the singing of Thevaram at about 9 a. m. Gate Muhandiram N. Canaganayagam, M. M. C., presiding.

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting and the Annual Report were read by Mr. A. Navaratnarajah, the Hon. Joint Secretary and adopted. The report contained an account of the Sabhai's activities among which were the conducting of a regular religious class under the devoted guidance of Brahma Sree J. T. Sathasiva Iyer, District Inspector of Schools, Jail preaching on Sundays at the Bogambara prison, Gurū Poojahs of Hindu Saints

Public and ordinary meetings, and the work done in the year towards the completion of the Sabhai building on which a sum of about Rs. 15,000 has already been spent. The Sabhai's grateful thanks are due to Mr. S. Sabaratnam, the Patron, for the free use of the Tamil Home for their varied activities and to the Editors of the various news papers for so kindly publishing the Sabhai's proceedings.

The Balance sheet, which showed a total collection of Rs. 334 for the year was then read by the Treasurer Mr. A. K. Velupillai and adopted.

The decision of the Executive Committee that met on 6.11.39 to amend the loan shares from Rs. 509 to Rs. 250 each was then ratified.

#### Chairman's Address

In his presidential address the President said that despite difficult times he was confident that the Sabhai building would be completed before the end of 1940.

#### Election of Office Bearers

As the next item in the agenda was the election of the office bearers the Chairman vacated the chair, which was occupied by Dr. V. T. Pasupathi, who was elected Chairman pro tem. Gate Muhandiram N. Canaganayagam M. M. C. having been unanimously re-elected Chairman resumed his seat. The election of other office bearers resulted as follows.

Patrons: Messrs. S. Sabaratnam and A. Sangarapillai.

Vice-Presidents: Brahma Sree J. T. Sathasiva Iyer, Brahma Sree S. Balasubramania Kurukkal, Dr. V. T. Pasupathi, Mr. P. Balasingham and Mr. N. Cocinaraswamy.

Joint Secretaries: Messrs. S. Kandian and A. Navaratnarajah.

Treasurer: Mr. A. K. Velupillai.

Asst. Treasurers: Messrs. C. Murugesu, V. Sinnatambay, and A. Sivasambu.

Library and Gurū Poojah Secretary: Mr. K. Vallipuram.

Secretary of the study circle and classes: Mr. V. Mutulingam.

Editor of the Tract series: Mr. V. Ambalavanar.

Auditors: Messrs. V. Thirunavakarasu and K. Nagappah.

Executive Committee: Messrs. S. Seenivasagam, K. Sinniah, P. Minikkam, S. P. K. Suppiapillai, K. Alvapillai, K. Thiru-

## Matrimonial

### RATHENASINKAM— SINNADURAI

The marriage of Mr. E. Rathenasinkam, Assistant Government Analyst, Colombo, with Miss Selvaranee, daughter of Mr. A. Sinnadurai, and grand-daughter of Mr. P. S. Aiyadurai, was celebrated on Monday, the 25th ultimo, at 10 p. m. at "Arulvasu," Van-Eest, the residence of the bride. A largely attended reception was held by the bride's parents on the 27th ultimo between 4 and 8 p. m.

### SUBRAMANIAM—SIVA- SITHAMBARAM

The marriage took place on Wednesday, the 27th ultimo, at 9 p. m. at the bride's residence at Oaddumadam Road, Vannarponnai, of Miss Saraswathy, daughter of Mr. T. Sivasithambaram, Head Clerk, Executive Engineer's Office, Jaffna, with Mr. R. Subramaniam, B. Sc. (Lond.), Principal, Gramani Silpa Sala, Ambalangoda. There was a large gathering present at the reception at the bride's residence.

navakarasu, V. Ramanathan, S. Selvanayagam, R. Tharmalingam, P. Ambalavanar, N. Rasiyah and S. Thiagarajah.

Building Committee: Dr. A. Chellappah (President), S. Selvadurai, P. S. Selvadurai, M. Panchacharam, S. Sivagnanam and P. Nadarajah.

Jail Preachers: Brahma Sree K. Galasubramania Kurukkal, Messrs. T. Chelliah, A. K. V. Lupillai, P. S. Selvadurai, P. Suppiyah, S. Selvanayagam, S. Seenivasagam and A. Navaratnarajah.

Pundit V. S. Rasa Iyanar, who was garlanded on arrival by the President then delivered an instructive lecture on "Saivaisam and Tamil" in the course of which the learned lecturer stressed that the Tamils, who love their own language and religion, have a right to perform their own rituals in Tamil and should do so.

Interesting remarks were offered by Messrs. J. B. Muttiah, S. Thiagarajah, K. Sampantner, M. Sinnathamby and S. Sampantner.

With a hearty vote of thanks proposed by Mr. A. K. Velupillai and seconded by Mr. V. Ambalavanar and the singing of Thevaram the proceedings of the second day came to a close at about 2 p. m. after those present partook of a hearty lunch.

## ART EDUCATION IN JAFFNA

High tributes were paid by Mr. C. T. Lorage the Divisional Inspector of Schools, N. D. Jaffna, to the admirable work, the members of the Winzer Art Club were doing in the field of art.

The occasion was a farewell function on Wednesday the 20th ultimo at the Government Training School, Kopay by the club to Mr. and Mrs. Lorage on the eve of their departure to Kandy. The function took the form of a garden party followed by a public meeting presided over by Mr. S. R. Kanagasabai, the President of the club.

On arrival Mr. Lorage was garlanded by Mr. J. T. Solemns, Chairman of the Farewell Function Committee, while Miss, P. Ponnambalam presented Mrs. Lorage with a bouquet of pink carnations.

Mr. Kanagasabai speaking from the Chair said that whatever little success that club had achieved was due to the sympathy and guidance of Mr. Lorage. It was therefore with a sense of real regret that they received the news of Mr. Lorage's departure on transfer to Kandy.

Mr. J. T. Solemns speaking next said that the club owed its existence to Mr. Lorage who had during the past one year helped them immensely. Every Saturday the members met for Painting and Drawing and helped at various centres over 300 S. S. C. students in the study of art.

Miss M. V. Hutchens congratulated the club on its completion of one year of excellent work which was due in a great measure to the enthusiasm and earnestness with which Mr. Kanagasabai had set about popularising Art Education in the various schools and Colleges. The speaker also paid a tribute to Mr. Lorage.

Mr. K. Kanagasabapathy also spoke.

Mr. Lorage in the course of his reply said that if the members of that club continued the admirable work they were doing in the field of art, he had no doubt that there would be a Golden Age of Art in Jaffna in the near future.

An exhibition of Drawing and Paintings by members of the club which was held the same evening in the Art Rooms of the school was patronised by the members of public. Some of the works of art elicited high encomiums.

A group photograph with Mr. and Mrs. Lorage was taken before the gathering broke up.

## Obituary

The death of Mrs. Ponnammā Arunasalam Christian eldest daughter of the late Dr. C. T. Mills occurred at Manipay on the 22nd of March and the funeral took place the next morning. There was a large attendance. The deceased was a friend of the poor and was a great social worker. Our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

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# NATIONALISM & COMMUNALISM THE THIRUNELVELY OTTUMAI NITHI LTD.

(Continued from page 1)

whole island and perhaps warranted the feeling that pure territorial representation was unfair by them. A territorial representation on a geographical rather than a population basis would have been juster. When the Tamils found that their representation and weight were diminished, they saw red in everything that the Sinhalese did nor can it be said that the Sinhalese used their newly found power with magnanimity. All their actions were viewed with suspicion by the Tamils who were now possessed of a fear that there was going to be not a national but a Sinhalese government in Ceylon. The intermeddling with the hitherto accepted rules of the clerical examination, the communal character of some of the public appointments, the greater attention paid to the requirements of the Sinhalese districts, the anti-Indian drive and, on the top of it all, the formation of the aggressive Sinhala Maha Sabha, only confirmed the Tamil suspicion. A majority community can well afford to be generous to the minorities and it was up to the Sinhalese politicians to allay the suspicions and misgivings of the other communities. When Sir Baron formed his notorious homogeneous Ministry without a single Minister from the minority communities, he made a stupendous blunder and put the communal seal on his government. Compare with this bankruptcy of statesmanship the consummate political wisdom with which the stable Ministries in the Punjab and Bengal were formed by the Muslim Premiers with a number of Hindu Ministers. Here lies the psychological explanation for the reason why almost all the minority members voted against the Ministers in the recent debate on the constitutional crisis. I cannot believe that there is any Ceylonese, Tamil or Muslim who will not fight along with the Sinhalese for national freedom. It is my firm conviction that the Tamils by nature and training are even greater nationalists than the Sinhalese. The non-co-operation movement in Ceylon, the boycott of the Council, was first started by the Tamils and it is the uncompromising communalism of the Sinhalese that has alienated their feelings and prevented their co-operation.

## The Remedy

As I have indicated above, the communalists, be they Tamils or Sinhalese, cannot advance the progress of this country. It is only a union of the different communities, a solid united national front, that can achieve swaraj for this island. The Sinhalese and the Tamil leaders must be sadder and wiser men now, since by their disunion they have put back the progress of self government. They are likely to do so, if they do not give up their communal feelings and continue to be divided. The work of the Indian National Congress should be an inspiring example to all nationalists in Ceylon. The Ceylon National Congress can do little effective work and can achieve little success as it is constituted today. It is time that it shed its communal slough

and ceased to be a complement to the Sinhala Maha Sabha. It should be reconstituted into a really national body so that all other communities may join it without any misgiving as to its national character. It is a happy augury that the Muslims have expressed their willingness to join it, if it is so reconstituted. I feel confident that all patriotic Tamils will gladly join such a reconstituted National Congress, which could then become a really powerful organisation in our fight for Swaraj. This appears to me to be the only remedy for our present malady and it is my earnest desire that the present President of the so-called Ceylon National Congress, Mr. Corea, whose name should be a guarantee of real patriotism, should not miss this golden opportunity of reuniting the different communities of this island and forming them into a really national organisation, forgetful of the least communal feelings and mindful of nothing but the common good of all Ceylonese.

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## A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

(Continued from page 1)

authority still regard growth in numbers, increase in buildings, success in examinations and sports as the only criteria of a successful institution. Traditional notions have acquired such a strong hold on the mind of the people. It is a pity that 19th century ideas are allowed to flourish in a rapidly changing 20th century world.

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