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NO. 71.

MIGHTIER THAN MOGHULS

Gandhi — The Mahatma

"AS A SAINT HE IS TOO CLEVER A POLITICIAN. AS A POLITICIAN HE IS TOO MUCH OF A SAINT"

(By an Englishman)

NO Moghul Emperor ever had more power in India than Mr. M. K. Gandhi. He holds no rank or post, but his quiet voice plays on the heart-strings of a people accustomed to cherish preachers. To show that he is more than a preacher, there is the tremendous fighting machine of the Congress Party, built up and held together by his faith and generalship. At seventy, he lives far from the centres of action, as every good Hindu should do in his age, and from his little village but he rebukes the worldly for their sins, like a prophet by the city gate. When a party is running nine parliamentary governments in a country where that form of government has existed for just two years, things are apt to go wrong in places. There may be corruption in one district and a brawl in another. Mr. Gandhi prints all the facts in his little weekly newspaper, wailing at the depth to which Congress morality has sunk from the heights of Truth and Non-Violence, says a writer in *Spectator*. When the politicians appeal to him to settle some dispute, he usually replies that he has retired from politics, but he rarely escapes, for they have no one else to turn to for ultimate guidance. If in the past twelve months the fear that Indian self-government would mean bad government has largely disappeared, it is due chiefly to the power of Mr. Gandhi over the consciences of his followers.

An Unequaled Achievement

The really astonishing thing, however, is his influence with the common people. A British missionary said some time ago that after a long search for an Indian who had not heard of Mr. Gandhi he had found the nearest approach in an old man of the aboriginal tribes

who thought Gandhi was something to eat. That the villagers know of him is an achievement unequalled in Indian history. I have at different times heard several Ruling Princes speak of Mr. Gandhi in private, and I know that these men, who are quite ready to pick a quarrel with the Political Department, wince at the slightest censure coming from the Mahatma. So much for the Princes; as for the peasants, astonishing things happen when Mr. Gandhi goes on tour. He recently visited North-West Frontier Province, where most men stand above six feet and teething babies are given daggers to bite. There were free fights for the honour of harbouring the visitor, and thousands of farmers marched for days to get a glimpse of him, even though they are solidly Mohammedan and he is a Hindu to the bone, and though he calls on them, who consider fighting the only decent job for men, to practise non-violence. The upshot of all this is that villagers all over India are beginning to enter into history, to experience a sense of loyalty beyond the small units of family, caste, and village which for thousands of years have made their horizon. Unsteadily, tentatively, but already visible in outline, an Indian nation is emerging, and Mr. Gandhi is its maker.

Saint and Politician

Is he a great man? His achievement in his own country is beyond dispute, though it might be said that if he was the man of the hour, the Pax Britannica with its railways and roads, its Press and parliamentary traditions, created the hour for the man. Perhaps he is not simple enough to fit into our notion of greatness. As a saint, he is too clever a politician. As

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CHRIST ON THE CROSS

(By the Editor, Prabuddha Bharata)

I
THE history of humanity reveals one of its most tragic chapters at the present day. The world is casting off its old garments, and new forces are springing up on all sides with a challenge to the time-honoured systems of thought, standards and institutions. The whole cultural life of mankind seems to be in a melting pot. In sociology or politics, in science or religion, in industry or art,—in every domain of human thought and relations, we witness to-day a remarkable revolution and an unprecedented stir to bring into being a new order of life. And, in keeping with the spirit of the age, strange philosophies are also coming into existence only to strengthen the hands of the scientists who, by their inventions and discoveries, have already brought about a phenomenal change in the cultural ideology of mankind. What will be the cumulative effect of this rapid revolution of ideas it is hard to predict at this stage. But there is no gainsaying the fact that the cultural life of mankind has lost its old moorings and has drifted far away from the shore of its pristine spiritual ideal at the impact of these new forces. There is no doubt a quickened consciousness; and the products of spirit and intelligence, the positive sciences, the engineering techniques, the governmental forms, and the economic institutions are bringing into closer contact peoples of varied cultures; still the pace of progress has been so fast and its character so revolutionary that we notice to-day a complete loss of balance and disharmony in the collective life of humanity. As a matter of fact this unstable enthusiasm for new-fangled ideas, that has occasioned a maddening greed for pelf and power, has served, in a large measure, to topsy-turvy the existing relation between man and man, between nation and nation. In whatever direction we cast our glance, nothing but excitement and rivalry, clash and conflict, ruin and desolation, savagery and war greets our unwilling eyes. To crown all, the march of ideas

in the realm of political philosophy has been so quick and sudden that it has brought in its wake a succession of political upheavals and national tragedies with an astounding rapidity both in the East and the West. In short force and fraud have begun to rule the day, and "no nation is safe which is not able with its own arms to defend itself from the aggression of those gangster nations, which comprising less than one tenth of the population of the earth are nevertheless determined by force to overpower, rob and subjugate the rest of the world." Indeed the strangulation of the weaker nations and the rearing of the bloody edifice of political hegemony on the ruins of the bleeding and the bowed, are not looked upon to-day as acts of shameless savagery, but are prided upon as the triumph of neo-cultural movement and modern scientific civilization! We wonder whether we are not once again relapsing back into the primitive stage of barbarism in this maelstrom of confusion. Life on earth has become an intolerable oppression, and that is why a philosophic mind exclaimed in agony, "We have been taught to fly in the air like birds, and to swim in the water like the fishes, but how to live on the earth we do not know."

From a close scrutiny of the modern trend of events it becomes palpably clear that there is a general tendency to standardize thought and belief—a phenomenon which is detrimental to all creative enterprise. Even labour has to-day become a means of isolating man from man and deadening his social instincts and coarsening his spiritual fibre by the acceptance of lower values. Professor Radhakrishnan has rightly remarked in *The Future of Civilisation*, "Modern civilisation is in the stage of economic barbarism. It is concerned more with the world and its power than with the soul and its perfection...The mechanical virtues of speed, quantity, standardisation, and absorption in things material, have resulted in a spiritual hardening." Even

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CHRIST ON THE CROSS

(Continued from page 1)

some prominent Christian thinkers have already been awakened from their slumber to the dire consequences resulting from a blind worship of this godless civilization of today. And it has been suggested by Rev. E. D. Meulder, the author of *The Challenge of the Eternal Religion*, that 'Christ on the Cross is the antidote against the body-and-soul-killing poison of the age.' Nobody can gainsay the truth of the sentiments vehicled through these significant words, which deserve more than a mere passing notice, inasmuch as they echo the anxious solicitude of every sincere soul for an abiding peace in the society of mankind. Indeed, if Christ were to travel down once again from the realm of his heavenly Father to this blood-stained Christian world, he would have wondered whether he was ever born on earth two thousand years ago to preach unto humanity the lofty ideals of universal love and toleration, purity and peace, renunciation and humility—the cardinal virtues that formed the very key-note of his spiritual teachings. Does not the present chaotic state of affairs in the Christian world demonstrate beyond any possibility of doubt that the gospel of Jesus who laid down his life on the Cross to expiate the accumulated sins of the erring mankind, is being trampled under foot from day to day by the potagonists of this 'Eternal Religion'? Does it not betray a great discrepancy between the true spirit of Christianity and the modern civilisation that bears the hall-mark of this religion? Paul Richard, the author of *The Scourge of Christ*, has indignantly remarked that 'the chief care of the Christian to-day is the reconciliation of God and Mammon' and while 'the Cross of Christ was stained with his own blood, the Cross of the Christians is stained with the blood of others.' Indeed the pelf and power have become the dominant interest to-day in human life and society, and unless the pristine purity of Christianity is proclaimed and vindicated by the sincere adherents of the faith, the fabric of Western culture that has been leavened and sanctified by the gospel of Christ will crumble to pieces in no distant future.

The advent of Jesus was not merely a fortuitous event in the phenomena of human life. He was ushered on the stage of human affairs as a dynamic personality by the throes of Nature to mould the destiny of mankind and to bring into harmony the discordant notes in the cosmic rhythm of life. He was born at a time when the Jews—the most persecuted of all the races in the world—were in a state of utter helplessness and struggling hard to preserve the integrity of their ancient faith, when Rome spread her dread arms all around, and her empire extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Euphrates, and from the snowy peak of Samaria to the rolling desert of Lybia, and when the military dictatorship of Rome left no room for a free play of the individual and collective life beyond the four walls of her capital. Even Mediterranean became no better than a mere Roman lake. In short the

age witnessed an unprecedented moral and spiritual stagnation, unbounded avarice and tyranny. In Persia and Babylon religions were reduced to an official charlatanism, in Egypt and Syria, to a gross idolatry and superstition, and in the Greek and the Roman world they became no better than a meaningless parade. In fact the advent of Jesus was but a natural fulfilment of the long cherished dream of the oppressed and the helpless, and heralded the dawn of a new spring in the life of the suffering humanity. He grew up like a shining pillar of light from the midst of uniform mediocrity, and, with the consummation of his spiritual life, proclaimed unto the world the eternal truths in all their native simplicity and beauty—the truths that have found an eloquent expression from time immemorial through the gigantic spiritual figures of the East. An Oriental of Orientals, the Prophet of Nazareth was full of the spiritual afflatus and wisdom of an Eastern genius. "The similes, the imageries, in which the Bible is written,—the scenes, the locations, the attitudes, the groups, the poetry and symbol,"—all speak of the Orient. "This Orient," as Swami Vivekananda has said, "has been the cradle of human race for ages, and all the vicissitudes of fortune are there. Kingdoms succeeding kingdoms; empires succeeding empire; human power, glory and wealth, all rolling down there: a Golgotha of power, of kingdoms, of learning. That is the Orient. No wonder, the Oriental mind looks with contempt upon the things of this world and naturally wants to see something that changeth not, something which dieth not, something which in the midst of this world of misery and death is eternal, blissful, undying. An Oriental Prophet never tires of insisting upon these ideals." And that is why Jesus of Nazareth spoke out from the inmost depths of his being those inspiring words of practical wisdom that embody the lofty message of renunciation and love, purity and peace, humility and hope characterising every true Prophet of the Orient.

The message of Christ is the message of the soul, for he himself was nothing but the Spirit eternal. With the insight of a seer of Truth, he was able to realize the shortcomings of humanity and regulated his teachings according to the mental make-up and capacities of the people that came to listen to his pregnant utterances. His life is an eloquent illustration of how the three aspects of Indian philosophy—dualism, modified monism and absolute monism—can be synthetically woven into an organic whole. To the masses who could not conceive of anything higher than a Personal God, he said, "Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Pray to your Father on Heaven." To others who could grasp a higher ideal he spoke of the immanent presence of the Supreme Reality. "I and the Father, You are the branches," declared Jesus. "Abide in me and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me. If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth as the branch and

shall wither and they shall gather him up." But to the most intimate circle of his friends whose vision was highly enlarged, he disclosed the supreme metaphysical Truth—his identity with the Father-in-Heaven, the Brahman of the Upanishads. "I and my Father are one," declared the Prophet of Nazareth in a moment of spiritual exaltation, and thus pointed out to the self-forgetful humanity the gradual stages leading eventually to the acme of spiritual realization. Nothing can be more inspiring than this bold articulation of the Upanishadic truth—this message of the oneness of the soul. The age in which Jesus was born needed such a message, and the modern world, which tells the very same tale of oppression and woe, persecution and tyranny—the triumph of the pelf and the sword, the march of the powerful over the bleeding backs of the vanquished,—stands no less in need of a reproclamation of this synthetic message of that heroic soul who sang for all ages and for all humanity the immortal song of the Spirit eternal. In the interest of peace and goodwill in the society of mankind, this sublime truth of the oneness of being embodied in the gospel of Jesus must once more be brought home to those who are making brutes of humanity and using this 'Eternal Religion' as a political weapon to subserve their own diabolical purposes.

(To be Continued.)

Auction Sale

No. 13366 D. C. J.

F. D. Saminathan of Jaffna town as administrator of the estate of the late Saverimuttu Fernando in Testametary Case No. 404 D. C. J.

Plaintiff.

Vs.

Esthar widow of Gnanapiragasam Bastianpillai of Martyn road Jaffna personally and as Legal Representative to the estate of her late husband Gnanapiragasam Bastianpillai.

PROPERTY.

All that piece of land situated at Karayur called Thandaman Tharai and other parcels in extent 2½ Lms. V. C. with stone built house and cultivated plantations and bounded on the East by Road North by the property of Mariapillai widow of Saverimuttu Parunadupillai West by the property of Vairamuttu Thuraiappa and South by the property of the heirs of Saravanamuttu Subramaniam.

In terms of the commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna I shall sell the above property by public auction on Saturday the 21st January 1939 at the spot at about 4 p.m.

N. KANDIAH,
Commissioner,
Vannarponnai West.

(Mis. 232, 22-12-38)

House to Let or for Sale

All that piece of land situated at Vannarponnai West, Jaffna adjoining Vaitheswararviththialayam and close to Jaffna Hindu College called 'Mullakkudaiyadi and Pantrikodduvalavu' in extent 11 Lms. V. C. and 3½ Kls. with stone built house consists of 5 Rooms, 1 Hall, Kitchen and well and plantations 25 Coconut trees, 4 Jack trees, 3 bearing Mango trees etc. and bounded on the East by the property belonging to Vannai Vaitheswaran Kovil and others, North by Navalur Road, on the West by the property of Soranamma wife of Nalliah and on the South by property belonging to the Somavaram Inn.

For further particulars apply to Mr. M. Kathiravelu, Proctor S. C., Vaddukodlai.

(Mis. 226 15-12 to 22 12-38)

AN ALL-CEYLON EXHIBITION

Committee Appointed to Organise

Colombo Dec. 20

Efforts are being made to organise an All-Ceylon Exhibition of agriculture, industries and commerce at Victoria Park, Colombo, from February 24th to March 5th, 1939.

A meeting of those interested in the organisation was held yesterday and a working Committee was appointed to get through the preliminaries.

The members of the Committee are: Mr. B. E. R. Cooray, Mr. Rajah Hewavitane, Mr. C. D. Carolis, Mr. E. S. Captain, Mr. H. S. Chapman, Mr. E. S. Paul and Mr. T. Sathasivam (Organising Secretary.)

It was stated at the meeting that the Governments and leading merchantile houses have promised strong support for the Exhibition.

The Hindu Board of Education

Donations and Subscriptions received during the month of November, 1938.

	Rs.	Cts.
Mr. C. C. Somasegaratun	5	00
" S. R. Kanaganayagam	10	00
" P. Kanapathypillai	10	00
" V. Arumugam	5	00
" S. Mylvaganam	5	00
" M. Sivagnanam	25	00
Mrs. V. Analedchumy	5	00
Mr. T. Ramanathan	5	00
Mudalyar C. Kanapathypillai	5	00
Mr. V. Sathasivampillai	25	00
" C. Suravanamuttu	5	00
" K. Kanapathypillai	20	00
" S. Ponniah	40	00
" P. Vellupillai	6	00
" M. Sinnathamby	60	00
" V. Thangarajah	10	00
" V. Kander	10	00
" A. Sinnappu	12	75
" S. Thambirajah	20	00
" V. Nadarajah	5	00
" K. Kaapathypillai	10	00
Mr. & Mrs. S. Karthikesu	40	00
Mr. S. A. Sannugam	5	00
" M. Sittampalam	5	00
" C. Ceenivasagam	8	00
" R. Appudurai	3	00
" B. Chinniah	3	00
" S. Sambandamcoorby	2	00
Mrs. C. Subapathy	2	00
Mr. V. Vairamuttu	1	00
" A. Panampalam	1	00
" S. P. Arumugam	2	50
" M. Vaitthialingam	10	00
" E. Maruthaivanar and others	100	00
" S. Kandiah	100	00
" K. Aiyadurai	20	00
" S. Kathiravelu	20	00
" C. Phonanigalam	10	00
Mr. R. R. Nalliah	5	00
Mr. A. Mathotharamby	5	00
" C. Mottrathambay	1	00
" S. Subramaniam	1	00
" K. Aramboo	15	00
" A. Sabapathypillai	10	00
Mrs. M. Ponnamma	10	00
Mr. S. Ampalavanar	10	00
T.M. Box collection	8	41
Total	691	66

A. K. NAVARATNAM,
Hon'y. Treasurer.

FANATICISM AND FROTH

Crime Study

PERSONAL detachment and physical distance give me the advantage of taking quite a dispassionate view of recent happenings in Jaffna. It is common ground that crimes have been committed, during the last few months, of a gravity far greater than in previous decades. This is assumed. With others I acquiesce in this assumption. As a matter of fact no one has so far compiled or presented a comparative statistical study of crime in the North. Such a study, the compilation has to be nothing less than it, will deal with facts like these for two decades, 1918—1928, and 1928—1938, namely:—

I. Kinds of breaches of the Law:

- Detected and punished.
- Detected and unpunished.
- Undetected.

II. Probable causes of undetection in each case suggested or admitted.

III. Gradated cases of thefts, robberies, and offences against the person. Increase or decrease?

IV. Kinds of offenders, compared for each of the decades

- (1) No. of Juveniles
- (2) No. of persons under 30 years of age
- (3) No. of others
- (4) Suggested causes for crime
 - (a) Revenge
 - (b) Poverty
 - (c) Disinclination to work
 - (d) Criminal mentality

V. Subsequent (post-conviction) history of some notable culprits.

- (1) Reformed?
- (2) Hardened?

VI. Religious and ethical environment of the culprits.

Materials for such a comparative study are partly available in the Administration Reports of the Solicitor-General, and the Police and the Prisons. Personal or other close knowledge of the habitat and environment of noteworthy offenders should be available in their villages. The value of such a study as I have here outlined involving intelligent leisure and a patient and sober appraisal is very great and, what is more important, very constructive.

Advertised Actions

The reaction to the crime challenge has been very spectacular. Much energy has been expended in demonstration. The formation of anti-crime societies is not of the same thing, from the point of view of efficacy and force as the utilising of all existing influences and agencies to function

without default. Do this simply, instead of multiplying societies and erecting fresh figure-heads, for newspaper space and praise. There has been much froth, and some fanaticism, the last an inevitable feature of any new enterprise. Yet, the outcome of enthusiasm was one constructive act, the self-generation of civil guardians of the peace. They have begun well, and could continue well. But are these not drawbacks?

Patrol Disabilities

The volunteers patrolling are by the very nature of their services being voluntary, without the freedom necessary in those who are to police the streets of Jaffna at nights. Have they a right to stop cars, question the occupants, and make search for weapons? These acts do not constitute any part of what the law permits laymen to do in the administration of justice and order. Resistance to such volunteer police groups' actions, even armed resistance, may be justifiable, and legal positions and possibilities will get involved. For instance, is a patrol party of private citizens entitled to the exercise of defences to violent resistance on the part of the occupants of a car? Some amount of liability may be secured for a village group of volunteers if a police officer of any grade in plain clothes is the leader of the party, and the party should consist of a specified and named set of persons of a set number, and in no case to grow into a mob. The names of persons composing the party should be entered at the police station and known to the official leader of the party. There is otherwise danger of serious abuse.

Some Excesses

The craving of a mob to man-handle a suspected person, rightly or wrongly arrested, is natural and often difficult of control. The only person competent to say that a suspect is guilty is the Judge, and it is most unjust for an infuriated mob prompted by no appraisal of evidence but by mere mob-felling to seek to punish a man who is not known to be guilty. The unreasonableness of mob logic was seen lately in two attempts to wreak vengeance on the accused persons' pleaders. It was unsporadic action, uncrickety altogether. Crime is bad enough, but anti-crime excesses should not be worse.

Private Detective Service

It is a notorious fact that there are no official detectives in Jaffna. Plain clothes do not make a policeman a detective. In many European capitals there are private detective agencies doing excellent work and doing well generally. I wonder why there could not be in Jaffna such agencies. Jaffna is not wanting in brains.

WORLD EVENTS

A Commentary

By I. C.

Anti-Semitic Savagery in Hitler Germany

POLITICAL events of the past week have been dominated by the frightful explosion of anti-semitic madness in Germany using as pretext the murder of the Nazi diplomat Von Rath, in Paris, by a young Polish Jew—whose exact role has not yet been defined—Germany has been strewn with the ashes of burnt synagogues and the ruins of Jewish shops. The methods practised by these Nazi barbarians cannot be excelled. In Vienna, for instance, Jews were compelled to lie down on the pavements, while Nazi storm troopers marched over them at the double in their heavy field boots breaking their arms and legs.

This wave of anti-Jewish pogroms is claimed to be the outcome of the "spontaneous" indignation of the German people at the murder in Paris. Now there are, however, much to Goebbels' chagrin, a few dozen foreign correspondents in Germany. Their reports are in complete agreement upon one point: there was no doubt at all that the population neither took part in nor even approved these deeds. The news that the victim had died became known at midday in the big towns of the Reich: it appeared in the evening papers. Nothing happened. The whole of the German people went to bed as usual. In the early hours of the morning, about two o'clock, the members of the Nazi party military cadres received emergency summons. They hastened to the emergency meeting places and here they were told to be indignant at the Paris assassination. Next day the population saw this indignation in the burning and looting of Jewish shops etc. The British liberal paper "News Chronicle", reports that there were spontaneous demonstrations of disapproval. Other uncensored reports state that in Berlin thousands of peaceful citizens protested against this plundering by the fascist hordes. "It is a disgrace that such things are tolerated," etc. they shouted Goebbels, the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, boasted of having aided these crimes. On Sunday November, 13, Goebbels, in a hysterical statement, announced the introduction of even more stringent restrictions upon Jews and fulminated against criticisms appearing in the foreign press.

And while Hitler demands of the German Jews the vast sum of £83,000,000 as "fines and reparations" those German "Aryans" who are ashamed of this horror with which their country is obsessed are assaulted, or threatened by Herr Streicher with being driven from "the German community." There was the case, for example, of Army officers mobbed by storm Troopers because they protested against the looting of shops.

Why All This?

Why does German Fascism need these barbarous deeds of violence precisely at this moment in 1938 when they are celebrating their "victory" over Czechoslovakia? Two reasons stand out prominently. Firstly, the Nazis go in deadly fear of the growing discontent of

their people. Greater Germany has meant greater sacrifices. People cannot for ever live on "patriotism". The policy of "guns instead of butter" has evoked a sullen discontent among all sections of the population. The people hate war, for the suffering it will entail. After Goeburg there were severe anti-war riots in Berlin and other large German cities. These were reported in nearly all the liberal papers. The Fascists are terribly afraid of the inevitable sobering up after the Munich intoxication. *Fascism wants to drown this growing discontent of the people in a sea of Jewish blood.*

Secondly, this anti-Jewish savagery has a direct financial motive. Greater Germany needs more and more money. During the five years of Nazi domination, over 45 milliard marks have been squandered on armaments. Money has been squeezed out of the population by all possible means. Taxes have been raised: wages cut down, unemployment relief and social insurance drastically pruned down. This year the taxes reached a record height of 17 milliard marks. The Nazis have also squandered the gold reserves of the Reichsbank. Of 1 milliard marks in gold which the Nazis took over in 1933 only 70 million marks in gold now remain. The current year's expenditure on war is 16 milliard marks. As early as June this year, all Jews in Germany were forced to hand in exact information concerning their incomes and property. By October 1, they were forced to report their holdings in foreign currency and their property abroad. The murder of Von Rath came in only as a convenient pretext to expropriate the Jews. A milliard marks (£83,000,000) as 'compensation' plus everything else to be gained by direct plunder as "fines".

Tension amongst the Munich Four

The Munich Pact was a robbers' pact. And robbers will always clash over the division of spoils. They can mutually adjust their conflicting interests only for some time. The instability of the "gangster" agreement of Munich is already evident.

The Anglo-German situation has worsened. Public opinion in England is daily growing against the Munich Pact. German excesses have enraged British public opinion so much that the Pro-Fascist Archbishop of Canterbury was compelled to say that the German Nazis were not giving them a chance to win over British public towards a permanent Anglo-German friendship. Moreover, the German threat to the British trade monopoly in the Balkans and the near East has ousted an anti-German attitude in certain financial circles in London. Hence Dr. Schacht's visit to Montague Norman.

The Anglo-Italian Pact has been ratified and the relations between these two countries seem to be cordial. This cordiality exists because Chamberlain has granted the Duce a free hand in Spain.

Franco-Italian relations are bad. France after the Munich

(Continued on Page 6.)



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1938

THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

SPEAKING VERY RECENTLY AT the Constitutional Club, MR. MACDONALD, the Dominions Secretary, deprecated the tendency in certain quarters to regard Imperialism as based on exploitation, duping and domination of the weaker by the stronger and referred to some disintegrating forces which nationalism is generating inside the Commonwealth. Expressing his strong faith in nationalism, he further said, "I sometimes wonder if before I leave the Dominions office, I shall not find that people who prophesied that the Empire might fall to pieces were right". It is refreshing to note that the National Labour Minister still retains his sympathy for the nationalism of subject peoples. The British press and the Premier of Australia took MR. MACDONALD severely to task for such an impolitic and pessimistic utterance. There is no gainsaying the fact that the imperial sentiment has become very thin with the gradual growth towards manhood of the various colonies. It is strongest in New Zealand and Australia where the population is entirely British. In Canada partly because of the existence of a large proportion of French population and partly because of the close proximity of the United States, the sentiment is not so strong. In South Africa and Ireland the sentiment may be said to be almost non-existent. The recent celebration of the Trek in South Africa points to the fact that Boer nationalism is still alive and strong as against the Imperial bond. In Catholic Ireland DE VALEBA has succeeded in cutting off all the imperial links and in setting up an Independent Republic. The British Prime Minister's recent pronouncement on the attitude of the Dominions towards Britain, while pledging British help to any colony that is attacked by a foreign power, is doubtful of their possible attitude in a war in which Britain is engaged.

The Statute of Westminster places the Dominions in a position of perfect equality with Britain and gives them full freedom even to secede from the Empire. The Statute in fact did no more than set the seal of legislative approval to a convention that had already grown in the relationship between Britain and the Dominions. Yet weak as is the

sentiment, the bond of mutual interest is likely to continue strong for a long time. The Dominions are not in a position to defend themselves against foreign attack and, excepting Canada, the rest are not free from the danger of such attack. Membership in a free Commonwealth ensures them a security and protection which they cannot otherwise enjoy. The defeat of Britain in a world war would involve them also in the common ruin. It is to their interest to throw in their lot with Britain in a crisis. But their attitude may be different if Britain embarks on a war of aggression or one undertaken merely to restore the balance of power on the continent.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN in his convocation address to the Benares University sounded a note of warning that unless Britain gave to India a real Federation that makes for communal harmony and self-government the British Empire might share the fate of the Roman and other empires of the past. There is reason to fear that Britain's capacity for defending her far-flung empire is very much weaker today than in the Great War, thanks to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and the development of aviation. It is to the interest of Britain to read the lessons of history and set her house in order by keeping the peoples under her sway contented and trained in self-defence so that they may play their part in any emergency.

Tackling The Moslem Question

Congress Committee to Draw up Program

Bombay, Dec. 20.

It is understood that the next meeting of the Congress Working Committee will take place at Bardoli on January 7 and 8.

The main subject for discussion will be the communal question. Now that negotiations for a settlement with the Moslem League have definitely ended the Working Committee wants to finally draw up a program of approach towards the Hindu-Moslem question.

It is understood that the Working Committee will draw up an elaborate program setting forth how Congress proposes to deal with minorities, particularly the Moslem minority, in the various Congress Provinces.

The new scheme is understood to be based on national lines and will go far to meet the grievances and demands of Moslems.

Should Home Minister Remain in Office?

London, Monday.

On Wednesday, in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State will be asked whether, in the public interests, the Minister of Home Affairs of Ceylon should remain in office after being disbelieved by an impartial tribunal.

COMPULSORY TAMIL & SINHALESE

TEACHERS DEMAND COMMISSION

ANNUAL MEETING OF N. P. TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

A RESOLUTION urging that provision be made in the Education Code to make the teaching of Sinhalese and Tamil compulsory in all schools was passed at the general meeting of the Northern Province Teachers' Association held on Saturday at the American Mission Bi-Lingual School at Tellingal.

There was a large gathering of teachers representative of the several Branch Associations in the Peninsula.

The members were the guests of the Valikamam North Teachers' Association.

M. V. Veerasingham, the President, occupied the chair.

Proceedings began with a welcome address by Mr. I. P. Thuraiatnam, President, Valikamam North Teachers' Association.

The President in his address referred to the J.S.C. examination and said that there was an art of testing and a science of testing. Judging from the results of that examination, they felt that the examiners were lacking in the testing and measurement of education.

Speaking of the contribution of teachers in the field of crime detection, Mr. Veerasingham said that while he was very glad that the recent conference of social workers did not find fault with the teachers, he felt that they could do more in the direction of lessening crime. They should infuse among the students a civic sense which in other words meant sacrificing one's own interests for the common good of the people.

Education and Religion

He emphasised the important place of religion in the nationalisation of education, and said that the real basis of morality in the East was religion.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. S. Ambikaipakan, next read the report which was adopted.

Mr. J. C. Charles, the Treasurer, submitted the balance sheet, which was also adopted.

Office-Bearers

The election of office-bearers for the year 1939 was then proceeded with and resulted as follows:—

President: The Rev. J. T. Arulanathan.

Vice-President: Mr. I. P. Thuraiatnam.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. S. Ambikaipakan (re-elected).

Assistant Secretary: Mr. A. K. Kandiah (re-elected).

Treasurer: Mr. J. C. Charles (re-elected).

Representatives to the All-Ceylon Union of Teachers Executive: The President, Secretary, Messrs. S. H. Perinpanayagam, V. C. Canagaratnam and I. P. Thuraiatnam.

After the election of the new office-bearers, Mr. Veerasingham vocated the chair and the rest of the proceedings were presided

SAFETY MATCH MANUFACTURE

Eleven Factories

The annual consumption of safety matches in Ceylon has been estimated at 13,517 cases. This quantity has been fixed as the quota for the manufacture of matches in Ceylon for the year 1939.

Of the fifteen applicants for manufactures' licences, only eleven have been given permits.

over by the Rev. J. T. Arulanathan.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed:—

"This Association strongly protests against the manner in which the Director of Education is dealing with cases of discontinuance of teachers, and urges on the Executive Committee of Education the necessity of setting up an independent Board of Arbitration."

This Association requests the Minister of Education to make provision for the representation of the Provincial Teachers' Associations in the Board of Education and in the proposed Local Advisory Committees.

This Association is of opinion that provision should be made for the training of graduate teachers either at the University College or at the Government Training College.

This Association requests the A. C. U. T. to take steps to register the Teachers' Association under the Trade Union Ordinance.

This Association is of opinion that the salaries scheme for New Entrants is inadequate to attract capable men into the Teaching Profession, and appeals to the Minister of Education to withdraw it.

This Association reiterates its demand for an Education Commission.

That provision be made in the Education Code making the teaching of Sinhalese and Tamil compulsory in all schools.

West Jaffna Teachers' Association

The Annual General Meeting of the West Jaffna Teachers' Association was held at the Vaddukoddai Hindu English School at 4.30 p.m. on the 16th instant.

Mr. D. S. Sanders occupied the chair. The annual report and the Treasurer's statement of accounts were adopted.

The following were elected office bearers and Committee Members for the year 1938—39.

President: Mr. D. S. Sanders.
Vice-President: Mr. A. Kanagasabai.

Secretary: Mr. S. Navaratnam.
Treasurer: Mr. L. V. Chinnambay.

Auditor: Mr. S. T. Jeevaratnam.

Representatives to the N. P. T. A. In addition to the President and the Secretary, Messrs. S. H. Perinpanayagam and A. C. Sundarampillai were elected.

Committee members: Messrs. A. Rajaretnam, N. Kanagaratnam, V. Alagaratnam, S. Karalasingam and V. Singarayar.

FORECAST OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Publication of Despatches Today

GOVERNOR TO REPORT AFTER REFORMS DEBATE

THE Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor on the proposed Constitutional reforms in Ceylon will, it is learned, be released for publication today.

THE Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to Lord Rankeillour in the House of Lords on Tuesday, made a statement in regard to the procedure that will be adopted to promulgate the proposed constitutional reforms in Ceylon.

He said:

"It is not the Government's intention to prevent a full discussion of any proposed changes in the Constitution of Ceylon.

"The procedure is going to be this: Tomorrow the correspondence between the Governor and the Secretary of State will be published and as the correspondence will show, the Governor is going to be asked to lay his proposals before the State Council and invite the State Council to debate upon it.

Another White Paper

"When the debate has taken place the Governor is going naturally to report upon it and he may, as a result of the debate, have further recommendations to make. If so, the report and those recommendations will be published in the form of a second White Paper. To that White Paper no doubt the Secretary of State will add his comments."

A Forecast of Constitutional Changes

The Political correspondent of the "Times of Ceylon", gives a forecast of the proposed changes.

He says:

There are several who seem to know some of the changes contemplated, by inference in the course of conversation with either the Governor or the Secretary of State, or with both of them; or through information supplied to them by Parliamentary friends.

Nobody except the Governor and the three Officers-of-State can claim to know the entire proposals. They will, however, be known tomorrow.

In the meantime, I venture to make an intelligent forecast of some of the main changes contemplated, I do not think they will be far wrong. Here they are:

Abolition of the Committee system and the introduction of a Cabinet form of Government;

Removal of the Officers of State;

Increase of territorial seats in the State Council from 50 to 65;

Provision of a separate Secretariat for the Governor with a man with Parliamentary experi-

ence at the head, who will also act for Governor;

Reconstitution of the Public Services Commission.

I am reliably informed that all is not settled as regards the minority question and the fate of the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary.

The representation of the minorities does not appear to have received general favour with the Secretary of State, but the Congress deputation seems to have demonstrated to him that without conceding the right on any particular community for representation in the State Council it is possible to delimit the constituencies in such a way as to permit any community to return its own candidate.

60:40 Ratio

As regards Tamils it is said that the number of seats in Jaffna as well as Batticaloa would be increased, and that both for the sake of the Indians, as well as the Kandians, estate or island electorates would be formed in the up-country.

The total number of elected seats is expected to be increased, from the present 50 to 65 and that the majority of the increase will benefit the minority communities, so that ultimately the balance of power will be in the ratio of 60:40.

JAPAN'S CHANCE

Yellow River Frozen Up

Chungking, Dec. 20.

The Yellow River is frozen up and it is thought this may cause the Japanese to launch shortly their anticipated drive into the North-West Provinces with the intention of cutting communications between China and Soviet Russia.

The Japanese forces in West Suiyuan and Shansi provinces are said to have been awaiting the freeze-up in order to cross into Shensi and Ninghsia provinces.

Habitual with Nine Previous Convictions

Awarded Jail Sentence for Loitering

Jaffna, Dec. 21.

Kanapathipillai Sinnadurai, of Chiviyateru, a habitual with nine previous convictions, was today sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.30 for having loitered on the night of the 12th instant at 3 a.m. near Nallur Kandaswamy Temple.

Inspector Wijeyasekera of the Jaffna Police prosecuted. The accused defended himself. There was a large crowd present in the Court.

The accused, it will be remembered, was arrested by P. C. Fernando and P. C. Antonpillai who were patrolling with volunteers at Nallur.

FOREIGN DEFERRED TELEGRAMS

Minimum Charge For Five Words

Colombo, Dec. 21.

The Post Office announces that Foreign Deferred telegrams will, from January 1, 1939, be subject to a minimum charge for five words per telegram, i.e., the cost of a deferred telegram of less than five words, will be the same as the cost of a deferred telegram of five words.

Another Innovation

Another innovation announced yesterday is that, as from the same date, Foreign telegrams may be addressed to passengers in trains. The address of such telegrams must contain, in addition to the name of the addressee and the name of the telegraphic office of destination:—

(a) the name of the railway station at which the train stops; and—

(b) the number or the name of the train, or in the absence of this, the exact time of arrival or departure of the train and the place of departure and destination.

Jaffna Hindu College

The Jaffna Hindu College closed on Monday for the Pongal Holidays and reopens on January 19.

Suspension of Pt. Pedro Proctor

The licence of Mr. M. Chelvatamby, Proctor, Pt. Pedro, was suspended for twelve months by order of a Divisional Bench, delivered by Mr. Justice Hearne, yesterday.

Mr. Chelvatamby was ordered to pay the costs of the application, for disengagement, fixed at Rs. 52.50.

GERMANY'S NEXT MOVES

APPREHENSION OF NEW COUPS

ALLEGED WARNING TO ARMY CHIEFS

London, Tuesday.

LONDON is informed, says the "Daily Telegraph", that German army chiefs have been warned to be ready to support some fresh diplomatic action in February and these circumstances and the Tunis agitation are being carefully appraised in official circles in London and Paris.

The possibility of new German coups is discussed in the "Daily Telegraph", which says that responsible opinion in London has been, for some time, reconciled to the probability that Germany will choose her moment to annex Memel, but those responsible for advising on European developments are less concerned to discuss the fate of Memel than to estimate what successive coups will be attempted and in what order. It is recognised that the days of Danzig as a Free State and a Free Port, guaranteed by the League, are also practically ended.

The more interesting problem, it is felt, is the moment Germany will choose to press for Polish concessions in the Corridor and whether these will precede, follow or coincide with German pressure for Polish concessions in the south.

FOUND HIDING IN A SHED

Malayalee Driver Pleads Guilty

Jaffna, Dec. 20.

A Malayalee motor car driver, Gopal Raman, was produced today by P. S. Dissanayake before Mr. Julius F. Philips, on a charge of being found, without giving any reason, in the compound of Mrs. Nalkiah Ponnammah of Vannarponne West.

The accused, it is stated, was hiding himself in a shed in the compound of Mrs. Nalkiah at 10 a.m. yesterday. She saw the accused and raised an alarm. When the accused ran out, he was chased as arrested by people who came up to the cries and was handed over to the police.

The accused pleaded guilty. The Magistrate ordered the fingerprint of the accused to be taken and reserved sentence for January 4th.

Sixty Per Cent to Jaffna Creditors

Judge's Order in Travancore Bank Case

AS briefly reported in our last issue, an order approving the recommendation of Mr. Lewis Subramaniam, the liquidator of the Jaffna Branch of the Travancore National Bank, to pay a 60 per cent dividend to local creditors, was delivered by the District Judge of Jaffna on Monday.

In the course of his order the Judge states, "According to newspaper reports separate liquidation proceedings have been instituted both in Madras and Quilon; and the Madras high Court seems to be acting independently of the Quilon Court. No official intimation has reached here in regard to the position of affairs in these Courts. It is also not clear who is the authority who is to co-ordinate the activities in respect of the various branches. No request has been made to this Court by any other Court inviting this Court to co-operate or do anything in any particular manner.

Appeal Welcomed

"It is the primary duty of this Court to safeguard the interests of those who are within its jurisdiction. The Bank has closed its business and creditors and depositors cannot be kept out of their moneys indefinitely. I would therefore, order, subject to the consideration of any preferential claim that the interim dividend recommended by the liquidator be approved."

Mr. E. F. N. Gratiaen has intimated to the Court that in the event of an order being made adversely to his clients, they would like to take the matter before a higher tribunal. I would very much welcome an appeal in this matter as it would then give the Supreme Court an opportunity to give directions to this Court indicating the lines on which proceedings are to be conducted.

"I would make no order as regards costs in this inquiry. Of course, the liquidator will be paid his costs out of the funds in his charge.

Excise Prosecution

Jaffna Dec. 21.

Kathiravelu Kandiah of Prappambalam, Vannarponne, who was charged by Excise Inspector R. A. Vythilingam, with possession of 1 ounce and 10 grains of ganja and opium was today sentenced by Mr. Julius F. Philips, Acting Police Magistrate, to fines of Rs. 100 and 50, in default to 2 and 1 month's vigorous imprisonment.

WORLD EVENTS

(Continued from page 3)

Pact recognised the Abyssinian conquest. Italy now demands the French Colony of Tunis. There is a large colony of Italians in Tunis and the Duce is trying the Hitlerite ruse of wanting to be saviour of all his nationals abroad.

Franco-German relations are slightly better. A possible crisis between the "axis brothers" was amicably settled at Vienna to the advantage of Hitler. The agreement seems to be that Hitler is given a free hand in Central Europe, whilst Mussolini has been given the Mediterranean for his Central European losses.

Thus we see, two members of the Pact are at variance with another two Anglo German and Franco-Italian relations are bad, whilst Anglo-Italian and Rome-Berlin relations are good. Franco-German and Anglo-French relations are not quite settled. They seem to hinge quite a lot on the question of colonies.

Mr. Pirow's Pleasure Trip

Mr. Oswald Pirow, the South African Minister of Defence, has travelled over 7000 miles passing through Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) on his way to discuss the colonial aspirations of Hitler with Dr. Salazar. He then met Mr. Chamberlain. Then he went on to Herr Hitler. After which he returned to report to Chamberlain; and now he is on his way back home. He stated that he was only on a "pleasure trip". Informed circles are of opinion that some plot is being "hatched" to give Fascist Germany colonies.

This was no pleasure trip for Mr. Pirow. Mr. Pirow is notorious for his pro-Hitler leanings and pro-German sympathies. He is of German descent. His views on German colonial problems aroused considerable controversy. The statement that he made quite recently when the German cruiser Emden visited S. Africa, that he held the belief that Germany would re-enter the ranks of African Powers caused great consternation in S. Africa. This is the man who is now acting as the messenger boy for Hitler.

Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons after the Munich Betrayal, that Hitler had raised the question of colonies. In doing so, he said, "There is one awkward question—the colonies. But this is not an issue about which we need to go to war."

This is a significant statement. Chamberlain has decided to satisfy Hitler's colonial demand in principle. The question now arises who is to pay the price. Surely not Britain. And, Hitler appreciates this fact. Field Marshal Goering, it is learned, has worked out a scheme in this connection which Hitler has approved. Hitler will not be satisfied with bits of territory scattered over Africa. In exchange for South West Africa and Tanganyika, for example, he would want part of Belgian Congo, Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, and thus Hitler would secure a concrete colonial domain dominating from the East to West coast of Africa.

It is not only a question of Belgium and Portugal being pressed to

hand over colonies: there are very strong reasons to believe that the Chamberlain "Inner Cabinet" has agreed in principle to hand over Togoland and the French Cameroons. Increasing pressure will be brought on the French Government to make a few sacrifices for European peace to be attained by "appeasing" Hitler. Chamberlain's recent visit to Paris is thus full of great potentialities.

Of course, many people say that Hitler must have colonies, because he is suffering from "economic injustice." *The people who use these arguments, however, completely fail to appreciate the fact that the economic injustice is really against the people of colonial countries and that it is the colonial people who have the grievance.*

Japan's Generosity

At New York, on December 15, Mr. Yakichiro Suma, Counsellor to the Japanese Embassy at Washington, in a speech at the Maryland University, declared, "That it is not our aim and never has been. A nation of 400 million people cannot be forced against its will. Our purpose is to swab out the sources of infection within China, which have poisoned Sino-Japanese relations." The Counsellor added that Japan does not intend "to impair the full freedom of commercial opportunity in the Far East for any nation, which recognises the implications of the new order, which Japan seeks to impose there."

(Daily News Dec 16.)

This statement is significant on account of two implications. First, Japan admits that she is unable to conquer China and thus gain complete monopoly of her resources. Second, that she is prepared to come into trade agreements, leases etc with any powers which are prepared to help Japan to impose a "new order" in China. This is the usual S. O. S sent out by robber nations to their own species, to help them to conquer a stubborn victim on some pre-arranged basis for the division of spoils. This invitation to other imperialist powers to divide the "spoils in China" is no act of generosity on the part of Japan. *It is the acceptance of partial defeat. Japan is in difficulties.*

The economic situation in Japan is steadily becoming worse. At the beginning of the war the gold reserves amounted to 1,700 million yen, but on August 1, 1938 they amounted only to 596 million yen. Japan is, therefore, not in a position to import raw materials; because she has to pay in gold for them, 60% of Japan's export trade depends on imported raw materials; and in the case of cotton and wool it is 99%. The result is that all industries are languishing without raw materials. Whole industries are disappearing. Industrialists are further discouraged because they see in the Japanese Press the sad truth that it will be a very long time before Manchuria and China can produce enough raw materials to do away with the present dearth in Japan. Meanwhile the unemployment figures have topped 2,000,000 mark.

Japan has already expended 7 milliard yen on the conduct of the war. Japan's state debt already

amounts to 18 milliard yen. Prices are rising rapidly. During the war the price of rice has increased 80%, barley 57% and meat 41%. The prices of industrial goods have gone up 100%. These are official Japanese statistics of August this year.

Real wages of workers are falling disastrously and the working day is being lengthened to 16 hours in the war industries. The war is ruining the Japanese village. Peasants are short of labour forces, horses, tools, fertilizers etc. As a result of the chief breadwinners being forced to join the army, the families of poor peasants, workers, small artisans are actually suffering semi-starvation.

Since March, strikes have been increasing, particularly in big undertakings. On May 4, 2960 textile workers struck; work in April 2500 men in the Tokio Electricity Works downed tools; in June, workers in 25 large munition factories in the Kanagawa district struck work. In all cases the Government speedily increased wages. Strikes are increasing all over the country.

Peasants are demanding the reduction or the non-payment of ground rent during the absence of the head of the household at the war front. The general mobilization laws have seriously affected small traders and artisans. The Police are carrying out wholesale arrests among them. In the first few weeks of August 10,800 traders etc were arrested.

In spite of the feverish campaign to work up chauvinist feeling, the Japanese people have begun to show no interest in the war. In fact there is arising a feeling of war-weariness which may soon result in definite anti-war sentiments. In August last, General Lieutenant Takata complained to the Japanese Press, "It is extremely regrettable that our people are so indifferent to the war". The slogan "A short war and speedy victory" has been replaced by a slogan of a protracted war. General Itagaki recently declared that Japan will be compelled to carry on the war for another 10 years and General Araki added that Japan must be prepared for a war lasting 20 or 30 years.

Discontent is rising in the country. The Japanese Police have had a stroke of genius—that the Japanese people will bear their economic troubles the easier, the less chance they were given of enjoying themselves. Police decrees have been launched against popular entertainments—geishas, dancing halls and gramophones. At the same time laws have been promulgated against "dangerous thinking".

The effects of a protracted war, without immediate victory in sight, are now being felt in Japan itself. It is the opinion of foreign observers that Japan can stand the strain for about another two years. *Although a collapse on the home front is not near at hand, the Japanese Government is increasingly aware that the conditions for a social revolution are increasing.* It is in recognition of this serious condition in Japan itself that the militarists have decided to invite other imperialist powers to share the booty. It is significant that the first "feeler" in regard to the changing conditions should be made in the U. S. A., which has the largest investments in China. It is probable that Japan will take other steps to conclude the war on China before Japan herself is overwhelmed by a social revolution. *Another Munich—this time in the Far East—threatening the gallant Chinese fighting for their national independence.*

MIGHTIER THAN MOGHULS

(Continued from page 1)

a politician, he is too much of a saint. The trouble is, I think, that he has had either too much or too little education. The story of his life hardly needs retelling. Born in an Indian State in Kathiawar, where his orthodox middle-class family held high official posts, he was sent to London at 18 to study at the Bar. For four years he kept strictly to his vows of chastity and abstinence from meat and alcohol, and read little beyond legal books and newspapers. Returning to his wife and child in India, he began to practise as a barrister, and soon an accident occurred that left a deep mark on his sensitive mind. A British official with whom he tried to intercede for his brother had him thrown out of the office. In his disgust he was glad to take on a case for an Indian merchant in South Africa, and there he met insults and oppression far worse than anything known in India. His national conscience was roused, and before long he was leading the Indian community in a struggle against disfranchisement and discrimination. During the twenty years he spent in South Africa he developed the technique of civil disobedience as a method of preventing or compelling legislation which he later applied with success in the wider field of India. He had no grudge then against the British; in fact, both during the Boer War and later during the Great War he made very effective recruiting speeches. But he fought the Transvaal and Union Governments tooth and nail for the repeal of the Asiatic Act. After reading Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' he re-discovered the Hindu doctrine of 'ahimsa' or non-violence, and forged from it the new political weapon of 'satyagraha', passive resistance by the power of truth, or soul-force. With that blunt sword he won his first great battle. The Asiatic Act was repealed in 1914, and Mr. Gandhi, now the Mahatma to his grateful followers, was famous in three continents as the man who had found an alternative to the method of massacre that was then descending on Europe.

The Great Experiment

In 1915 Mr. Gandhi returned to India, teaching that passive resistance was India's shortest way to freedom. Three elements, I think joined to make his agitation successful. Firstly, his doctrine was the exact alloy of mysticism and simplicity that appeal most to the Indian of any class; secondly, he gave new hope of effective revolt to a people still cowed, after sixty years, by memories of the mutiny; and thirdly, 'satyagraha' was the very thing to disarm the British, who by some twist of character cannot easily kill in cold blood. Mr. Gandhi and his British rulers were

made for each other. Had India been ruled by, well, by any other Western nation, Mr. Gandhi would to day not be a great man but a dead body. That is worth considering. As it was, India was swept in 1919 by a wave of terrorism and violent disorders, which brought forth another side of the British character. After the tragedy of Amritsar Mr. Gandhi confessed that the masses whom he had worked up were not yet fit for non-violence, and he promptly began a campaign of education which has ever since been his principal concern. But in 1920 the Khilafat agitation brought the Moslems into the Congress camp, and together they started the first large campaign of civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi now became the undisputed leader of the Congress movement, and national independence was substituted for Home Rule as its aim. The Government looked on for two years; then it put Mr. Gandhi in prison. He was out two years later, working as before for the organisation of the masses against the Government. Two more campaigns of civil disobedience followed, and Mr. Gandhi served another term of imprisonment. After that he withdrew from active leadership and devoted his immense energy to the liberation of the Untouchables and the resurrection of village handicrafts.

And Its Success

Although the vow of non-violence has never been kept by all his followers, many thousands have cheerfully faced police charges and imprisonment without raising a hand. And such is the trust he inspires that last year the Bengal Government (not a Congress Government) set free hundreds of terrorists simply on Mr. Gandhi's assurance that the lads had promised him to be good. It must be said, all the same, that as a politician he is apt to be shifty. He responds to genuine goodwill, but has been known to seek refuge in that letter of a promise to go back on its substance. If his heart is great, his head is dangerously stuffed with half-knowledge, which makes him often believe what he wishes to believe, and sometimes what others wish him to believe. His language on important occasions can be dreadfully involved, and if you do not work hard to unravel it, you may think he has said nothing when he has really made a statement that will change history. That happened in 1936, when he appeared to be splitting hairs over the special powers of the Governors in the new provincial administrations. Even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who has the finest legal brain in India, thought Gandhi's objection mere quibbles. But when the Government at least met them, it was seen that the restatement of a few clauses had not only changed formal into real self-government, but had brought home to the Governors, who admitted it, the hitherto nebulous meaning of autonomous government. Gandhi had felt a call, seen a blur, and groped ineptly for expression, knowing all the time that he was right. If the West admires lucidity, the East sets higher store by the strength of the soul. By that token Mr. Gandhi, the Mahatma, will surely go down into history as one of India's greatest leaders.

DONATIONS FROM F. M. S. TO ALAVEDDY (JAFFNA) ALAVOLLAI PILLAIAR TEMPLE BUILDING REPAIRS AND RENOVATION FUND

Donations previously published vide supplement to the "Hindu Organ" of 9-8-1937.

S. N. Kandiah, Railways Kuala Lumpur	\$ 816 50
T. Vaithilingam, Railways Kuala Lumpur	100 00
S. Nagalingam, Railways Sentul	50 00
K. Pouniah, Railways Krai, Kelantan	25 00
V. Sinnathamby, Railways Sentul	32 36
S. Vaithilingam, Teluk Anson, Perak	60 00
K. Mylvaganam, Thambusampillai Tamil School, Sentul	100 00
T. Thambiah, Malacca	33 50
M. V. Malacca, Malacca	1 00
A. Mahalingam, Drainage & Irrigation Dept. Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Rajaratnam, Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur	30 00
K. Dharmaratnam, Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Visuvalingam, Railways, Central Workshops	1 00
N. Kandiah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
N. Thuraiappah, Railways, Batu Gajah	5 00
S. Arumugam, Railways, Seremban	3 00
T. Saravanamuthu, P. W. D., Puchong	2 00
K. Shanmugam, Ipoh Road, Sentul	1 00
S. Sinnadurai, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur	3 00
K. Chelliah, Audit Office, Kuala Lumpur	50 00
K. Sangarappillai, P & T, Seremban	5 00
E. Ponnampalam, Railways, Singapore	45 41
A. Thanapalasingam, Railways, Sentul	50 00
A. Eliathamby, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	20 00
M. Vairamuttu, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
T. Kandiah, P. W. D., Seremban	10 00
E. Kanagasabai, Railways, Central Workshops	10 00
S. Thamotharampillai, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	20 00
S. Chelliah, Pasah Road, Sentul	2 00
K. Marugesu, Railways, Sentul	5 00
K. Sinnathamby, Railways, Sentul	5 00
A. Kanagasabai, Railways, Sentul	1 00
S. Vaithilingam, Railways, Sentul	1 00
Nannie, Ulu Yam	1 00
M. Shanmugam, Railways, Sentul	1 00
S. Eliathamby, Railways, Seremban	2 00
S. Visuvalingam, Malacca	2 00
V. Ramalingam, Post Office, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Arumugam, Revenue Surveys, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Nalarajah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Sellathurai, Railway Benefit Society, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Chinniah, Bentong	1 00
A. S. Kandiah, Railways, Kuala Lipis	1 00
K. Visuvanather, Railways, Gemas	5 00
S. Marimuthu, Railways, Seremban	2 00
V. Navaratnam, P. & T., Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Sundrampillai, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
E. Asai, Railways, Gemas	1 00
S. Krishnapillai, Railways, Sentul	1 00
V. Arumugam, Railway, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
A. S. Sinnadurai, Railways, Sentul	1 00
M. Shanmugam, Oriental Life Assurance, Company, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Supramaniam, Railways, Ipoh	5 00
A. Muthuthamby, Railways, Ipoh	5 00
V. Thampar, Railways, Falim, Ipoh	10 00
S. Murugesu, Railways, Ipoh	1 00
M. Balasubramaniam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
P. Nagaratnam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
M. Selvanayagam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Vairavanathan, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Arumugam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
P. Sinnathamby, P. W. D., Kuala Lumpur	1 00
N. Kathiravelu, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
P. Ratnam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Murugesu, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Subramaniam, Batu Arang	2 00
A. Velupillai, Batu Arang	2 00
N. Rajaratnam, Batu Arang	1 00
S. Thambipillai, Batu Arang	1 00
T. Ponnampalam, Batu Arang	1 00
S. Yogavanam, Audit Office, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
T. Rajaratnam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	50
A. Manickam, Railways, Central Workshops	1 00
S. Chelliah, Pasah Road, Sentul	1 00
S. Murugesu, Railways, Central Workshops	1 00
S. Chelliah, Pasah Road, Sentul	2 00
A. Kanapathippillai, Railways, Gemas	1 00
S. Thambirajah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Kurukulasegamonney, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Sinnathamby, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Chelliah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Thambiah, Railway, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
T. Rajaiah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
S. Rajaiah, P. and T., Kuala Lumpur	2 00
S. Ananthar, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
E. Vinasithamby, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 04
V. Eliathamby, Toddy Shop, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
P. Ramalingam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
V. Kanapathippillai, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
P. Arutanandam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
P. Rajah, P. and T., Kuala Lumpur	2 00
N. Praisoody, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 09
P. Sinnathamby, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00

V. MURUGESU,
Treasurer.

(Mis. 235 22-12-38.)

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