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## TRANSFER BRITISH EMPIRE INTO A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS

### Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Advice To Britain

#### ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN DEMOCRACY

"If Britain fails to develop in time a strong and self-governing India, she cannot escape the destruction which has overcome empires as proud and seemingly as firmly rooted as her own," declared Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, referring to India's relationship with Britain in the course of his address at the annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University last week.

"Great Britain", he said, "can work for a liberal and democratic civilisation by transferring her empire into a commonwealth of free nations and that will be her greatest contribution to a better world order. It is difficult to understand her foreign policy or her Indian policy. It is unimaginable how Great Britain and France could view with indifference, if not sympathy, the consolidation of the dictatorships. One explanation is that class feeling has prevailed over patriotism among the governing classes of Britain. Another is that the British people have lost their ambition and their ingrained sense of being the greatest power in the world and so have yielded to other powers and themselves suffered a loss of strength and prestige.

"In a disordered world we seem to occupy a sheltered position and enjoy in some measure the amenities of civilised life. In the British Empire our position is a junior and subordinate one. So far as our defences, go, we are in a helpless condition. Even now a great menace to the peace and safety of our country is growing up in the Far East and its tremors are felt in Siam and Burma. Germany is striving to extend her influence through Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan to the frontiers of

India. In the dangerous condition of the world, where three great powers are acting in concert, adopting the doctrine of force as the inspiration of their policies, Britain must reaffirm her faith in freedom and democracy, not by words but by deeds and weld together the different dominions into a unity on the basis of devotion to these ideals. Self-interest, international decency and justice demand the establishment of self-government in India. The most urgent problem is to work out a federation not on the lines of the Government of India Act but on lines which will foster and further internal unity among the different communities and between provinces and states.

#### Democracy in Retreat

"When I was a student nearly thirty years ago, we had great faith in the ideals of science and education, democracy and peace. With the growth of science we thought pain would be conquered; with the spread of education and enlightenment, we imagined that we would banish ignorance and superstition; with the extension of democratic institutions we hoped that we would remove all injustice and move towards an earthly paradise; with the increase of humanitarian sentiments we thought wars would be abolished. We believed that we could use intelligence in our dealings with physical environment, our social institutions and our inmost selves; we assured that it was all a question of technology or engineering like control of floods or improvement of communications. Science has increased in its range and scope, education has spread widely but we are not so sure

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#### OUR INDIAN LETTER

## GANDHI—THE GREATEST FORCE OF DARKNESS—AND OF MORALITY!

### The Purge In The Congress

(By Lanka)

Madras 17th Dec. 1938

AT a tea-table a couple of days ago a brahmin advocate recalled what he stated to be the words of the late Dr. Annie Besant, in condemnation of Mahatma Gandhi, as "the greatest force of darkness". Almost immediately before, at Tambaram where the World Missionary Conference was assembled, in the premises of the Madras Christian College, one of the Christian leaders of world renown, had spoken these words in opening the sessions.

"In this land which, more than any other, was the home of great religions and cultures, what did not the world owe to India's ancient, and modern saints, sages and reformers! The term 'modern' suggested to all of them the name of Gandhiji. It would be hard to find a modern parallel to the moral influence of this one personality over vast bodies of people near and far or a more heroic record of sacrifice on behalf of a great and noble cause. In his advocacy and practice of non-violence, might he not in this particular, be charting a new course for mankind?"

Exactly a year ago, in Madras itself, when the World Eucharistic Congress was held, the president of that cosmopolitan gathering, a European too, paid a very handsome compliment to Mahatma Gandhi as a very live force for good in the world, and admitted that he came nearer to practising the way of Christ than many people accredited to be so.

Today in a corner of this land there is a vicious movement to discredit the Mahatma, and the most scandalous statements are being circulated by the votaries of this school. They consist of all sorts of people from disgruntled Mahasabha politicians to senseless anti-Hindi agitators of Tamilnad. Of course the Christians' laudation may be attributed to changed circumstance in India, but even then it speaks volumes for the respect that the naked fakir of this country

has aroused from end to end of the world.

MADRAS, they have discovered, was founded just three hundred years ago, in 1639 to be exact. Some people with a history bias think that the event should be celebrated in a fitting manner, and the foremost among them happens to be a Parliamentary Secretary to one of the Congress Ministers in Madras. He advocates the view that the foundation of this City should be remembered and enthused over, though he states that he does not mean that the East India Company's advent should be remembered. Against him is ranged the other and larger section of Congressmen who think that the celebration of the founding of Madras would only be the celebration of the slavery of India through the establishment of British rule in India. The event is only a few months ahead, and here is a question that threatens to trouble the already distracted Congress party. Let us wait and see.

CURRENT proceedings in the Congress Working Committee at Wardha have laid much stress on the need for a purge from Congress of undesirable elements. Gandhiji had started his grumbling more than a year ago over the advent into Congress of all sorts and conditions of members through the "four-anna-membership doorway". Many of the recent additions to the strength of Congress ranks have let the cat out of the bag by asking for so many impossible things or threatening to secede and start a campaign against Congress if their wishes were not met. These have generally been in local self governing bodies, where places of power have been an attraction. They have been giving the go-by to Congress principles and methods

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# CHRIST ON THE CROSS

(By the Editor, Prabuddha Bharata)

(Concluded from our last issue)

JESUS was not simply a delightful moralist aspiring to express sublime lessons in short and lively aphorisms. He was a transcendent revolutionary who essayed to renovate the world from its very basis, and to establish upon earth the ideal which he himself had conceived and realized. An embodiment of spiritual genius, of purity and love, renunciation and humility, Jesus regarded himself as the mirror in which all the prophetic spirit of Israel had read the future, and invited the frail and bewildered mankind to look at the face of Reality, with the boldness of an Oriental seer. His synthetic vision raised him far above the limitations of his age and secured for him a glorious position in the religious pantheon of humanity. That is why his teachings in their original form possess an irresistible appeal and the stamp of universalism, compelling the willing homage of men irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. But to-day in the Christian world, this spirit of renunciation and heroic self-sacrifice is going to be smothered under the surge of an inordinate passion for material comforts and earthly glory. It is time that the voice of Jesus which is a call to rise to the radiance of the Spirit is not allowed to be drowned in the clang and clatter of arms but is listened to in the silent sanctuary of the heart with a whole-souled devotion of a sincere seeker of Truth. "If a man would come after me," so did the Prophet say, "let him deny himself, and take up his Cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?" "Seek ye first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time." Indeed the sublime note of renunciation thus struck by Jesus in his inspiring teachings rings even now at this distant period with an irresistible appeal in our ears. But the modern world, forgetful of his gospel, has hugged to itself a pragmatic philosophy that is silently eating into the vitals of mankind and paving the way for eventual ruin of human society and culture.

But the kingdom which Jesus asked humanity to aspire for was not the temporal kingdom but the kingdom of God which is to be sought in the inmost chamber of the heart. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hidden in a field; the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field." "Ask and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be

opened unto you." Verily, the jewel of infinite bliss is treasured up in the sacred sanctuary of the heart, and it shall be delivered unto him who has taken up the Cross and followed the path of renunciation and love, purity and truth. In fact spiritual life is a life of silent and unostentatious prayer, of self-effacement, and consecration at the altar of humanity, Jesus rose in righteous indignation against every form of hypocrisy in matters religious, and in fact against everything that was calculated to stifle the spirit of religion. He challenged the conduct of the scribes and the Pharisees and pierced hypocrisy to the heart. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" fulminated Jesus, "for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter; but within, they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also." "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within, full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within, ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." Jesus therefore said to his disciples, "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the streets that they may be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, they have their rewards. But thou when prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." "Verily, I say unto you, except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven." "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Thus Jesus unfolded before all the path of blessedness and peace and even laid down his life to bring back the straying self-forgetful humanity to the realm of truth and life everlasting.

#### IV

It must not be forgotten that the proper field of culture is not material only but mainly moral and spiritual. "The spiritual alienation is the price which every civilisation has to pay when it loses its hold on religion and tries to be satisfied with purely material success. Economics or any other science cannot sustain a culture whose spiritual impulse is dead." That is why the civilisation of to-day that stands divorced from its spiritual purpose has become an instrument of ruin and a menace to human life and society. The militant powers that are riding roughshod over the weaker nations of the world must bear in mind that by their conduct they are not only stultifying the religion of their own Prophet but even digging their own grave; for Nature's retribution must visit those who dare to fling all the tender graces of human life to the four winds and fly in the face of the

great commandments of the Lord. So did Jesus command, "He that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law. For this, thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven." "Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect." "Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called sons of God." But the world is too much intoxicated with the wine of material glory and power to pay any heed to the profound counsels of peace and love administered by Jesus. There is moreover witnessed a tendency among certain thinkers of the West to reconcile Christianity with war and force to find some plausible justification for their aggressive imperialism. "We of the new faith," says Mr. Wells in his *God: the Invisible King*, "repudiate the teaching of non-resistance. We are the militant followers of, and participators in a militant God. We can appreciate and admire the greatness of Christ, the gentle being on whose nobility the theologians trade. But submission is the remotest quality of all from our God, and a moribund figure is the completest inversion of his likeness as we know him. A Christianity which shows for its daily symbol Christ risen and trampling victoriously on a broken cross would be far more in the spirit of our worship." It is really nothing short of an insult to human intelligence to suppose that Jesus who could bear with a smiling countenance the excruciating tortures of crucifixion and even pray unto the Lord for the redemption of his own persecutors with the last breath of his life, would preach the gospel of cowardice to the world. As a matter of fact he himself was a dynamo of spiritual strength born of the realization of the infinite potentiality of the soul and was fully cognisant of the fact that non-resistance, of which he himself was an embodiment, was not the sign of weakness but the highest manifestation of power in actual possession. But the ignorant people without the requisite penetrating vision have failed to grasp the full significance of his gospel of non violence and love, gentleness and peace, and are to-day trying to make Christianity more muscular and militant in the interest of state! For as Bismarck has frankly confessed, 'a state conducted on the lines laid down in the Sermon on the Mount which is a counsel of perfection, would not last for twenty-four hours.' Thus indeed is Christendom mocking the pure and spiritual religion of the great Prophet of Nazareth!

The pitiful cry of humanity ground under the wheels of force and fraud—the off-spring of the so-called philosophy of power, is growing in intensity and volume with the roll of time. What is needed is the gentle but virile message of universal love and harmony, peace and goodwill which constitute the very essence of the religion which Jesus proclaimed from the highest altitude of his spiritual realization. "What moral serenity and sweetness pervade his life! What extraordinary tenderness and humility—what lamb-like meekness and sim-

## OUR INDIAN LETTER

(Continued from Page 1.)

and bringing the great Party to ridicule in public. Some real Congressmen had played into their hands expecting to strengthen their own position by the accession of numbers, others have gambled in Congress membership. Gandhiji foresaw all this but other leaders did not see so far and allowed things to go on. Today there is a spectre before them, and hence the reiteration of the superiority of quality over quantity in the matter of Congress membership. Thus you see prominent leaders in all parts of the country have taken up the cry of discipline and purity. If Congress neglects discipline other people deride it, if Congress enforces discipline, still they decry it. One newspaper seriously states editorially that if there is so much cry for discipline in Congress that organisation must be very poor indeed. The lot of Congressmen is never happy.

plicity! His heart was full of mercy and forgiving kindness; friends and foes shared his charity and love. And yet, on the other hand, how resolute, firm, and unyielding in his adherence to truth! He feared no mortal man, and braved even death itself for the sake of truth and God. Verily, when we read his life, his meekness, like the soft moon, ravishes the heart and bathes it in a flood of serene light; but when we come to the grand consummation of his career, his death on the Cross, behold! he shines as the powerful sun in its meridian splendour! These words from the pen of Keshab Chandra Sen bring into bold relief the synthetic personality of Jesus in whom both gentleness and virility found their noblest expression. The world must go deeper into the springs of his divine life so as to realize the greatness of the legacy he has bequeathed unto humanity. It cannot be gainsaid that there are masterminds in the Christian world who still uphold and proclaim the true spirit of Christianity, but it is a fact that they are far outnumbered by those protagonists of the faith to whom religion is an instrument to advance material ends. Christianity, if it is to justify its existence as a spiritual force, must dissociate itself from churchianity and imperialism once for all and be preached in its original pure form for inaugurating a happier relation between man and man, between nation and nation. Down through the shining scorers of centuries has travelled the voice of this great Prophet of humanity. It is time every true Christian responded to his stirring call and the soul-uplifting philosophy of life and stood against the organised sham and vandalism of the age. Let us all realise the true significance of his message and follow the path of heroic self-sacrifice and peace, humility and love, which Jesus had pointed out to the world by laying down his own precious life on the Cross for the well-being of mankind.



# CEYLON TO HAVE CABINET FORM OF GOVT

## Governor's Recommendations for Reform of Constitution

### 68 MEMBERS AND 9 MINISTERS

#### Secretary of State Desires Public Discussion of Proposals

THE despatch of His Excellency the Governor on the subject of the Constitution and the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies thereto were published on Thursday as a Sessional Paper.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies expresses the opinion that the time has come for the public discussion of the Governor's recommendations.

The Governor in his Despatch to the Secretary of State touches on all the main features of the Constitution and makes recommendations in terms of the request made to him by Lord Harlech's Despatch of November 25, 1937.

With regard to the demand for the appointment of a Commission, the Governor suggests that if one were appointed, it should not invite or accept any further representations but work and find on those already received.

The Governor favours the retention of the present franchise as he is definitely opposed to the fifty-fifty or the sixty-forty demand or to any form of fractional representation.

#### Governor's Proposals

The constructive proposals put forward by the Governor are:—

(1) The State Council to consist of sixty elected members on a territorial basis and six nominated members, with the additional safeguard of two nominable seats. Of the six nominated seats, four are for the European Community and two for the Burgher Community, the two additional nominable seats being for interests which may happen to be unrepresented.

(2) The abolition of the Executive Committee System and the introduction of a Cabinet System to consist of nine Ministers, the new Ministers being, the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister, the subject of Law being entrusted to the Home Minister.

(3) The three Officers of State are removed from the State Council, but the Governor will retain the Financial Secretary and the Legal Secretary as Advisers to the Governor and the Cabinet.

(4) The appointment of Ministers' Deputies to be made by the Chief Minister in consultation with the other members of the Cabinet, subject to the Governor's approval.

(5) The Chief Minister is to be appointed by the Governor on his own initiative by seeking for the man who in his opinion is most likely to command public confidence and the Governor will use his best endeavours to select as his Ministers, in consultation with the Chief Minister, "those persons (including

as far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will be best in a position to command the confidence of the Legislature"

(6) The creation of the office of Principal Secretary to the Governor, the holder of which is to act as Governor whenever the Governor is on leave. The Principal Secretary is to be appointed from abroad.

(7) With regard to the Public Service Commission, the Governor suggests that there should be, in addition to the present members, not more than three unofficials nominated by the Governor.

#### INCREASE OF ELECTORAL AREAS

The Governor favours the redelimitation and increase of the number of electoral areas in order to afford more opportunities for minority candidates.

He suggests that a Re-delimitation Committee should be appointed "to consider the present electoral areas of the Island and to advise what changes or additions could be reasonably made to afford more chances for the return of candidates belonging to the minority communities and to secure adequate representation of the Kandyan rural interest." Such a Committee, he thinks, should find itself in a position to recommend ten additional seats.

#### The Franchise

Dealing with the demand for the restriction of the franchise the Governor quotes the pronouncement of the Doughtymore Commissioners that in Great Britain it has been found impracticable in this as in other matters to withdraw privileges already conferred, and says that this is no less true of Ceylon.

The Governor feels that this consideration is applicable to any proposal for the re-imposition of the literary and property qualifications.

The proposal to restrict the franchise is considered by the Governor to be outside the pale of practical politics as is the suggestion to alter the regulations governing the Indian franchise. It has, however, been represented to him, says the Governor, that these regulations have not been properly implemented. That is not, he observes, a question of constitutional reforms but of tightening up procedure and that will receive his careful attention.

The Governor states that the creation of a Second Chamber might be an item for consideration at some future date.

The Governor expresses the view that re-delimitation is necessary in the Kandyan country in order that the Kandyan rural interest, which is

## "Minorities Will Be Disappointed"

### London 'Times' On Reform Despatch

Colombo, Friday 23.

'The frankness of Sir Andrew Caldecott's despatch will be appreciated by many quarters in this country, particularly by those members of both Houses of Parliament who consider that they would be given an opportunity of expressing their opinions before any change is effected in Ceylon's Constitution' declares 'The Times' (London), in a leader today.

It adds: "Government by Committee had a seven years' trial, and it must be confessed that it has satisfied nobody."

#### Minorities "Consolation"

After outlining the Governor's recommendations 'The Times' continues: "The minorities will be disappointed, with the possible exception of the numerically small Burgher community. They may be consoled by the certainty that the Sinhalese will feel even more aggrieved by the Governor's refusal to accept some of their pet schemes for complete self-government."

The paper states:

"On perhaps the most important point there will be general agreement, namely, the proposed abolition of the system, whereby the Government's executive functions are controlled by Committees in the State Council.

#### Encouraging Party Loyalties

"No one has a good word for the Executive Committees. The Governor's view seems to have been endorsed by the Secretary of State, who approves of the substitution of something more nearly approaching the Cabinet system. This may not work smoothly at first, but may prepare the way for better things by encouraging the growth of Ministerial co-operation and party loyalties.

"At the same time it is clear that Ceylon's troubles cannot be blamed solely upon the system of Government by Committees. The system works well in the London County Council, where the Committees are responsible to a well-educated and critical electorate buttressed by strong party loyalties. It has failed in Ceylon because the conditions which ensured its success here simply do not exist in the colony."

that of an agricultural peasantry, may not be swamped by the Indian interest, which is that of plantation labour.

#### Dangers of Nepotism

The Governor suggests that if the Executive Committees continue they must have nothing whatever to do with the personnel of the Public Service.

He states that in the East the idea of "enjoying influence" has not yet begun to die, as men in a posi-

## A NEW EUROPEAN CRISIS

### ITALY REPUDIATES PACT

### FRESH DISPUTE WITH FRANCE

PARIS, DEC. 23

THE repudiation of the Franco-Italian Agreement of 1935 by Italy, which it was understood late last night, was officially notified to France, finds a grim response in the press.

The step is regarded as the first move of what may prove to be a new crisis, designed to ensure that Italian claims will be the main subject of Mr. Chamberlain's conversations in Rome in January, any idea of which it had been the newspapers' concern to refute throughout the week.

Count Ciano recently told M. Francois Poncet, French Ambassador in Rome that the Italian Government no longer considered as valid the Franco-Italian treaties of 1935, which relate mainly to Tunis and North Africa. Count Ciano gave as Italy's reason that the treaty did not correspond with the present situation.

#### "Never Operative"

Ratifications of the treaties were never exchanged and the treaties were therefore never operative.

Bonnet received the British Ambassador yesterday evening. It is understood that he discussed with him Italy's official notification. The French view is believed to be that it is now for Italy to take the next step since France considers that the agreements liquidated the differences between the two countries.

tion to do so are expected by relatives and friends to promote their advancement as a matter of course. Although there is nothing intrinsically wrong about nepotism, it is directly contrary to the accepted principles of equalisation of opportunity and appointment by worth.

#### Loss of Career

The Governor agrees with the proposal of the Ministers that Article 88 of the Order in Council should be so amended as to allow of the Special Pension Regulations being altered to provide that the compensatory addition should only be granted if the Governor is satisfied that an officer's retirement does in fact represent a loss of career.

The Governor cites two cases which have perturbed him recently, one of a Ceylonese Civil Servant who retired to accept a Municipal appointment and thus improved his career, and the other, that of an assistant Matron, who although her service was extended beyond the age of retirement, applied to retire with compensation for loss of career.

#### Three Main Difficulties

The Governor concludes his Despatch with his impressions of the three main difficulties which beset

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### Wanted

"A Manager for the Jaffna Mutual Benefit Fund Ltd., Jaffna, on a salary of Rs. 100/- per mensem with cash security of Rs. 10000/- or Cash Rs. 5000/- and landed property for 10000/-. Apply with testimonials and the application should reach this office before the 15th January 1939. The applicants should be over 40 years of age. For further particulars apply to the Secretary of the Fund."

(Mis. 237. 26 & 29-12-38)



## Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1938

### THE GOVERNOR'S DESPATCH

THE REFORM PROPOSALS adumbrated in the Governor's Despatch published on Thursday will, in spite of certain obvious limitations, inevitable in the circumstances in which they took their birth, we believe, meet with general acceptance as marking a decided advance on the existing system of Government. The task of formulating within the framework of the Donoughmore Scheme a constitution acceptable to all shades of political thought, of finding a satisfactory compromise between the competing claims of an evolving nationalism and the just aspirations of the minority communities to play their rightful part in the administration, is, indeed, very delicate and difficult. That in approaching this task the Governor has shown, on the whole, a commendable clarity of vision, a correct appreciation of the difficulties that beset constitution-making, a genuine faith in democracy, and freedom from bias, will be admitted by all impartial observers. He has steered clear of the Scylla of rigid territorial representation and the Charybdis of communal representation and found a compromise which, as he believes, will make for the emergence of well defined and well disciplined political parties on which depends the success of Parliamentary Democracy. He has risen above the temptation which has beset constitution-makers in India to exploit in Imperial interests the sectional and communal differences obtaining in the country. The minorities have reason to be dissatisfied with the weightage that is proposed to be given by the re-allocation of electoral areas. The fears and misgivings which the unstatesmanlike composition of the homogeneous Board of Ministers has given rise to in the

minds of the minorities are not likely to be allayed by these proposals. Though we have never supported the fifty-fifty demand on the ground that it is unreasonable and arbitrary, we have always contended that the representation of the Northern and Eastern Provinces under the Donoughmore Constitution is really inadequate and that, in any future scheme of reforms, they should be given increased representation in view of their remoteness and their peculiar problems and needs and of their linguistic differences. These proposals are only tentative, and therefore it is up to the leaders in these Provinces to mobilise public opinion in support of this claim so as to convince the Governor of the justice and reasonableness of their demand.

As we have often urged in these columns, the scrapping of the Committee System and the substitution of the Cabinet System and the removal of the Officers of State and the appointment of an independent Public Service Commission, are desirable reforms calculated to promote the growth of full responsible Government. The creation of the homogeneous Board should have convinced anyone of the futility of the Committee System as a minority safeguard. In the interests of the purity and efficiency of administration, of the evolution of party system and collective Ministerial responsibility the abolition of the Committee system can no longer be delayed. The recommendations as regards the Public Service Commission will go some way to allay the fears of minorities. The lack of clear definition of the powers of the Cabinet over the salaries and cadre of the Services and in fact the duality of control that is proposed may lead to friction between the Cabinet and the Governor which it is the obvious duty of the reformed Constitution to remove. We find the same lack of definition in the functions of the three Advisers of the Governor as against those of the corresponding Ministers, which will not make for harmony and may result in reducing the transfer of power and responsibility to a shadow. There is no reason why in Ceylon the Governor should have a separate Legal Adviser when in Indian Provinces, under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Advocate-General does this function in regard to both the Ministers and Governor. The Indian Act clearly lays down: "It shall be the duty of the Advocate-General to give advice to the Provincial Government upon such legal matters, and to perform such other duties of a legal character, as may from time to time be referred or assigned to him by the Governor." We would do well to copy the

Indian example in this respect. Another recommendation that does not meet with our approval is the proposed appointment of nine Deputy Ministers. Even in Indian Provinces, such as Madras or Bombay, with much larger revenues and population and with their complex problems, the authors of the Act of 1935 have not felt the need for Deputy Ministers. This Island can ill afford such a costly luxury in view of the appalling poverty of the masses. Each Minister can well have a "Parliamentary" Secretary to help him in his Ministerial functions. We know well enough how the country is already weighted with the burden of taxation.

The Governor's recommendations, in their aggregate and viewed collectively, err, if anything, on the side of conservatism and are intended to maintain the *status quo*. The proposed constitution follows in general principles the lines of the Government of India Act and bristles with safeguards and checks. "The 'homogeneous' Board of Ministers have partly to thank their own impolitic attitude, lack of imagination and of a sense of responsibility for such a situation. If they earn the confidence and co-operation of the minorities by pursuing a policy of tolerance, compromise and considerateness, they will be in a better position to press their demand for full responsible Government with the united voice of the country and win it. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the scheme outlined in the Despatch is but tentative and subject to modifications in the light of the debate in the State Council and the expressions of public opinion in the country.

### REMANDED AGAIN

#### The Three Accused on "Crime Gang" Charge

Further evidence was recorded in the Jaffna Police Court in the sensational case in which Inspector J. W. L. Attygalle charged three men K. Murugesu, Eliyathamby Muniyah and Karaiy Muttiah with having associated with a gang of persons who habitually commit crime.

A large crowd numbering over 5000 persons assembled in the court premises and the police maintained order.

Mr. M. A. Masilamany, instructed by Mr. Victor Paul, appeared for Muniyah and Muttiah, and Murugesu was undefended.

Mr. Masilamany made an appeal for bail in the case of his clients. Mr. Krishnaratne, A. S. P., opposed.

The Magistrate said that the offence was non-bailable and remanded all the three accused till January 4.

### Arrested by Jewel Merchant

#### The Accused With Thalikody

A discharged accused in a thali theft case was brought to book last Saturday by a jewel merchant at Vannarponne, with the thalikody he is alleged to have stolen.

It appears that Veluppillai Rasah of Thavady, who stood charged with the theft of a thalikody, and was discharged for lack of evidence, took a thalikody for sale to the shop of Mr. A. Kanagasabai, jewel merchant, of Sivankovilady, Vannarponne East. The mud sticking to the thalikody aroused the suspicions of Mr. Kanagasabai who immediately motored to Thavady to the party said to have been relieved of the thalikody. He returned to his shop with the man and the other party. A police constable happened to pass the shop at the time. Mr. Kanagasabai took the policeman and the parties in his car to the Police Station and gave the necessary information. The accused is now in police custody.

### MANNAR KACHCHERI TO REMAIN

#### Protest Against Transfer to Vavuniya

Mannar, Saturday.

It is understood that the Minister of Home Affairs has informed the A.G.A., of Mannar that there is no proposal to shift the Mannar Kachcheri to Vavuniya, as the residents of Mannar feared.

Mr. C. Sittampalam, the former A.G.A., made representations to the Home Minister against the removal of the Mannar Kachcheri. A public meeting was also held in Mannar against the removal and representations were made to the Governor and the Home Minister.

It will be remembered that the former A.G.A., of Vavunia, Mr. P. O. Fernando, recommended the removal of the Kachcheri to Vavunia as a measure of economy.

### Mr. Jayakar on P. C. Judicial Committee

Bombay, Saturday.

The Associated Press understands that Mr. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court, has been offered, and has accepted, a place on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The vacancy was caused by the resignation of Sir Shadi Lal.



# JAPAN'S POWERFUL FORTIFICATIONS

## Blocking Yangtze to Foreign Shipping

### WARNING TO CHINESE OFFICERS BY GENERALISSIMO

London, Saturday.

THE Japanese, according to a special correspondent at Shanghai, are building powerful fortifications, an airport and a vast military camp on the outskirts of that city.

Their aim, he states, is to cut the city off and maintain by force, if necessary, their refusal to reopen the Yangtze (near whose mouth Shanghai stands) to foreign shipping.

Naval engineers are carrying out the work, with the aid of an army of Chinese prisoners and forced labourers, 30,000 of whom are excavating and filling in a swamp near Kaingwan (where the Chinese had built their new civic centre) for an airport, using bricks and stones from the ruins of the suburbs of Chapi and Hongkew. Two hundred White Russians are driving the stone trucks. A mile of modern jetties has been built.

Sales of confiscated Chinese land are providing the finance for the entire undertaking.

#### Wholesale Executions Threat by Generalissimo

Chungking, Saturday.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has threatened wholesale executions of officials found guilty of "unbecoming conduct." He adds that it is unforgivable for officials to lead a gay life behind the front line while soldiers are fighting the invaders.

Kwangsi Province is preparing to meet a possible invasion. The populace has been ordered to evacuate to areas distant from the main lines of communications.

#### Agricultural Department Transfers

Mr. N. Thambiah, Agriculture Instructor, Nawalapitiya, Kotmale, Nuwana Eliya and Uda Bulathigama Range, will shortly assume duties as headmaster of the Farm School, Jaffna, relieving Mr. S. G. Goneratnam, who has been transferred to Peradeniya, as Assistant Horticulture Officer.

Mr. S. A. Palle, Agriculture Instructor, Nikeweratiya (N. W. P.), is succeeding Mr. Thambiah as Agriculture Inspector.

#### Broadcasting

### AKASH-VANI, MYSORE

#### This Week's Programme

Wavelength: 70.2 Meters. Frequency: 4265 Kc/S.

CALL SIGN: V. U. 7. M. C.

Monday, the 26th December, 1938

6 p.m. Film Hits  
6-15 p.m. News by Mr. V. A. Kannan  
6-45 to 8-15 p.m. European Music  
8-15 p.m. Health Talk: "How your Baby may be kept well"

Tuesday, the 27th December 1938

6 p.m. Nathaswaram Music  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
7 p.m. Readings from Kannada Poetry by S. V. Srinivasa Rao, Esq., City Karnataka Sangha, Mysore  
7-30 to 8-20 p.m. Karnatic Vocal Music

Wednesday, the 28th December '38

6 p.m. Orchestral Music  
6-15 p.m. News & Announcements  
7 p.m. European Music by Miss Hilda Read, L. R. A. M. Soprano

Thursday, the 29th December 1938

6 p.m. Karnatic Light Music  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
7 p.m. Children's Half Hour conducted by G. P. Rajaratnam, Esq., M. A.  
7-45 p.m. Kannada Drama: "Sadanaama"

Friday, the 30th Dec. 1938

6 p.m. Regimental Tunes  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
6-45 p.m. Hindusthani Music  
7-15 p.m. Readings from "Koran"  
8 p.m. (in Urdu) "Mustafa Kawal Pasha"

Saturday, the 31st Dec. 1938.

6 p.m. Instrumental Music  
6-15 p.m. News and Announcements  
6-30 to 9 p.m. Vocal Music Performance by Vidwan Subba Krishniah, accompanied by Vidwan Subrahmanyam (Violin) and Vidwan Ramiah (Mridangam).

#### The New Year Day's Special Programme

Sunday, the 1st Jan. 1939

6 to 6-30 p.m. Nathaswaram Music  
6-30 to 7 p.m. Violin  
7 to 7-30 p.m. Vocal (Karnatic)  
7-30 to 8 p.m. Veena  
8 to 8-30 p.m. Flute  
8-30 to 9 p.m. Hindusthani Music  
9 to 9-30 p.m. European Music

#### Personal

Dr. C. Sivaratnam, District Medical Assistant, Ratnapura, has been transferred to Dimbela as District Medical Officer.

## Educated Youth as Cultivators

### Punjab Colonisation Scheme

Lahore, Dec. 20.

An area comprising about 9,000 acres of land in a new colony in the Punjab is being cultivated by graduates and undergraduates. This is the result of the Government's plans to encourage a back-to-the-land movement among educated youth.

An experimental scheme in this connection was started in 1932. In that year, two villages situated in one of the canal irrigated tracts were colonised entirely by 48 educated youths consisting of 44 graduates and undergraduates of arts and science colleges and four graduates in agriculture. Each student was allotted two squares (55 acres) of canal irrigated land. The conditions covering the grants required that the tenants of such lands should live permanently on it and build suitable residences. They were further to cultivate the land in person, with paid labour to assist them. Occupancy rights were to be granted to them if the foregoing conditions had been satisfactorily observed for a period of five years.

During the first two harvests after the commencement of the tenancy the Government remitted the whole demand on account of land revenue, malikana, occupiers' rates and cess. At present 8,910 acres of land in the Punjab have been colonised by 162 educated young men, of whom 89 are the sole cultivators of four villages, and the remainder are scattered usually in pairs, in other older villages.

## ANTI-CRIME DRIVE

### More Societies Formed

A public meeting was held in the Ganesha Vidyasalai Hall at Nanavil West, to form an anti Crime Society.

Mr. N. Tampippillai, Maniagar of Tenmaradchy, presided.

Mr. A. Tampoe said that it was time for them to wake up. Jaffna, which was once the home of peace-loving citizens, had become a den of thieves.

Mr. S. Candiah Sivana, the headmaster of the school, said that crime increased because the public had no protection from the police, if they gave evidence against the rowdies in a place. He appealed to every young man to co-operate with the headmaster and the police to put a stop to crime.

Inspector K. V. Ramnathan, of the Uthavakachcheri police, said that he was glad the people had made up their minds to act concertedly.

Mr. N. Tampippillai outlined the causes of crime and its remedies.

A society was formed with Mr. N. Tampippillai as president, and

## STRATEGIC VALUE OF TRINCOMALEE

### SURVEY OF TRANS-OCEAN ROUTES

#### HALF-WAY BASE BETWEEN ADEN AND SINGAPORE

London, Friday.

GROUP Captain L. G. S. Payne, writing in the "Daily Telegraph", says that large Sunderland flying-boats of the Air Force general reconnaissance squadrons based on Singapore surveyed this month trans-ocean routes between Singapore and the new naval and air base to be established at Trincomalee.

In the course of what was officially described as routine training exercises, they flew from Singapore to Penang and then across 1,400 miles of open sea to Trincomalee, subsequently returning via Colombo and Penang.

The great strategic value of Trincomalee as a half-way base on the route from Aden to Singapore is now recognized.

It may become even more important if the Japanese succeed in persuading Siam to let them cut a canal through Siamese territory in the Malay Peninsula, which would have the effect of passing by Singapore.

Mr. A. Tampoe, Secretary. A Civil patrol was also enlisted.

#### At Point Pedro

Jaffna, Saturday.

An Anti-Crime Society for Point Pedro was formed at an inaugural meeting held at Hartley College convened by Mr. R. S. Kandiah, Thumpalai, Point Pedro.

Mudaliyar Chinnathamby, who presided, detailed how crime had increased in Jaffna and how civil patrols were organised in other parts of Jaffna with the guidance of the headmen and the police.

The following also spoke: Messrs. N. Sivagnanasundaram; R. W. M. Walton, V. C. chairman of Puloly; S. Nagalingam, C. Thanabalingam, proctor; Prof. S. K. Kandaswamy; V. V. Subramaniam, proctor; and K. Muttakumar, proctor.

It was decided that each village should divide itself into 25 or 30 units, take turns and patrol its area and safeguard itself.

Mr. K. Muttakumar, proctor was elected president of the society and Mr. R. S. Kandiah, hon. secretary. Messrs. C. P. Thamotheeram, the Principal of Hartley College; V. Anurasalam, manager of schools; J. W. M. Walton, R. Subramaniam, adayar of Puloly; and A. Kathirgamar, adayar of Point Pedro, were elected to be members of the executive committee, together with the office-bearers. (Con.)



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

## Crimes in Jaffna

Sir.

The Jaffnese in this country view with alarm the large increase in the number of crimes in Jaffna. We read in the Ceylon Papers and hear from people coming from Jaffna the atrocities done by the people there. Are we given to understand that these people who rob and waylay helpless women are doing this because they are hungry.

The triple murder at Illavalai; a man falling into a well at Moolai in trying to escape capture after attempting to rob two women; waylaying a woman and robbing her of her jewels, and relieving her of her saree, show that there are criminals all over the Peninsula and we fear that Jaffna has become a "second Chicaco."

From these cases we have to assume that the Police Force in Jaffna is not doing its duty well. At one time a peaceful country now a den of thieves and drunkards. The representatives of Jaffna in the State Council are much to blame for the state of affairs. If they have the welfare of the people at heart they would have brought about complete prohibition in Jaffna. They do not care for the people. They fight with the Sinhalese for a few crumbs and hunt for acting Ministerships. These will not bring food and clothing to the people. Prohibition will bring more food and cloth to the masses. The present State Councillors have made every palmyrah tree a toddy shop and every Jaffna man (young and old) a drunkard. In India the Congress Governments are doing nation building services whereas the Jaffnese representatives in the State Council are drawing the last drop of blood from the poor people through toddy and other drinks.

It is time the Police took effective steps to stamp out crimes. If the Police are found inefficient the Government should transfer them to other parts of Ceylon and bring in new blood. This should be done every six months. Heavy sentences (maximum under the law) should be passed by magistrates on criminals and the result of such cases should be widely published in papers under large headlines with the idea of impressing the public. In this country (F.M.S.) the magistrates are almost every day praised for inflicting maximum sentences on criminals.

The Government should put an end to toddy and levy heavy duty on Ceylon arrack. It is said the majority of the male population in Jaffna are addicts and therefore it is impossible to get their co-operation to enforce prohibition. It is the duty of the Government to enforce prohibition in the Northern Province and save the minority from persecution at the hands of drunkards and robbers. If this is not done the Jaffnese as a race will be wiped out by its own hands.

The public should be instructed not to support the present representatives at the State Council for the next election if they do not bring about the immediate stoppage of toddy tapping in the Northern Province. It is useless to send such people to Councils.

"M. S. P."

Kuala Lumpur  
9-12-38

## Ceylon to Have Cabinet Form of Govt

(Continued from page 3)

administration and hinder the political development of the Island.

## SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY

## "Time For Public Discussion"

The following is the text of the Secretary of State's reply to the Governor's Despatch.

Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
10th November, 1938

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential despatch of the 13th June, submitting your recommendations for the amendment of the Constitution of Ceylon.

2. On your appointment as Governor of Ceylon, you were charged by my predecessor with the duty of acquainting yourself with the views of all sections of opinion in the Island, and of submitting your recommendations on the constitutional position. I highly appreciate the care, the patience and the ability with which you have devoted yourself to this task.

3. During my previous tenure of office as Secretary of State I gained the impression that although much good work had been done in the Executive Committee, the system of Government by Committee might not entirely conduce either to efficiency or to economy of administration or to proper co-ordination of policy. I was not altogether surprised, therefore, when I received your despatch and the numerous representations from political bodies in Ceylon which have been forwarded to me, to learn that there is a widespread though by no means universal demand for the abolition of the Committee system in favour of something more nearly approaching a Cabinet system of Government. Since receiving your despatch I have had the opportunity of discussing the matter with you in London, as well as with a number of leading Ceylonese who came to London for the purpose of informing me of their views.

## "Safeguard" Fallacy

4. I recognise that the Committee system was intended, and has been held, in some quarters to provide some safeguard for the presentation of the views of the minority communities.

I doubt, however, whether it has in practice been of real efficacy in this direction; but in view of the existence of this impression, and the desirability on general grounds of safeguarding the position of the minorities, I attach special importance to your recommendation that there should be a re-delimitation of electoral areas directed to secure that members of the minority communities should have greater opportunities of securing election to the State Council.

5. I think that the time has come for the public discussion of your recommendations. I request, therefore that you will publish this correspondence as soon as in your discretion you think fit, and will take such steps as you think proper for the debate of your proposals in the State Council. On the result of that debate and the expressions of public opinion which may result will depend my consideration of what measures if any should be taken for the amendment of the Constitution.

I have the honour to be etc.,  
MALCOLM MACDONALD.

## Order Nisi

## IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 46.

In the matter of the estate of the late Sivakamypillay wife of Kanapathypillai Thuraiappah of Vannarponnai West

Deceased.

Kanapathypillai Thuraiappah of Vannarponnai West

Vs. Petitioner.

- (1) Thuraiappah Thuraiappah
- (2) Thuraiappah Kanagarajah
- (3) Saraswathyamma daughter of Thuraiappah
- (4) Thuraiappah Sivasithamparam
- (5) Thuraiappah Sivasubramaniam
- (6) Nageswaryamma daughter of Thuraiappah
- (7) Vairavanathar Kurunathapillay all of Van West

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of above-named Petitioner praying for Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, on the 28th day of July 1936 in the presence of Mr. M. Somasuntharam Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 15th day of February 1935 having been read, it is declared that the Petitioner is the lawful husband of the said intestate and is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the

## NOTICE

Applications are hereby invited for the post of a temporary Supervising overseer in the Public Works Department, Vavuniya.

2. All applications should reach the office of the District Engineer, Vavuniya, on or before the 7th January, 1939.

3. Applicants should state age, and should be of London Matriculation standard with knowledge of drawing and tracing etc etc.

4. The salary attached to the post is Rs. 1/75 per diem.

W. B. Fernando,  
D. E. Vavuniya.

P.W.D. Vavuniya,  
December 23, 1938

G. 39. 26 &amp; 29-12-38.

estate of the said intestate issued to him unless the Respondents or any other person shall, on or before the 28th day of April 1937 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Signed this 18th day of March 1937.  
Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,  
District Judge.

Extended to 28-11-38

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,

D. J.

Extended to 16-1-39

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy.

D. J.

Drawn by

M. Somasuntharam,  
Proctor for Petitioner.

(O. 76 26 &amp; 29-12-38)

"Even at the cost of life, I prefer a free lunch: when life is lost, rebirth is certain, but a good lunch missed seldom recurs."

Such is the motto of Kaundinya, the hero of the Tamil burlesque "Aval Natakam", appearing in the first issue—

## the Pongal Number of SILPA SREE Tamil Monthly.

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(Mis. 236. 26-12-38--16-1-39.)

## Dr. Isabel H. Curr's Farewell Fund

Receipts		
Total amount collected		Rs. 4,512.59
<b>Payments</b>		
Draft on the Bank of Scotland for £. 250		Rs. 3,350.79
10 Sovereigns (included in the purse)		299.00
Cash		85.00
Silver Tea Set, Casket &c		350.00
		<hr/>
Total		4,024.79
Printing of Notices & Cards	Rs. 58.75	
Stationery	9.63	
Stamps	61.82	
Address on oia leaves	60.00	
Photographs	40.00	
Collection expenses incurred by Treasurer & collectors on petrol & hire of cars	130.35	
Rent of Town Hall & light	13.75	
Hire of chairs (2 occasions)	56.00	
Bouquet, flowers & Garland	17.80	
Miscellaneous	39.70	
	<hr/>	
Total	487.80	Rs. 4,512.59

Urampiray  
5-12-38

V. PONNAMPALAM  
Treasurer,  
Farewell Reception Committee

Checked and found correct

J. Subramaniam Lewis  
Auditor.

15-12-38

(Mis. 238. 26-12-38)



# Transfer British Empire into a Commonwealth of Free Nations

(Continued from page 1)

to-day that life is richer or the future brighter.

"The failure of these intellectual devices to improve our social relations has brought disappointment to the human soul. We find that the creation of ideal human relations is a different problem from the mastery of nature. The problem of living has become much more complicated and the mood in which we have to face it is not that of the self-complacent intellectual. If mankind finds itself in a mass, if things which should contribute to humanity's wealth have become an occasion for failing, it is because our conceptions of life are superficial. Human nature is not a matter of surfaces but of strata, of external experience, of reflective consciousness, of moral and aesthetic apprehension, of religious insight. Every stratum has its own life. We have diseases of the body as well as of mind. If cold and catarrh are illnesses of physical nature, error, prejudice and falsehood are defects of our mind, lust, anger and jealousy are deformations of our heart. However much we may progress in the conquest of natural forces or in the control of social injustices, a very important part of the human problem will consist in the disciplining of our wayward desires and the achievement of an attitude of poise toward the inevitable limitations of finite existence.

### Essence of Hinduism

"You will be able to cope with the new problems, if you have caught a little of the spirit of this place. The true significance of a city or a country as of a person lies not in its face but in its spirit, not in its geography but in its history. Here, in this city you feel the unseen presence of sages and saints who rose from time to eternity, and fashioned the destiny of a race. When your Vice Chancellor started the idea of a Hindu University, there were many who thought that he was entering into controversial regions and it would be difficult to give the students the essentials of the Hindu faith in a non-sectarian manner. The difficulty of Hinduism, as of other religions, has been the emphasis on the insignificant. We quarrel about the casual interpretations, forms and ceremonies instead of insisting on the unifying devotion to the permanent truths. The essence of Hinduism is a living faith in spirit and man's capacity to assimilate it. Rites, forms, ceremonies, institutions and programmes are subordinate to this end. The central fact of religion is the felt existence within us of abounding inner life which transcends consciousness, a secret spirit

which haunts us like a ghost or a dream. We feel certain powers moving within us, we know not what, we know not why. These vague intuitions, these faint dreams are far cries of the universal dwelling in us and the function of religion is to make our souls sensitive to the universal. In man alone does the universal come to consciousness. He alone is aware that there is a universe, that it has a history and may have a destiny. He feels most fiercely the adventure of awareness, the possibility of doom or deliverance. Religion appeals to the inward man, a stranger who has no traffic with this world. It is the core and centre of his being in which he strives to set himself in direct relation to the All. To develop the spiritual dimension we may have to withdraw our souls from the flux of existence, endure an agony of experience or travel barren and stony wastes of despair. When once this recognition arises pride, prejudice and privilege fall away and a new humility is born in the soul.

### Internal Weakness

"The uninterrupted continuity of Hindu civilisation bears witness to its vitality. The vitality of a living organism is to be measured by its power to carry off the waste matter which would prevent its proper functioning. When it fails to do this, it ceases to be creative, it is really dead, only a corpse. The most urgent question for Hindu Society today is whether it has life enough in it to overcome the obstructions within its own organism. If we try to embalm the present social structure, if we strive to defend the separatist tendencies of caste and the disabilities of the Untouchables, we will be disloyal to the spirit of Hinduism. We cannot defend an unjust order of things and praise God. Faith in the one supreme means that we, His offspring, are of one body, of one flesh—the Brahmin and the Harijan, the black, the yellow and the white whose prayers go up to one God under different names. It is our own flesh that is torn when the shell explodes, that is pierced by the thirsting bayonet. The dignity of the individual who is the lamp of spirit must become the paramount consideration, if society is to survive. I have no doubt that when the world gets together and when a creative commonwealth is projected, India would be called upon to supply an indispensable part of its design for living.

"Men, as we find them, however, are artificial products. We are made one way and society re-makes us in another way. Our relationships with fellow-beings have become unnatural and artificial. We are made to feel, not that we are human but that we are Hindu or Muslim, French or German, Jew or Gentile. Our barbarous laws and institutions seduce us from our natural feelings of sympathy and fellowship. Fear, suspicion and resentment

arise and wars which become each year more destructive are waged for the glory of the fictional abstractions of race and nation, class and creed. The world cannot permanently organise its life in an unjust and unnatural way without reaping chaos and conflict. The root cause of our present trouble is an inter-dependent world worked on a particularist basis. If moral principles are set at naught, if we are not faithful to the instinct of the common man, nemesis will overtake us.

"The world has seen a number of civilisations on which the dust of ages has settled. The jungle has conquered their great centres and jackals howl there in the moonlight. The spade of the Archaeologist uncovers for us dead cities that we may behold in them our pride and shame. We assured that whatever may be the changes and developments, the solid structure of Western civilisation was itself enduring and permanent, but we now see how appallingly insecure it is. The menace of war has been a writing on the wall. The present world situation is a spiritual challenge. We must either accept it or perish. It is not safe to be immoral. Evil systems inevitably destroy themselves by their own greed and egotism. Against the rock of mo-

ral law, earth's conquerors and exploiters hurl themselves eventually to their own destructions. While yet there is time, there is not much left, we must take steps  
(Continued on Page 8)

### SALE OF TODDY RENTS 1938-39

MULLAIVIVU DISTRICT  
Notice is hereby given that the Assistant Government Agent, Mullaivivu, will receive sealed tenders for the purchase, subject to Toddy Rent Sale Conditions and General Conditions applicable to all Excise Licences published in Government Gazette No. 8368 of 11th May, 1938, of the exclusive privilege of selling fermented toddy by retail in the undermentioned taverns during the period March 1, 1939 to September 30, 1939.

2. For further particulars see Government Gazette No. 8422 of 23rd December, 1938.

3. The Conditions of Sale and any other required information can be had from the Vavuniya Kachcheri.

S. S. Navaratnam,  
Assistant Government Agent,  
The Kachcheri,  
Vavuniya, 19th December, 1938.

List of Taverns referred to:—

No.	Division	Local Area closing taverns	Date & Time of	Place
2.	Maritime	Valayan-Pattus madam	January 13, 1939; 10 a.m.	Old
6.	-do-	Alempil	do 10-10	Kachcheri
9.	Vavuniya	Kanagara-North yankulam	do 10-20	at
11.	do	Kurisudda-kulam	do 10-30	Mullaivivu.

[G. 38. 26-12-38]

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

(Continued from our last issue.)

V. Visuvalingam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	\$ 2 00
M. T. Kandiah, Planters Stores, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
S. Kandiah, State Medical and Health Office, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
K. Rajaratnam, State Medical and Health Office, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
K. Sithamparappillai, State Medical and Health Office, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
S. Thillaiampalam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
Karuvalthamby, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
I. Kanagasabai, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
E. Nadarajah, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
M. Subramaniam, Railways, Kampar	2 00
S. Boniface, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
M. Thambinathan, Co-operative Department, Kuala Lumpur	2 00
R. Somasundram, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
M. V. Kandiah, Police Department	2 00
S. Kathiravelu, Railways, Port Swettenham	2 00
R. T. Rajah, Railways, Sentul	2 00
A. Namasivayam, Railways, Port Swettenham	5 00
S. Saravanamuthu, Sanitary Board, Klang	5 00
V. Ratnam, Railways, Port Swettenham	5 00
E. Saravanamuthu, Dispensary, Port Swettenham	2 00
K. Karthigasu, Segamat	5 00
S. V. Pillai, Railways, Kuala Lipis	5 00
K. Kathiravelu, Railways, Kuala Lipis	5 00
Durai (Chunnamkalam), Seremban	5 00
N. Kuddiythamby, P. W. D., Kajang	20 00
N. Sianaddy, Batang Kali	2 00
S. Velupillai, Ulu Yam	5 00
K. Vyramuthu, Ulu Yam	4 00
V. Visuvanathan, P. W. D., Rawang	5 00
S. Ragupillai, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	5 00
M. Chelliah, Railways, Pasirmas	5 00
M. Ponnampalam, Treasury, Kuala Lumpur	5 00
M. Magasundram, Railways, Tanjong Malim	1 00
S. Myiyaganampillai, Railways, Seremban	3 00
N. Vythilingam, Railways, Central Workshops	3 30
Kuddy, Segamat	2 00
M. Thiruvarul, Tangkak	2 00
N. R. Visuvalingam, Maar	25 00
Kumar, Alor Gajah	2 00
A. Sivasambhu, Railways, Bukit Mertajam	5 00
S. Kandiah, Railways, Bukit Mertajam	5 00
K. Muthavelu, Railways, Alorstar	5 00
Kasippillai, Rawang	2 00
S. Kandavanam, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	5 00
V. K. Thambipillai, Penang	10 00
S. Thambirajah, Railways, Ipoh	2 00
T. Ramanathan, Railways, Kuala Lumpur	1 00
K. Sabhasivam, Railways, Taiping	2 00

Total \$ 1783 57

V. MURUGESU,  
Treasurer.



## Transfer British Empire into a Common Wealth of Free Nations

(Continued from page 7)

to prevent the helpless rush of man, to his doom.

### Economic Justice

"Democracy does not mean a dead level in character and contribution, ability and insight. It is an equality of opportunity in matters of food, health and education. It implies economic justice if we are content with anything less, democracy is a mockery. Economic justice involves a reshaping of the economic order. Capitalism is criticised from different points of view but here I may just indicate how it affects a democratic policy of life. By permitting a staggering degree of inequality with its inevitable consequences of poverty and lack of opportunity for masses of men, women, and children, it produces social disturbance. This inequality is morally dangerous. It encourages the privileged sections of society to live in waste and luxury, with an utterly false sense of values, in a callous disregard of what their superior privilege means to the victims of the process which accords to them the privileges.

### The Meaning of Democracy

"The religious tradition of India justifies democracy and if she has not been faithful to this principle, she has paid for it by her suffering and subjection. Sirit is never more persuasive than when it suffers silently beneath the heel of oppression. Democracy is an achievement forged in the fires which make a nation's soul. When I speak of democracy, I am referring not so much to parliamentary institutions as to the dignity of man, the recognition of the fundamental right of all men to develop the possibilities in them. The common man is not common. He is precious, has in him the power to assert his nature against the iron web of necessity. To tear his texture, to trample him in blood and filth is

an unspeakable crime.

"The freedom of expression is the only way by which we can let truth work on the minds of men. If we repress freedom of speech, we make truth subservient to the interests of the powerful group. The increasing regimentation of mind and the propaganda by which we hope the people with false news and keep them ignorant of the facts even in so-called democratic countries show how parasitical groups govern in them. A free press is an essential element of a free country, but it must be a responsible press. A corrupt press will poison the springs of social life.

"A new generation is growing up with a new awareness of the oneness of humanity. It understands that peace is a positive achievement, calling for high enterprise. It is aware that world peace demands world justice and the obstacles to it are in the hearts of men which have been corrupted in their prides and jealousies, in their attachment to comforts and possessions at other people's expense. National ambitions and racial passions blind us to real ends and long views. Unless we remove the sources of injustice and fear, we cannot make the world safe for peace. The history of man has been a continual struggle between the ideal of a moral community and the immoral forces of greed, stupidity and violence, individual and corporate. We must refine the spirit of patriotism so as to make it a pathway from man to mankind. A world conference to examine territorial grievances, control of raw materials and possibilities of collateral disarmament and establish the freedom of all nations, small or great, weak or strong, may be summoned and if the powerful nations approach the task in a chastened spirit and in the faith that nations like individuals are great not by what they acquire but by what they resign, we may get near our goal."

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