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## Why Should Not Justice Be Cheap?

By  
S. A. Nathan

### THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

#### British Justice

ONE justification of British rule in the Colonial Empire is the even-handed administration of justice. It is the sustained and consoling factor of that empire. British rule may be indicted on other counts but not on this. Economic resources of the Colonies have been exploited more for the benefit of the factories in England than for the well-being of the Colonial races. Though this fact has been abundantly clear, the Colonial peoples have been content with British rule for its unsullied and uncontaminated justice between man and fellow-man. I have no hesitation in saying that, whatever happens, the purity of the justice administered in our courts, big as well as small, should be maintained, and, what is more, the justice so administered must be kept well above suspicion.

#### One Reproach

BUT one reproach to British justice has been its cost; another, the delay that is often occasioned by the hundred and one technical formalities attendant on its administration. The delay may be tolerable in as much as it clarifies sometimes, if not more often than not, the issues at stake, even though the dictum that justice delayed is tantamount to justice denied carries a face value not to be entirely ignored. The costliness of British justice has, however, almost a blasting effect. It may not be so costly in England and some other colonies than Ceylon, where the administration of justice is not hampered by a multiplicity of systems of law and practice. Here in Ceylon we have systems of law applicable to various communities. Portions of our law and procedure have no doubt been codified, but the principle of codification has not been, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, applied to Ceylon law as a whole.

Judges who have been recruited from other countries must find it difficult to understand our systems. Hence, a lawsuit in Ceylon is more costly than its end justifies. It is not so much the mistake of the Government nor of the Judiciary as of the diverse and distorted customs and habits of the various social groups of people inhabiting the island. Yet, the Government of Ceylon cannot be exempt from blame for having not made a serious effort to eliminate antiquated social practices in the light of modern social science and codify a common system of law acceptable to all the communities in the island. A distinguished Indian Judge in the person of the late Sir S. Subramania Iyer was so moved by the costliness of Justice that he characterised it as "Justice by Violence."

#### A Belated Attempt

IT is some consolation that the Government has at last seen the need, and its urgency, of helping the poor villager in Ceylon get speedy and cheap justice. The draft Ordinance to extend and enlarge the jurisdiction of the Village Tribunal is, in my opinion, a measure of great potentiality for good. There is not much fear of abuse of the larger powers, for the simple reason that the Presidents who are chosen, and who are likely to be chosen in future, are men trained in law and practice. After all, whatever the system and its checks may be, the ultimate success of any system depends on the human element that operates it. This is true of every court of law. All that the Legislature can attempt to do is to provide, as far as human nature and human circumstances will permit, an insurance against the abuse of judicial powers by selecting the right type of men from either branch of the legal profession as Presidents of Village Tribunals. If this is done, the

fear that the extended powers of these Tribunals may be abused may be safely laid to rest.

#### The Factors That Count

THE criticism of the draft ordinance that has appeared in the "Hindu Organ" has not taken cognisance of economic, social, and other factors that operate in the life of the individual villager and of the community of villagers. It is not quite correct to maintain, as Mr. Sambandhan does, that positive law should shape and sharpen economic problems. It should be the other way about, as the famous economist Cole upholds. Economic problems should rather decide and demarcate the law to govern the traffic of man. Man is not made for the law, but the law is made for the man. It may be asked, what is the positive law which seeks to prevent the villager from getting justice, and untarnished justice, for a farthing, or, whether there is actually a positive law that runs counter to economic facts? That many men are poor, in fact too poor to find the cash for stamps and fees, to say nothing of tips to the underlings, is a grim economic fact. Should this deny the poor man the justice he seeks? The enlarged powers of the Tribunals proposed by the draft bill seek to find an answer to this question and to meet the common need of the common villager. The two schedules appended to the Draft Ordinance delimit and declare the ground over which the Tribunal is to function.

#### Lawyers Have Their Place

NO attempt is made here to decry the value of legal assistance in complicated lawsuits. No sensible man will adopt the attitude that lawyers are more a hindrance than a help in this country. There are sensible and eminent counsel who have more concern for

justice than for the fatness of the fee that retains them. But then, in a suit where the land-value involved does not exceed a hundred rupees, the litigant who defends his title to it is often dispossessed of it even before the issue is settled by the Court, by reason of his having raised a bigger sum of money than the value of the land to fee his lawyer. This is a fact that cannot be denied by anyone conversant with the minor tragedies of our courts of law. It is not a light thing that, acting on the impulse of the moment, poor people, who are not in a position to feed and clothe themselves adequately, who have to deny themselves many things in order that they may lead honest and upright lives, should venture upon a costly type of litigation on trivial issues and bring themselves to the verge of ruin. There are many such cases in Jaffna. It must be conceded that there are counsel, even in Jaffna, who live up to the idealism of Abraham Lincoln who perhaps drew up the best code of conduct for lawyers. Valuable though legal assistance is, with a right type of lawyer on the V. T. bench, legal assistance may be dispensed with, not because such assistance is superfluous, but because the parties to the lawsuit are so limited in their means that they cannot afford such a luxury, and they would rather lose it than win it when the substance of dispute has evaporated in the shape of stamps and lawyers' fees.

#### A Sweeping Statement

IT is rather a sweeping statement for anyone to make that the enlarged powers postulated by the proposed ordinance are rapid and drastic. If it is remembered that British rule is over a century old in this country and that it ought to have produced men who can be depended on to do the right thing from the seat of authority and justice, then Mr. Sambandhan's criticism loses its sting and stilt. There is no fear at all that men cannot be found to fill the role of President of the Tribunal in the most disinterested manner, bringing into the performance of their judicial work a know-

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### THE GREER INCIDENT

AMERICA HAS BEEN STRONGLY pleading for the freedom of the seven seas. President Roosevelt has ordered American destroyers to report the location of German submarines wherever found for the purpose of helping free navigation. Germany does not like this and the Greer incident which happened on 4th September simply reflects the views of either country regarding matters of this kind. Germany claims that a German submarine was attacked with depth charges and pursued in the German blockade zone; that the German submarine was not in a position to identify the nationality of the attacking destroyer; in justifiable self-defence the submarine fired a torpedo which missed its mark and the destroyer continued to chase with depth charges until midnight. On the other hand America states that the initial attack in the engagement was made by an unidentified submarine and that the Greer only counter-attacked after it was attacked. Germany states that the American version of the incident is untrue and has been made with the purpose of giving a veneer of legality to an unwarranted and unprovoked attack by an American destroyer on a German submarine and that President Roosevelt has by ordering American destroyers in general not only to report the position of German submarines but also to attack, committed a breach of neutrality and is trying to provoke America to war.

America has by this incident notified to Germany that she is decided to keep her sea-lanes in the North Atlantic open and that she would use force if necessary. Germany seems determined to attack American ships if found within the German

zone of operations. America is being drawn closer and closer to the war.

The news of the sinking of the Sessa on the 17th August is just now published. The Sessa was a Danish ship flying the Panamanian flag and it was known that she was American-owned and was in the process of changing from Panamanian to American registry; she was carrying foodstuffs and lumber to Iceland and the Icelandic Government who owned the cargo and not to the British or American garrisons in Iceland. The unsuccessful attack on The Greer, the sinking of the Steel Seafarer in the Red Sea, and above all the sinking of the Sessa have resulted in making America more determined in her policy of keeping sea-lanes in the Atlantic inviolate and sinking or destroying surface craft or aircraft entering this zone.

### Village Committee Elections

The elections of Village Committees in Jaffna are over; many committees have elected their Chairmen. There have been no women in red or gangs of rowdies preventing the villagers from exercising their right of voting at the elections, but we are unable to state if the elections have been completely free of bribery and corruption. In past years there has been a dearth of old and educated people in the villages coming forward for election to village committees. It is regrettable that this state of affairs is due to the fact that the youth are no longer willing to be led by the older and more experienced people. History tells us that no country became great which did not have a council of old and wise men to guide its destinies. It will be good our young friends realise that learning by individual experience is costly and make up their minds to listen to older people so that they may have no occasion to repent afterwards.

We wish the new committees a period of useful work and service.

# Notes & Comments

### Railway's Problems

IT is reported that the Executive Committee of Communications and Works will shortly consider the desirability of revising the railway passenger fares and freight rates and of abolishing the concessions granted in respect of these to the public. The reduced fares and concessions were intended to meet the competition of the road services and attract more traffic to the railway. These concessions have had but little effect, the road services drawing their large volume of traffic by reason of the comparatively cheap rates offered by them. The difference in rates between the railway and the road is so substantial that the former cannot, with its high administrative cost, afford to reduce its rates effectively to compete with its rival. The history of the railway for the past so many years has been a tale of losses. And yet the few attempts at improving its lot did not succeed to the extent anticipated. In addition to the road competition, there has been a permanent factor that has contributed to the financial muddling of the railway; the comparatively exorbitant cost of administration has been a positive drain on the earnings of the railway.

### Indian Railways

THE Indian railways, which are said to charge rates cheaper than those in Ceylon, should be able to enlighten the authorities here on how they invariably manage to make both ends meet and at times earn profits. In India the railways are a commercial concern. In Ceylon the railway is one of the many Government departments which are notorious for devouring, by way of salaries, a large percentage of the Island's revenue. Though there was talk of commercialisation, the railway, in effect, has not materially benefited by this process. Business principles seem to be foreign to this department. The proposed enhancement of rates and the abolition of concessions are obviously inspired by the belief that petrol-rationing would seriously handicap the road services and consequently there would be a rush on the railway by those patrons of the road. This is wishful thinking. The road services will always attract traffic by offering rates cheaper than the railway and within the safety limits. Unless and until a scheme of co-ordination of the rail and road transport services is brought into effect, the railway will have to repeat its old tale of loss. The Secretary of State has, it is learnt, informed the authorities of the availability of the services for Ceylon of the officer who reported on the co-ordination of rail and road transport in Malaya. The authorities will do well to engage the services of this officer to solve once and for all the problems of the railway and to bring about the much-needed co-ordination of the transport services in general.

### Buddhism in Nainativu

THE island of Nainativu, known also as Nagadipa in the Buddhist Chronicles, is a centre of Hindu pilgrimage. The annual high festival of the Nagapoochani Amman Temple in this island attract a large number of pilgrims from all over the Jaffna peninsula and from certain districts in Ceylon. Ever since the identity of this tiny island with the historical Nagadipa was proved by the discovery of some Buddhist relics, the interest of Buddhists has been increasingly directed towards this island. For some years past Buddhists have been visiting the island in small groups and satisfying themselves, beyond doubt, of its Buddhist past. The happy idea of re-establishing Buddhism in this island has now dawned on them. A

dagoba will now rise on a land donated by two Buddhist residents of Nuwara Eliya. The foundation stone of this dagoba was laid last-week-end and nearly 200 pilgrims from Jaffna and South Ceylon attended the ceremony. Hindu residents of the island gave a cordial welcome to these pilgrims, and speeches were made both by Hindus and Buddhists stressing the need for unity between the two communities. Hinduism has ever been cordial towards its offspring, Buddhism, and in the island of Nainativu, which Buddhists would prefer to call Nagadipa, famed for its past Buddhist connections and its Hindu shrine, one will be happy to find both religions flourishing and helping man realise his highest and noblest aspirations. It is hoped that Nainativu will help cement the relations between the two major communities of Ceylon.

### The Bolshevik Bogey

SOME of the British politicians feared, just before the war, Bolshevism more than Hitlerism. They pretended to believe that Hitler was a saint compared with Stalin. But this view of things is rapidly losing ground. "The Bolshevik bogey dies hard in many countries but it is dying", says the "News Chronicle". "Even in the United States, where 'Red' has been a thoughtless term of abuse among all classes, opinion is changing under the pressure of facts. A Gallup poll shows that more than half of Americans are against any peace with Hitler which would throw overboard the Russians". To the layman, however, it would seem that knowledge, even in these modern times, takes quite a long time to travel. The truth seems to be that modern propaganda is a little over-done. In this respect, we are all following in the footsteps of Hitler!

### Errors of Individualism

THE advice given the other day to Indian business men by Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, may be found useful by business men in Ceylon who have a habit of asking themselves, whenever they are confronted with some new proposal, how much they have got to pay. It was this attitude of mind that made the division over the Excess Profits Duty so very scandalous. "Every enlightened business man" said Mr. Sarker, "knows and realises today the errors of unrestrained individualism. The old idea of individualism has been associated with special privileges and with non-social activities, quite inconsistent with social order and progress. Individual prosperity and individual security irrespective of their reaction on the common weal which appeared to be the ideals of a previous age are out of tune with modern conditions. To rule through wealth or through the powers of wealth fired our imagination then. This was the dream of the golden ladder—each individual for himself. But today we have got a different dream. Today the emphasis must be on sufficiency of life rather than on a plethora of riches. Facts are relentless and we must adjust our ideas to the facts of today. I do not believe in abandoning the system of individual enterprise. Freedom and opportunity for the individual that have characterized our development in the past can be maintained if we recognise at the same time the necessity for the collaboration and security of all. The words freedom and opportunity should not mean in the present-day world a licence to climb upwards by pushing other people down." The tendency to climb upwards by pushing other people down is a very old human tendency and Ceylon is by no means exempt from it. It is time, as Mr. Sarker says, that things changed for the better.



# Tamils' Contribution To Victory

## SPEECHES AT V DINNER

THERE was a unique function at the Jaffna Town Hall on Saturday last when a Dinner was held to celebrate the sending of the Jaffna fighter plane. Mr. M. Prasad, the Government Agent, presided.

After the loyal toast had been honoured, Mr. Justice Nibill proposed a toast to the Tamils of Ceylon. The V sign, he said, was the symbol of their celebration that night. They were celebrating a task attempted and a task accomplished, and they had done it because Jaffna wished to contribute its share towards the coming victory. They knew that victory was not yet won, but they were certain when they looked at the sign that victory was sure.

The Jaffna Tamils were people with a very distinct racial consciousness, more than the other communities. They had shown throughout their long history their readiness to go anywhere and do anything to cooperate with other people and render loyal service.

In doing so they had not forgotten their ancient customs and never forgotten to love their homeland.

They had a rugged individualism and also a general horse-sense. It was that quality perhaps which had enabled them right from the beginning of this present catastrophe to see the underlying forces in the war in their true perspective. They had realised, right from the beginning, that the British Empire was engaged in a crucial struggle, and unless the forces which had swept Europe like a raging flood were overcome and shattered, there would be no hope for the progress and development of mankind.

He happened to be in Jaffna during the Carnival which came as the summit of their endeavours to find a large sum of money for the provision of a fighter plane. He had the opportunity of seeing the successful results of a co-operation between the various sections and communities which made up the province of Jaffna. Now that they had reached their goal, they should not throw away the good results which they had attained by their successful attempts. The Jaffna Carnival was something which should be retained in some permanent way by which, year by year, they should set apart a week which they might call their social week.

### Civilians Suffer

In Ceylon they had been immune from the immediate perils of the war. In Great Britain the position was the reverse. The civilian population of the British Isles had suffered more than the armed forces. If they had their social week they could devote a certain amount of the proceeds to alleviate in some way or other the distress caused by the air raids in Britain.

It would be a good thing if a place like Jaffna should adopt a suitable town, which they could call their locality in England. They could make arrangements towards relieving distress in that particular area. He suggested that there was a town in the north-east of England named Jarrow, which they in Jaffna could take up to relieve distress caused by the air raids. Jarrow was a place composed of hard-working families, rugged individuals like the people of Jaffna.

Adigar Naganather, in responding to the toast, said that it was the in-born nature of the Tamils to be

frugal and to save every possible cent but they were willing to pay by the thousands in a just and deserving cause. The Tamils as a race considered military achievements as something sacred. They preferred to sacrifice their lives than incur the odium or disgrace. He had to thank Mr. Prasad, the Very Rev. Fr. T. M. F. Long, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam and Mr. A. C. Stewart, for their valuable services in making the Plane Fund a success.

A toast to the Jaffna fighter plane was proposed by Mr. R. Sivagurunathan, Chairman of the Jaffna Urban Council. Mr. Sivagurunathan said that a little over a year ago they had launched out on that great undertaking to send a fighter plane to help Great Britain in her struggle against the Nazis. They realised that in helping Britain they were helping themselves.

### Should not be Satisfied

If they were under the Nazis, they would all be hewers of wood and drawers of water. They had seen how the peoples in the conquered countries of Europe were being treated by the Nazis. Now that they had sent one fighter plane, they should not rest satisfied, but should endeavour to send not only another plane, but if possible even a squadron of planes.

Mr. R. W. M. Walton, responding, said that he was one of those who had been associated with Mr. Ponnambalam from the very outset in their endeavour to send a fighter plane. They had their difficulties, but he was glad to see that they had overcome them all, and made their venture a success. They should realise that after all the plane they had sent was not something intrinsically great, Great Britain was spending every day as much as Ceylon spent in a year. Their plane was a symbol of their loyalty and appreciation of what Britain had given them and what Britain had been to them during the last 150 years.

They enjoyed two things under the British flag, freedom of speech and sanctity of the law. The humblest person could invoke the law. Britain stood for democracy and democratic ideals. They had in sending the plane given but a gesture of their goodwill.

Lady Ramanathan, in proposing a toast to the Carnival Committees, said she rejoiced in the great efforts that were being made to keep the victory flag flying, so that they might give Mr. Churchill a cheer from Ceylon. They were celebrating this Victory Dinner to emphasize the good work already done, and to gird themselves for further and greater service. The boys sent out a call from the front—"For God's sake send us more planes".

"We have to do just that, and to do it for God's sake, as our distinguished Editor of 'The Times of Ceylon' has done," she said. "His perseverance has worked miracles. His help has been unbounded and his work unlimited. It is matched only by his devotion to the cause of victory. We all became united by that great call. We met and formed ourselves into groups of workers. We have all done what we could.

Day after day I have seen people tackling their work and getting things done.

"Let us work for victory, pray for victory and give for victory. There will be no peace without it. We must have victory first and all the rest will follow."

### Splendid Spirit

In replying to the toast Mr. Prasad said he was proud to be there among them. A little over a year ago Jaffna launched the Plane Fund and today every man, woman and child of Jaffna could look anybody straight in the face and hold his or her head erect. They had done what they had set out to do. He was glad to have been at the head of a province which gave such a splendid exhibition of its spirit.

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, in proposing a toast to "The Times of Ceylon," said that he would like to take the opportunity to thank the thousands who had helped him to make their venture a success. The poorest man and woman in Jaffna and elsewhere had helped the cause. There had been several doubting Thomases among them as there were bound to be in any undertaking. He was cheered by lots of people.

Foremost among them was Mr. Stewart, Editor of the "The Times of Ceylon." The success of the Jaffna Plane Fund was emblematic. When England entered the war there were several doubting Thomases who thought that England being unprepared would not be able to go through. They should be happy to be in a country and under a government which gave every individual citizen the right to demand justice and express his opinion untrammelled by any consideration whatever.

It was fortunate that Mr. Stewart had thought of coming down to attend that function, which would have been incomplete without him. Mr. Stewart as editor of "The Times of Ceylon", was making an honest endeavour to create public opinion of a very healthy kind in this country and to hold the scales even between various sections of the indigenous population of the Island. They owed a very deep debt to Mr. Stewart.

Referring to the boycott of the constitution Mr. Ponnambalam said that "The Times of Ceylon" had been of immense help towards making the Jaffna man get back what he had lost. In the demand for constitutional reforms, if today Whitehall was informed of the true state of affairs they owed it to "The Times of Ceylon." Ceylon was the only country in the Empire where they had not formed a national government. "The Times of Ceylon" had been advocating in season and out of season the enforcement of the excess profits tax, which had been, however, unfortunately whittled down by the Board of Ministers, and torpedoed before it could achieve any fruitful results. The toast was enthusiastically pledged.

Mr. Stewart, responding to the toast said: "If only I could personally thank each one of you in Jaffna who helped to inscribe Jaffna's V sign for victory on the air

it would give me great happiness.

If I must select some names for special mention, you will not consider invidious that I choose three out of a large and distinguished band. When I say that Father Long has the credit of being the most efficient organiser of any war carnival in Ceylon, I am merely passing on the tribute that has been expressed to me by people up and down the country.

"In Mr. Prasad, your Government Agent, you have had a most enthusiastic leader whose unobtrusive interest and unflagging work ensured the success of Jaffna's own fund.

"It would be unthinkable not to acknowledge our debt to Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, who was the pioneer in launching the movement which put Jaffna's fighter plane in the air. As Lt.-Colonel Moore-Brabazon has said, this is Jaffna's V sign for Victory, and that sign is the work not merely of a few but of many thousands in Jaffna who are determined to supply the proper answer to the insane violence of the Nazis. Your plane will blazon the name of Jaffna in the skies of Britain.

"It must make you feel proud citizens of Empire to know that the name of Jaffna is borne by one of the fighters of our magnificent Royal Air Force. That gives you the satisfaction of knowing that all your efforts have been well worth while and perhaps at this very moment the Jaffna Plane is chasing a Messerschmitt or a Heinkel to destruction.

"You have been so kind as to credit 'The Times of Ceylon' with being a pioneer spirit in this Empire-wide movement to supply aircraft to the Royal Air Force. I would gladly accept these eulogies on behalf of the great Empire newspaper of which I have the honour to be the Editor, but in sheer justice I must say that the real credit for it all must be traced back to the last Great War.

"In August, 1915, 'The Times of Ceylon' launched a subscription list for supplying an aeroplane for the Royal Flying Corps. It was to be called The Paddy Bird from Ceylon. Twelve days later the newspaper was able to remit by cable a sum of Rs. 22,500 for the purchase of a 70 horsepower Renault.

### 26 Years Ago

"In all a matter of Rs. 121,000 was collected and four aircraft were provided for the fund. That, surely, was the inspiration for the Send a Plane Fund of the present war, and I have seen that Jaffna played a fine part in that effort of 26 years ago. More than that, I know that the Jaffnese in Malaya right royally did their part in the first German war and presented an aeroplane to the Air Force. More than that, I now see that the Jaffnese in Malaya are again raising a fund to provide aircraft that will give some extra 'sting' to British air power.

"You Jaffnese will have the great honour of having at least two aircraft fighting for the British Commonwealth in this war. That shows that you have the fighting spirit, and I cannot speak too highly of the spirit of loyalty and generosity of this small part of the Empire which gives by sacrifice and not out of abounding prosperity. It must make you proud citizens of the Empire to know that

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# "SOCIALISM WITHOUT REVOLUTION"

## BRITAIN NEARER THAN EVER TO MARXIST IDEAL

By  
**Harold Laski**

I SPEAK to you as a Socialist completely convinced that the whole future of our movement depends upon the defeat of the Axis powers in this war. I do not doubt that the ultimate causes of this war lie in a social and economic system against which Socialism is essentially a magisterial protest. But the business of a Socialist at a great crisis of history is not to turn his back on the crisis. His duty is to see what outcome will be to the maximum advantage of the workers, and to do all he can to secure that outcome. Since it is clear that Hitler and Mussolini are nothing so much as outlaws in the service of privilege; since, wherever they conquer, all the historic institutions for the defence of the working-class rights are destroyed, since their avowed object is the foundation of a new imperialism, far more brutal and ugly than anything in our own record; since they are careless of, even hostile to all those principles for the attainment of which Socialists have fought since the Labour movement began.

### There Can be no Compromise

I do not for a moment say that their overthrow is the guarantee of that victory; there are no inevitabilities in history. I argue only that the conditions without which that victory is not possible are unattainable save after their defeat. Between us and them there can be no compromise. We stand for democracy, for the rights of the common man, for a social order built in terms of unequal fellowship; all these they deny. Where they set their feet, there the claims of reason are subordinated to a force which assumes its authority on no other ground than its brute power to enforce obedience. What Hitler and Mussolini mean to the workers none showed more clearly than the Soviet leaders before the Treaty of August, 23rd, 1939. All that they then had said has since been thrice and four times more amply proved by events since that time. As British socialists we are overwhelmingly convinced that it is either we or they. With neither the purposes nor the methods for which they stand can we compromise.

### Failure of Policy of Appeasement

Some of you may have read that the Independent Labour Party, in a discussion in the House of Commons early in December, urged a conference to end the war forthwith. Mr. Atlee rejected their demands, and I am convinced that, in doing so, he expressed the overwhelming conviction of this country. For a conference implies that there is enough of a common mind between the parties to it to enable them to agree on fundamental principles. There is no such common mind between us today. Hitler would not set free the countries he has subjugated as the prior condition to discussion; we could not discuss peace until their liberation. And, in the light of experience, it would be sheer and

unpardonable folly to place any reliance on the word of the dictators. We tried appeasement for six barren and tragic years. Their only result was to whet the dictators' appetite for new conquests. Czecho-Slovakia shows us what appeasement means, Poland and France show us what defeat and surrender mean. And I remind you that many of those, especially in the Communist Party, who now urge a settlement by negotiation with Hitler, were most passionate in their denunciation of Munich when such a settlement was made. The two years since Munich have only made it more tragically clear that we Socialists were right in our insistence that there can be no peace with the Fascist Dictators.

### No Peace with Dictators

Do not think for one moment that any of us in the British Socialist movement underestimates for a moment the risk of the policy upon which we have decided. We know that as it were, we are waging a war on two fronts. We have got to defeat the external enemy; we have got also, to preserve the conditions under which we can go forward to Socialism. I think the mass of the people understand this. I see that in the quality of the common man's effort since the Churchill government was formed. There are literally no words to express one's sense of his courage, his power to endure, his inflexible determination. I go about a good deal—to meetings all over the country, in the shelters, among that younger generation it is my duty to teach, not least, among the fighting men themselves. The spirit is always the same. You cannot find defeatism with a microscope. Men and women everywhere know as their deepest faith that life would be intolerable if it were to be lived under the shadow of the Swastika. It would be incompatible with the most elementary British notion of self-respect.

### Reform is an essential Weapon

There are evils in our social system. Our Government has made and no doubt will still make, grave mistakes. There are inequalities in Britain that seem to me indefensible inequalities. Yet none of them is grave compared to what we should have to endure if the fate of Franco or Poland were to be ours. Our rulers know that they cannot win this war save as they convince the common people that their good is involved in the victory. Even in these hard months, while we have been struggling for survival itself, important reforms have been set on foot. I believe that the dynamic of this conflict will call for even profounder changes before it is over. Indeed, I take the view that the great strategic lesson the Government is learning is that you can only win an international civil war, like that in which we are engaged, by retaining and making even more profound the confidence of the people, and that you can only gain their confidence by giving

them hope and exhilaration. These in their turn are the outcome of a diet of great reforms; and I think that, as the grim months of the battle go by, it will be found that a diet of great reforms is an essential weapon in the armoury of victory.

I may be asked whether I seriously expect a ruling class voluntarily to abdicate from its privileges; whether I believe that a conservative Prime Minister like Mr. Churchill will co-operate in measures which look to a Socialist solution of our problems. My answer is that the general question is the wrong question.

### Need for Fundamental Change

All I know is that the depth of our danger has made men's minds more responsive to the need for fundamental change than at any time in our history; and that, conservative as he is, the best of measures that Mr. Churchill will apply is not whether they are Socialist or not, but whether they can be shown directly to contribute to the victory he so passionately desires. I think that we are nearer than ever before to that possibility Marx once spoke of when he said that Britain might achieve Socialism without revolution. I do not say it is certain; I say only that great leadership now can, during war itself, find a new plane of political relations which will make possible a peaceful transition to a better social order. I do not say this will happen. I say only that the minds of men recognise, as never before, that the mere conflict of private interests is incompatible with a well-ordered commonwealth and that they are ready to see social experiments upon a scale undreamed of a decade ago. And not a little of this mood is the outcome of a universal sense that the victory is being won by the masses hardly less in field and factory and workshops than on land and sea and in the air.

### I Work and Hope for a British Victory

I make one other point. Amid all the dangers of war, the democratic character of the political atmosphere is remarkable. Civil liberties have stood up well to the test of war. There have been blunders and stupidities; there has been no serious inroad on freedom of speech or association. The Government's decision to intern all aliens was a bad blunder; but it is notable that it was a massive strength of public opinion which compelled it to reverse that policy. And the living reality of public opinion has been enhanced by the thousands of ordinary people who have learned new and important responsibilities—in A. R. P. work, for example—during the war. I have no fears for British democracy, granted that we win, and I think that, though the road to victory will be long, the darkest hours of the journey are over.

It is therefore as a Socialist that I work and hope for a British victory. I know that the problems involved are big pro-

blems: and I expect the price of victory to be a heavy one. War at best is a grim and grave tragedy. But we are at one of those turning points of history, like the Reformation, like the French Revolution, like the Russian Revolution, where the choice a Socialist has is unmistakable. Those, who like Hitler and Mussolini, consciously make war the instrument of their ambition define themselves as the enemies of the working-class. To work for their defeat is to enlist in the army which marches to the emancipation of the human race.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### Navamany, A Social Play

Sir,—The above play has been written in Tamil by Mr. M. Ramalingam of Wellawatte. It is the author's first attempt in this new field of literature and for a maiden effort of the author, it shows much promise.

The plot is meagre and slight, but credit must be given for the skilful handling of situations which are rendered difficult and almost impossible by the traditional conservatism of the Jaffnese social order. The author obtains more freedom of action by shifting scenes of the play to Colombo and Jaffna.

On reading the play, one feels that the author, novice as he is, has a high sense of the dramatic. The dialogue too is written in a style befitting the requirements of the stage. The promising abilities of the young author would receive fitting recognition and deserving encouragement if some dramatic Club, like the Tamil Recreation and Dramatic Club, Wellawatte, having the promotion of local talent in Dramatic and Histrionic Art as their aim, should stage it.

Dehiwala,  
5-9-41.

Yours etc.,  
V. NADARAJAH.

### Thirugnanasambantha Vidyasalai, Chunnakam

Sir,—Referring to the two letters by Messrs. Sangarapillai Rajah and S. Markandu of Chunnakam which appeared in your paper dated August 25 and September 4 respectively there appears to be something wrong somewhere. In conforming to the requirements of the Education Ordinance No. 31 of 1939 after the death of Mubandiram P. Narayanan, there appears (Ceylon Government Gazette dated August 22) to be now a managing Committee and a new manager. How this Managing Committee and manager were appointed or elected when there was no meeting held, is a question requiring the attention of the public of Chunnakam and Mallakam.

Will the managing committee through their Secretary explain their position at a public meeting to the satisfaction of all interested in the welfare of the school?

Uduvil,  
5-9-41.

Yours etc.,  
"X"



# STANLEY CENTRAL SCHOOL

## OPENING CEREMONY

**T**he opening ceremony of the Jaffna Stanley Government Central School by Mr. M. Prasad, C. C. S., Government Agent, N. P., Jaffna, took place on September 5 at 9-30 a.m.

On the invitation issued by the Divisional Inspector of Schools, N. D., and his staff, parents and members of the public assembled for the occasion.

The Government Agent was received at the entrance to the School hall by the Divisional Inspector and his staff and was garlanded by Muhandiram A. Ponnusamy. He was taken to the hall to the accompaniment of oriental music.

Proceedings began under the Presidency of Mr. A. J. R. Vethavanam, the Divisional Inspector of Schools. Before asking the Government Agent to formally declare the school open, Mr. Vethavanam said that he wished to say a few words explaining to those present the present situation as regards that school, which had gone through, as it were, a chequered career in the past. As at present constituted that was an entirely new school called the Jaffna Stanley Government Central School. As all of them knew the school was first started as a Bilingual School and then converted into an English School. Finding that there was no need for an English School in that locality, the Education Department decided to close it and to carry on post-primary education there. Now this has been made a Central School. It was different from the type of such schools conducted in England. In other Education Divisions in the Island there were schools run by the Government forming a network, which closed its work just before the post primary classes and sent the boys after that to the Central School. The idea in running such central schools was to combine academic training with practical every-day work training, enabling the students to acquire a knowledge to do things for themselves in their own home, not necessarily to equip them for any particular trade or occupation. It was in that respect quite different from Trade or Technical Schools. In that school which was being opened that day there was going to be the usual post-primary work combined with practical training in such subjects as horticulture, commerce and industry. The speaker said that they had been very fortunate in having two Managers of Schools, who have agreed to send their boys to the Central School, just as Government Schools did in other Divisions, in the absence of similar Government Schools in Jaffna. These two schools will be feeder schools to the Central School. In fact the boys from the two schools were bodily coming into the school with the beginning of the present term. These two schools were at Chiviya-theru and Colombutturai and the speaker expressed the hope that other managers of schools may in the future send their own boys and allow their schools to be feeder schools. The speaker pointed out that now-a-days there were lots of criticisms on the system of educa-

tion obtaining at present in their schools being mostly bookish and not practical and that the work at the Central School was not going to be so. He asked everybody to suspend their judgment at first and to see for themselves for a period of not one, two, three, four or five years but after that for the result of their work at that School. He also emphasised the fact that English will be an important subject taught at the school. The speaker wanted the co-operation of all those present and welcomed practical and helpful suggestions.

After speaking in Tamil for the information of some of the parents present, Mr. Vethavanam invited the Government Agent to declare the school open.

### Mr. Prasad's Speech

Mr. M. Prasad said that he was very happy to be present in their midst that morning. In the strictest sense it was not the opening of a new school but the opening of a new activity of that school. As clearly pointed out by the Divisional Inspector, that school was first started as a bi-lingual school and then an English school. Now it was proposed to give an agricultural, industrial and commercial bias to the education imparted there. He supported the request of the Divisional Inspector to suspend judgment but to offer helpful suggestions for the better working of the school. He appealed to all those present to give their full support and co-operation to the authorities. He then declared the school open and promised to render any help that was in his power towards the successful working of the school.

Mr. G. Arulampalam, J. P., Manager of the former school and the Parwathi Vidyasalai, one of the schools to be the feeder school to the central school, spoke next and said that it was owing to the efforts Mr. S. Natesan M. S. C. that it was possible to have opened this central school as there was difficulty in the absence of Government schools in Jaffna to act as feeder schools in the Sinhalese Districts, where many central schools had been opened much earlier. The speaker hoped that other managers of schools would come forward in the future to help the central school by sending their children there.

Muhandiram A. Ponnusamy, the other Manager of the feeder school referred to, then spoke and referred to the anxiety shown by some parents over the proposal to start that school and how he had clearly explained to them the usefulness of the school.

Mr. A. Kumaraswamy, Principal of the Jaffna Hindu College, said that they all welcomed the opening of the Central School but the difficulty in acting as feeder schools was the fact that they were unable to persuade either the boys or the parents to do so as they did not have a correct conception of education and cared only for such education as would bring them later remunerative jobs. They were also unable to start separate classes for training just as the central schools for want of funds. The speaker said that in their schools there were students who were unable to continue their studies after the primary classes and who were eminently suited for training in the industrial, commercial and agricultural lines but it was very difficult to persuade them to take to such a course. Unless the Department

came to their rescue by prescribing the identical training suited to each pupil after the Vth Standard, the speaker feared that they would be unable to do anything in the matter to be of any assistance to the Central School.

Mr. C. Ponnambalam, member for ward No. 4 in the Jaffna Urban Council, speaking next, stressed the fact that they should not think that it was only the English education that brought to them a superiority complex and advised them to get for their children education in their own language. He exhorted all parents to support that school and co-operate with the authorities to work the school to a success.

Mr. J. T. Sadasiva Iyer thanked the Government Agent, the speakers and all those present in the name of the Department for having graced the occasion and as it were given their blessing to that new school.

Mr. M. Peethamparam, the new Head master of the school, also thanked the G. A. and those present.

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[Q. 82. 7-8-6-11-41.]

### Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1068  
In the matter of the estate of the late Jeremiah Murugesapillai Kanaganayagam of Navaly, Jaffna Deceased.

Kanaganayagam Anantham of Navaly, Jaffna, presently of Colombo.

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Thavamany daughter of Kanaganayagam of Navaly, Jaffna
2. Thayamany daughter of Kanaganayagam of do
3. Kanaganayagam Thiruchelvam of do
4. J. C. Charles of Nallore Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that the abovenamed 4th respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the minors the abovenamed 2nd and 3rd respondents and that letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased coming on for disposal before C. Coomaswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 28th day of August 1941 in the presence of Mr. K. Nadarajah, Proctor for Petitioner, and the affidavit of the petitioner having been read: it is ordered that the 4th respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the said minors and that letters of administration be issued to the petitioner in respect of the estate of the abovenamed deceased unless the respondents or any others shall on or before the 1st day of October 1941 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 28th day of August 1941- (Sgd.) C. Coomaswamy District Judge

(O. 32. 11 & 15-9-41)

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Village Committee Chairmen

Mr. A. Veluppilai, Teacher, Idaikadu, was elected Chairman of the Village Committee, Atchuvely.

Mr. A. T. Vethaparanam, Teacher, Jaffna College, was elected Chairman of the Vaddukodjai Village Committee.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Proctor was elected Chairman of the Copay Village Committee.

### Reception to the New Chairman

The Manipay Social League gave a public reception to the newly elected Chairman of the Manipay Village Committee, Mr. C. Thiagarajah, on Friday last. Mr. M. Prasad, C. C. S., Government Agent, N. P., presided. A large gathering was present including a number of ladies and Chairmen of other village Committees.

Mr. Prasad the Government Agent in expressing his pleasure at the election of Mr. Thiagarajah as Chairman, stated that the choice was a fortunate one, in view of the rare capabilities possessed by Mr. Thiagarajah. He hoped that, with Mr. Thiagarajah as Chairman, the Manipay Committee should become one of the best in the Peninsula. He further gave some advice as to how Village Committees ought to function and said that he did not see any reason why Jaffna, which set an example to the other parts of Ceylon in agriculture and co-operation, should not also lead in Village Committee administration if only good and capable men entered the Committees. Among the numerous messages read at the meeting were those sent by The Hon. Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Mr. C. Cumarasamy, District Judge, Rev. Father Mathews, Rev. Father S. Guanaprakasam and Mr. A. Sellamuttu M. B. E.

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### Tamils' Contribution To Victory

Continued from page 3

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## Retiring Judge Entertained

### U. C. Chairman's Tribute

Speaking at a Farewell Dinner to Mr. Simon Rodrigo who retired from the office of Additional District Judge, Jaffna, by members of the Jaffna Bar, the Chairman of the Jaffna Urban Council said that during the ten years Mr. Rodrigo had been a Judge in Jaffna he had given entire satisfaction to the public of Jaffna.

The dinner which was given at the Jaffna Resthouse was presided over by Mr. S. Kanagasabai, Acting Crown Advocate.

Covers were laid for forty-two. The District Judge, Jaffna, the present A. D. J., (Mr. Layanage) and the Jaffna Magistrate were present as guests.

After the Loyal Toasts, the toast of the Guest (Mr. Rodrigo) was proposed by Messrs. W. D. Niles and A. V. Kulasingham.

Mr. Niles said that since he came to know Mr. Rodrigo both in Jaffna and elsewhere he had learned to respect him and admire him. After a strenuous term of service as their A. D. J. for ten years they could not grudge Mr. Rodrigo a well-earned rest. Mr. Rodrigo's knowledge of the Law was extremely good and as a Judge of facts he was extremely good. Mr. Rodrigo arrived at the truth in most of the cases that came up before him. As members of the Bar the one thing that was uppermost in their mind, said the speaker, was that Mr. Rodrigo was no respecter of persons and was never swayed by any personal consideration.

Mr. Kulasingham, in the course of his tribute, said that the retiring Judge was a man who possessed an ample knowledge of men and matters, one who was sincere and honest. He had a mind of his own, and an individuality of his own. Mr. Rodrigo was always considerate and at every step in a case that came up before him he tried to understand the mind of the Tamil villager of the North (applause). He (the speaker) always felt that here was a man who tried to do his duty according to the best of his ability. His administration of justice was above suspicion.

Before concluding Mr. Kulasing-

## Why Should Not Justice Be Cheap?

Continued from page 1

ledge of law and procedure. Any error of judgment is guarded against by the authority conferred on the District Courts to hear appeals. Where some, with the best of intentions, are inclined to talk of the villagers' liberty and freedom, let it be remembered, as against it, that an experiment like this, intended to reconcile justice with the poverty that defeats it in the long run, is equally urgent in the prevailing state of things. There is a possibility for the greatest good inherent in the new measure that ought not to be overlooked. It would be foolish of anyone to say that lawyers, as a class, are likely to oppose the extension of the powers of Village Tribunals where no lawyer may appear. It should, I think, be the duty of lawyers to bring about a just and proper adjudication of disputes, and thus secure the stability of society. Human society is beholden to lawyers for its security and happiness. And, if lawyers can assist to bring about such an end at a minimum cost, that would indeed be ideal. Since, however, we are still far from the ideal, let an experiment be made in the limited sphere of the village to settle criminal and civil disputes without requiring payment for such settlement.

ham wished Mr. Rodrigo all prosperity and happiness in his retirement.

Mr. R. Sivagnanathan, Chairman, Urban Council, in associating himself with the Toast said that he was there representing the citizens of Jaffna. On their behalf he would state that Mr. Rodrigo had always and at all times given his best consideration to the cases that came up before him.

After making the statement quoted above the speaker wished Mr. Rodrigo all happiness in his retirement.

The Toast was drunk enthusiastically.

Mr. Rodrigo, replying, said that he was very sorry to leave Jaffna. The honesty of the Tamil villager, said Mr. Rodrigo, appealed to him much.

Mr. T. Muttusamipillai, Advocate, proposed the toast of the Chairman.

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