

The Jaffna Organ.

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ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 11, 1839.

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND THURSDAY.

VOL. XLIII—NO. 50. (Phone 56.) JAFFNA, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1931. (Registered as a Newspaper.) PRICE 5 CTS.

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NOTICE.

PARAMESVARA COLLEGE, JAFFNA.

A Competitive Examination for Ramaathan Scholarships, two for Juniors and two for Seniors, open to boys who will be under age for the Cambridge Junior and Senior Examinations of 1932, will be held at the College on January 5th.

Scholarship-holders will be entitled to free tuition.

Candidates should apply before January 4th.

S. NATESAN
Principal.

Mis 435. 28th

The Hindu Organ.



JAFFNA, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1931.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

IN OUR LAST ISSUE WE POINTED OUT how the educational problem cannot be satisfactorily solved unless there is only one class of schools and the medium of instruction is the Vernaculars. We are certainly aware of some of the insuperable difficulties that have to be encountered if the medium of instruction has to be changed but all educationists in India are convinced that by a gradual process the medium of instruction can ultimately be made the Vernaculars with greater efficiency, less wastage of brain power and greater usefulness to the sons of the soil. This change would also help to get rid of the snobbishness which is characteristic of the English educated classes, which by itself, is the root cause that makes our youths forget the dignity of labour and stand in the way of all social progress.

While laymen all over the country are unanimous in this wish educational engineers like West and Gordon have proved conclusively that bilingualism which is the transitional step, is a success. Suitable text books are also now available.

In our country both the authorities and our educational pioneers have stopped with mere words and have not done anything constructive to bring about the change. The Department may make the vernaculars the medium of instruction in primary schools but it becomes the responsibility of the teachers, who have so far placed all the responsibility for the failures of the educational system on the language problem, to prove that the change is accompanied by real success. A few years ago Government founded the Stanley Bi-lingual School but so far we have not heard anything of its progress or the results of the experiment on schools of that type. The attendance in the school is we understand going down every year in spite of the lower fees charged. This would either prove that Bi-lingualism is a failure or that the authorities are not keen on the experiment or that the school is being mismanaged by people who do not know their job or are fettered by official red-tapism. As schools under private management would hesitate to run the risk of taking a forward step in this matter we would urge Government to appoint well-trained and enthusiastic educationists to run these schools on experimental lines unrepressed by official red-tapism and give to the public the results of their experiments. These results would help to lay down the lines along which educational reforms have to go.

Besides the problem of language other problems like that of religion and culture have to be solved. The spectacular progress of Japan has shown us how the character of the whole nation is moulded by its educational system. The present system of education laid down by designing officials and insidiously moulded by the Missionary bodies which had the same

ideals as the Government has been cutting at the roots of our national culture and has materially changed our views of life. The awakening in India and in the East generally has spread over to our country and if the Government is to be for the best interests of the people it should not hesitate to give a truly national aspect to the system of education as we have always urged in our columns. It is regrettable that attempts have been made by certain scholars and leaders who have fallen so far into the rut of thinking on Western lines that they cannot think of any system that is not based in Western models or, challenge any axioms laid down by English officials,—so far has slavishness progressed in our country. As pointed out in our columns some time ago unless the authorities take a bold step and do not hesitate to give the charge of education into the hands of authorities truly representative of the people and with a free hand to alter the system on national lines and with the vernaculars as the medium of instruction we feel that we will always continue to be saddled with the same pernicious system of education and our social and political problems can never be solved.

Jaffna U. D. C.

ONE NOMINATED SEAT FILLED

Last Wednesday's Gazette announces that Mr. S. Rajaratnam, has been nominated to be a member of the Jaffna Urban District Council for three years from January 1, 1932.

There seems to be many aspirants for the other nominated seat. It is also understood that as there will be no Mohammedan member in the new Council, a Muslim, in all probability, will be nominated.

Provincial Road Committee N. P.

MEMBERS FOR 1932.

The following have been appointed to be members of the Provincial Road Committee, Northern Province, for the year 1932:—

Gate Mudaliyar M. S. Ramalingam, Messrs J. V. Obellah, G. Subramaniam, S. Somasundaram and S. M. Aboobucker.

Revised Estimates.

DEFICIT OF RS. 20 MILLION.

The estimates of the revenue and expenditure of Ceylon for 1931—2 as finally passed by the State Council, have been published by Government.

The revenue for 1931—2 is estimated at Rs. 83,000,000.

The estimated expenditure for 1931—2 is Rs. 103,233,635 exclusive of loan works which total Rs. 472,000.

Karainagar H. E. S. Old Boys' Association.

The Third Annual General Meeting of the Karainagar Hindu English School Old Boys' Association will be held on the 30th December 1931 in the School Hall.

On the next day (31—12—31) a farewell function to Mr. Biatopoc will be held under the presidency of Mr. A. V. Kalasingham, Advocate. A purse will be presented to the founder of the Institution by his pupils and well-wishers. Cor.

Excise Changes.

Mr S Ponnampalam, Officer in Charge, Chavakachcheri, has been appointed to act as Assistant Superintendent of Excise, Jaffna, during the absence on leave of Mr E G M Lockhart, from December 22, 1931 to January 4, 1932.

Mr W H D Parera, Officer in Charge, Kankesanural Station, has been appointed to act as Assistant Superintendent of Excise, Distilleries, during the absence on leave of Mr D V Athapattu, from December 24, 1931 to January 2, 1932.

Mr N T Ramanathan, Chief Inspector, Distilleries, has been appointed to act as Assistant Superintendent of Excise, Distilleries, during the absence on leave of Mr D O E Aboyskera, from December 24, 1931 to January 2, 1932.

Notes at Random.

Leaders have come and leaders have gone but no one has equalled Sir Ponnampalam Ramaathan the revered leader, the anniversary of whose death was celebrated in all the Tamil lands two weeks ago. There are countless and important ones too, in which a nation is judged by some leader or other. The Indian nation is judged in the tribunal of world opinion by the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. In the past we had in Sir Ponnampalam our Rastam who could meet any Tartar hosts. Whom have we now? It is a well known dictum that leaders arise when there is a national cry for it. If the celebrations held last week created in the minds of the people a real yearning for such leaders then the purpose of the celebrations would be fulfilled.

Like poets it could not always be said that leaders are born not made. In Sir P we had a leader who was both born and made. That was in days when democracy did not have its full sway. But now it has been truly said that even the private has a field marshal's baton in his knapsack. The leaders arise from the ranks but the greatness of these leaders depend to a great extent on the discipline and self-control of the masses. Some of our Indian leaders are head and shoulders above in sterling qualities to a Hitler, a Mussolini or a MacDonald but while these leaders have obtained world wide fame owing to the co-operation and greatness of the nations among whom they are placed our leaders are born to bush unseen and waste their sweetness in the desert air. Here is the law of leadership formulated to me by one who has risen by sheer persistence to the rank of leader in our country. "In the start when you are young all the others would be inclined to set upon you and crush you. They would be jealous of you, scandalise you and close all your doors to opportunity. If you are weak kneed my son, you will go down and be lost in the racks. Persist, hammer on, even for years and for decades and if you follow great ideals of living then would your claims to leadership be recognised. Be so patiently, quietly and deserve the love and respect of your people by your very life. Never think my son that you can become a leader by merely joining all wild movements and forming hair-brained schemes. A leader is prepared, badly thought out but delivered in a loud voice before a mass meeting which had come together to witness a show and to laugh at the antics of the performers does not and cannot make you a leader. Strive to live and to serve. Seek no cheap notoriety. Obtrude yourself not too much upon others lest they spurn you. Follow these ideals and should you become a leader as great as any that trod the earth."

The cry a few years ago in our land had been, "Away with the drink devil." Some Americans have confessed that the Volstead Act does not work very well but very few accept that prohibition is a failure. Have the views of the Jaffna public changed. In one ward of the U D C it is said that over 60 per cent of the people are in favour of the re-introduction of the taverns. Who can believe it. I doubt very much whether even the presiding officer, however much he may have wished it, did believe that 60 per cent came to the polls and wanted the taverns back again. When a man is drunk he believes he performs miracles. He sees the world upside down, strange things hovering in the air, and it will be recorded in history that a small percentage of the ratepayers of the wards concerned were able by this very same strange power to make themselves appear in the eyes of both the Government and the public to have transformed themselves into a 60 per cent majority. Who could have resisted the irresistible hypnotism of bootleggers, prospective ruters, toddy tappers and confirmed drunkards. The answer has been given by Ward No. 7. The ratepayers here would prefer a broken head or a torrent of Billingsgate rather than submit to be hypnotised. Does they seem to have a stronger will, greater spirit of service and love for high ideals. Bravo! your example is worth imitation by other wards also.

Agastiyar.

Jaffna.

20—12—31.

News & Notes.

President Hoover has signed the Moratorium Bill, thus completing the ratification of the breathing space for Europe.

More Urban District Councils are being established and according to last Wednesday's Government Gazette it is proposed to constitute Urban District Councils at Kollonnawa, Kotte and Beruwala.

The National Government in China have resigned en bloc. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek left by aeroplane for his birthplace, Fenghua. It is believed that the reason for his departure is that he discovered that his party would be outvoted at the plenary session of the Kuomintang owing to the recent influx of delegates from Canton.

"The British stand for Oppression, Injustice and Fraud" were the slogans of placards hung in a hall in Poona where Subhas Chandra Bose delivered a speech, says an Associated Press message. The Chairman of the Reception Committee in the course of his speech, stated that the best reply to the Ordinances was not to commit a solitary terrorist act, but determined organisation.

A 3000-year-old royal palace, probably the residence of Queen Nefertisi after her fall from power, has been discovered by the Egypt Exploration Society excavating at Tel El Amarna, says a Message from Cairo. Among the many and beautiful objects which the digging brought to light for the first time in centuries is a beautiful box overlaid with coloured ivory, bearing the cartouche of Amhotep the Third.

The Executive Committee for Industry, Labour and Commerce have after consideration of the question of the operations of the Shipping Conference in Colombo arrived at the conclusion that the matter could only be tackled satisfactorily by a commission, and accordingly His Excellency the Governor has appointed the following to form its personnel: Messrs A E Gonesinghe, I X Pereira, G R de Zoysa, F A Obaysekere, Sir H M Fernando, Messrs H G P Maddocks, R W Fowke, R H Skrine and Sir H L de Mel, with Mr M J Cary as Chairman. The terms of the present Commission are "to inquire into and report upon the operation of Shipping Conferences generally, and more especially into the system of deferred rebates, and whether such operations have caused, or are likely to cause, injury to shippers or producers in Ceylon; and if so what remedial action if any, should be taken by legislation or otherwise."

A Distinguished Indian Visitor.

MR K SUBRAMANIAM PILLAI.

Mr. K Subramaniam Pillai M A, M L, Advocate, Tinnevely, S. India, at one time Professor of Law Calcutta, University, and a Tamil scholar is now in Jaffna. He will stay here for about a week, in the course of which he will deliver lectures in various parts of Jaffna.

Programme of Lectures.

The following is a programme of the Lectures: Monday (28 12 31) Kokkuvil "Philosophy of Thirukkural". Tuesday (29 12 31) Mallakam Hindu Eng. School "Religion of the Ancient Tamils". Wednesday (30 12 31) Vaideshwara Vidyalayam "Beginning of the Tamilian Civilization". Friday (1 1 32) Nallur "Research in Perya Furanam". Saturday (2 1 32) Vaddukkoilal Thirumanasambadam Vidyalayam "The Upanishads and Salvation".

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Flood Havoc in Jaffna.
—:O:
HUNDREDS HOMELESS.

FEAR OF IMPENDING EPIDEMIOS.

The floods and the severe gale of Tuesday last have left Jaffna very much the worse for them. Everywhere one hears tales of suffering and distress and sees spectacles of the ravages of the floods and the gale; trees here and trees there felled by the gale; and houses and huts without walls and in some cases, only the skeleton remaining, the tiles and coojans having been blown off. Two deaths also occurred in town as a result of the walls falling down.

A tour to ni some of the villages in the country will give one an idea of the extent of the devastation caused by the floods and the gale. The village of Alaveddy has suffered the most. North Alaveddy, a low lying part of Alaveddy, was completely under water and all the people had to migrate. About 500 families here are said to have been rendered homeless, their houses having been damaged by floods. South Alaveddy also had a share of the suffering, but not to such an extent as the North. The people were careful enough to protect their live stock. One could see the cattle brought on to the road which too on the day of the floods was about two feet under water.

At Aohchevely, there was some loss in live stock in addition to the general suffering. **Plantain Trees Damaged.**

Plantain trees suffered the worst. At Neervely, Punnalakkadduvan, Alaveddy, Uramparai and other villages where plantains are grown in large numbers one sees the sorry spectacle of trees with fruits blown down by the gale. Plantains thus threaten to go very dear in the coming months.

Kokkuvil, Koadavil, Naddavil were also badly affected. These villages have few roads but a network of lanes which are now under water. The Nandavil tank is full and water overflowed the Kankasanturai road.

In short every village in North-Ceylon was affected very badly by the last floods and gale.

What one has now to fear is the impending outbreak of influenza or other epidemics when the floods subside, unless the authorities take preliminary preventive steps.

The dislocation of traffic by road and rail has caused much inconvenience to the people. Buses and cars were not able to ply on the Jaffna roads for three days. The train service especially at Christmas time, has failed thousands of Government officers and others employed outside Jaffna. They were held up at Vavuniya in the South and at Pullyankulam in the North. Through service to Colombo was resumed on Thursday. The train service has resumed normal working.

Weather Clears up.

The weather cleared up on Friday to the relief of all. There was very bright sunshine and the sky was spotless. Since then there is sunshine always, though interrupted at times by mild showers.

Daring Burglary at Oaddumadam.

MIDNIGHT CHASE AFTER THIEF

ACCUSED ABSCONDING

The story of a daring act of burglary and a still more daring act on the part of the aggrieved giving a lonely chase to the armed burglar in the dead of night and catching him, is to hand.

It is alleged that on the night of the 23rd instant at 2 a.m. when there was rain and wind, one Kaddayan Sellan of Aochanathalvu entered the house of one Ponniah of Oaddumadam, Vannarponna West and entered the Thall of Mrs. Ponniah. The woman woke up and got hold of her Thall which broke into two, about a quarter of its length remaining in her hand, while the thief ran away with the rest.

Ponniah got up and gave a single handed chase to the thief in the dead of night. The thief is alleged to have entered the Catholic Church at Aochanathalvu, when Ponniah in spite of the former's threats to stab him, got hold of him round the waist. The thief tried to extricate and succeeded in stabbing Ponniah on his palm. In the meantime Marian and his sons Ponnudurai and Sinnadurai were alleged to have gone up and beheld Ponniah and set the thief free.

Information was given to the Police. Marian and Ponnudurai were arrested and remanded, while the alleged thief and Sinnadurai are absconding. Warrants have been issued against them returnable on the 4th January.

Jawaharlal Nehru Arrested.



RECEPTION TO GANDHIJI DROPPED.

FAILURE OF R. T. C.

Bombay, Dec. 26th

The Congress Committee had arranged the most elaborate reception for Dec. 28th.

Immediately the news of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest was received the Bombay Congress announced that the reception had been dropped.

Volunteers were sent out on motor lorries to announce a protest at the arrest.

The eighteen Round Table Conference delegates who returned aboard the Mantua, last night, manifested that the Conference had not only not failed but had reached a stage when it "ties our hands to make it yield the desired result"—Times.

Gandhiji's Appeal to Britain.

SPEECH AT PLENARY SESSION OF R. T. C.

The following is the text of Gandhiji's speech at the Plenary Session of the Round Table Conference:—

(Continued from our last issue.)
Congress and Terrorism.

I hold no brief for Congressmen who directly or indirectly would encourage terrorism. As soon as this incident was brought to the notice of the Congress the Congress set about putting it in order. It immediately called upon the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to give an account of what was done and the Mayor, the gentleman that he is, immediately admitted his mistake and made all the reparation that it was then legally possible to make. I must not detain this Assembly over this incident for any length of time. He mentioned also a verse which the children of the forty schools conducted by the Calcutta Corporation are supposed to have recited. There were many other misstatements in that speech which I could dwell upon, but I have no desire to do so. It is only out of regard for the great Calcutta Corporation and out of regard for truth and on behalf of those who are not here to-night to put in their defence that I mention these two glaring instances. I do not for one moment believe that this was taught in the Calcutta Corporation schools with the knowledge of the Calcutta Corporation. I do know that in those terrible days of last year several things were done for which we have regret, for which we have made reparation. If our boys in Calcutta were taught those verses which Mr. Guruswami has recited I am here to tender an apology on their behalf but I should want it proved that the boys were taught by the school masters of these schools with the knowledge and encouragement of the Corporation. Charges of this nature have been brought against Congress for times without number, and times without number these charges have also been refuted, but I have mentioned these things at this juncture. It is again to show that for the sake of liberty people have fought, people have lost their lives, people have killed and have sought death at the hands of those whom they have sought to oust. The Congress then comes upon the scene and devises a new method not known to history, namely, that of civil disobedience, and the Congress has been following that method up. But again I am up against a stone wall and I am told that that is a method that no Government in the world will tolerate. Well, of course, the Government may not tolerate, no Government has tolerated open rebellion. No Government may tolerate civil disobedience, but Governments have to succumb even to these forces, as the British Government has done before now, even as the great Dutch Government after eight years of trial had to yield to the logic

Mahatma Gandhi Returns to India

TO INTERVIEW WITH VICECOY?

Mahatma Gandhi lands in Bombay today.

Bombay, Dec 22nd.

It is strongly rumoured that as soon as Mr. Gandhi lands at Bombay on Dec. 28th he will seek an interview with the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon.

Mr. Gandhi also intends to interview the Governor of Bengal and discuss the Bengal situation with him.

of facts. General Smuts, a brave General, a great statesman, and a very hard taskmaster also, but he himself recoiled with horror from even the contemplation of doing to death innocent men and women who were merely fighting for the preservation of their self respect, and the things which he had vowed he would never yield in the year 1908, reinforced as he was by general Bhis, he had to do in the year 1914, after having tried these civil resistors through and through. And in India Lord Chelmsford had to do the same thing; the Governor of Bombay had to do the same thing in Bura and Bardoli. I suggest to you, Prime Minister, it is too late today to resist this, and it is this thing which weighs me down, this choice that lies before them, the parting of the ways probably I shall hope against hope, I shall strain every nerve to achieve an honourable settlement for my country if I can do so without having to put the millions of my countrymen and countrywomen and even children through this ordeal of fire. It can be a matter of no joy and comfort to me to lead them on again to a fight of that character, but if a further ordeal of fire has to be our lot I shall approach that with the greatest joy and with the greatest consolation that I was doing what I felt to be right, the country was doing what it felt to be right, and the country will have the additional satisfaction of knowing that it was not at least taking lives, it was giving lives; it was not making the British people directly suffer, it was suffering. Professor Gilbert Murray told me—I shall never forget that—I am paraphrasing his inimitable language. He said: You do not consider for one moment that we Englishmen do not suffer when thousands of your countrymen suffer, that we are so heartless? I do not think so. I do know that you will suffer; but I want you to suffer because I want to touch your hearts; and when your hearts have been touched will come the psychological moment for negotiation. Negotiation there always will be; and if this time I have travelled all these miles in order to enter upon negotiation, I thought that your countryman Lord Irwin had sufficiently tried us through his ordinances, that he had sufficient evidence that thousands of men and women of India and that thousands of children had suffered; and that ordinances or no ordinance, laws or no laws, nothing would avail to stem the tide that was onrushing and to stem the passions that were rising in the breasts of the men and women of India who were thirsting for liberty.

Continued up

Assailant on Temperance Representative

MAGISTRATE ISSUES WARRANT.

Mr. V Joseph, the Acting Police Magistrate, Jaffna, issued warrant against one Kamran, a tapper of Aochanathalvu, Vannarponna, who assaulted Mr. S. C. Chidambaramathan on the 19th instant, at the Naval School, where a poll was had for the reopening of a toddy tavern.

It will be remembered that Mr. Chidambaramathan was at the booth representing the Temperance party and successfully challenged many false voters. Bored at this, the anti-temperance party resorted to abuse in filthy language and finally assaulted the temperance representative. It will also be remembered that Mr. Chidambaramathan refused to file any action against the assailant.

The present action is being taken by the police, it is said, on the orders of the Presiding Officer.

The warrant is returnable on January 9th.

Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 7998.
In the matter of the estate of the late Annapillai widow of Subramaniam of Valveddi.

Deceased, Saravanasmita Thampoo of Valveddi.

1. Valliammai daughter of Subramaniam
2. Subramaniam Coomarasamy
3. Etyappillai daughter of Saravanasmita of Valveddi

The 1st and 2nd Respondents are minors by their guardian ad litem the 3rd Respondent.

This matter of the petition of the Petitioner abovenamed praying for Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour Esquire, District Judge, on the 7th day of November 1931, in the presence of Mr. S. Appadurai, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 19th day of October 1931, having been read, it is declared that the 3rd Respondent be and he is hereby appointed Guardian ad litem over the minors the 1st and 2nd Respondents and the Petitioner is the brother of the said intestate and is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate issued to him unless the Respondents or any other person shall, on or before the 19th day of January 1932 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

November 17, 1931, Sgd. D. H. Balfour, District Judge. O 314. 28 & 31.

OBITUARY.

MRS. B SANMUGAM.

We regret to record the untimely death on the 12th instant of Mrs R Sanmugam, wife of Mr. R Sanmugam, Head clerk P W D Vyanagoda. She leaves behind, besides her husband, a daughter a son and a host of relatives and friends to mourn her loss.

Continued.

Whilst there is yet a little sand left in the glass, I want you to understand what this Congress stands for. My life is at your disposal. The lives of all the members of the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, are at your disposal. But remember that you have at your disposal the lives of all these dumb millions. I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it. Therefore please remember that I will count no sacrifice too great if by chance I can pull through an honourable settlement. You will find me always having the greatest spirit of compromise. If I can but fire you with the spirit that is working in the Congress, namely, that India must have real liberty. Call it by any name you like: a rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the rose of liberty that I want and not the artificial product. If your mind and the Congress mind, the mind of this Conference and the mind of the British people, means the same thing by the same word, then you will find the amplest room for compromise, and you will find the Congress itself always in a compromising spirit. But so long as there is not that one mind, that one definition, not one implication for the same word that you and I and we may be using, so long there is no compromise possible. How can there be any compromise so long as we each one of us has a different definition for the same words that we may be using. It is impossible, Prime Minister. I want to suggest to you in all humility that it is utterly impossible then to find a meeting ground, where you can apply the spirit of compromise. And I am very grieved to have to say that up to now I have not been able to discover a common definition for the terms that we have been exchanging during all these weary weeks.

(Continued on page 4)

Gandhiji's Appeal To Britain

Continued from page 3
What is a Dominion?

I was shown last week the Statute of Westminster by a sceptic, and he said: "Have you seen the definition of 'Dominion'?" I read the definition of "Dominion", and naturally I was not at all perplexed or shocked to see that the word "Dominion" was exhaustively defined, and it had not a general definition but a particular definition. It simply said: the word "Dominion" shall include Australia, South Africa, Canada and so on, ending with the Irish Free State. I do not think I noticed Egypt there. Then he said: "Do you see what your Dominion means?" It did not make any impression upon me, I do not mind what my Dominion means or what complete independence means. In a way I was relieved.

I said I am now relieved from having to quarrel about the word "dominion", because I am out of it. But I want complete independence, and even so many Englishmen have said "Yes, you can have complete independence but what is the meaning of complete independence?", and again we come to different definitions. Therefore I say the Congress claim is registered as complete independence.

One of your great statesmen—I do not think I should give his name—was debating with me, and he said "Honestly I did not know that you meant this by complete independence." He ought to have known but he did not know, and I shall tell you what he did not know. When I said to him "I cannot be a partner in an Empire", he said "Of course, that is logical." I said "But I want to become that. It is not as if I shall be if I am compelled to, but I want to become a partner with Great Britain. I want to become a partner with the English people; but I want to enjoy precisely the same liberty that your people enjoy, and I want to seek this partnership not merely for the benefit of India, and not merely for mutual benefit; I want to seek this partnership in order that the great weight that is crushing the World to atoms may be lifted from its shoulders."

This took place ten or twelve days ago, strange as it may appear, I got a note from another Englishman whom also you know and whom also you respect. Among many things, he writes, "I believe profoundly that the peace and happiness of mankind depend on our 'friendship' and, as if I would not understand that, he says 'your people and mine.' I must read to you what he also says: "And of all Indians you are the one that the real Englishman likes and understands."

He does not waste any words on flattery, and I do not think he has intended this last expression to flatter me in the slightest degree. There are many things in this note which, if I could share them with you, would perhaps make you understand better the significance of this expression, but let me tell you that when he writes this last sentence he does not mean me personally. I personally signify nothing, and I know I would mean nothing to any single Englishman, but I mean something to some Englishmen because I represent a cause, because I seek to represent a nation, a great organisation which has made itself felt. That is the reason why he says this.

"It is Friendship I Crave"

But then, if I could possibly find that working basis, Prime Minister, there is ample room for compromise. It is friendship I crave. My business is not to throw overboard the slave holder and tyrant. My philosophy forbids me to do so, and to-day the Congress has accepted that philosophy not as a creed, as it is to me, but as a policy, because the Congress believes that it is the right and best thing for India, a nation of 350,000,000, to do.

A nation of 350 million people does not need the dagger of the assassin, it does not need the poison bowl, it does not need the sword, the spear or the bullet. It needs simply a will of its own, an ability to say No and that nation is to-day learning to say No.

But what is it that that nation does? To summarise or at all to dismiss Englishmen? No. Its mission is to-day to convert Englishmen. I do not want to break the bond between England and India but I do want to transform that bond. I want to transform that slavery into complete freedom for my country. Call it complete independence or whatever you like, I will not quarrel about that word, and even though my countrymen may dispute with me for having taken some other word, I shall be able to bear down that opposition so long as the content of the word that you may suggest to me bears the same meaning. Hence I have times without number to urge upon your attention that the safeguards that have been suggested are completely unsatisfactory. They are not in the interests of India.

Three experts from the Federation of Commerce and Industry have in their own manner, each in his different manner, told out of their expert experience how utterly impossible it is for any body of responsible Ministers to tackle the problem of administration when 80 per cent of her resources are mortgaged irrevocably. Better than I could have shown to you they have shown out of the amplitude of their knowledge what these financial safeguards mean for India. They mean the complete cramping of India. They have discussed at this table financial safeguards but that includes necessarily the question of Defence and the question of the Army. Yet while I say that the safeguards are unsatisfactory as they have been presented I have not hesitated to say, and I do not

hesitate to repeat that the Congress is pledged to giving safeguards, endorsing safeguards which may be demonstrated to be in the interests of India.

As one of the sittings of the Federal Structure Committee I had no hesitation in amplifying the admission and saying that these safeguards must be also of benefit to Great Britain. I do not want safeguards which are merely beneficial to India and prejudicial to the real interests of Great Britain. The fancied interests of India will have to be satisfied. The fancied interests of Great Britain will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of India will have to be sacrificed. The illegitimate interests of Great Britain will also have to be sacrificed. Therefore again I repeat if we have the same meaning for the same word, I will agree with Mr. Jayakar, with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other distinguished speakers who have spoken at this Conference.

I will agree with them all that we have after all, after all these labours, reached a substantial measure of agreement, but my despair, my grief, is that I do not read the same words in the same light. The implications of the safeguards of Mr. Jayskar I very much fear are different from my implication, and the implications of Mr. Jayakar and myself are perhaps only different from the implications that Sir Samuel Hoare, for instance, has in mind; I do not know. We have never really come to grips. We have never come to brass tacks as you put it, and I am anxious—I have been pining—to come to real grips and to brass tacks all these days and all these nights, and I have felt: why are we not coming nearer and nearer together, and why are we wasting our time in a quibbler, in oratory, in debating, and in scoring points? Heaven knows, I have no desire to hear my own voice. Heaven knows I have no desire to take part in any debating. I know that liberty is made of sterner stuff, and I know that the freedom of India is made of much sterner stuff. We have problems that would baffle any statesman. We have problems that other nations have not to tackle. But they do not baffle me; they cannot baffle those who have been brought up in the Indian climate. Those problems are there with us. Just as we have to tackle our bubonic plague, we have to tackle the problem of malaria. We have to tackle, as you have not, the problem of snakes and scorpions, monkeys, tigers and lions. We have to tackle these problems because we have been brought up under them. They do not baffle us. Somehow or other we have survived the ravages of these venomous reptiles and various creatures. So also shall we survive our problem and find a way out of those problems. But today you and we have come together at a Round Table and we want to find a common formula which will work. Please believe me that while I abate not a tittle of the claim that I have registered on behalf of the Congress, which I do not propose to repeat here, while I withdraw not one word of the speeches that I had to make at the Federal Structure Committee, I am here to compromise; I am here to consider every formula that British ingenuity can prepare, every formula that the ingenuity of such constitutionalists as Sastri, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayskar, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Mahomed Shafi and a host of other constitutionalists can weave into being.

I will not be baffled. I shall be here as long as I am required because I do not want to revive civil disobedience. I want to turn the truce that was arrived at Delhi into a permanent settlement (Applause). But for Heaven's sake give me, a frail man, 82 years gone, a little bit of a chance. Find a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents. You distrust that organisation though you may seemingly trust me. Do not for one moment differentiate me from the organisation of which I am but a drop in the ocean. I am no greater than the organisation to which I belong. I am infinitely smaller than that organisation; and if you find me a place, if you trust me, I invite you to trust the Congress also. Your trust in me otherwise is a broken reed. I have no authority save what I derived from the Congress, if you will work the Congress for all it is worth, then you will say goodbye to terrorism; then you will not need terrorism. To-day you have to fight the rebel of terrorists which is there with your disciplined and organised terrorism, because you will be blind to the facts or the writing on the wall. Will you not see the writing that these terrorists are writing with their blood? Will you not see that we do not want bread made of wheat, but we want bread of liberty; and without that liberty there are thousands to-day who are sworn not to give themselves peace or to give the country peace.

"The Writing on the Wall"

I urge you then to read that writing on the wall. I ask you not to try the patience of a people known to be proverbially patient. We speak of the mild Hindu, and the Mussalman also by contrast good or evil with the Hindu has himself become mild. And that mention of the Mussalman brings me to the burning problem of Minorities. Believe me, that problem exists here, and I repeat what I used to say in India—I have not forgotten those words—that without the problem of Minorities being solved there is no Swaraj for India, there is no freedom for India. I know that; I realise it; and yet I came here in the hope perhaps that I might be able to pull through a solution here. But I do not despair of some day or other finding a real and living solution in connection with the Minorities problem. I repeat what I have said elsewhere that so long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class, there will be no

real living solution; there will be no living friendship between these communities. It will be after all and at best a paper solution. But immediately you withdraw that wedge the domestic ties, the domestic affections, the knowledge of common birth—do you suppose that all these will count for nothing?

Were Hindus and Mussalman and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule, when there was no English face seen there? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Mussalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then. And Hindus and Mussalman in the villages are not even to-day quarrelling. In those days they were not known to quarrel at all. The late Maulana Mahomed Ali often used to tell me and he was himself a bit of an historian. He said: "If God"—"Allah" as he called God—"given me life, I propose to write the history of Mussalman rule in India; and then I will show through documents that British people have preserved that Aurangzeb was not so vile as he has been painted by the British historian; that the Mogul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to us in British history; and so on. And so have Hindu historians written. This quarrel is not old; this quarrel is coeval with this acute shame. I dare to say it is coeval with the British advent, and immediately this relationship, the unfortunate, artificial, unnatural relationship between Great Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship when it becomes, if it does become, a voluntary partnership, to be given up, to be dissolved at the will of either party, when it becomes that you will find that Hindu, Mussalman, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo Indians, Christians, untouchables, will all live together as one man.

I want to say one word about the Princes, and I shall have done. I have not said much about the Princes, nor do I intend to say much to-night about the Princes, but I should be wronging them and I should be wronging the Congress if I did not re-gler my claim, not with the Round Table Conference but with the Princes. It is open to the Princes to give their terms on which they will join the Federation. I have appealed to them to make the path easy for those who inhabit the other part of India, and therefore I can only make these suggestions for their favourable consideration, for their earnest consideration. I think that if they accepted, no matter what they are, but some fundamental rights as the common property of all India, and if they accepted that position and allowed those rights to be tested by the Court, which will be again of their own creation, and if they introduced elements—only elements—of representation on behalf of their subjects, I think that they would have gone a long way to conciliate their subjects. They would have gone a long way to show to the world and to show to the whole of India that they are also fired with a democratic spirit that they do not want to remain undiluted autocrats, but that they want to become constitutional monarchs even as King George of Great Britain is.

The Frontier Province.

Sir, a note has been placed in my hands by my friend Sir Abdul Qayum, and he says, will not I say one word about the Frontier Province. I will, and it is this. Let India get what she is entitled to and what she can really take, but whatever she gets, whenever she gets it, let the Frontier Province get complete autonomy to-day. That Frontier will then be a standing demonstration to the whole of India, and therefore the whole vote of the Congress will be given in favour of the Frontier Province getting provincial autonomy to-morrow, Prime Minister, if you can possibly get your Cabinet to endorse the proposition that from to-morrow the Frontier Province becomes a full fledged autonomous province I shall then have a proper footing amongst the Frontier tribes and convene them to my assistance when these over the border cast an evil eye on India.

Last of all, my last is a pleasant task for me. This is perhaps the last time that I shall be sitting with you at negotiations. It is not that I want to sit at the same table with you in your closets and to negotiate and to plead with you and to go down on bended knee before I take the final leap and final plunge. But whether I have the good fortune to continue to tender my co-operation or not does not depend upon me. It largely depends upon you. But it may not even depend upon you. It depends upon so many circumstances over which neither you nor we may have any control whatsoever. Then let me perform this pleasant task of giving my thanks to all from Their Majesties down to the poorest men in the East End where I have taken up my habitation.

In that settlement which represents the poor people of the East End of London I have become one of them. They have accepted me as a member, and as a favoured member of their family. It will be one of the richest treasures that I shall carry with me. Here too I have found nothing but courtesy and nothing but a genuine affection from all with whom I have come in touch. I have come in touch with so many Englishmen. It has been a priceless privilege to me. They have listened to what must have often appeared to them to be unpleasant, although it was true. Although I have often been obliged to say these things to them they have never shown the slightest impatience or irritation. It is impossible for me to forget these things. No matter what befalls me, no matter what the fortunes may be of this Round Table Conference, one thing I shall certainly carry with me—that is, that from high to low I have found nothing but

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the utmost courtesy and the utmost affection. I consider that it was well worth my paying this visit to England in order to find this human affection. (Applause). It has deepened my irresponsible faith in human nature that although Englishmen and Englishwomen have been fed upon lies so often that I see disfiguring your faces, that although in Lancashire the Lancashire people had perhaps some reason for becoming irritated against me, I found no irritation and no resentment even in the operatives. The operatives, men and women, hugged me. They treated me as one of their own. I shall never forget that.

I am carrying with me thousands upon thousands of English friendships. I do not know them but I read that affection in their eyes as early in the morning I walk through your streets. All this hospitality, all this kindness will never be effaced from my memory no matter what befalls my unhappy land. I thank you for your forbearance." (Applause).

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Printed & published by S. ADCHALINGAM, residing at Ayankovilady, Van: West, Jaffna, for and on behalf of the Proprietors, the Saiva Paripalana Sabha, Jaffna, at their Press, the Saiva Prakasa Press, Vannarponnai, Jaffna.