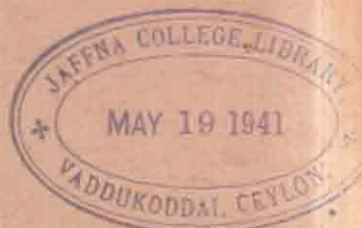


# THE Hindu Organ.

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NO. 6.

## SINGHALESE—TAMIL SPLIT

"THERE IS NO SUCH  
THING"

### GALLE MAYOR'S ADDRESS AT YOUTH CONGRESS

"THERE is no such thing as a Sinhalese-Tamil split except among opportunist Sinhalese and Tamil politicians. Let the workers of Jaffna unite with the workers of the South and work together for a workers' Government," declared Mr. W. Dahanayake, Mayor of Galle, speaking at the 2nd day's sessions of the Youth Congress. The pandal was uncomfortably crowded and several had to be satisfied with standing accommodation. Mr. C. Suntheralingam, the President, in introducing the speaker said that the Mayor of Galle was known throughout Ceylon as a man of the highest integrity—and integrity among their public men was a rare virtue.

Mr. Dahanayake addressing the mammoth gathering said that that was his first visit to Jaffna. He had heard many references to the people of Jaffna—some kind and others unkind. He had not believed either kind of reference. He had wanted to come and be in their midst and form his own opinion about them.

"I have been through your town for a few brief hours," the speaker continued "I have sat here and listened to your courageous and intellectual speeches. I have seen your bright and wistful faces, and I have formed my own opinion about you. You people of Jaffna are like your palmyra trees—uncompromising and unbending, straight and true."

After giving them the greetings of the Sinhalese of the South, Mr. Dahanayake continued:

"I can give you this message from South Ceylon. There is really no Sinhala Maha Sabha. There is only a Bandaranaike Maha Sabha. (Laughter and applause). To reduce it to its lowest term, it is only a rung in the ladder

of fame of Mr. Bandaranaike....."

India might have had independence, the speaker said, about twenty years ago, but for the mischievous activities of the communalists. Ceylon might have had independence but for the mischievous activities of persons like Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Ponnambalam. "The communalists form the fifth column of British Imperialism. They are the people who are insidiously selling our country to the Imperialists."

#### Immigration Problem

"The other momentous question you have to tackle in this Congress," continued the speaker, "is that of immigration. I think a very simple solution can be found only if those who are most interested in it namely, estate owners, will be fair and reasonable. It is not you or I who want the immigrants. It is the estate owner who wants the immigrants, and if only the estate owner will give his labourer better wages, better housing facilities and other amenities of life, I am sure a large number of Sinhalese and Tamils will be drawn into the estates. But so long as the wages are about 40 cents a day, I do not think any self-respecting Sinhalese or any self-respecting Jaffna Tamil would go into any one of the estates."

"I should like to tell you that in Galle, we have about 100 conservancy labourers, of whom about 90 are Sinhalese. These Sinhalese are drawn from the so-called high and low castes amongst the Sinhalese. They are not confined to the so-called low caste. The reason for all classes desiring to go in for that type of work is that a fair and reasonable wage ranging from 75 to 85 cents a day is paid. I think they deserve more and should get

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## OUTLAW CHARACTER OF FASCISM

By Harold Laski

FASCISM has no doctrine; it nourishes its power on the emotions of helpless grievance and angry hate; it promises revenge upon those who are represented as the makers of grievance and hate, and promises immediate redress both against them and what they have caused. The promises were, from the outset, impossible, partly because they were utterly contradictory and partly because, in their reckless immensity, they were really promises to lift the curse of Adam from the sons of men. But they were tactics cunningly devised. They came to peoples discontented and frustrated and smarting under the sense of intolerable humiliation. Everyone could find something there which seemed to apply to his own case; everyone felt sure that the pith of the movement was the remedy of his own particular grievance.

As movements, neither Italian nor German Fascism won the direct support of the solid and the successful. It won over to its side the discontented and the despairing, the bewildered little man, afraid of life, and eager at all costs to believe the incantations of these weavers of spells who had a magic formula for everything. It was colourful and dramatic; association with it filled many a life that would otherwise have been empty. It appealed enormously to the young; for it offered risks, and it gave a romantic career and an easy road to power.

#### Facade

Economic crisis and political disappointment fed the movement. It began to attract the attention of those to whom democratic institutions seemed a threat or a frustration—big business, the army, the high functionaries of the civil service, the aristocracy. These began to notice its possibilities, to form their underground connection with it. They commenced cautiously to finance its treasury, to discuss whether, in appropriate circumstances it might not prove useful. Private assurances were forthcoming

that its socialist proclamations were only a facade, necessary to deceive the masses. The essence of the movement, so they were informed, was above all, its hatred of Bolshevism, on the one hand, and its yearning for national regeneration on the other.

#### Privilege

The privileged interests which took these soundings had no doubt that these were their own objectives. They agreed that they meant the restoration of order and the disciplining of the masses. They became steadily more convinced that they could use the Fascist leaders for their purposes. It would mean the destruction of democracy. But it would mean security for their privileges, and relief from the torment of fear that Italy or Germany might move to revolution. They struck their bargain with Fascism in the confidence that their mercenaries were restoring to them the mastery of the state.

#### Capitalism in Decay

Here, of course, is the sense in which the Marxists are right in insisting that Fascism is the expression of capitalism in decay. But the analysis which stops there omits the vital factor in the equation. Privilege brought the Fascists to power as partners; and it is, I am confident, certain that without privilege, they would not have attained power. But it is fundamental to understand that the forces of privilege were as much deceived in their acceptance of Fascism as the masses who supported it. For the privileged wholly omitted from their consideration the character of their partners. They did not understand, until it was too late, that it was the outlaws whom they had brought to power.

#### Contempt for Masses

No emphasis upon that outlaw character of Fascism can be too great. It is inherent in the life-history of men who dominate its ranks. Not only were they failures in a "regime" under the rule of law. Not only did they have contempt for the

(Continued on page 4)





## Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1941

### THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

IN HIS STIRRING SPEECH THIS week Mr. Churchill spoke of the Battle of the Atlantic as the one on which, more than on anything else, rested the ultimate issue of this war between Dictatorship and Democracy. Hitler might win the battle of the Mediterranean or sweep through Turkey to the Middle East. These successes, even if he should attain them, would not, in his opinion, decide the war, however far they may go towards putting off the evil day for the Axis, or whatever difficulties they may put in the way of Britain. Unless and until he succeeds in cutting the life-line of communication with the American continent, or takes possession of the British Isles he cannot gain a decision or compel Britain to sue for peace. As the possibility of a successful invasion of Britain has receded farther and farther, the Battle of the Atlantic assumes an importance all its own. Two hundred million English-speaking peoples in the Empire and the United States can eventually turn the scale against 75 million Germans and some 40 million indifferent Italians. The difference in resources is even more striking. It is for these obvious reasons that General Smuts stated last week that as in the last war Germany might win victories but would lose the war. But the next few months are anxious ones for Britain. There are three great dangers—the shipping loss, aerial bombing and the threat to the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. Hitler force a decision in summer? We do not see any possibility of this, if America sends adequate aid in time. That is why the American leaders are putting their heads together to speed up the war effort and to combat the menace to shipping.

What are the prospects of the Battle of the Atlantic? No facts and figures of the shipping loss is now available. So we cannot say definitely whether it has gone down or increased. Roosevelt has promised to send American convoys half way across the Atlantic. That will be no small relief to the British Navy. The necessary legislation will be rushed through the Congress to enable the President to send American naval units as convoys, even if it means war with Germany. American air force

might be posted at different stages on the route to give warning of the presence of German submarines or surface raiders. That means that America will not merely give the tools for Britain to fight the enemy with, but is going to deliver them. Besides a good many merchant ships, including those of the enemy and of neutral countries under enemy occupation now lying in American harbours, may be handed over to Britain. Further in the last war the menace to shipping in 1917 was more serious than at present. But the U. S. A. was able to build faster than Germany was able to sink and to save the situation. There is no reason why the same thing should not take place in this war also. Only one thing is necessary. The American mind should be stirred to its depths. That is what is happening or will soon happen.

If American naval units take part in convoying war material to Britain, American entry into the war is inevitable. Nazi submarines or surface raiders might provoke an attack. American ships might be sunk. That will provide an occasion for a declaration of war by America. Then will come the turn of the tide. The American democracy with its genius for big-scale production will swing itself heart and soul into the war business. The Democracies will then be in a position to attain parity in the air and will soon pass on to superiority. Then will the war industries of Germany receive a smashing blow and Nazi power will collapse behind the lines through internal revolution. With American assistance, the Battle of the Atlantic on which the issue of the war ultimately depends will be won before long.

### FIRST HAND - PAPER FACTORY IN CEYLON

MINISTER TO PERFORM OPENING CEREMONY

### JAFFNA YOUTHS' ENTERPRISE

The first hand paper factory to be started by a public body in the Island will be opened in Jaffna on Saturday, the 3rd instant, and Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Minister for Education, will declare it open.

The Youths' Social Service League, Jaffna, under whose auspices the factory will be run, have rented out a commodious building for this purpose on the Jaffna-Kankesanur Road near the U. C. limit.

### Saiva Paripalana Sabha Library & Reading Room

The Saiva Paripalana Sabha Library and Reading Room will be opened tomorrow at 5 p.m.

Mr. N. Kathiresapillai of Perumal Kovilady, Jaffna, has presented to this Library fifty books on Tamil literature and Hindu philosophy.

### "A COLOSSAL BLUNDER"

GALLE MAYOR ON JAFFNA'S ANTI-MUNICIPALITY DECISION

### POLITICAL PARTIES IN SOUTH CEYLON

"I am extremely sorry that Jaffna had turned down the proposal for establishing a Municipality here. My candid opinion is that it has been a colossal blunder" declared W. Dahanayake the Mayor of Galle, who was in Jaffna for the Youth Congress Sessions when interviewed by a representative of the "Hindu Organ".

"From what I have been able to hear" he continued, "I gather a propaganda of distorted facts was carried on among the masses, by certain interested parties—whose ultimate object was to prevent certain gentlemen from becoming mayor etc; These people, I gather, have been going round and telling people that a municipality would mean increased taxation, and pulling down cadjan fences and huts. In fact I must say that this was malicious propaganda to mislead the ignorant public. I am sorry, men of ability and vision did not attempt to put a stop to this nefarious propaganda. In truth, a municipal council with really able representatives could do much to ameliorate the condition of the ratepayers than a U. C. which would constantly be pulled up by a Local Government Board which is ignorant of the local conditions. I hope Jaffna would realise its mistake and vote for the introduction of Municipality."

Asked about the position of political parties in South Ceylon, Mr. Dahanayake said:—"There are only two political parties in South Ceylon. The Congress party is strengthening itself, and is making headway. The Lanka Sama Samaj party, though it has got a large amount of sympathisers among the masses, is not properly organised just at present."

"What do you think of the Sinhala Maha Sabha which is trumpeting itself?" intervened our representative.

"There is no Sinhala Maha Sabha in South Ceylon", put came the reply "but I know of a family clique of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. This Banda Maha Sabha has neither a following nor any sympathy among the masses."

As regards the recent somersault of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Mr. Dahanayake told our representative. We couldn't expect any thing better from Mr. Bandaranaike. One of the inherent defects of the Donoughmore Constitution is the committee system, by which a person whatever his abilities are, by clever machinations could get hold of three or four supporters and could become a minister with their help, and do whatever with the support of their clique; It is no use blaming Mr. Bandaranaike; as long as this pernicious system is there, it is possible for people like Mr. Bandaranaike to become Ministers and jeopardise the country."

Mr. Dahanayake had something to say regarding the Jaffna Cigar trade in Galle. There the trade was declining, he said, due to the competition of beedies and cigarette. The taste of the smoking public had changed. But the quality of the Jaffna cigar had not changed. Unless and until that was done there was no hope for the industry in

### Training School for Hindus & Muslims

Batticaloa's Demand

Education Sub-Committee Visits Site

THE Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of Education consisting of Messrs. A. Ratnayakke, T. B. Jayah and Wannigasegara appointed to visit Batticaloa and to report on the question of a Tamil Training School for the Eastern Province visited Batticaloa on the 22nd ultimo and were received at the Railway Station by Mr. S. Dharmaratnam, Member of the State Council, and others interested in the project. It will be recalled that the people of Batticaloa particularly the Hindus and Muslims protested against the proposal of the Education Department to establish a Training Centre in Batticaloa and sent a deputation to Colombo to interview the Hon'ble the Minister of Education and other members of the Executive Committee of Education. The present sub-committee was appointed as a result of these representations.

On the same day a public meeting of the people was held to accord a reception to these visitors at Nindoor, a village 23 miles to the south of Batticaloa presided over by Mr. S. Dharmaratnam, M. S. C. Mudaliar M. S. Kariapper and Mr. V. Nalliah referred to the educational requirements of Muslims and Hindus. Mudaliar M. S. Kariapper in the course of his address said that the Muslims had lagged behind the other Communities in educational progress because of their zealous adherence to their Religion. The language, they spoke, had no connection with their religion, and hence their stagnation. Their Koran schools had to be abolished if their educational institutions were to flourish and the Koran schools could be closed only if Government provided for the teaching of Arabic in schools in Muslim areas. The Muslims were grateful to the Tamils for having been teachers of their children in the past, but their gratitude should not blind them to the fact that real educational progress of Muslim children would be possible only if they had Muslim teachers; hence they wanted a Training School to train Muslim Teachers. He asserted that the two Christian Training Schools in Batticaloa had not trained a single Muslim teacher.

Mr. V. Nalliah in the course of his address said that the educational backwardness of the Hindus was due to their want of zeal for their religion. The faith of the Muslims had saved them, and the want of it, he feared, had damned the Hindus of Batticaloa for ever. The Muslims were incomparably in a

(Continued on page 5)

South Ceylon in the near future.

"What is the economic condition of the masses in South Ceylon?" inquired our representative. "It is deplorable and heart-rending. Poverty, ignorance and hunger are the order of the day. Whatever the politicians may say, there is no use hiding the fact."

"What is your remedy," asked our representative.

"The whole social order should be overhauled and a new system established. No piece-meal reforms could remedy. A Government for the masses should be established."



## "CHEVALIER" AN ENEMY TITLE!

### OBJECTIONS TO ITS USE

#### BREEZY URBAN COUNCIL MEETING

**O**BJECTION to the use of the title "Chevalier" as it was conferred by an enemy country and not by the British, was taken by a nominated member of the Jaffna Urban Council at last Monday's meeting of the Council.

The meeting was held in the Office of the Council with Mr. R. Sivagurunathan in the chair.

Mr. C. Ponnambalam moved the following resolutions:—"That this Council resolves to reject in toto the scientific assessment of the Local Government Valuer from 1942 onwards, and to get the annual value of properties within its limits assessed forthwith by assessors with knowledge of local conditions and to recover assessment rates from 1942 onwards on the new assessment of the assessors with knowledge of local conditions."

"This Council further resolves to invite applications immediately for appointment as assessors."

The Chairman said that they knew about the motion and it was not necessary to make a speech.

Mr. Ponnambalam:—"I am entitled to speak. We are fighting the Nazis so that there might be liberty of speech in the world. You cannot in fringe on my right as a Member."

Proceeding Mr. Ponnambalam said that the Ratepayers' Association before the election had in every leaflet issued by them condemned the scientific assessment and wanted the annual value of properties to be assessed by assessors who knew the local conditions. The Ratepayers Association had a so several public meetings and passed resolutions requesting the Urban Council to reject in toto the scientific assessment. The Ratepayers' Association had also gone to Colombo on deputation to the Minister for Local Administration to have the scientific assessment rejected. Now he (the speaker) was giving an opportunity to the Members returned by the Ratepayers' Association to fulfill their election promises. The Ratepayers' Association had issued a leaflet before the elections enumerating twelve qualities which a Member of the Urban Council should possess, one of which was that a Member should not promise one thing before the election. Mr. Ponnambalam further said that Mr. Aboobucker had made an insinuation that he (the speaker) had influenced the Local Government Valuer to assess the properties within his (speaker's) ward low.

Chairman: "You are bringing this motion to spite Mr. Aboobucker."

Mr. Ponnambalam: "Spite may be in your veins but not in mine. I am anxious to co-operate but you do not want to co-operate. I am bringing this resolution for the ratepayers of the town and not my ward."

In conclusion Mr. Ponnambalam said that he did not want other than a Member of the Rate-Payers' Association group to second the motion.

Mr. K. Aiyadurai seconded.

On being put to the house the motion was lost, only the proposer, the seconder and Mr. V. Suppiah voting for it.

#### An "Enemy Title"

When Mr. Arulanandam rose to move the resolution standing in his name to reduce the rent recovered from the tenements at the Reclamation Grounds Mr. Charles Pathirana objected to the word "Chevalier" as it appeared on the agenda and said

that Mr. Arulanandam might move the motion but not as Chevalier Arulanandam as the title 'Chevalier' was conferred on him by an enemy country. That Honour was not conferred by the British Government.

Mr. Arulanandam:—Mr. Pathirana does not understand the dignity of the honour which was conferred on him by His Holiness the Pope who was not an enemy of the British Empire.

Mr. Arulanandam in moving the resolution spoke about the poverty of the dwellers and the tenements at Karayoor and he hoped that the Council would accept his motion to reduce the rent from Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 2 a month.

Mr. Pathirana: "I know Sir, Mr. Arulanandam had promised before the elections, and that is why he has brought this motion."

Mr. S. M. Aboobucker seconded the motion.

It was decided that the Chairman should write to the Commissioner of Local Government asking permission to reduce the rent.

The motion requesting the Member for Jaffna in the State Council to introduce a motion in that Council so as to bring in legislation empowering all the Urban Councils in Ceylon to levy an entertainment tax from Cinema shows, dramatic entertainments and the like within the respective jurisdiction of each such Council, which was moved by Mr. Arulanandam was passed.

When Mr. Arulanandam got up to move the motion that early steps should be taken to deepen the tanks with the Urban area and beautify the surroundings and that a sum of Rs. 1000 be voted to start the work early, Mr. Pathirana got up and was interrupting Mr. Arulanandam in spite of the repeated requests of the Chairman.

Chairman: (In a loud voice) "I suspend you. Will you please leave the hall."

Mr. Pathirana:—I had not done anything. I will not leave the hall."

Mr. Ponnambalam:—You have no power under the Bye-Laws to suspend the Member. There must be a resolution of the Council.

Chairman:—Mr. Pathirana, will you apologise.

Mr. Pathirana:—I will not apologise to anybody. If I had done anything to you Sir, I apologise.

Continuing to speak on the resolution Mr. Arulanandam said: "That having been accustomed to move in the society of gentle folk such rude outlandish, vulgar and barbarous behaviour was extremely shocking to his sense of decency. He hoped that the Members would pass the resolution."

The resolution on being seconded was passed.

Mr. Pathirana moved that "this Council resolves to grant a war time allowance of 5% to all employees of the Council drawing a salary of less than Rs. 600 per annum."

There being no seconder the motion was lost.

The following resolution moved by Mr. Pathirana was passed.

"That this Council resolves to make the temporary employment of the clerk for assessment work permanent on a salary of Rs. 25 per mensem."

#### Wanted

A young capable clerk with good knowledge in Tamil, English, Type-writing and Accounts. Salary Rs. 30/- P. M. Security Rs. 500/- either by personal bond and deposit or by immovable property to the required value.

Applicants should be residents of Vaddukoddai Parish.

Apply before 20th May, 1941, with testimonials.

CHAIRMAN  
V. C., Vaddukoddai.

(Mis. 18, 1 & 5-5-41)

## Best Contribution of the R. K. Mission

### Students' Home and Vidyalaya

#### Social and Educational Uplift Work

"THE Students' Home and Shivananda Vidyalaya represent the best contribution the Ramakrishna Mission is making in the fields of social and educational uplift of the people of this part of the Island", says the report for last year of the Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home and Shivananda Vidyalaya, Batticaloa.

The following are further extracts from the report:—

A "generally successful year" is how we would like to characterise the twelve months that have passed between the issue of the first report in April, 1940 and now; success both in the progress we have made towards the attainment of our ideals and in the achievement we are happy to record in the following pages.

No subject has engaged the attention of the general public during the course of the year to a greater extent than educational reform. There has been something approaching a revolt against the indifference with which the present system is allowed to drift. Although no alternative of a practical nature has been suggested, yet we feel encouraged to invite the attention of all interested in the education of our young, to the small success we have achieved in giving the present system a new orientation that is suited to the needs of the country. It has been our constant aim to offer the best in the present educational system at a cost which most parents of a poor country like ours can afford. We have endeavoured also to make up for what the present system lacks. We lay a special emphasis on the essentials of man-making and character-building education according to the ideals of Swami Vivekananda. Our strength lies in the harmonious blending of these two aspects of education. The success we have achieved in this modest experiment and the encouragement and support we had received from well-wishers and friends, give us the hope that we are contributing our humble quota towards the solution of this most perplexing problem of our times.

#### The Hostel

The students who were resident in the Shivananda Hostel may be classified as follows: 41 monthly boarders, 17 weekly boarders and 15 day boarders. Though the response to our appeal for funds to start the extension to the Kamalalaya buildings has not been encouraging, we are glad to announce that a well-wisher has promised to bear the entire cost of a permanent dining hall and the construction will be undertaken as soon as materials are available.

The responsibility for the administration and maintenance of the hostel were vested in committees elected by the boarders. Ministers were in charge of the following portfolios: supply, health and sanitation. Besides the training in responsibility which

this system provides, it is found in practice as the best method for the smooth running of the hostel.

Every attention and care was given to bring up the residents in a healthy and religious atmosphere and special emphasis was laid to train them in thrift, self-help and in the formation of regular and healthy habits.

#### The Students' Home

The object of this institution is to provide free boarding, lodging and education to needy and deserving children and train them as useful citizens. Though the home has a fixed quota, the door of the Home is always open for needy and deserving pupils.

During the year 4 left and 10 students were admitted, and the total number on roll was 39.

All the students received English education and in this respect the institution is a unique one in the Island. Progress made in studies by the students of the Home was generally satisfactory. 4 sat for the J. S. C. Examination and all were successful. Six students are expected to sit for the next S. S. C. Examination to be held in August. The students are made to feel that they have infinite potentialities in them and this has encouraged the boys to progress fairly in their classes and public examinations.

#### Training

The whole life of the Home is centered round the shrine attached to it, and this affords the students an opportunity for individual and congregational prayer, for silent Japam and meditation, as well as for elaborate worship on festive occasions like Sri Saraswati Puja, etc. The daily morning and evening Pujas are in the hands of the students themselves. It is the aim of the Home to see that every boy admitted should start practising religion and be conscious of the ultimate aim of life viz. spiritual unfoldment. A healthy spirit of love and toleration for all religions is instilled in the minds of the students and to achieve this the portraits of all the prophets of and Avatars have been placed in the Home and their birthdays are observed.

The administration of the Home was chiefly in the hands of the boys themselves. All household duties including purchase of provisions, serving food, nursing of the sick, cleaning and washing and keeping the surroundings neat and clean were entrusted to them. Besides, the students work in the kitchen-garden daily and the yield from it, despite the poverty of the soil and the dryness of the climate, was very satisfactory.

Careful attention is paid to ensure the good health and well-being of the inmates by a well regulated life, a balanced and nutritious diet, regular exercises and outdoor activities. Half an hour is set apart daily for doing Yogic Asanas. Every effort is made to make the inmates live a life of true Bhaktacharya and inspire them with high ideals of sacrifice and service.

#### Finance

The income of the Home is hardly sufficient to meet the requirements of the present number of inmates. Every year as the demand on its useful services increases the Home is faced with financial difficulties. The grant which the Government makes for

(Continued on page 5)



## A FIVE-POINT POLICY FOR THE YOUTH CONGRESS

### HOW THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN DEMORALISED

#### MR. SUNTHERALINGAM'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(Continued from our last issue)

ONE cannot ignore the fact that during the past two decades Ceylon has afforded a happy hunting ground for Communalists. But if one analyses the situation closely one discovers that the disease is something more teacherous than it appears. It is really Egoistic Individualism which seeks advancement by using the name of some Community or other. In other words, Communalism is Egoistic Individualism thwarted and canouflaged. You will remember the hey-day of the Ceylon National Congress. When the Leaders of Ceylon were united in the service of their country, they could make their demands to Downing Street and hope to have them fulfilled. But what happened? When it came to a question of sharing the loaves and fishes of office individual vanity got the better of public weal. If Sir Henry de Mel and his group had not outwitted and tricked Sir P. Arunachalam in a weak moment, would the All-Ceylon Tamil League have been born overnight at Poonkari after being conceived at Queen's House? If the supplications of the Member for Jaffna after the last General Election, had received satisfactory response from the Leaders of the South and he had been made a Minister of State would he be continuing to create and exploit communal feeling amongst the Jaffna Tamils? Or again, if in regard to appointments, transfers, and promotions, those concerned—it may be Ministers, it may be Heads of Departments—acted justly, without fear of favour, affection or illwill, would there be that intense feeling displayed when various Members of the Public Services meet in private and discuss their individual careers and grievances? More recently, after the State Council Orders-in-Council were introduced and Executive Committees were given the power to make recommendations, a regular system of trafficking in jobs has come into vogue. No appointment is too small, no appointment is too big for the brokers who know how to negotiate with their political principles! I can cite to you, instance after instance, to my personal knowledge, when selections to public posts were made on most unworthy considerations. I ask you in all earnestness and sincerity has not Ceylon become more corrupted and debased since the Donoughmore Constitution was introduced? The people of the country were given the privilege of the adult franchise so that they may make their voices and votes felt in the good government of the country. But how have they used and how are they using that privilege? They allow themselves to be bribed or boozed. The

more unscrupulous of the representatives so elected seek to make good their election expenses when it comes, shall we say, to the selection of a Chief Headman. The Chief Headman so appointed does not hesitate to reimburse himself when he has to make appointments of minor Headmen. And the minor Headmen, in their turn are not above the corruption of prospective candidates for elections to Councils. And Members and Ministers always have their eyes and ears on the next elections. The vicious circle is thus complete. The country becomes demoralised, and the youth disillusioned. And instead of being under a Government by a Democracy we find ourselves under a Government by a Scoundrelocracy! We have only ourselves to blame for this state of affairs.

In such a state, what is the task before the Congress? What should their Policy be, and what their Programme? We cannot be content with passing resolutions; we have to be more energetic and active. I would humbly suggest to you and through you to the Country at large a Five-Point Policy which we should translate into action:

- (1) Ceylon for the Ceylonese.
- (2) Equal Opportunities for all Ceylonese.
- (3) Impartial Recognition of Merit.
- (4) Unity and Amity of Ceylonese Peoples.
- (5) Self-Determination for Ceylon.

I do not think it necessary to elaborate these points in detail. They speak for themselves. Unless we conserve the resources of Ceylon for the welfare of the Ceylonese we will have to continue in a hapless state. Until recently we have followed the policy of the open door with results I have already indicated to you. I do not know of any other country which has to formulate unemployment relief schemes and at the same time acquiesce in the entry (though to some extent regulated) of outsiders. We cannot in one and the same breath ask for self-government and proclaim to the world that we do not have a Ceylonese good enough, for instance, to be the Principal of a Secondary School. We must discontinue from now onwards the indenting of European and other non-Ceylonese officers for service in this country. No European however well intentioned he may be, unless he be a missionary or an exceptional man, can divest himself of his Imperial propensity or the pride of his race. If we do not in this

(Continued on page 5)

## Sinhalese—Tamil Split

(Continued from page 1)

more. The point that I am driving is, if you offer attractive terms, our people will be only too happy to go and work on the states.

### Ministers Criticised

"So that, my friends, the correct solution to this problem is to stop immigration completely and to give greater facilities to the workers of our land. The National Government of India has been our friend in this matter. But in contrast see the treacherous behaviour of our Board of Ministers. This man Bandaranaike makes the masses believe that he wants to drive out the Indians from Ceylon, but study the Bill which he has sponsored. According to that Bill, it is possible for immigrants to come to Ceylon in the future at the bidding of estate owners. You see how the Senanayake-Bandaranaike combination have played the traitor over this question.

"As for the other question of the voting rights of Indians, I think the real trouble is that the Bandaranaike Maha Sabha wants to collar the few seats that are in the hands of the Indians. So that this question has been very clumsily handled by the Board of Ministers.

### Purity and Courage

"And if I would give you a message or through you to the youth of the whole land it would be this: In all your political activities endeavour to maintain a spotless purity and dauntless courage. I am glad that your President made reference to the corruption that prevails among the public men of Ceylon. I know of some State Councillors who will ask questions in the State Council—questions ranging from the parish pump to astrology—if you give them one rupee per question. (Loud laughter).

"I know of certain Committees in which three or four have got together and formed a gang. The four form a majority in the Committee, and whenever an appointment has to be made or an honour is to be conferred, money has to be given to the leader of the gang for distribution.

"This disease is not confined to State Councillors only. I know of Municipal Councillors, Urban Councillors and Village Committee members who work in league with contractors. That is why, my dear friends, I told you that you must endeavour to maintain a spotless purity in your public activities.

"I also said that there should be dauntless courage in your breast. I am grieved that you have changed the words 'Complete Independence' to 'Self Determination' in your resolution. We want complete, full and absolute independence, and that independence means that we will not allow our capitalists to rule over us. I am grieved that your courage has fallen somewhat. Perhaps your able President has some scheme in view when he supported the change in the resolution. If he does not re-introduce the original words, you should force his hands to do so."

### "Threatened" by Governor

Continuing, Mr. Dahanayake said that he had asked them to have dauntless courage in their breast. They might be aware of the recent

## Outlaw Character of Fascism

(Continued from page 1)

masses who accepted a rule in which they got most of the toil, and little of the gain of living; they had contempt for the masses because, as outlaws, they had rejected a rule which, normally, confined them to poverty and failure. But they hated, also, the forces of privilege because it was these which had made the rules which condemned them to failure. To accept a partnership with them would mean an acceptance of rules against which, as experience had shown them in their own lives, the revolt they themselves had symbolised was certain, sooner or later, to be provoked. To accept any rules meant a Government under law; that was a denial of their own inherent nature.

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(Mis 9, 24 4—1-5-41.)

example of cowardice on the part of a Minister. He referred, he said, to his good friend Mr. Bandaranaike. When the Governor threatened to remove him from office, Mr. Bandaranaike cowed down and changed his views. The roaring lion of yester-eve was most wonderfully transformed into a timorous mouse, the next day. Such a man, the speaker said, was not fit to be even a Village Committee member. In contrast to Mr. Bandaranaike's act on there was the courageous action of four Sama Samajists, who, refusing to give any undertaking, were today languishing in jail.

The speaker said that if he were to be a State Councillor he would advocate a cut in the Governor's salary as His Excellency was opening carnivals in aid of war charities beset with gambling.

### Minister of Education

Referring to education in Ceylon, Mr. Dahanayake said that it was up to Jaffna, which led from the point of literacy, to give the country a lead in education. For eight years there had been a man of the South at the Head of Education, and he had made a mess of it. He (the speaker) would look forward with confidence to the time when the President of that Congress of whom All-Ceylon was proud would be Minister for Education. "With your help we want him to effect a radical change in the present system of education. That system must be smashed to bits and out of its debris a new system, whereby equal opportunities would be given to all children whether rich or poor, should rise."

Before concluding Mr. Dahanayake said that there was no such thing as a Sinhalese Tamil split, except among opportunist Sinhalese and Tamil politicians. "Let the workers of Jaffna unite with the workers of the South and work together for a Workers' Government," he urged.



## A Five-Point Policy for the Youth Congress

(Continued from page 4)

country have men with the requisite technical qualifications and experience for technical posts we can do no better than follow the policy of Japan and Mysore and send our nationals abroad, to the best country, not necessarily England, to acquire those qualifications and experience. When we compare the present state of Ceylon with that of Mysore, a country comparable with ours, we cannot but feel the great humiliation in which we find ourselves. To realise what the glories of the Esala Perahera Procession of the Dalada Maligawa at Kandy should be one has to see the Dasara Procession in Mysore City! One would almost be inclined to lose oneself in emotion at the glories that have disappeared under a non-Ceylonese rule.

We have, besides, imitated the ways of our rulers in many directions. Indeed it is our aping of them which has made us adopt false standards of living and made visitors to Colombo wonder whether that city was not a bit of brown West-End in the Indian Ocean. We were compelled to encumber our flourishing coconut and rubber estates to non-Ceylonese and ultimately to bring ruin on ourselves and on our descendants. Where the Soysas and the Muttucumaraswamis held sway the Adams and the Adamjees now rule.

All our difficulties of communalism would disappear if only we accept the twin principles of "equal opportunities for all" and "impartial recognition of merit." We have yet to outlive an effete social system. We have yet to free our own people from an obsolete bondage. We have above all to realise that Democracy is an empty name unless we recognise and press into our service talent from whatever quarter it may come. In fact it is our failure to recognise this fundamental virtue of Democracy which has brought on us most of our troubles. Nor can we achieve anything great without actively promoting and establishing the unity and amity of Ceylonese peoples. In the Ceylon of to-day there is room for only two parties: the exploited and the exploiters; the Ceylonese and the non-Ceylonese. One sees a growing *rap-proachment* between the two main groups of the exploiters, and unless the various groups of the exploited combine to resist, they will only be committing national suicide. Will one be pleading in vain if one were to appeal to the leaders of those groups to put aside their sectional animosities and petty differences and unite in a common cause? For good or for evil, for weal or for woe, those who call themselves the peoples of this country, who have no other home but Ceylon, who have no other Government to look to for their protection but the Government in this land, must stand together. There is already a slow fusion of the races going on but even without that fusion we should be able to say Ceylon is a Nation. If you look at countries such as Switzerland or Canada

you will find that there are different ethnical and linguistic groups, nevertheless they have a common loyalty and allegiance to the land where their forebears and they were born and where their posterity too will be born. After all is it difficult for us who are born in Ceylon, who live in Ceylon and who must die in Ceylon to consider ourselves as brothers? Once we evolve that feeling of oneness and of brotherhood nothing can prevent us from realising the Freedom that we long for. I go further: Is it ethically right for a minor section of a subject people which is unable to come to an understanding with the major section to stand in their way of winning their freedom? At worst, the former will only be changing their masters. Speaking for myself, and knowing the capacity and methods of British Rule and the possible capacity and methods of Singhalese Rule, I will have no hesitation in preferring the latter. The history of Ceylon is replete with events which show that if the Tamils so willed it, they were able to assert themselves effectively. Ceylon was most prosperous, for example, during the Polonnaruwa period when the inhabitants, Singhalese and Tamils, lived and laboured together in harmony. If you go to the *Ruanweli Saya*, there you will find, in the same sacred shrine, images of *Vishnu*, *Karthigeya* and *Buddha*, and on either side *Duttugemunu* and *Elala* with their respective followers. That shrine is, to my mind, symbolic of what is enshrined in our annals. We have between ourselves fought and won and lost battles, but the victors and the vanquished, in a feeling of mutual respect, which has no parallel in the whole world, have lived side by side through centuries.

That brings me to the last point. Hitherto we have had our constitution decided for us over our heads. Is it not possible for us to get together at a conference and in a spirit of mutual adjustment, of give and take, frame a constitution which though it may not be an ideal constitution will have the merit of securing the co-operation of us all? In the past we have had to work constitutions of foreign invention. And you know only too well by experience that those constitutions, in their manner of meeting out justice to the various people of Ceylon, always took care to weave into themselves that kind of justice which the fox in the fable meted out to the monkeys when called upon to partition the cheese for them. Are we so politically bankrupt that we are unable to formulate an agreed constitution on which alone the prosperity of Ceylon will depend? It is neither feasible, nor desirable, that demands should be put forward by one section of the people and that they should be accepted or rejected by the other sections. We have been told that pending the war no reform schemes will be promulgated, but does that mean that Ceylonese should not get together and devise ways and means to bring about a unity of purpose in their own Government.

Friends, I started my address by considering the position of

## Best Contribution Of The R. K. Mission

(Continued from page 3)

towards the maintenance i. e. Rs. 75 per year per boy is really inadequate to meet the wants of even the quota of 29 that has been fixed by the Department. Ten boys more than this number are now resident. The cost of maintaining these extra ten and the amount required to supplement the Government grant have to be met annually, though not encouraging, by way of subscriptions and house-to-house rice collection.

### Our Appeal

The Students' Home and Shivananda Vidyalaya represent the best contribution the Ramakrishna Mission is making in the fields of social and educational uplift of the people of this part of the Island. The friends of the Mission are aware of the work the Mission is doing in these spheres in the various parts of India and other countries and the success that has attended its efforts. Like all other philanthropic activities of the Mission the Vidyalaya and the Home depend for its successful working on public support and sympathy. The Vidyalaya requires an infirmary and a workshop. These are our immediate needs. We fully realise the difficult times in which we are living, and the greater difficulties that lie ahead; but these should not detract us from the goal that we have set before us. Every war is followed by peace and every period of destruction by one of construction. The Vidyalaya and the Home are catering to the needs of a generation that has to face the heavy responsibility of post-war reconstruction. The success of this would depend on the measure to which we train our young men.

In conclusion we extend our appeal to the generous public to continue their active sympathy and co-operation and to come forward with contributions for the day-to-day working of these institutions. Those who make private charities for helping poor students may probably spend through this institution, where every cent they spend will be properly utilised. Our appeal goes in the name of unfortunate poor children, and we fervently hope that it will evoke hearty response. Contributions, however small will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

Ceylon in a would-be world system after the war. I cannot but conclude in a same strain. We in Ceylon know, even though vaguely, the suffering and the sacrifice which the Youth of Britain are under going to retain the liberty of their land. How much more should be the suffering and sacrifice of the Youth of Ceylon to regain their lost liberty? If we in Ceylon are to attain our best self-realisation we must go forward united and remove from our midst those causes of distrust and suspicion which make us so divided and so miserable.

For that task no one is more fitted than the Youth of Ceylon. Would they prove themselves equal to it and thus enable their Common Motherland to realise Her Destiny?

## Training School for Hindus & Muslims

(Continued from page 2)

better position than the Hindus, for the present government was supplying all the educational needs of the Muslims while the same government found that it could not, even though it wished, supply the educational needs of the Hindus. Of the 121 assisted schools only about 12 were Hindu Schools while the 71 Government schools of the Province were mostly in Muslim villages. The Hindus in Batticaloa had no organisation analogous to the Hindu Board in the north to work for them. They had to look up to the Government for aid, and he was sure, that the present Government would help them. They wanted only justice and fairplay. Commenting on the question of site, the speaker said, there were no differences between the Muslims and Hindus. The Hindus would never object to the Training School being situated in a Muslim village. But, what the Muslims and Hindus wanted was a Training school and not a Training Centre and that immediately.

Mr. T. B. Jayah, M. S. C., a member of the sub-committee addressed the gathering next. He said the Government realised the educational backwardness of the Muslims. In his endeavour to improve the position of the Muslims he was receiving full support from the Sinhalese. Everything possible was being done to quicken the pace of progress. The Government had decided to make provision for the teaching of Arabic in schools in Muslim areas. He appealed to the Muslims to co-operate with the authorities for without their full co-operation the Government's best efforts would fail.

Mr. A. Ratnayakke, the chairman of the sub-committee, thanked the people for the reception they had accorded the members of the sub-committee. As members of the Executive Committee of Education they were keenly interested in their problems and he assured them that the Select Committee of Education would go into all those problems. The Government was doing everything possible to improve education among the Muslims. The educational problems of the Hindus were different and complicated, but the select Committee would devise ways of helping them.

The various sites suggested were inspected by the members on the 22nd and on the 23rd and after prolonged discussion the members decided to make the following recommendations to the Executive Committee of Education:—

1 The Old Rest House Buildings, at Addalechenai, a village 38 miles to the South of Batticaloa, be made use of to open a Tamil Training School in Batticaloa.

2 The money provided in the Estimates be used to improve the buildings.

3 The Training School should give preference to only Hindus and Muslims. (Cor.)

### Obituary

MISS C. THILAGAWATHY

We regret to record the sad and untimely death at the age of 15 of Miss Thilagawathy, youngest daughter of Mr. N. Candaswamy of the Puttalam Kachcheri, which occurred at Puttalam on Friday last. The remains were brought to Thalaiyali, Jaffna, where the funeral was held on Saturday and was largely attended. Our sincere condolences to the bereaved.



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### Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT  
OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 982

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Mailvaganam Vaithilingam of Sandilipay Deceased.

1. M. Thiruvilangam and wife

2. Kamadchisundram of Sandilipay, presently of Dematagoda

Vs.

Petitioners.

J. M. Somasundram of Jaffna

Respondent.

This matter of the petition of the petitioners praying that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to the 2nd named petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna, on the 4th day of February 1941, in the presence of Mr. S. T. Narajah, Proctor on the part of the petitioners, and the affidavit of the Petitioners dated the 29th day of January 1941, having been read, it is declared that the 2nd petitioner abovenamed be and is hereby entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate and the same be issued to her unless the Respondent or any other person shall on or before the 21st day of March 1941 appear before this Court and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 25th day of February 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.

Extended and reissued for 2-5-1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.

(O. 1. 28 & 1-5-41.)



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