

THE Hindu Organ.

The Only Newspaper in Ceylon for the Hindus

Editor:
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Wanted—A National Government

In Other Lands

IN great Britain and other parts of the Empire, coalition Ministries have been formed since the outbreak of the war with the object of securing national unity and the co-operation of all classes and communities in the successful prosecution of the war. Never has there been greater need for unity and co-operation. With a resourceful and determined enemy knocking at the gates, no part of the Empire, however insignificant, can afford to weaken itself by internal dissensions or to allow its energies to be diverted from the main object of winning the war. In India the resignation of the Congress Ministers was a grave misfortune. Opinion is still divided on the question as to who was in the wrong—the British Government or the Congress leaders? With the co-operation of the conservative section of the Indian public, the Government has been able to carry on, but even this has been found to be unsatisfactory and a Defence Council composed of representatives of various communities and interests has been set up. A similar step has been taken in Burma. It is clear, therefore, that the British Empire has taken to heart the lesson of the Bordeaux capitulation. The collapse of France has demonstrated, if demonstration were indeed needed, the danger of national disunion, of leaders divided amongst themselves, of factions trying to achieve domination while the country itself was threatened with destruction. Only in Ceylon we have failed to learn this lesson.

In Ceylon

THE present Communal Board of Ministers was formed before the outbreak of the war. It was formed with the avowed object of excluding representatives of other communities from the Ministry. The leaders who perpetrated this piece of supreme folly called it a homogeneous Board of Ministers. Having secured

"Homogeneous" Ministry Has Failed

Governor's Duty in Present Situation

(By the Editor)

homogeneity, they thought, or pretended to think, that they had secured the unity and co-operation of all communities. How anyone, with any claim to statesmanship, could have come to believe in this pretence passes one's comprehension. They have now gone further. They say that the other communities are not prepared to co-operate and, therefore, the British Government should not mind them. It is even suggested that the interests of these Communities are negligible. A graver crime had never before been committed against a whole country. Let it be remembered that the present Ministry was formed before the war on strictly communal lines. The leaders responsible for it supported the move with the argument that a Ministry like this was necessary to put forward a "united" demand for more reforms. After this display of political ineptitude, they were unwise to think that any Government morally and in point of actual fact responsible for the well-being of all the communities of this island would be willing to delegate its authority to those who were certain to misuse it. Besides, the whole situation has been radically altered by the outbreak of war. As long as the war lasts, it is not likely that the Secretary of State for the Colonies is going to let loose on this country a further instalment of reforms without previous and detailed examination of all that has happened as a result of the acceptance of the Donoughmore Constitution. For all practical purposes it may be safely assumed that the present Board of Ministers is going to stay in power unless the leaders them-

selves repent of their folly or the Governor himself intervenes to secure the co-operation of all other communities in the task of administration in the only way in which it can be secured.

The Great Mistake

THE great mistake made by Sir D. B. Jayatilleke was to look upon the Board of Ministers as a sort of political club for the dissemination of radical ideas on reform. He and his colleagues felt that the representatives of the other communities, if they were included in the Board, might refuse to fall in with these ideas. But, was it necessary in the interests of the country, in the interests of the majority community itself, to convert the Ministry into a political machine? Was it necessary to complicate the task of administration with political enterprises which might have been left to unofficial bodies that had sprung into existence for this very purpose? It seems to us that it was here that Sir D. B. Jayatilleke made his first mistake. In a country like Ceylon with its various communities and vested interests, politics and administration should have been kept apart. The Ministers, as such, should have refused to have anything to do with the agitation for further reform. They could have said all they wanted to say in the political camps to which they belonged. Unfortunately, they wanted to preach politics in the rarefied atmosphere of their official habitation and the result has been nothing short of disastrous. It is not too late to go back. It is high time that, at least as a war measure, the present Board of Ministers was replaced by another fully representative of the various communities in the island, in-

cluding the Tamil community. In other words, we would strongly urge on all responsible leaders the immediate need for substituting a Ceylonese National Government for the present communal Government which claims to represent only one community. Let these leaders examine all the implications of the present situation. They want the British Government to concede more power to Indians and Ceylonese, but do they really expect this to happen as long as they concentrate all political and administrative power in the hands of one community? The war has provided a golden opportunity for a much-needed gesture of statesmanship and friendliness. If they are unable to unite the country at a time like the present, when the fateful struggle now being waged is ever drawing closer to our shores, they will never be able to do it in the future. The present is the testing time and the conduct of the politicians in power on this occasion will be an index to the future.

The Remedy

THE Order-in-Council ought to be amended immediately by the Imperial Government, and the Governor and the Secretary of State ought to see that the representatives of other communities are also entrusted with the government of the country at this critical time. This seems to be the only remedy unless the politicians in power are prepared to deny themselves the right to monopolise all administration. Sir D. B. Jayatilleke told the public recently that the State Council had become stale. It had, as a matter of fact, become not only stale but also discredited—discredited by its lack of vision and statesmanship, by the total lack of anything like a realistic attitude towards the legitimate grievances of other communities. But the remedy is not a general election which will only tend to accentuate existing differences. The remedy is, as we have pointed out, in the hands of the leaders themselves, and as a last resort, in the hands of the Imperial Government. The present situation is too dangerous to be allowed to continue.



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28, 1941

THE DANGERS AHEAD

NOTICE HAS BEEN GIVEN IN the State Council of a resolution welcoming the recent Anglo-American Declaration and requesting "His Majesty's Government to give effect to the declaration by an immediate assurance that the proposals for full self-government will be granted to this country." It is regrettable that Mr. Ratnayake has not followed in the footsteps of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and cabled to President Roosevelt himself asking for an authoritative interpretation of the terms of the declaration with reference to Ceylon and for suitable guarantees that this time the British shall carry out their promises. This would have made Mr. Ratnayake a sort of international figure and given Ceylon an international status—say, like that of Poland. From this modest first step to full and free representation for the Ceylon State Council at the next Peace Conference is a mere trifle which need not tax our patriotic energies.

Unfortunately, the other Members of the State Council are not equally mindful of the international dignity of Ceylon. They have often shewn a decided tendency for oscillating between the parish pump and the platform of a wider world. The Member for Udugama, for instance, has just moved the following motion which has been referred to the Executive Committee of Education: "This Council is of opinion that when the post of Lecturer in Economics at the University College falls vacant in January 1942, a suitable Ceylonese should be appointed to the post." This is on a par with the opinion expressed by certain members of the State Council some weeks ago as to the qualifications of the new Deputy Director of Agriculture. But the principle that, wherever possible, Ceylonese should be given preference in respect of posts in the Public Service has been accepted and is being applied by the Executive Committees and the Public Services Commission. One fails to see therefore the immediate provocation for all this insistence on the claims of Ceylonese, unless, indeed, each of these

speakers had a particular Ceylonese in mind.

From Ceylonese to Religion is an easy step, and the member for Dumbara took it when he moved the following motion: "That this Council condemns the action of the authorities who have interfered with observance of religious rites which have been carried on from time immemorial at the Maha Dewale, Kandy, and requests the Minister of Home Affairs to take steps to prevent the recurrence of incidents of this nature which are liable to cause a disturbance of the peace." The public is not as yet in possession of all the facts of the incident but it would appear, from the discussion in the Council, that an attempt was made by the Police to stop tom-tom beating in the temple. This has been magnified into Police interference with religious ceremonies. Does not the State Council think that, with an acknowledged Buddhist leader in charge of the Ministry of Home Affairs, with another, equally trusted by the Buddhist public, in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, and with a budding Buddhist responsible for local administration, the State Council need not, on the slightest provocation, raise the cry of religion in danger? It is a very serious thing in a country like Ceylon to drag religion into the perverted politics of the cancess in the State Council.

Not to be outdone by the Member for Dumbara, the Mayor of Galle has voiced a protest against the "irreverent treatment accorded to the Toluwela Buddha statue in the Museum". "This statue", says Mr. Dahanayake, "is relegated at present to the backyard without adequate protection." Mr. Dahanayake says all this in the course of a letter to the Director of the Colombo Museum, but the contents of the letter have found their way into the columns of a Colombo paper with the result that people who read these news get the false impression that Ceylon is an unfortunate country where the religion of the majority of the people is treated with scant respect. If there was any truth in the Mayor's complaint, he could have written to one of the Ministers and avoided all this publicity.

And lastly, there is the complaint of Mr. H. Ellawala, the newly elected President of the Aero Club of Ceylon, that bitter feelings had been engendered by the recent contest for the election of President. "Much as I regret it," he says, "I must state that this election has been very bitter—caste and racial issues were raised and what else I do not care to remember."

It is a far cry from the Anglo-American Declaration to the conditions prevailing in this island.

Notes & Comments

A Poser for America

MR. V. D. Savarkar, the redoubtable President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, is not a believer in non-violence and he has the highly inconvenient habit of calling a spade a spade. His attitude towards non-violence has frequently brought him into collision with Mahatma Gandhi. His distrust of war-time declarations has prompted him to cable to President Roosevelt enquiring whether "the joint Anglo-American Declaration in regard to war aims covered India's case too, and whether America would guarantee the full political freedom of India within one year after the end of this war." Nothing has appeared in the Indian press to show whether the American President has replied to this somewhat unusual request. Even if he were disposed to reply, the President might find it embarrassing, if not impossible, to fall in with the demand for a guarantee. There is, no doubt, de facto, an Anglo-American Alliance, but there is not, as yet, an Anglo-American Empire.

Only a Mediator

EVEN in the days that preceded Italy's entry into the war, President Roosevelt refused to guarantee anything: he only chose the role of mediator. In an eleventh-hour effort to prevent the conflagration from spreading, the American President informed Signor Mussolini offering to transmit to France and Britain "such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustment in regard to her position" as Signor Mussolini might desire to transmit through the President. "While making it clear," added the President in a speech later on, "that the Government of the United States in such an event could not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposal submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy refrained from entering the war I would be willing to ask an assurance from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent." To this offer of mediation there was no reply from Signor Mussolini. It is not likely that there will be any guarantee in the case of India. Mussolini was in a better position to get it than Mr. Savarkar.

No Room for Non-Violence

MR. Savarkar has, as we have said, no patience with the ideal of non-violence. He thinks that in nature there is no room for it. "Call it a law of nature or the will of God as you like," he says, "the fact remains that there is no room for absolute non-violence in nature. Man could not have saved himself from utter extinction nor could he but led the precarious and wretched life of a coward and a worm had he not succeeded in adding the strength of artificial arms to his natural arm." Mr. Savarkar thinks that the emergence of the doctrine of non-violence as a political cult for the salvation of India would only cause marrirent in other parts of the world, and that Hindus should worship "the defensive sword as the first saviour of man." He fears that the British like this sort of thing.

How Non-Violence Helps the Sword

"CRAFTY as the British policy has ever been," says Mr. Savarkar, "they like to some extent that someone should always be preaching to the Hindus that the spinning qualities are more spiritual than the fighting ones, and that the highest human virtue consists in getting killed by any invading aggressors than killing them in self-defence." It is only fair to Mahatma Gandhi to say that he never applied his doctrine of non-violence to a case of invasion, present or prospective. He was only thinking of other things utterly unconnected with invasion. Mr. Gandhi is not the only person in the world to find himself shackled by the force of realities. What was Mr. Neville Chamberlain, for instance, thinking of when he concluded the Munich Pact? He must have thought on the same lines as Mahatma Gandhi.

Liquor and Elections

IT is an open secret that liquor plays an important part in elections. Its potency was discovered during elections to the Legislative Council, the State Council and the Urban Council. It is now considered as indispensable and vital a factor for success at elections as the voter himself. We are yet to hear of an election in which this *sine qua non* has been neglected. An arrack reuter's admission in Court is convincing proof of the large place arrack takes in an election campaign. In November last, he said, there was a great demand for bottled arrack during the Urban Council elections in Jaffna. The partiality for the bottled stuff, by the way, was evidently prompted by the convenience for transport and distribution. The candidates foot the bill, the agents distribute the stuff and the voters consume it. The lynx-eyed minions of the Excise and Police Departments know all this. And yet the authorities are officially unaware of it: they, therefore, take no cognizance of the grand Bacchanalia.

The Village Emulates

THE example of candidates for the higher councils is faithfully emulated by lesser lights aspiring to Village Committee seats. The happy villages, where village committee elections until recently were almost child's play, are now the worse for them. All the known methods of electioneering are strictly followed to the very detail. Posters and flags, cars and buses, and the indispensable bottles and currency notes are commandeered to lure the voter. The highly-priced vote is invariably bartered away for a gulp of the bottled evil or the filthy lucre. Local self-government is thus taught and practised in the villages to make the country fit for the larger self-government. The harmony of village life is thoughtlessly marred by importing strange and unhealthy methods that are foreign to the culture and tradition of the unsophisticated villager. In their love for power village leaders kill the very soul of their people. The village of today is a far cry from its old self. The rot has already set in here and it is the duty of leaders and the authorities to arrest it in time.

A Protest Against Rowdyism

A Colombo contemporary protests against the prevalence of rowdyism. "It is useless," the paper says, "appealing to the better nature of the corrupt youths. The only appeal to which they are likely to respond is the *argumentum ad baculum*." We would repeat the prescription for our rowdies in Jaffna. Fortunately, we have a Superintendent of Police who is equal to the task and whose presence has already had a sobering effect on the exuberance of the Jaffna rowdy.

PLEA FOR A FULL LIFE

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

BROADER OUTLOOK NEEDED

AN appeal to students to cultivate a habit of wide intellectual interest and extensive study on a progressive scale was made by the hon. Sir S. Varadachariar, Judge of the Federal Court, in a recent address at Madras:—

Sir S. Varadachariar said that there were various theories as to the object of education. One was that education was intended to enable us to earn an honest living; another to make us good citizens and a third to lead a "full life". It was not as if every one could lead either an ideal intellectual life, free from material cares of the world, or a purely spiritual life without the worries of everyday existence. Therefore, a wide view which would comprehend the several objects would probably take them nearer a true definition of education. If that was taken to be the purpose of education, they could easily realise that it was impossible to do more than merely lay the foundation for such an education in the course of their student life.

Referring to educational methods in Germany and Russia, where the course of education was directed with a particular aim, almost from the beginning of one's education, he said that the results of such methods adopted showed that external interference, with the best of reasons and intentions, might unduly emphasise a particular course of intellectual development to social or moral outlook in the younger generation, which, in later years, might make it difficult for them to cultivate the broader outlook which alone could make possible the fuller life which true education could be expected to lead to. Putting aside difficulties which might thus arise from external interference, there was also the undoubted fact that, no scheme of public education, however carefully conceived, could manage to cover all the ground which true education of a full scope must cover.

There were those who said, Sir S. Varadachariar pointed out, that the object of education was not for the teacher, to put information into the students' brain but to enable him to think for himself, to read for himself and to know for himself. This again was only partially true. No student could learn things for himself without starting with certain amount of information. What was obviously intended by remarks of that kind was that education ought not to stop short with merely storing the mind with an amount of information but the curiosity to know and the capacity to acquire and absorb knowledge should also be created. But unfortunately, at the present day in this country this aspect of education was sacrificed. It might be that their economic conditions were partly responsible for it. It might be that most of their young men took to schools and colleges only with a view to seeking appointments or making a living. There was nothing ignoble or dis-

point of criticism was when they limited education to that purpose of seeking employment and went no further.

Intellectual Pursuits

Sir S. Varadachariar, proceeding, exhorted the students in their literary society meetings, besides inviting outsiders to address, also to cultivate the habit of opening debates themselves or reading papers on subjects of interest, as these would be the best way of extending the scope of their studies. It was a mistake to imagine that one could not find time for intellectual pursuits because one had enough to do with the struggle for existence. It was true that every one required physical relaxation as well as intellectual relaxation; but the intellectual relaxation might be either of an ennobling kind or of a debasing kind. It might not be the fault of the person; it might be the fault of the society in which he was born or the circumstances in which he was placed. But those of them who had the good fortune to receive the benefits of higher education early in life would be setting the very unfortunate example to others and depriving themselves of the very best that human nature was capable of, if for want of cultivating intellectual tastes early in life they found themselves later on, induced to go in for coarser pleasures to while away their leisure. This was a very commonplace way of appealing to them to use their leisure in intellectual pursuits. There was another equally important way of approaching the question, from the idealistic point of view. Man was necessarily a member of society; whether he wished it or not he had to live his life in society. He could not be happy away from it or if the society around him was unhappy. Therefore, if the end of life was to be the best of all it required that man should live in the best way calculated to promote his interest as well as the interest of the society in which he lived. But in order to enable him to know the best way of securing this, he should really know what the interests of society required and what the points were in which his personal interests conflicted with the interests of the society if they were really to live that kind of higher life, it was their duty to know what their own interests required and what were the interests of the society around them, and their duty to the Higher existence. These were matters dealt with in their books on religion, but it was hardly possible in the circumstances of their country at present to have these subjects taught in schools and at the present stage of intellectual thought, it was not possible to expect educated men to accept as axiomatic, the truths of religion contained in their books; they wished to be satisfied about the statements on grounds of intellectualism and rationalism or at least on grounds which would satisfy them that the rules of religion indicated would lead to the happiness of men and really serve as guides to them. It was from this point of view he would suggest to them the higher purpose of education, and not merely the one of self-interest, namely, the cultivation even through their early years of habits of wide intellectual interest and extensive study on a progressive scale.

Jaffna's Co-operative Bank

Mudaliyar Ponnampalam Reviews Work

The following are extracts from the speech delivered by Mudaliyar V. Ponnampalam, at the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Jaffna Co-operative Central Bank Ltd.:

To one who has been connected with this useful institution from its very inception, it is a matter of great pride to report to you that after barely 12 years' existence, our Bank has earned a very important place in the economic progress of our peninsula, and, in fact, one of our capital assets which would prove in course of time a solid rock foundation on which our industrial and agricultural edifice can be raised.

It is a unique feature of this Bank, which has now vastly developed, that it is the corner stone of Jaffna's economic development and advancement. Surely no similar record of achievement can be met in the history of co-operative movement in the Island. The record turnover of Rs 2,119,778/- is itself an indication of the splendid progress of this institution which has rendered and still continues to render inestimable service to the noble cause of Co-operation.

The report and statement of accounts and Balance Sheet have been in your hands for sometime and it is not therefore necessary for me to restate what you are already aware of. However, I should like to refer to some important features of the Bank before I formally move the adoption of the Report and accounts.

Membership: There are 89 Individual members and 309 Society members, making a total of 398. There has been no increase in individual membership as it has become the policy of the Bank to restrict it as far as possible.

Fixed Deposits: The deposits during the year amounted to Rs 4,9,864/-. The volume of deposits exhibits the extent of public confidence which the Bank has secured. There has been a steady increase of deposits from the general public from year to year.

Loans to Co-operative Societies: During the year under review loans were granted amounting to Rs. 398,806/-.

The total amount due from Societies at the end of April, 1941, was Rs. 469,741/- and the actual amount overdue was Rs. 53,978/-. This is a matter over which the Directors are much concerned and it is therefore I appeal to the representatives of societies who are present here today to do their best for the speedy recovery of the overdue.

Liquidated Societies: The dues from liquidated societies on 30.4.41 amount to Rs. 16,774/- as against Rs. 17,870/- in the previous year.

Profits: There is a net profit of Rs 11,683.70 for disbursement.

Reserve Funds: The statutory reserve fund of the Bank at date is Rs. 24,553.17 and the other permanent funds amount to Rs. 26,273.08 making a total of Rs. 50,826.25.

General: The Bank has started a Provident Fund for its employees. The employment of properly trained men and improving their conditions of service is a great need for the efficient working of the Bank.

Special type of Societies are now coming into existence with a wide range of activities all over the Peninsula.

The Future of the Hindus

Need for Unity and Vigour

THE following is an extract from a speech by Mr. K. M. Munshi at Poona:—

The Hindu has a difficult future to face. With the impact of new conditions the old forces which gave us unity and strength have lost their vigour. *Varanasrama Dharma*, the backbone of our social fabric—which was based on the interdependence of social groups—has lost its potency. Our society has become a conglomeration of mutually distrustful castes. Its harmony is now cut across by provincial and linguistic differences. The unity which the Sanskrit language, Puranic tradition and Aryan culture gave to India is weakened by alien influence which has destroyed the old bonds without substituting new ones. In the name of toleration we have let the social system grow nerveless. Castes cannot stabilise social life now. Joint family cannot provide social insurance. Hoary traditions which saved us from the shocks of time have lost their protective value. We ape the West. We have learnt to bend our knee to the foreigner without being conscious of the indignity involved. In our helplessness we shout, beg and curse, but know not how to consolidate our forces. And we are facing the greatest crisis in the world's history.

New Force

The one and only new force which we created in co-operation with other communities was nationalism. But at present it is at the cross roads. The labour of a century is being threatened by a few fanatical disruptionists who desire to divide India by harnessing religious bigotry to the chariot wheel of politics. No patriotic Indian whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian, can look upon this with equanimity. Akhand Hindustan was, and is, a living reality; and to the end that it must remain so, everyone of us must bend our strength.

But the greatest stumbling block to resisting the disruption of India is not the fanaticism of the disruptionists but the fear complex of the Hindus. Of course there are exceptions, as they are to every rule. But we prefer, ordinarily, to be apologetic, lest we should lose a chance by being courageous. We create verbal illusions so that we can escape hard realities. So long as we get a job, or interest on our money, we as a rule, will go through every humiliation. We are afraid of losing caste—not necessarily hereditary caste—but any that others may create for us.

Do not deceive yourselves that those who watch you from afar are not aware of your lack of courage. If the British throw just a few crumbs, the Hindu scrambles to pick them up. If they favour a Muslim, he rubs his eyes he might be forgotten. If the British appear to lose the war, he spends sleepless nights lest Hitler might get him.

Whenever necessary, our Bank advances adequate funds for the better working of all such societies on the recommendation of the Asst. Registrar.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

English Educated Tamils

Sir,—In the last annual report of the Saiva Paripalana Sabai there are some unfortunate aspersions on English educated Tamils which call for comment. One might have ignored these references as the fulminations of pseudo-crusaders for the cause of Saivism but for the fact that they are embodied in a report of a Body that seeks to present the views of a certain section of the Saivites of Jaffna. The reference in question tries to make out that some English educated Hindus on account of their lack of knowledge of Tamil study Mayawada works published in English and masquerade their views as representing Saiva Siddhanta Truths. This coupled with another reference that membership of the Sabai should be confined exclusively to persons who subscribe to Saiva (Siddhanta) Doctrines makes one feel that here are the beginnings of an attempt to create schisms among the Hindus of Jaffna and divide them into factions fighting over dogmas and doctrines to the detriment of religious life and activity.

One wonders whether the author of the report seriously suggests that the English educated Hindus are students of "Mayawada"—a cynical nomenclature for the doctrines of Advaita Vedanta as enunciated by Sri Sankaracharya. Probably the learned author directs his insinuations against the readers and admirers of the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Swami Rama Tirtha. These apostles of Hindu Renaissance will continue to captivate educated Hindus—Saivites included—notwithstanding the views and comments of the enlightened author of the report.

All who consider themselves Hindus have the right to read and assimilate the various doctrines of all the different schools of Hindu Religion and Philosophy. Saiva Siddhanta is not the only infallible school of religious thought that is found in India. Among Saivites there are Monists, Dualists and others. Saivites are those who give the name of Siva to the Absolute Transcendental Being. Every Tamilian who is a Saivite has the freedom to accept and live up to any school of doctrine which suits his intellectual inclinations and convictions. To expect all the Hindus of Jaffna to follow only the Doctrines of Saivism as interpreted by the Theologians of the Saiva Siddhanta Sect of Hindu Religion is nothing but an exhibition of bigotry and fanaticism. In these days when the study of the science of Comparative Religion has advanced a great deal, it is very unfortunate that the Saiva Paripalana Sabai should consider the followers of other Hindu Sects as aliens and attempt to start a campaign of attack on them without any provocation. We have suffered enough by unnecessary classifications and divisions in religion. Let not the religious fanaticism and bigotry of the middle ages be revived in our midst. Instead of wasting time and energy in hair-splitting discussions and arguments over the doctrines and theological conceptions found in Saiva Siddhanta, Advaita, Vedanta, etc., let all Hindu Sects stand together

and fight the foreign elements that are destroying the very foundations of the Hindu Faith. The practical side of religion is common to all sects of Hinduism. Philosophical theories are but intellectual approaches to the Reality. Let us not quarrel and divide ourselves on matters about which we know very little.

Thanking you for the space,

Yours etc.,

C. C. CUMARASAMY.

Palmyrah Toffee

Sir,—While witnessing the decline of tobacco in Jaffna, the writer beholds a bright future for the Palmyrah. The untiring efforts of the Technologist of the Department of Agriculture stationed at Peradeniya, have been crowned with success for defining a successful process for the manufacture of Palmyrah Toffee.

The time has come for this industry to take refuge in Jaffna as a cottage concern and for the capitalist to venture on commercial enterprises. The Department of Agriculture may soon issue intimations for the public, notifying the process of its manufacture—Palmyrah Toffee.

The writer, who had the privilege to taste the Toffee wishes to tell the public of its unrivalled deliciousness among the various Toffee productions.

Permit me to congratulate Mr Saravanapavan for having fished out another industry for Jaffna and further to extend our warm appreciation to the Department of Agriculture for having devoted much energy to the production of Palmyrah Toffee.

Yours truly,

S. SELVANAYAGAM

Kandy, 25-8-41.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 897. In the matter of the estate of the late Rasammah wife of Somanathar Perampalam of Vaddukodai, Jaffna who died at Sittivan in the F. M. S. Deceased.

Ponnachchy widow of Ampalavanar Somanathar of Vaddukodai East

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Perampalam Nagarathnam of do
2. Perampalam Maheswary of do.
3. Perampalam Saraswathy of do.
4. Perampalam Samy of do.
5. Perampalam Lachumy of do.
6. Perampalam Ambikai of do.
7. Perampalam Sinnammah of do.
8. Perampalam Jayarajasingam of do.
9. Nagamuttu Kandiah of do,

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy, Esquire, District Judge Jaffna on the 4th day of July 1940 in the presence of Mr. V. Nagalingam, Proctor for petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner having been read; it is ordered that the said 9th respondent be appointed guardian-ad litem over the minors 1-8 respondents, and that letters of administration be granted to the petitioner to the estate of the said deceased unless the said respondents shall appear before this court on the 21st day of August 1940 and show cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

This 27th day of July 1940

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.

Extended to 10-9-41.

(O M. 28 & 1-9-41.)

Current Commentary

A Ceylonese Constitution for Ceylon?

(By Politicus)

MR. Ratnayake's motion regarding the Eight Point Statement should be welcomed by all Ceylonese. The historic Churchill-Roosevelt Statement is vague regarding the countries it would affect in a future World Order. Different interpretations have been given to the Statement by different political creeds. And if Mr. Atlee's interpretation is anything, it connotes freedom of choice of government for all races of people irrespective of colour. We wish it were so. Taking for granted that this is going to be the case, the Ceylonese have a right to frame a constitution by themselves for the government of the people of Ceylon by the people themselves. Will the acceptance of Mr. Ratnayake's motion herald a new era for Ceylon in a new World Order? When it comes to a question of freedom of choice, given the right atmosphere, there is no reason why the leaders of the permanent population of Ceylon should not agree upon a working constitution which would bestow on the people of this Island the maximum of benefit in the shape of freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from fear. It is not too late for the British Government to make a declaration extending the principle of self-determination and self government embodied in the Churchill-Roosevelt Declaration to countries like India and Ceylon. If this is done, it would be possible on the part of these countries to determine for themselves the future form of government. But a condition precedent to this agreement is communal harmony and united action by the different sections of the people. This is not altogether impossible provided there is goodwill on all sides and third parties do not interfere. Is, however, such a Conference wanted by the representatives of the Majority Community? If so, on what terms?

The Budget Debate & Jaffna

Jaffna's needs seem to have suffered by default. Except for the solitary voice of Mr. S. Natesan one of our other representatives cared to place before the House some of Jaffna's urgent needs. Mr. Mahadewa was perhaps practising a vow of silence during the Second Reading of the Budget. The member for Point Pedro was not at his seat all through the debate. But Jaffna's needs are many. And no wonder that an Urban Councillor complained bitterly that our representatives are lazy and don't agitate to get enough money votes for Jaffna's development. But our representatives seem content to blame the Board of Ministers and say they are helpless. It would be well for our members to remember that they as representatives should always keep in mind the requirements of Jaffna. I would remind them that there are other interests in addition to communal interests. Any system of representation, whether it is territorial or communal is not going to help the people unless the right type of men are returned to the Council. Sir Baron said that the Council has become stale, but to Jaffna some of our Councillors are not stale because they seldom are in Jaffna, nor do they mix as they should with their electors and study their needs.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Minister Resumes Work

Mr. W. A. de Silva, Minister for Health, resumed work on Monday after his two months' holiday.

Ceylon Indian Congress Jaffna Committee

A special general meeting of the Ceylon Indian Congress Jaffna District Committee will be held at 5 p.m. on Monday, the 1st of September, 1941, at the Bharati Bhashya Vidyasalai, Grand Bazaar, Jaffna. Resolutions condemning the terms of the Indo-Burma agreement, and bearing on the ensuing Indo Ceylon Talks will be moved at the meeting.

Petrol Rationing on Monday?

It is understood that the Executive Committee of Local Administration has decided to introduce petrol rationing on Monday. Consumers will be classified into three categories according to their essential needs and coupons will be issued to cover about 80 per cent. of normal consumption. This quota may be reduced later if the need arises. The regulations will be gazetted in a few days.

Puloly Village Committee Election

Point Pedro 26th Aug.

Poling began at 11-30 a.m. today. Mr. A. C. Weerasingha, Office Assistant, presiding, for one of the 18 wards into which the Puloly Village Area has been divided. The contesting candidates were Messrs. S. C. Rana Ratnam, the big game hunter and M. Kanapathipillai, one-time chairman. Mr. Rana Ratnam topped the polls and was declared elected by the Presiding Officer. Women also participated. Polling for the other wards is fixed for the 28th and 29th September. Mr. R. W. M. Walton, Chairman V. C. garlanded the Presiding Officer and Mr. S. Kandiah garlanded Mr. S. C. Rana Ratnam who was taken in procession by the students of Hartly College to his residence.

Obituary

Mrs. Sophia Thangammah, wife of Mr. S. So'omon, Retired Teacher and Clerk, St. John's College, Jaffna, who was ailing for some time passed away on Saturday, the 16th instant, at the age of 63, and the funeral took place the following day at "Annavaasam", Chundikuli, at 4 p.m. in the presence of a large and representative gathering of friends and relations. The remains were interred in St. John's Burial Ground, Chundikuli.

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R.I.M.P., (Madras), M.S.V.S. Member
Chundikuli, Jaffna.

(Q. 82 7-8-6-11-41.)

"SEDITION AND MORE SEDITION"

MR. V. Manickavasagar, Additional District Judge, Mulla-kam, has delivered the following judgment in the case in which Mrs N. M. Perera was charged under the Defence Regulations:—

The accused is charged under Sec. 19 (1A) and 20 (1A) of the Supplement to the Defence Regulations published in the Ceylon Government Gazette 8533 of 10-10-39 as amended by 8568 of 12-1-40. She is said to have made a speech at Tholpuram on 28-4-41 under the auspices of the Jaffna Youth Congress in the course of which she said, "But I cannot help observing what this country needs to-day is sedition and more sedition for sedition is only the Imperialistic term for truth, truth that is vital to our interest that Government is trying to smother by this baneful term sedition."

The prosecution submits that by saying these words at a meeting when nearly a thousand people were present the accused endeavoured (1) To cause dissatisfaction among His Majesty's subjects in Ceylon (2) To influence public opinion (whether in Ceylon or elsewhere) in a manner likely to be prejudicial to public safety, the Defence of the Realm, and the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the War. The accused admits that she spoke at Tholpuram on the day in question and also admits that the translation as rendered from the shorthand notes P. 1 by the witness King is correct subject to one exception. The accused in her evidence says that she did not use the word "truth that is vital to our interest that Government is trying to smother by this baneful term sedition." She however says that she did say the following words "truth that is vital to our interest that which the Imperialists are trying to smother by this baneful term sedition." It will be seen that the substance of both these sentences is the same but accused contends that she did not use the word "Government" but used the word "Imperialists" instead. The accused in giving her evidence relied on her memory. I prefer to accept the accuracy of the shorthand notes of accused's speech contained in P. 1 and the translation of it as given by King. This witness said that he took down the accused's speech word for word as she delivered it. He says the speech was delivered slowly and deliberately. The witness was subjected to a critical cross-examination as to the accuracy of certain words in his shorthand notes, and I am satisfied that there could have been no mistake when King took down the word "Government".

What Dissatisfaction Means

I shall now proceed to consider the charge under Sec. 19 (1A) of the Defence Regulation against the accused. The Prosecution sought to prove that by her speech the accused endeavoured to cause dissatisfaction among His Majesty's subjects in Ceylon, the rest of Sec. 19 (1A) beginning with the words "among any persons engaged (in Ceylon or elsewhere) etc." is not material to the charge. The word "dissatisfaction" is defined in several Indian Authorities and the judgment

WAS IT A JOKE?

NO INTENTION TO CREATE DISSATISFACTION

of Indian Courts—and that definition has been accepted by the Supreme Court in the case of Rex vs. Wickramasinghe reported in 20 Ceylon Law Weekly page 111 (at page 114)—as meaning disloyalty or feelings of enmity towards the Government. In considering the charge it is necessary to consider (1) whether the particular paragraph taken by itself or in conjunction with the rest of the speech will cause or is likely to cause disloyalty among His Majesty's subjects towards the Government. The idea which the accused expressed in the particular part of her speech and conveyed to her audience may be put down as follows:— () what this country needs is sedition and more sedition () sedition is the Imperialistic term for truth (c) truth is vital to our interest (d) and truth that Government is trying to smother by this baneful term sedition. The use of the words "sedition and more sedition" does not necessarily cause disloyalty towards the Government. The words must be taken with the rest of the particular paragraph and speech in order to find out whether it will tend to cause disloyalty. In the first part of the particular paragraph the accused seeks to give a definition for sedition. The latter part of the particular paragraph gives rise to the questions—"what is the truth that is vital to the interests of the country which the Government is smothering", and in what matters is the Government trying to smother the truth. I cannot find anything in the accused's speech which answers these questions. She does not give any instance or example where truth has been so smothered by the Government. Had such an instance been given it may have been probable for me to infer whether the words were likely to cause disloyalty to the Government or whether it was only meant to be a criticism of the Government. Neither it is possible for me to draw any inference as to what the accused intended to convey to her audience.

The prosecution submits that the particular part of the accused's speech is per se seditious. I have given this submission my anxious consideration and I am unable to agree with the point of view of the prosecution. In my opinion this particular part of the accused's speech is nothing more than a definition of sedition from her point of view. To put it succinctly accused's opinion is that what she refers to as "truth" is referred to by Government and the Imperialists as sedition. Whether the passage be taken by itself or in conjunction with the rest of the speech I am unable to find anything in it that could excite the feelings of the audience or encourage them to action. Neither do I read in it any expression of disloyalty or feelings of enmity towards the Government or an en-

deavour to foster or promote discontent.

Question of Intention

The next question I have to consider is whether the accused intended to cause or create feelings of enmity or disloyalty towards the Government. It is often possible to infer the intention of the speaker from the speech itself. In the case of Rex vs. Wickramasinghe referred to above His Lordship Mr. Justice Moseley observed that no further intention was necessary than that furnished by the offending articles themselves, excerpts from the articles referred to are contained in this judgment and if I may say so with the greatest respect the articles in question do contain not only an endeavour to cause dissatisfaction but also a definite indication as to what the writer of the articles intended. In this case I am of opinion that the particular part of the speech does not give any indication as to whether the accused intended to create disloyalty. So that it becomes necessary to consider other circumstances. It is clear from the evidence that when accused addressed the audience she said that she was not going to say anything about war and she will try to keep as far away from sedition.

It may be mentioned here that the newspaper report of accused's speech in P. 3 refers to the accused having said that she will try to get as far away as possible from sedition. It is however the evidence that the words "as possible" were interpolated in P. 2 by the Sub-Editor and sent to the Composing Department for printing—and these words were not used by the accused. To get back to the question of intention it is in evidence that the accused was specially requested by the Secretary, Jaffna Youth Congress, not to say anything about war or sedition. The policy of the Youth Congress as given by its Secretary who gave evidence was against sedition and in support of the War. It is, therefore, easy to realise why the Congress did not want any reference to the war or to sedition matter, and it was in deference to the request of the host that accused said that she will keep as far away from these subjects. Taking them into consideration the conditions under which the accused made a speech and the fact that the audience consisted of a large proportion of the members of the Congress who were aware of the policy of their organisation, I am unable to infer that the accused intended to cause or create any disloyalty towards the Government.

There is one other matter which I desire to refer to while I am on the subject of the intention of the accused: in considering the intention it also becomes necessary to consider the effect of a speech

(Continued on page 6)

POWERS OF VILLAGE TRIBUNALS

Bill Contemplates Changes

The first reading of "An Ordinance to amend and consolidate the law relating to the establishment, jurisdiction and powers of Village Tribunals and to make provision for matters connected therewith" was passed in the State Council on Tuesday.

Mr. R. H. Drayton, the Legal Secretary, pointed out that the Bill contemplated three changes. The first was the proposal to enlarge the jurisdiction of Village Tribunals so far as criminal cases were concerned to a fine of Rs. 50 and so far as civil cases were concerned to Rs. 100 value. The existing limits were Rs. 20 in each case.

The second proposal was to abandon the necessity for assessors in Village Tribunals. In that connection he stated that today 14 of the Presidents were lawyers and that in three years time there would be nearly 50 lawyer Presidents as it was anticipated that in the next three or four years there would be at least seven vacancies a year to be filled by lawyers.

The third proposal was to abandon the system of appeals to Government Agents and to permit appeals to be made to the District Judge.

RAJ DELEGATES TO CEYLON

Expected During Week-End

The Government of India delegation which is coming to resume the Indo-Ceylon conversations is expected to arrive in Colombo during the week-end.

The members of the Raj delegation are to reach Talaimannar Pier on Friday or Saturday, and special arrangements are being made with regard to their travelling to Colombo and their sojourn in the Island as State guests.

While in Colombo, the delegates will be accommodated at the Gale Face Hotel.

NOTICE

QUOTA CROPS

Quota Crops grown in the Jaffna Peninsula will be accepted by the Marketing Department only from Co-operative Sale Societies from 1st September, 1941.

S. J. R. H. BASSETT,
Marketing Commissioner.
(Mis. 93. 28-4-41)

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(Mis 90. 25-8-49 41)

"Sedition and More Sedition"

(Continued from page 5)

on the audience and in relation to that the state of the country and the public mind at or about the time of the speech.

The State of the Country

I have no evidence before me that about this period there was any discontent or ferment seething in the minds of the peace-loving Jaffna people. But there is evidence that a large proportion of the audience consisted of educated young men who were members of the youth Congress and who were aware that the policy of the Congress was against sedition and in support of the war. As regards the effect that the speech produced on the audience I have had no evidence from any other witnesses of the prosecution. But it is clear that the part of the accused's speech relied on by the prosecution in support of the charge was delivered in her prefatory remarks before the message of her party was delivered. The accused says that these remarks were made in a humorous way and she was having a joke at the expense of the Secretary. The Secretary himself admits that the remarks in question were a "dig" at him and that they produced laughter among the audience and that the audience took it as a joke.

I am afraid in the absence of proof to the contrary I must accept the Defence point of view. In the result I am of opinion that in the speech delivered by the accused and in the intention of the accused there is nothing by which it could be said that the accused endeavoured to cause dissatisfaction among His Majesty's subjects in Ceylon. Therefore the charge under Sec. 19 (1A) fails.

The remaining charge is under Sec. 20 (1A). The Prosecution relies on the same speech to support this charge as well. In view of the opinion I have already expressed this charge too must necessarily fail. I acquit the accused.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

(Held at Point Pedro)

Testamentary Jurisdiction
No. 160/PT.

In the matter of the Estate of the late Pakkiam wife of Sabapathipillai Kanagasooriam of Puloly West Deceased.

K. Arumugam Velupillai of Puloly West Petitioner.

1. K. Arumugam Sabaratnam of Puloly West
2. Kasipillai SivaColunthu of do
3. wife Thangamma
4. Thedchanamoorthy Somasuntharam of Do.
5. wife Rajamany of Do.

a minor 6. Somasuntharam Tharmalingham a minor by his Guardian-ad-litem the 4th Respondent.

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that the 4th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the 6th minor Respondent and that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to him coming on for disposal before Simon Rodrigo Esquire Additional District Judge on the 24th day of July 1941 in the presence of Messrs Kandaiya and Mailvaganam Proctors on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner dated the 18th day of July 1941 having been read, it is ordered that the 4th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the 6th minor Respondent and that the Petitioner be declared administrator of the estate of the said Pakkiam wife of Sabapathipillai Kanagasooriam and that Letters of Administration be issued to him accordingly unless the respondents or any other person shall on or before the 7th day of August 1941 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 24th day of July 1941.
Sgd S. RODRIGO,
Additional District Judge.

7th August 1941
Extended and issued for 4-9-41.
Sgd. S. Rodrigo,
A. D. J.
(O. 29, 25 & 28-8 41)

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