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Is Democracy A Failure?

TOO SOON TO HAUL DOWN FLAG.

BY DR. G. P. GOOCH.

What is the test of success for an institution or an idea? What percentage of marks must it gain to qualify for a prize? Must it realize to the full the dreams of its founders or its prophets? Measured by such a yard-stick every large-scale experiment in human association, from the Christian Churches and the League of Nations downwards, must be pronounced a failure. But we are dealing with the world of realities. Human nature is imperfect, and its creations are stamped with its imperfections. It is as great a mistake to ask too much as to demand too little. If the shaping of our individual lives is a continual struggle with internal and external difficulties, the governance of a community, on whatever lines the endeavour is made, is an infinitely more complicated affair. In suggesting an answer in the negative to the question at the head of this article, I plead for a reasonable relativity.

Definition.

Democracy has been pictorially defined in a hundred ways: government by consent, government by discussion, counting heads instead of breaking them, cutting power into little bits, everyone a sovereign. My own definition is the sharing of power, the sharing of responsibility, the sharing of opportunity. All such formulas agree in emphasizing the importance of the individual citizen. That it asks more from the common man than any other political system is to one type of mind its condemnation, to another the core of its vitalizing appeal. In the last analysis our view of democracy depends on our estimate of human nature. Political thinkers like Macchiavelli and Hobbes who award low marks, cry aloud for the strong arm of the prince and the Great Leviathan. Rousseau and his school, on the other hand, who discover the maximum of virtue at the bottom of the social scale, unhesitatingly proclaim the sovereignty of the people. But why should we be either cynics or doctrinaires? We can pursue the middle path on which Locke set out with steady foot. Man is a teachable animal, and he has built up the glittering fabric which we call civilization. No one can set bounds to the

march of his spirit; and he possesses not merely wings but a certain fund of horse-sense or instinctive sanity. Like Disraeli, I am on the side of the angels.

Lord Bryce began his political testament before the War and completed it while the world was rocking after the storm. In Modern Democracies the sky is not exactly a Riviera blue. No one has known more about political institutions past and present and no one has mingled lights and shades in his picture with more scrupulous care. In one of our last conversations he lamented the disappointment of the more sanguine hopes of his youths. But never was he tempted to recommend the despairing expedient of putting back the hands of the clock. Democracy, he declared, would never perish till hope had expired. For it is the child of the new world which came into being in Central and Western Europe after the close of the Middle Ages.

Democracy "The Heir Of The Ages"

The four centuries of what we call Modern History are marked by leading conceptions such as the unfettered sovereignty of the State, the emancipation of conscience, the birth of the scientific spirit, and, last but not least, the emergence of the common man. I look back with gratitude on the labours of those who courageously adapted our institutions to the conditions of a changing world, in which the diffusion of power has kept pace with the rising standard of education, well-being and intelligence. As it grew to manhood the British nation learned that neither a monarch nor a territorial aristocracy, nor the bourgeoisie could be entrusted indefinitely with the reins of power. No individual and no class is wise enough and unselfish enough to decide the destinies of a civilised people. British democracy is an organic growth, and it has reached its position because its rivals have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. There have been democrats such as the men of 1789, to whom tradition was merely a burden to be cast aside. But there is nothing in the theory of democracy to necessitate a break with the past. That it is suitable for all times or places or levels of civilization is maintained by nobody outside a madhouse. If I may speak of myself, I am the child of Burke no less than of Mill. In the name of continuity, by which I mean not mechanical sequence but a natural development, I claim democracy for Western Europe as the heir of the ages.

Every conflict involves material and emotional disturbances, and it is not surprising that the World War, like a gigantic rock falling into a lake, has fluttered our nerves. A few years ago

NEW APPOINTMENTS TO PUBLIC SERVICES.

NO COMMUTED PENSIONS.

Official Action Pending Commission's Report.

His Excellency the Governor has directed that pending the receipt of, and a final decision on, the Salaries and Cadres Commission's report, new appointments of Ceylonese to the Public Services shall be made upon the salaries recommended by the Commission but subject to the exception mentioned below, with allowances and conditions of service at present attached to the appointments. This direction is contained in a circular issued by the Controller of Establishments to Heads of Departments.

Conditions.

His Excellency has been pleased to direct that such new appointments shall be made on the clear and distinct understandings:—

(a) That new entrants to the Public Services will not be entitled to commute any part of their pension.

(b) That the leave regulations applicable to new entrants to the Public Services will be amended in accordance with the final decision on the recommendations of the Salaries and Cadres Commission—paragraphs 19 and 20 of Sessional Paper XVI of 1932;

(c) That the concession of free holiday warrants for travel by Railway within Ceylon will be restricted in the case of new Ceylonese entrants to the Public Services in accordance with the final decision on the recommendations of the Salaries and Cadres Commission—paragraph 19 of Sessional Paper XII of 1932;

(d) That pending the final decisions, contemplated in (b) and (c) above, the recommendations of the Salaries and Cadres Commission therein referred to will be adopted provisionally.

Treasury Authority

All Heads of Departments are to continue as at present to apply for Treasury authority to fill existing vacancies in their departments, and to state in every case whether it is proposed to fill the vacancy by the promotion of an officer already in the Public Service or by the appointment of a new entrant. If the person to be appointed is a Ceylonese new entrant and authority to fill the vacancy is given, the instructions will be to the effect that the vacancy may be filled, subject to the directions contained in paragraphs 1 and 2. Similarly, vacancies of those particular classes which certain heads of Departments have been authorised to fill without reference to the Treasury must in future, if they are filled by the appointment of Ceylonese new entrants to the Public Service, be filled subject to the same directions.

Appointments made after the date of the circular will be deemed to be "new appointments", and persons appointed to the Public Services after that date will be deemed to be "new entrants".

Condition (a) relative to the commutation of pensions in the case of all new entrants, whether Ceylonese or non-Ceylonese.

MAHATMA GANDHI RESOLVES ON 21 DAYS' FAST

NO ABANDONMENT OR POSTPONEMENT

LIVE OR DIE FOR THE CAUSE



Poona, Sunday

Mr. Gandhi has announced his intention to start an unconditional and irrevocable fast for 21 days commencing on May 8. It is connected with the question of Untouchability.

Mr. Gandhi denies that the fast is a deep political game. He asserts that it is a process of self-purification.

Mr. Gandhi summoned his son, Devidas Gandhi, to jail this morning and broke the news of his decision. Devidas was taken by surprise and tried for two hours to dissuade his distinguished father from the fast but without avail. Thereupon he telephoned and telegraphed his numerous friends in India and abroad.

Mr. Gandhi interviewed by Reuter gave no definite reason for his decision.

"As I look back on the immediate past," he declared, "many are the causes too sacred to mention that must have precipitated the fast, but they are all connected with the great Harijan (Untouchables) cause".

To Live for the Cause

Competent observers interpret Mr. Gandhi's fateful decision as an expression of dissatisfaction with the progress of the High Caste Hindus' efforts to remove untouchability, and his conviction that the Untouchables are not yet confident that the High Caste Hindus will play the game.

"I have no desire to die. I want to live for the cause, though I hope I am equally prepared to die for it."

"I want workers of unassailable purity to bring shocking cases of impurity under my notice. I would like my fast to be an urgent appeal to such people to leave the cause alone."

Those who witnessed Mr. Gandhi's reaction to his week's fast in September, fear that a three week's fast will mean certain death.

Many Reasons

In the course of a statement Mr. Gandhi says: "I know many friends think this movement is a deep political game. How I wish that this fast will convince them that it is purely religious. If God has more service to take from this body He will hold it together, despite the deprivation of earthly food. He will send me spiritual food."

"No one should come to me

THE MIRACLE MAN OF HINDUSTHAN.

There is a half-clad old man sitting behind Indian prison-walls towards whom the eyes of India, of the Empire and of the world are constantly switched. He is on the wrong side of sixty, and is a frail little old man wearing small specs and a little loin cloth. He has no impressive personality though there is a halo of spiritual power around him that unmistakably impresses the visitor. His toothless smile has gone round the world and his name is resounded in every country. He is the one man in history who claims, while he is still in flesh with us, allegiance of so large a number of men in the world. He is the one man in the world today who is loved and admired by his friends and foes alike. He is the man whom Mr. Churchill depicted as "the half-naked seditious Fakir," and whom Mr. A. G. Gardiner doubted "a fanatic who threatens the Empire," and still it was an Englishman who acclaimed him as "the best policeman of the Empire we have in India".

His Majesty's Guest

He has occupied no official post or power nor has he been prominently honoured by the state and yet he has been acclaimed throughout the world as the greatest man since Jesus. He is the man whom the Indian government has repeatedly jailed, and repeatedly called for consultation to the Viceregal Lodge. His Majesty's Government sends him to prison as a rebel, and yet it gives him an audience with His Majesty at Buckingham Palace as a free man. He rose in an "open conspiracy" against the government and yet the government invites him to the Round Table Conference at London and gives him a place of honour near the Lord Chancellor.

Champion of the Depressed Classes

He is the man who is supposed to have ruined Lancashire and yet when he visited that place he was hailed as "Good Old Gandhi. To the Indian orthodoxy his programme is like a red rag to the bull, while the social revolutionaries find in him a member of the old school. He is the member of the so-called upper classes and is yet recognised as the champion of the cause of the depressed classes. Socialists and Capitalists condemn him alike, while to the Communists he is an anthem. The moderates and the members of the R. T. C., dub him an extremist while the younger schools of the Congress regards him as "an old man of the sea." He is a non-British subject being born in a native state—and yet he is the man with the largest following in British India and the world. He is a lawyer and a member of the Inner Temple and is yet engaged in the greatest civil law-breaking campaign in history. He is not a member of the priestly class and is yet known as Mahatma Gandhi and the Saint of Sabarmati.

Such is the Miracle Man to whom the people of the Mystic Land of Hindustan owe allegiance. (By Khan Divan)

unless it be for necessary consultation on matters connected with the movement. It is, I hope, needless for me to pray to my friends that they will not ask me to postpone, abandon or vary the approaching fast in any way whatsoever.

"And may I ask my Sanatanist friends to pray that whatever the result of the fast for me the Golden Lid that hides the Truth may be removed."

(Continued on page 3)

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Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
JAFFNA.

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8209.

In the matter of the estate of
the late Richard Nannithamby Samuel of Jaffna town

Deceased.
Jane Nallammah Samuel widow of
Richard Nannithamby Samuel of
Jaffna town

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Dr. E. T. Samuel of Jaffna
Hospital

2. Jayasingham Samuel of
Jaffna

Minor. 3. Mangalamany Samuel of do
.. 4. Inpamanay Samuel of do
.. 5. Prins Samuel of do
.. 6. Edmund Samuel of do

The 3rd to 6th respondents are
minors by their guardian-ad-litem
the 1st respondent.

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the
abovenamed Petitioner praying that
Letters of Administration to the estate
of the abovenamed deceased be granted
to the petitioner coming on for dis-
posal before D. H. Balfour Esquire,
District Judge of Jaffna on the 14th
day of November 1932 in the presence
of Mr. A. Ratnasabapathy Proctor on
the part of the Petitioner and on
reading the affidavit and petition of
the petitioner.

It is ordered that Letters of Ad-
ministration to the estate of the
abovenamed deceased be granted to
the Petitioner as the lawful widow of
the deceased, unless the abovenamed
respondents appear before this Court
on the 16th day of December 1932
and show sufficient cause to the satis-
faction of this court to the contrary.

Sgd. S. Rodrigo,
November 11, 1932. District Judge.
Extended for 13th February 1933.

Extended for 24th May 1933.

O. 3, 4 & 8.



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, MAY 4 1933.

CONQUEST OF THE DRY ZONE.

AMIDST CHANTING OF PRAYERS AND invocation of blessings was inaugurated last Saturday the Minneriya Development Scheme which in spite of misgivings regarding its success expressed by individuals in and out of the State Council has won the approval and support of Government. The site selected for the initial operations is at Hatamune on the Batticaloa railway line, now rendered famous throughout Ceylon as the scene of the pioneer efforts of a band of youngmen who set out ten months ago to found a colony there. The efforts of the pioneer colonists cannot be said to have yielded the results they anticipated; but considering the adverse conditions which they had to contend with and the unforeseen setbacks which their crops had to face and which it was beyond them to control, the progress made so far does credit to the courage and self-reliance of the youngmen of the colony. The progress of the venture is not to be measured in terms of the return from the land under cultivation. This should not be the only, or even the main, consideration in assessing, at least during its early years, of the success of the undertaking. The experiment should be voted a success if the colonists showed grit and are willing to stick it out and overcome all hardships. Success certainly would have encouraged the youngmen to strive for more success and sealed the lips of the cheap Cassendras who revel in defeatist forebodings. We are glad that the colonists refuse to reckon their enterprise in terms of rupees and cents and are not stricken with cold feet in the face of reverses. They seem to regard the bit of bad luck in the matter of the crops they raised as a common event in the life of the average cultivator. They view it in the light of a trial offered to their powers of endurance—physical and mental. It has resulted only in strengthening their resolve to rough it out. The spirit of youth cannot be easily broken. It might seem to bend only to dodge the misfortune it cannot avoid, but it always returns to its task with redoubled energy. The example of the Hatamune colonists will be a standing and forceful appeal to new recruits to join the army of youngmen who have vowed to free the country from its economic bondage.

We have no doubt that educated young men who are roaming about the country in quest of jobs will find in the colony occupation which will not hurt their self-respect and solve the problem of unemployment for themselves and help the country—be it in ever so small a measure—to win economic salvation. Political freedom cannot be achieved without economic freedom being assured. Indeed, the efforts of politicians to secure full responsible Government are only a means to secure economic self-sufficiency for the country. While, therefore, we do not belittle the efforts of our politicians to win back our

lost control over the affairs of the country, we are bound to say that the youngmen who have reconciled themselves to the life of the exile and are bravely battling against difficulties in far off Hatamune are entitled to our respect as men who are undergoing sacrifices and hardships for the weal of the country.

The peasant farmers who will get their five-acre holdings are certain to get inspiration from the colonists to withstand the temptation to break away and turn toward the home village. The youngmen will find in the peasant cultivator, in his ways and simple joys of life, that air of repose which breathes the kinship of man and beast and nature that was denied them in their urban surroundings.

The Minneriya Colonists Co-operative Society of Jaffna which consists of a number of educated youngmen are busy taking steps to send a small contingent of "resident" cultivators who will lose no time to prepare the land allotted to the society and get ready for the next sowing season. The progress of the society will be watched with keen sympathy not only by the public but also by a large number of youngmen who being too cautious would like to think not twice but many times before they trust themselves to a venture.

Mr. C. G. S. COREA who is now touring the country with a draft Reform Bill in his pocket to befriend the various political Associations in favour of the proposals, sponsored by the Ceylon National Congress, addressed a crowded audience last Tuesday at Vannarponnai under the auspices of the Youth Congress. The Bill would seem to contain the practical scheme to implement the PERERA motions which were passed almost unanimously in Council more than a year ago and regarding which the Board of Ministers would seem to be still in consultation with the Attorney General, at least, so it was reported to the Council by the Leader of the House. The Congress Bill is undoubtedly an improvement on the present constitution in that it seeks to do away with the causes of friction between the two parts of the Government—the Governor's Government and the Minister's Government. It also proposes to restrict and define the powers of the Governor. There is also the further proposal to place once again the emoluments of public officers within the purview of the Council. These—every one of them—are very desirable and, indeed, long overdue, improvements. It was not necessary to have given a trial to the Donoughmore Constitution to discover these defects in it. They were obvious and indubitable from the very beginning. Could it be claimed that the Reform Bill is an advance towards full responsible Government? We think not. For, judged by the test whether any real power is conceded to the people of the country, the Bill must be adjudged a dismal failure in as much as, the ultimate authority in all matters is vested in the Secretary of State and his agent, the Governor. That, indeed, is the meaning in practice of safe-guards. We do not say this because Mr. Corea said so at the meeting, but the report of his speech last night to the European Association in which he made a flippant refer-

ence to those who stood for Dominion Status coupled with the statement he made at the Vannarponnai meeting with regard to the scope of the proposals he was advocating, warrant the belief that the Congress is only endeavouring to repair the wrong they had done the country in accepting the Donoughmore Constitution which deprived the people of the control of the purse which they had enjoyed for many decades and armed the Governor with reserve powers which have been exercised with the hand of an autocrat. While, therefore, we commend the spirit of repentance which has come over the National Congress, we do not find ourselves in a position to grow exultant over the proposals adumbrated in the bill. Even the most ardent Congressman will not say that his party is powerful enough in the Council to be able to steer their Bill safely through. There are powerful forces of reaction both in and out of Council. It will be necessary for the Congress party to contend against them and get them out of the way before they can hope for success. To know that the country is behind them is certainly a source of strength to any party in the Council. But, it is doubtful if the National Congress could succeed in mobilising public opinion to their cause unless the people are convinced that the party soliciting their support is coming with clean hands, with a genuine desire to serve the country and not merely to manoeuvre for positions for certain individuals or cliques.

Without exposing ourselves to the charge of being officious in the least

The Jaffna Hindu College. might invite the Managing Committee of the Jaffna Hindu College to share with the public the benefit of the explanation the Principal might offer to account for the appalling failures in the last Cambridge Examinations. The public and, more particularly parents, are interested in some degree of efficiency being maintained in the quality of the teaching offered to students and for which parents pay. It is undoubtedly the duty of the Department of Education to look into the matter and put matters right. But when failures in recent public examinations are so high as to amount to a scandal, we believe an explanation should be forthcoming from the Management (External and Internal) to allay the apprehensions of parents. At the last E. S. L. C. examination it appears that only 3 out of 25 students satisfied the examiners. The results of the last Cambridge Examinations reveal the fact that only 10 students passed out of 84 in the Senior and 30 out of the 'plucked' candidates failed in all subjects. Only one candidate, it is reported, passed the London Matric though no less than 18 sat for it. This state of affairs is deplorable, to say the least, and we trust that the members of the Managing Committee will wake up a bit and address themselves to the task of probing the reasons for the abnormal failures at public examinations. Examinations may not be the sole criterion of judging the intelligence or capacity of students. But, examinations are the tests available to us to judge the efficiency of the teachers, the taught and the management of an educational institution.

BUILDING CEYLON ANEW

SOCIAL JUSTICE TO
PEOPLE

Surviving the White Peril.

"In the past our ancestors builded so well that though they were not aggressive as a people, competent outsiders—their contemporaries—pronounced them great. Our day of Destiny is now before us to take up the task of building anew. I know we shall build as well or better than our fathers did. Let us face our task with the joy of life and the light of victory in our faces; let no weaker brother or sister cause our hand to tremble or our spirits to quail even for an instant. The citadel of the Future falls into our hands."

Thus exhorted Mr. S. W. Dassanaike, M. S. C., in concluding his spirited and eloquent address on the "Defects of the Constitution" at the ninth annual sessions of the Jaffna Youth Congress.

We give below the concluding portion of his speech.

Socialism for Ceylon

"I have been a Socialist for more years than I can remember—35, perhaps more. I am still a convinced Socialist because I feel that no structure of enduring political type can be built except on a foundation of substantial social justice to the bulk of a people. Today we have it not—look but around and see. I also feel and recent manifestations from Downing Street and Mincing Lane have confirmed the feeling, that social justice can only be secured in the long run by the control of the means of production and regulation of supply to demand.

To put the Job Through

But Socialism must have, ere it can be installed, a sufficient majority of the people behind it. It is true Socialism has been established in Russia by force, as indeed in another form, in Italy and Germany. But all this was preceded by securing a majority enough to put the job through. In Ceylon this does not exist and it is my business and yours, if you are so minded, to convert people, and speed the day of justice to all. After all every system of Government rests at long last on adequate force to bring it in and keep it there. Amritsar and Dedugala do not let us forget that. I am a great admirer of the Jew and many of his sterling qualities. None values more than I do his great contribution to culture to progress and to human advancement. But when people who have perpetrated a Jalianwalla Bagh and a Dedugala, perpetrate or condone them, speak in terms of holy horror of Hitler and his deeds, it is like the Devil quoting scripture.

Ceylon Then and Now

Another word too. It is hardly necessary to speak it to your Youth League, but it is well if you and I do address the doubting Thomases without it, the men and women who do not trust themselves to reach forward to their great future. These people keep on repeating till they get themselves to believe it, that Ceylon, so small, can never hope to take a place in the world. How can she ever defend herself, they say. I would say to them that Ceylon has an area only 2/3 or 1/2 of which her people occupy. That Australia across the water, a continent in herself, has but the same population as we have, that Canada which paints the whole North of a hemisphere red, has but some 8 or 10 millions of population to our five; that S. Africa has quite a small white population to her vast area. Note also that when the English came here we were reckoned to have a population of some half a million; today after a 135 years that population is 5 million; there is proof that in the great day of our old national existence we had 20 to 30 million. These are commonplace variations to any competent student of history. They are well known symptoms of growth and decay in national units.

(Continued on page 8 Column 9.)

NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S APPEAL FOR UNITY.

MR. G. C. S. COREA EXPLAINS HIS REFORM BILL.

"NO NEW CONSTITUTION".

A MEASURE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED FOR BILL.

Mr. G. C. S. Corea, M. S. C. President, Ceylon National Congress, addressed a largely attended public meeting, at 4-30 p. m. on Tuesday, in the Vaideshwara Vidyalayam hall on the Reform Bill which he is introducing in the State Council when it resumes after the vacation, in June. The meeting was convened by the Jaffna Youth Congress and was attended by gentlemen representing all schools of thought. Mr. K. Balasingham, President of the Youth Congress, took the chair.

Mr. Balasingham in introducing the lecturer said: Ladies and gentlemen. It is a pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Corea who bears a name highly honoured in Jaffna for the unity Mr. C. E. Corea has been trying to bring about some years ago between the Sinhalese and the Tamil. He is a man who wants to make any sacrifice to bring unity which will give all reasonable advance in constitutional reform. It is unfortunate that members of the National Congress did not agree with him in all his views in these days when he worked for peace and unity. In Jaffna he holds an honoured name and I feel sure his name will go down to history in this country as a name to be conjured with. Mr. G. C. S. Corea also will do the same and will rise to the same height as Mr. C. E. Corea did. Mr. Corea will tell you what steps he will take to see his Bill through the Council. I will call upon Mr. Corea to speak without my interposing between you and him any more.

A Tribute to Youth

Mr. G. C. S. Corea, rising amidst applause, said, "I am very proud and happy to have this opportunity to address you on a subject which is very important to us all. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Youth Congress for taking the trouble, after three days of strenuous work for the annual sessions, to arrange such a large gathering to hear my views on the Reform Bill which is on the anvil at the present moment. There can be no doubt that we must all look to the youth for enthusiastic effort in all matters pertaining to the people and to bring anything to the desired end. The country still remembers the much discussed Boycott brought about by the Youth Congress. Whatever might be the opinions held, it registers the self-renunciation and sacrifice made in a great cause and the determination of the youth to act up to ideals guided by principles. It may be that as some people are too ready to point out that there may be disadvantages at the beginning. No member of the Youth Congress need be ashamed of their conduct. Whatever may be the justice or the injustice, one thing is clear that the young men of the country are prepared to fight for the country. I am also glad that the youth has harnessed itself to sober, restraining and mature experience. In getting Mr. Balasingham to guide your deliberations you have done well indeed, so that the Youth Congress can look to greater achievement.

Need For Immediate Revision

In the Reform Bill which has been introduced there is no intention of putting forward any scheme for a new constitution, which will be attractive to all of us. You have decided yourselves in favour of full Dominion Status. I am in entire agreement with you. My purpose is not to limit your actions. Let those who want to

proceed on for full Dominion Status do so. We shall give our unstinted support. There is need for immediate and urgent action to revise the present constitution. It is unwise, it is almost criminal folly, to delay any longer the revision of the constitution under which we exist, and there is no time to wait till a larger claim is granted. Shortly after the State Council met Mr. E. W. Perera introduced a series of motions to remove the obvious defects in the constitution. Nine months ago the resolutions were accepted by the Council. We looked in vain for nine months for the Government to implement those resolutions. In the circumstances some action was necessary. Otherwise people would say that the resolutions were mere quibbles to enable the members to stonk on until the period of the present Council was over. Therefore it is I have brought forward the Bill. During these nine months there was no indication from the country that these resolutions were useless; whereas, on the other hand there was a growing feeling for Dominion Status. The greater claim for self-government was not to be retarded by these proposals. The object of these proposals is to make the present constitution work satisfactorily and under which we may work with some self-respect. Afterwards we shall see how Dominion Status could be obtained.

How Defect Was Removed.

You all remember that the constitution under which this country was governed before the Donoughmore Constitution was inaugurated, gave the people wide powers without responsibility. In order to remove that defect the Donoughmore Commissioners proposed to give responsibility and power, both to go hand in hand. Responsibility and power should be reposed in one and the same place. They should not be divorced. I should like to interpose a remark with regard to this responsibility. There is a solemn warning in the Report. That is the sentence in which the Donoughmore Commissioners have analysed the reasons why responsible government should not be given to Ceylon. They said that as long as there was no unity, as long as there was no universal suffrage and as long as people were not trained in administration, responsible Government could not be given. Now we are in a very advantageous position. If we could prove that those three conditions had been satisfied, we could say we are fit for Responsible Government. With regard to universal suffrage we can say it has proved a success. Regarding capacity for administration, no one can say that Ceylonese are wanting. What is now required is unity. If only we can show that all the people are united in our demand, full Responsible Government cannot be denied to us in reason.

Three Remedies.

After referring to the special powers of the Governor, and the division of responsibility under the present constitution Mr. Corea said that "if we could secure these three viz.: (1) Vesting of the control of the services in the Council. (2) Removal of Officers of State and (3) Removal of the special powers of the Governor, that will mean that full responsible Government is almost at once attained. Because we gain the right to control the affairs of our country although there is the Governor's veto, which in the Dominions was rarely used.

Referring to the question of administration by Executive Committees, Mr. Corea said it was a minor issue which should not obscure the fundamental question of Responsible Government. Let us settle this question. Later on when power has been granted to us we shall settle

those matters of less importance by ourselves."

Communal Canker.

"Some people say Responsible Government and Dominion Status are well and good. Tell us what we are going to be and where will we be under such a constitution. If you are going to be side-tracked like that you will never get self-government. The Britisher is too shrewd and will divide the country into camps and say that your are unfit for Responsible Government. Look at the National Committee. We were even prepared to merge the National Congress in the National Committee. But the Congress had to separate from it because there crept in the poison of communal canker and today we find it impossible to make a united demand. You must agree that until we unite and defeat the common enemy it is impossible for us to do any thing. The British Government will naturally widen the differences between different communities and refuse to listen to us. It is perfectly true. Those who have such fears of the domination of majority community are under a delusion. Unless you take some stray thoughts of some stray men you need not entertain fears. Is there any obstruction placed by the Sinhalese to the Tamils?

Look at facts in the face. Are not the services fairly represented by Tamils? Look at any local Government institution. At Kurunegala a Tamil is elected Chairman of the U.D.C. It is a wrong impression if any such impression exists. That being so it is very necessary to suppress unnecessary fears and join together for the attainment of the end. If that is done it will not be long before we attain what is dearest for us—Responsible Government.

The Reform Bill

Referring to his Bill the speaker said: "The introduction of the Bill is not difficult. Its passing through Council is not difficult. I am only apprehensive of the delay it will have in the Attorney-General's department which can sit on the Bill for any length of time. I propose to move for the suspension of Standing Orders on 13th June to discuss the Bill. A suggestion has been made to get a special meeting of the Council before that date. I will try and see what can be done.

When the Bill has passed through all these stages the Governor may reserve it for the Secretary of State's assent. In the meantime we should get the unanimous consent of all parties and communities. If the Secretary of State should refuse to give his assent then will be the time to consider and perhaps follow the lead given by the Youth Congress. My difference with you was that you precipitated the boycott without conjoint action by the whole country. Boycott should be used as a last resort. That is a situation for which the whole country should be prepared beforehand. You are prepared, but there are some people who doubt the justice of your action. The Youth Congress is well able to look after itself.

Such Mental Depravity.

It is far better for us to fight and suffer all the disadvantages for the sake of ultimate victory. It is far better for us to be governed, even misgoverned, by ourselves than to be governed by another nation. I never came across such mental depravity which thinks that it will rather be governed by foreigners than by ourselves. It is a slave mentality that urges the people to continue to receive the kicks of foreigners instead of being governed by ourselves. Let us believe we have a destiny of our own. I do not say that we should all act precipitately without thought or reflection. Freedom for the people is what we should fight for. I know a number of reactionaries. Even the worst of them does not say that we should for ever be governed by foreigners. The Chairman of the European Association even says that self-government is our due but only that it should be given by stages.

Let there be no differences of opinion on the fundamental issue. I hope such manifestations will only be short-lived as they are only recent. The people of the North and we should march shoulder to shoulder towards the goal of Responsible Government. Why should we jeopardise the future of our country for the leaves and fishes of office. With or without the approval of the authorities we should march for freedom for the country. We should for ever sink to the depth of political bondage in this country.

APPEAL TO POSTPONE FAST

GEN. SMUTS' MESSAGE TO GANDHIJI

"A Most Critical Moment."

Cape Town, Tuesday

General Smuts, in his private capacity, has telegraphed to Mahatma Gandhi earnestly appealing to him to delay the fast. "Your work for the removal of untouchability", he says, "has already achieved a measure of success exceeding the highest expectations.

"With patience you may yet carry into complete accomplishment the greatest reform of our time. Moreover, India stands at the threshold of a new period which makes your wise guidance more essential than ever before. Endangering your life might lead to a dreadful calamity and an irreparable set-back at a most critical moment."

Kunwar Maharajah Singh, in forwarding the telegram to Mr. Gandhi, endorses General Smuts' appeal. (C. O.)

Suicide at Kannathiddy.

In the early hours on Tuesday last, a woman Ponnammah, of Kannathiddy Vannarponne was found hanging from a beam in the verandah of her house. Life was found extinct.

It transpired that there was some ill feeling between her and her husband Paramasivam Achary, a goldsmith, previous to the incident.

The coroner who held the inquest returned a verdict of suicide by hanging.

BUILDING CEYLON ANEW.

(Continued from page 2 Column 5.)

In 1500, A.D. when England, Portugal, and other European nations, set out to conquer the world, their populations were less than ours are today. The great white flood spread, submerging so many ageing nations and whole civilisations, ruthlessly doing its fell pruning, and destroying whole peoples that had done no harm—a veritable White Peril like the Yellow one the Kaiser feared. Today we stand, the Peaks of Arrarat that stand above the White Flood, difficultly surviving. One lesson we have learned from this calamity. The scourge of God is not actuated by malice. It is a tool in the hand of a Providence to purge away our dross, even with fire. We have also learnt the great lesson that no nation is eternal. Every national unit is born, grows matures, and dies, after it may be, 1000, 1500 or 2000 years. Our nation was long lived. Born in the sixth century before Christ, it died in the 19th, after Christ—a period of over 23 centuries. Died—yes, but we now know that death is in due time swallowed up in rebirth. *The king is dead, long live the king!* Today we are in the pangs of our rebirth, we and the peoples of the Middle East, The West, and probably Japar, are at the zenith of their growth. The remoter future is not theirs. It is the babies of today that have the future in their keeping.

Building Anew

The German professor Weissman who lived last century pointed out that death was one of the most potent agents of evolution, presenting to an ever changing environment an ever fresh surface of resistance in new generations of animals and men. These in the West have built for an environment of the recent past and of the present. Already the forms they have evolved have ceased to be adaptable. Our turn has now come to take up work of Humanity anew. In the past our ancestors builded so well that though they were not aggressive as a people, competent outsiders, their contemporaries, pronounced them great. Our day of Destiny is now before us to take up the task of building anew. I know we shall build as well or better than our fathers did. Let us face our task with the joy of life, and the light of victory in our faces, let no weaker brother or sister cause our hand to tremble or our spirits to quail even for an instant. The citadel of the Future falls into our hands!

MINNERIYA SCHEME LAUNCHED.

CEREMONIAL OPENING BY AG. MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.

The ceremonial opening of the peasant colony under the Minneriya Scheme was performed on Sunday last at Hatamane by the Acting Minister of Agriculture, by cutting down a tree amidst the chanting of 'Iriti' by Buddhist priests. About 200 peasants colonists with their belongings were present at the colony.

Is Democracy A Failure?

(Continued from page 1)
ago we were all proudly boasting that the democratic States beat the autocratic empires. But the world has recovered less rapidly from its wounds than we had hoped, and the economic tangle has complicated the political situation. It is at such anxious times that quick remedies and short cuts make their insidious appeal. The baffled workman grumbles at his tools. Dynastic autocracy has happily been swept away, but in some countries dictatorship has taken its place. We are told that Lenin, Mussolini, Mustapha Kemal and their kind can accomplish what is beyond the power of a free Parliament and a slow moving constitutional executive; that they can over ride vested interests and obstructive bureaucracies; in a word that they can deliver the goods.

The Evils Of Dictatorship.

What sort of goods, and at what sort of price? Civilized men and civilized nations do not live by bread alone. As Mill reminded us the pupils will never advance if the master does all their lessons for them. The philosophic despots of the eighteenth century drove forward the lumbering caravan with the crack of their whip. But we are no longer in the eighteenth century, when education was the monopoly of the few. The superman is a tree without roots. He is here to-day and gone to-morrow. He may cut a few knots, but he cannot disentangle the skein. The crazy Spanish experiment began and ended in a revolution. No dictatorship can be pronounced even a relative success before we can analyse the situation that it leaves behind. Dictatorship at its best is a gamble, at its worst a catastrophe. The spiritual damage that it inflicts—the stunting of individuality, the dragging of the mind, the dwarfing of human stature—is beyond the crude appraisal of weights and scales. The Fascist proudly proclaims that he has substituted discipline for liberty. It is a specious euphemism for govern-

(Continued on page 4.)

Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8268

In the matter of the estate of the late Eriyathamby Kandiah of Colombogam. Deceased. Thevathasan Packianathan Aruliah of Colombogam, presently of Mt. Lavinia, Colombo.

Vs. Petitioner Muttammah wife of Thevathasan Packianathan Aruliah of Colombogam. Respondent.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner coming on for disposal before D. H. Ballour Esquire, District Judge of Jaffna on the 18th day of January 1933 in the presence of Mr. A. Ratnasabapathy, Proctor for Petitioner and on reading the affidavit and petition of the petitioner.

It is ordered that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner as the petitioner is the husband of the abovenamed respondent who is the sole heir of the abovenamed deceased, unless the abovenamed respondent appear before this Court on the 10th day of February 1933 and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Sgd. S. Rodrigo District Judge, Extended for 12th May 1933 O. 4-4th & 8th

Is Democracy A Failure?

(Continued from page 3)

ment by force. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." I have no ambition to be a member of a community of robots. "Parliamentary freedom," writes Count Sforza, in his European Dictatorships, "is a form of freedom. But the essential freedom, without which a people is doomed to decline, is freedom of thought, of speech, of the Press, of association." Like Count Sforza, I prefer a dynamic to a mechanized society, in which we are all commanded (with penalties for disobedience) what to think, how to speak, what to write, and how to vote. Daylight and fresh air appeal to me more than prison bars.

Need for "Careful Steering"

The practical issue before us is whether the democratic or, as I prefer to call them, the free nations of the world should change their course. I see no reason for such a humiliating abdication, such a confession of failure and despair. Democracy has assumed many forms and its capacity for growth is unexhausted. The tree is full of the sap of life, and new branches will sprout. Government by Parliament is the prevailing type, but Presidential government is an arguable alternative. I am prepared to consider schemes for an occupational franchise and an industrial Parliament if need is shown. I desire Proportional Representation, both for giving value to every vote and for limiting the dimensions of an electoral stampede. I ask only that changes should be within the framework of self-determination. The Constitutionalism fade into insignificance in comparison with the perils that have followed its temporary overthrow. Herr Hitler and his associates are playing with fire. I see no reason to imitate their example. The alternatives before us are responsible and irresponsible government. Democracy, like the League of Nations, is a venture of faith, requiring endless patience no less than unrelenting endeavour. It is much too soon in either case to talk of hauling down the flag. The larger wisdom is to hold fast to principles not lightly adopted and to learn from our mistakes. Our need is for cool heads and steady nerves, for careful steering, not for a change of course.

—Spectator.

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