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THE TRAGEDY OF CEYLON.

How Foreign Rule Has Crippled The People.

National Regeneration—The Mission of Youth.

(BY K. KUMARASAMY, PROCTOR, KANDY.)

Why is it that today the Ceylonese is an invertebrate creature, unfit to aspire to even a fraction of the heroism, courage or culture of the Indian or the Irishman?

Why is it that morally we are cowards, yielding to conventions, preferring trousers to truth?

Why is it that we are gluttons paying for our physical pleasures of whiskeys and gin and motor-cars with the price of the soul of a people? It is because we have been sucked dry by vicious institutions and pernicious principles so long, that we are but the husk of what was once a Great People. What are these subversive and devitalising factors, what are these imperialistic impositions that have emasculated us?

First, I say is Education. The Englishman is no philanthropist. He is rather a masterly statesman. Statecraft, sometime demands cunning, demands craft, demands even theft or dishonesty. He has practised the science of a statecraft to perfection. He has robbed us. He has robbed us of our heritage, of our culture, of our ideals, of our traditions. It was evident to him that as long as our hearts beat to the music of our temples and our eyes saw the vision of our Ideals, we would be an intractable people. He had to rob us of our strength.

WEAPONS OF CONQUEST.

I say it, not in disrespect for the Gospel of Christ, but truly it is said that the English Colonists' two weapons of conquest have been the Gin bottle and the Bible. Education today in Ceylon is the system evolved from the intellectual soporific of the Bible teaching offered to us.

Our education is all wrong. We are not trained to fill Kachcheris and other Government offices, to sing God Save The King and salute the Union Jack. What is education? It is that science of leading out or drawing forth from each individual, the best that is in him. Do you imagine that if the best in us had been fostered and nurtured, we, we with a culture that was mature when the West was a primeval forest inhabited by painted barbarians who still sheltered in the trees, would be what we are today? What are we but the cogs that work the Great Machine? What is our country but the dumping ground for the great unwanted of the West?

EVERYTHING FOREIGN.

Visit any school, you will hear our children being taught that Jack and Jill went up the hill and that William the Conqueror or Bruce of Scotland was a great man. Our minds cannot grow on the exploits of Jack and Jill, nor does it make any difference to us whether William and Bruce were great men or not.

You must bear in mind that the episodes in history that are forced down our throats were enacted at an age when England was more barbarous and benighted than now, and when India and Ceylon had reached heights of civilization and culture that must forever remain an impossible dream for England.

Much greater are the morals we can learn from the sacred epics of the Mahabhartha, the Ramayana, Kalidasa, Kabir, Alagiawanna, Thiruvalluvar, the Emperor Akbar, the Parliaments of Hindu India, the heroism of Dutugemunu, the piety of Kirthi Sri and sacrifice of Elara.

Why are we robbed of this magnificent heritage and locked out of the splendid palaces of culture, romance, beauty and courage and cast instead into the infernal caves of an infant race struggling to enlightenment through the dark leaves of its forests?

CORRUPTED SOUL.

It is because the Britisher feared that Love, Passion, Loyalty, would so man us that we would be as indomitable and as incapable of servility as our ancestors were, that he cunningly sought to denationalise us by raising for us new standards and giving us new heroes; giving us their tawdry traditions and ideals with unctuous maxims, so that we could talk of "playing the game" and use such other trite and senseless clichés without the effort of thinking.

He got at our hearts and our very souls. He would not teach us Sinhalese, he would not teach us Tamil, but it was always English, more English, better English with which to worship the Golden Calf he set up in our Temples.

I ask you, why it is we are mediocrities? It is because we cannot think in our own language. It is impossible for any man to use a foreign language and think in a foreign language. There are instincts in us subtleties of thought, perception and expression that the English language is wholly inadequate for; and for want of a proper means of expression, we, through disguise have killed these instincts of delicacy and beauty and are content to make ourselves barely understood.

NATIONAL CULTURE.

You who know your Tamil will know the joy of thinking and creating in Tamil, so swift, so easy and so spontaneous. Your thoughts, your perceptions, your instincts must spring from your past and must bear essentially the character of your origin. It is as incongruous to clothe these ineffable thoughts in crude Anglo-Saxon, as it is to clothe our bodies in the woeful habiliments of English festivity.

You who know music, the exquisite nuances, the delicious scales, the quarter tones that give to our melody a character inimitable, ineffable, what have we cast all this aside for? The crude blattancies, the obvious semitones, the gross cacophany of the West.

To me it seems, the time is ripe for a united effort in this direction. We have, fortunately, a few schools that are interested in the national cause, such as Mahinda College, Ananda College, the Colleges of Sir P. Ramanathan and a few others.

Let Youth set out to change the system of Education. This is but one way. Public outcry, jeremiads, polemics, petitions to the Governor and members of the Council might well be left out.

The mainstay and support of every school is its roll of students and the mainstay and the support of every student are his parents. What the parents ask in unanimity must be granted.

CAPTURE THE PARENT.

Let Youth then capture the parent. Let our first action be the persuasion of the parent. Let us satisfy him that his children are not getting the best education possible; that he himself is not getting his money's worth. Once we satisfy the parent, a parent's Association can demand that the curriculum of any school be altered to suit the needs of the people, and they will have the strength of their numbers to compel agreement; for if it is declined, then the remedy is in the hands of the parents. Send the children to schools where there will be a national education. We must have our children taught, native languages, our native histories, our native cultures, so that they might think and live in the pursuit of their heritage of a manhood that was second to none and a culture that was supreme.

I stress education, for it is my feeling that a cause such as we advocate need not and cannot be fulfilled in a day.

The children of today will be the leaders of tomorrow and if we contrive to start them on the proper path now, we can safely entrust the destinies of our country to them.

I spoke of the gin bottle accompanying the Bible, that, apart from its vicious reality, is grimly symbolic, symbolic of our economic dependence.

Ceylon was once the granary of the East; its glories were sung in many tongues. Where are its glories flown to, today? They are lost in the fumes of Gin.

FOREIGN TASTES.

We have been so insidiously seduced from our own ideals and our native tastes, that we have acquired foreign tastes which we imagine are superior. The subject under hypnosis, or the victim of intoxication is the creature and plaything of the dominant, and even so, dazzled by the glamour of Anglicisation, we have wrought our own economic enslavement. We are content to house our degenerate minds in our diseased bodies.

That is the next matter for your consideration.

You may perhaps wonder how we are to break not only ourselves, but all Ceylon, of the habits of a century, habits that have grown to be almost sacred with constant acceptance and encouragement. Habits that enjoy the sanction of servitude and the benison of Britain. Here, as with our entire cause, we must not forget our limitations. Boycotts, pickets, and other methods of compulsory suasion can be effective only in the hands of a people who, by the weight of their numbers and the unanimity of their efforts must succeed as

in India, and I am proud to say, Jaffna. But we must fit ourselves for the struggle for Freedom. We must imbue the whole country with the spirit of regeneration and we can only do so by convincing them that our present pitiable plight is due to our unfortunate habits, by bringing home the conviction that must rouse the country to its duty-to itself; its duty to abandon its petty pursuits of pleasure, its duty to abandon the trifling flirtations with life, its duty to serve the cause of Truth.

DRINK POLICY.

Observe for a moment the policy of Government in regard to the liquor trade. Any Government anxious for the welfare of its people would seek to eradicate the evils that militate against its progress. Drink is certainly a deleterious and devastating evil. What has the Government done? It has appropriated to itself the right to manufacture arrack in Ceylon. It sells the right to retail its liquor at immense prices. It has to control this business. Toddy produced by the native must not rival it. It organizes an expensive department of excise. It restricts the sale of toddy. It places as many obstacles as it can in the way of one of our native products. Its Excise Department grows, the revenue must be increased, taxes grow. If all this was inspired by a virtuous regard for the country, one could commend it. Contrast however the facilities offered to the foreign liquor trade. Everything is done to encourage it. And, why? Why? Because it means more revenue for the Crown, more money out of the Colony, more employment for foreigners who labour in the manufacture of that drink and more profit to the West. What more flagrant case of exploitation, ruthlessly and implacably carried on?

LOCAL ENTERPRISE.

In Ceylon today local enterprise is completely absent. This is due to three things: lack of funds, lack of encouragement and lack of co-operation. Any venture that has been attempted has failed, because, as in all new businesses, Ceylon could not produce as cheaply as a better organized foreign business house. We as Ceylonese knowing that the encouragement of local enterprise must mean our Island's prosperity should consider what little extra we may have to pay as an investment for the country. This little extra many a man declines to pay. He argues that he can buy better and cheaper foreign goods. A spark of patriotism will show him that a little sacrifice in the matter of quality and price by every individual will in itself cement the foundation that these new ventures seek to lay for Ceylon's prosperity. He then argues that he cannot afford to pay extra. Again, a little more sacrifice. Eschew foreign luxuries, buy locally and circulate the money in the country. All men must be prepared to sacrifice a little of their lot to improve a little the lot of others. With the saving effected on abstention from foreign indulgence, one can easily pay this little extra without inconvenience. With the circulation of money accelerated in the country, investment is possible. Ours is not a country of capitalists, but if the prosperity of the country improves by judicious economy, then we can do many things in co-operation. We can open our land, our fields, our cotton industry, cloth and other industries and fast approach a state of such independence economically, that our freedom must follow. But we must have faith, faith in ourselves, faith in each other and above all faith in the cause.

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL.

Local enterprise will not mean merely the economic improvement of the country,

(Continued on page 3.)

Parameshvara College, Jaffna.

Re-opens on May 18th. Students will be prepared for the Inter Arts and Inter Science Examinations and for the Ceylon University College Entrance Scholarship Examination of 1933. A competitive Examination open to students eligible for admission to the Inter Classes will be held on May 20th for the award of Ramanathan Scholarships. Apply for particulars to the Principal.

Mis 495, 5th

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The Hindu Organ.

YALPANAM, THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1932.

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL"

THE MURDER OF MR. R. DOUGLAS, District Magistrate of Midnapore, is bound to raise a storm of indignation all over India. The Jingo press in India and England will exploit the incident to set up a howl loud enough to be heard across the Atlantic. The native Indian press will strictly conform to convention. The tragedy is certain to shock the civilized conscience of mankind the world over. There can be no justification, however, for lamentation on the part of the die-hard conservatives in England or their agents and advisers in India. These are horrified and indignant when one of themselves is killed, but it is just these men who conveniently forget the fact that they, as inspirers of the policy of force, are accountable for the death and suffering of thousands of innocent men, women and children in India. They who organise and instigate violence under whatever pretext cannot complain of the natural consequences of their policy. Hate begets hate. "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" is the inexorable law of human action and re-action. Loud surprise and indignation over the incident, therefore, on the part of cabinet ministers who are responsible for the repressive measures in India, cannot but be regarded either as propaganda or relief to their stricken conscience. There is no justification for murder in any

circumstance whatever. Neither the satisfaction of justice nor the vengeance of offended power is a sufficient reason to put out the light kindled by the Maker. We abhor the act which resulted in the untimely death of Mr. Douglas. Our heart goes out to those bereaved of father or husband and to the assailant of Mr. Douglas who in his misguided enthusiasm for the liberty of his country lost his self-possession and control. Mr. Douglas in accepting the Magistracy at Midnapore in succession to the late Mr. Peddie knew the dangerous forces at work and faced the risk for the sake of his country, and the Bengli youth could not have failed to realise the gravity of the step he was taking but thought that his country's cause demanded it. They both deserve our admiration for the selfless sacrifice, however much we might differ as to the means employed by each of them for his own cause.

We trust the Christian world will condemn, in no uncertain words, the action of those who train armies and indulge in military exploits to create "impressions" in a country which has accepted and practised under heavy handicaps the duty of non-violence. The great teacher, Mahatma Gandhi, eschewed violence not so much because armed revolution was impossible for the Indians, disarmed by law as they were, but apostle of non-violence as he is, he is striving his utmost to establish the power of love. He is prepared to sacrifice a million lives to demonstrate the potency of love—the weapon of the gods. His is truly the mission to establish on earth the kingdom of Heaven. There is no place for hate in his plan of campaign. He is reported to have declared that he would withdraw from political life and retire to the forests of India if and when India takes to violence as a weapon of defence or offence. One recalls the words addressed by him to his countrymen in Gujarat before he walked into his prison-cell. "Love those that do you harm, even bodily injury, do not hate them". Do not these words carry the same ring as "forgive them, for they know not what they do"—the words of the Prince of Peace?

The outbursts of violence in every part of India and murderous assaults on members of the dominant race are deplorable to say the least. Is the Government of Lord Willingdon wholly innocent? Does the ordinance regime act as a laxative on the cowardly Indian and is it producing that atmosphere of loyalty in which the Indians will receive with both hands the boon of provincial autonomy without responsibility at the centre?

Sir Samuel Hoare seems unshakable in his optimism that the situation in India is quiet; but those who read the news from India, censored and touched up to suit official fancy, could see that events in that continent are disquieting to a degree.

Those who will cry for the blood of the Indians and think no words too strong to condemn the ebullitions of youthful enthusiasts would do well to remember the number of lives lost and men and women maimed as the result of police excesses in every province in India. The Government cannot, in our opinion, escape blame for the situation which has arisen in India. Our heart goes out to the murdered as to the murderer.

The Bengali youth lost his head and committed the murder, let us not lose ours, but recognise that this, perhaps, is a phase which every nation has to pass through before it regains its lost freedom, and more so when one of the combatants is a believer in the power of Hate. Let us be thankful to God and bless Mahatma Gandhi that fewer lives have been or are likely to be lost in the Indian struggle than in the Irish or the great European war.

Prison Reform—II

SOME MODERN PRISONS.

Sing Sing Prison, New York, U. S. A.

BY V. E. CHARAVANAMUTTU, ADVOCATE, Ph. B., A. C. P. F. R. G. S.

Our first article dealt with the world's best known and one of the finest, if not the finest, penal farms in the world—Witzwil. Now we are dealing with an entirely different type of penal institution, a type which is quite common—the ordinary prison.

All the world has heard of Sing Sing Prison. It is quite famous and some years ago it was really notorious. Under good wardens, Sing Sing has become one of the world's finest prisons today and furnishes several lessons for backward countries, in the care and management of prisons.

Sing Sing Prison originally known as Mount Pleasant Prison was the third prison built in U. S. A. in 1825. The original buildings have all been discarded and new and more modern buildings have taken their place. It is in many respects the most truly representative of all American prisons, owing to its situation and cosmopolitan population.

Today it houses about 2000 inmates while ten years ago its population was only 1200.

We can get the best idea of what Sing Sing Prison is like by paying an imaginary visit to the prison and entering into the life of the prisoner.

As we enter from the street, the big armour plate steel gate opens and closes behind us. We are now within the prison, a hundred feet behind us is the busy street, while a hundred yards in front of us is the "death house" with 8 or 10 men awaiting electrocution. Just beyond the "death house" is the Hudson River.

We enter the reception room, where new arrivals are catechised and have to answer about 60 questions. They are searched for contraband, a number is given them, as well as their prison uniform. It is an ordinary grey flannel suit, but if a new arrival is either very tall or quite short or is an outside, the suits which are made to standard sizes will not fit well. There used to be a time when a prisoner was always called by his number and never by his name. But that is not the case at Sing Sing. Some years ago, prisoners were given suits with zebra stripes in American prisons; while English prisons were famous for the suits with "broad arrows". These have been done away with. After medical examination the new arrival is taken to a cell in the Reception ward, otherwise known as Gallery No. 13.

Till quite recently some of the old cell blocks, with their dingy cells were used to house prisoners but today the new buildings are complete and modern cells are used. Today's cell are about 10 ft. by 5 ft. by 9 ft. and the cell door consists of open bars. Each cell contains a white enamelled bed with good mattress, pillow and blankets, an electric lamp, a table and a stool. It is fitted with running water and modern sanitary fittings and contains a radio receiving set with a centrally controlled programme.

The first week or ten days is in many respects the worst period in prison, as the prisoner is shut up in his cell and allowed to get out only for a couple of hours' exercise. He is not sent to the shops for work or to the mess hall for his meals. During this period, the psychologist, the doctor, the finger print expert and other men study his case and complete his record sheets.

When this is over, he is transferred to one of the other wards and set to work on some heavy task like shovelling coal, for a fortnight.

Then the Prison Assignment Board which consists of the Head Jailer (Principal keeper), the doctor, the psychologist, the head teacher, and the Director of Industries, decide what work he is to be given, after considering his case as thoroughly as possible.

The prison is a real community as it looks after all its needs—it makes and repairs clothing and shoes, cooks its own food, produces its own electric current, makes its own ice, bakes its own bread; washes clothes, builds and repairs its roads and buildings; it has its own barber, its own church and mortuary, its own cinema shows etc. Every prisoner is put on some useful work producing goods for state, or municipal use or in the work of the prison. About 185 different articles are made in Sing Sing's factories, which include a first class knit shop. About a third of the men work in the shops, while the others are occupied in the repair and upkeep of the prison.

The working day is from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. with an hour's interval for the noon meal. Work is carried on in workshops and there is

no silence rule. You hardly notice any difference between a workshop of Sing Sing and a workshop in any first class business concern.

Meals are served in halls and the men march into the halls for meals to the accompaniment of music. The authorities say that it is very much easier to handle such a large number of men, when they march to music, than otherwise. The men use forks, spoons and knives and after the meal is over, they are allowed to relax for 10 or 15 minutes during which time, they smoke and talk among themselves. Smoking is permitted within certain limits at Sing Sing, although English and Ceylon Prisons ban it.

The most important feature of Sing Sing Prison is the privileges of prisoners.

Every prisoner unless he is an escaped prisoner enters prison as a "Grade A" man, whether he is a gangster, forger, or thief. A "Grade A" man is entitled to 4 weekday visits and one Sunday visit per month, and is allowed to write 4 Sunday and 4 mid-week letters per month. He is permitted to spend up to 3 dollars (Rs. 12) of his own money on groceries.

If a "Grade A" man violates any rules, he is demoted to "Grade B".

A "Grade B" man is entitled to 1 weekday visit and 1 Sunday visit per month, 4 Sunday letters and is allowed to spend up to 1½ dollars (Rs. 6 or 5) on groceries. A further violation of prison rules sends a man down to "Grade C" where he is only allowed an occasional letter.

Those who repeatedly break conduct or work regulations are put into a special group known as "an Observation of Idle" Company.

Only about 25% of the prisoners ever get to Grade B while hardly 4% go down to Grade C. There are several who have done 25 years in Sing Sing without leaving Grade A.

Educational classes are compulsory for all who have not passed Standard VI. The teachers are all prisoners except the head teacher who is a paid official.

Prisoners may receive parcels of staple foods or fruits within limits; but on no account are they allowed to receive "luxuries." This is allowed for the purpose of strengthening home ties.

After the evening meal at 4 p.m. prisoners take part in baseball and other games till "Sundown." Then they retire to their cells and are allowed to read their letters, newspapers or library books or work on any hobby till 9-30 p.m. when lights are put out. Twice a week, there are cinema shows; while on Sundays there are the usual services in the morning and concerts in the evening.

On Saturday afternoons, picked teams from the prison, meet outside teams in baseball, basket ball and other games.

These privileges are given not in any spirit of condescension towards the prisoner but as a powerful incentive to good behaviour. They are a much more efficient influence than whipping or kicking. Men must be treated as men. If you treat a man as a dog, you make a dog of him and of yourself. The Golden Rule should apply in prisons as elsewhere.

At Sing Sing, prisoners are treated as men. The prisoners in the workshops are treated in the same way as ordinary workmen. The men work almost under the same conditions as those under which they must work when they return to Society.

A man is not shut up in a prison for ever but he has to come out and live in society. Hence prison should be a training ground for him to take his place in society when he comes out.

The casual and superficial observer might question whether modern equipment and radio etc. at Sing Sing is not carrying reform too far.

Pause, reader, consider Hubbard's definition of a sinner—"A sinner is a man with a different fault from my own." Then read Percival's lines:—

"In men whom men condemn as ill,
I find so much of goodness still;
In men whom men pronounce divine
I find so much of blot;
I hesitate to draw the line
Between the two, when God has not."
Sing Sing is surely a model in prisons!

BOYCOTT ANNIVERSARY ENTHUSIASTIC CELEBRATION IN JAFFNA.

BOYCOTT RE-AFFIRMED.

The first anniversary of the Boycott of the State Council was celebrated yesterday in Jaffna under the auspices of the Jaffna Youth Congress. There was much enthusiasm evinced in the celebration.

Three processions from Kokuvil, Tinnevely and Atrialai, carrying national flags and placards displaying the slogans "Boycott the State Council", "Boycott sugar", "Use Jaggery", "Boycott Cigarettes", and "Use Swadeshi Cigars", converged at the Esplanade where a mammoth public meeting was held and a resolution was passed re-affirming the Boycott.

All the shops in the Grandbazaar, the busiest commercial centre in Jaffna, were closed from 4 to 7 p.m. in honour of the celebration. A national flag was hoisted in the Jaffna Hindu College Grounds, Esplanade, and the meeting began late, as the procession took some time to cover their long routes. The gathering swelled to more than 2000 when the meeting commenced at 7 p.m. with Mr. S. Shivapadhasundaram in the chair. Two boys recited national songs and a flag-song.

Mr. T. R. Nalliah moved the following resolution:

"That on this the first anniversary of the boycott of the State Council by the inhabitants of Jaffna, this public meeting representative of all parts of the district re-affirms the faith of the people in the boycott of the Council as the most effective means of protest against the present reactionary constitution and calls upon the people of Jaffna to continue the boycott until the achievement of full responsible Self-Government.

Mr. Nalliah in the course of a vigorous speech traced the inception of the boycott movement in Jaffna and said that the movement had the backing of the country. To allege that a few youths of the country intimidated the leaders was absurd, he said. Mr. Nalliah made a lengthy and spirited address which will appear in the next issue.

Mr. R. Sivagurunathan, Proctor, seconded the resolution.

Mr. Tikkam C. Chelliahpillai, Mr. S. A. Sabapathy, Proctor, Mr. K. Muttukumaru, Proctor and Mr. T. N. Subbiah, Proctor spoke in support of the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst deafening applause.

The Chairman, Mr. Sivapathasundaram, then addressed the meeting. Mr. T. N. Subbiah on behalf of the Youth Congress proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, the gathering and to all the merchants who sympathised with the celebration by closing their shops.

(A detailed report of the meeting has been crowded out.)

Continued

Mr. F. A. Obeyesekere, who voted for acceptance said:—

"I have still to learn in what directions our powers have been curtailed."

The Financial Secretary with the advice of the Governor had made that edifice created by Donoughmore Constitution one of empty dust which they would kick and spurn.—March 16, 1932.

A. E. Goonesinghe:—

"Now we know that the Constitution is a farce, delusion, snare."

"I am a member of a State Council which is utterly helpless to do anything."

"We have been enslaved and made to accept this, Constitution under false pretences."

Mr. W. Duraiswamy:—

It was useless trying to discover defects in a constitution which was fundamentally defective. He had been in the Council and when he saw what the present constitution was going to be and when he felt that he could not serve his country by entering it, he decided to keep out of it.—17-2-32

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THEN AND NOW

WHAT OUR COUNCILLORS
THOUGHT.

Mr. Perera as Spokesman of the Congress said in November 1927:—

"Congress stands for Full Responsible Government for the reasons that We Do Not Believe in a Half way House. No Half-way house is Possible Without Diarchy and that would mean the withdrawal of the present powers of the Legislative Council, particularly in the region of finance. We have got absolute power in regard to all departments. Any scheme of Diarchy will connote Reserved and Transferred subjects. Now the Budget is dealt with as a whole and we could bring sufficient legitimate pressure to bear on Government in respect of all demands. But once you divide the Cabinet into Reserved and Transferred subjects, there is no possible way to retain the rights for which we have been fighting for so many years."

Mr. W. A. de Silva, the then President said:—

"If we start a dual system in Ceylon we shall find ourselves in the same unsatisfactory position as the man who entrusts the Steering Wheel to Two persons."

Mr. A. F. Molamure said:—

"The System of Government by Executive Committees will only be a cause of trouble to this country. The Task given to us is an impossible one."

Mr. D. S. Senanayake said:—

"I feel that the Executive Committees will only mean that very little work will be done and there will be a great deal of expenditure incurred by the country, and the country will feel in the end that we have achieved nothing in proportion to the expenditure incurred. We know that this New Constitution will involve the country is an expenditure of an Additional One Million Rupees. I certainly think that it is better Not to Have the Reforms at all. We should not look at these recommendations from the point of view of our being able to become Ministers and Councillors are appointed for a particular purpose, and we must see whether that purpose will be achieved by cumbersome machinery of this kind."

"My opinion is that if this Constitution that is now proposed to be given to us is introduced intact we would be simply talking and spending a lot of money. We would have to increase Taxation. There is not the slightest doubt that each Minister of a committee will want to do a lot of things, each committee will put forward its own budget, and the Expenditure will be so heavy that we shall have to increase taxation if we are to meet all the proposals of the different committees. I feel the Country itself will receive so much less for the money spent that they will get disgusted of the whole thing."

Mr. W. A. de Silva said:—

"One thing I can predict: if this Constitution is passed, if an Order-in-Council embodying all these recommendations is passed, there will be a great deal of trouble in this country, I think they will even consider themselves justified in using violence, as after all no people ever got freedom without some sacrifice."

Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara said:—

"We are offered in exchange for our present constitution a veiled form of Diarchy. The most Essential Part of the Budget has practically been Removed from the hands of this Council. They have removed the power we had over the purse. It is only a few of the financial services that have been placed in the hands of the ministers. Even in the case of the departments that are going to be placed in the hands of the Ceylonese Ministers a large proportion of the Expenditure on account of Personal Emoluments is to be removed from the hands of the Legislature."

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka said:—

"Get every qualified man registered not to co-operate with the Government to put the Reforms into effect but to find out the number of people qualified to vote Who Will Not Vote."

Mr. Wickramanayake who voted for Acceptance said:—

"I feel I must act to my mind from his constituencies but I feel that this scheme will work to the serious detriment of the permanent population and complete Political annihilation of Ceylon."

Mr. W. A. de Silva who voted for acceptance said:—

"If it can be proved that the Constitution that has been offered is Not So Liberal as the one we are working, there will be Some Reason in those Honourable Members who oppose the new constitution doing so."

(Continued on previous column.)

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

BACK TO THE LAND.

Mr. H. R. Freeman, writes:—

I have read the enclosure (Mr. Balasingham's speech) carefully and doubt if it goes further than the usual "words, words, words." The speaker says "you must attract the attention of the British public." But every body knows that the British Public neither knows, nor would it be interested, if it did know.

As to "going about the country preaching the need for economic independence" and "economic reconstruction," what after all do these phrases really mean? To open and wring a living out of the jungle land of the dry zone looks like the main way to make a complete revolution in the economic life of Ceylon; yet how many Jaffna people have gone and settled permanently, even on the Karachi lands? And round the Karachi lands there is the whole of the Northern Province mainland, the Wanni into which Jaffna people should spread and cultivate. Trade will arise out of cultivation, but the main thing is to get land and cultivate it and not to dissipate into phrases, such as, "act as the Self-governing Dominions" and "assert your right for immediate self-government." An additional acre of land cultivated is better than all these phrases. I realise all the difficulties of emigrating to the Wannis and getting land there, but that is I think what will have to be done at the end. It is good to live on Peninsula products if possible, but the land is the origin of almost everything, is not it? and the Peninsula is filling up. After all what is the speaker's definition of "Self government" and is the phrase going to give the Jaffna people an acre more of land on the Northern mainland or anywhere?

A precise definition of Self government is also indispensable. Nobody knows or can guess what is meant by the expression and how exactly, is the phrase "Political Boycott" going to put more Jaffna folk on to the land? Self-government" is not a mere "self-assertion" as the speaker seems to think, or a mere stroke of a pen, but a long evolution; and though I would like to see thousands of Jaffna people settling in our jungles I do not think they are going to get there through a multitude of vague phrases. They will have to find the way by normal co-operation in the drudgery of administrative government. They have the advantage of being the best cultivators in the Island but they have a lot to learn in adapting themselves to jungle conditions; they have both brawn and brain but for success in the jungle they are too apt to get home sick for their comfortable Peninsula compounds. Mr. Balasingham ends by saying "Let us see to it that our trade returns show that the despised worm has turned." Let him add to trade and words a stiffening of land.

As regards the constitution, I am one of those who voted for the present experiment. The feature of the question of the constitution for a good many years has been that the people of this country have never seriously put forward any alternative. They have only talked vaguely about Self-government, Swaraj and so on without any attempt at definition. Just in the same way as individuals grow up till the allotted span is reached—so with states; they evolve. Evolution has been described (Hegel, is it not?) as having been, "being" becoming. So that, considering the habits of Governments it seems unlikely that in Ceylon any change will be made till this constitution has run its allotted time, 4 years; Jaffna has only 3 years now to wait.

It is noticed that now some of the politicians are saying that it is only some changes in the present Constitution (committee system) that are needed; they are not proposing a definite alternative system.

No Ceylon Coir Yarn to Spain.

The Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce has been informed that the importation of coir yarn into Spain has been prohibited by the Spanish Government.

In 1931 Ceylon exported 1731 cwt. of coir yarn to Spain, the value being Rs. 18,858.

To Our Subscribers.

To canvass support among our outstation subscribers to maintain and strengthen the position of this paper Pandit V. T. Sambandhan, our representative, has set out to South Ceylon. Our subscribers are kindly requested to give all assistance to him.

MANAGER.

Preference to British Goods.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FAVOURS PRINCIPLE.

By a majority of one vote, the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce has decided yesterday to approve in principle the policy of giving preference to imports from Great Britain.

A report from the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce will be presented to the State Council when it meets on May 24th.

The Council will then resume the discussion of the motion on this subject by the Financial Secretary.

The Tragedy of Ceylon.

(Continued from page 1.)

but with it must come the moral and the spiritual development of our people. Take the Charka and the handloom, introduce it into every household. Patronise and encourage the products. It will give occupation to many thousands of women who today for want of something better to do, fritter away their time in idle gossip, or through sheer necessity seek a living by prostitution. It will give occupation to many thousands of men who can work in the cotton fields, who can prepare the cotton, who can seek the cactus and other fibrous species that once contributed largely to the textile industry of Ceylon. It will inspire in each one of us a conviction and a purpose. It will unite us in one common endeavour to establish Swadeshi and break the fetters of foreign domination. A daily devotion to the Charka, a frequent exhibition of its product and loyal encouragement must go far towards the achievement of our goal.

A Complex.

It will be a great factor in the rehabilitation of our man-hood and the success of our cause. There is unfortunately a complex that afflicts our people today and divides them into two classes, the trousered and the untrousered. For years the latter has paid homage to the former, however illmerited that homage might be. Unless we remove this barrier that exists between the two classes and rid the minds of both classes of this affliction by effacing from their minds the degrading impulse of homage, we shall never get the masses to revive their manhood and fight shoulder to shoulder with us, unhampered by thoughts of inferiority and impulses to apologise for their very existence. Unless we go to the masses we cannot win them. We must live like the masses forgetting all thought of self, of a factitious dignity and an unreal superiority, if we would hoist once more the Flag of Freedom bearing on it the emblem of Justice and Truth.

The Release.

Our young men today are not inherently bad, but they find it difficult to break from the clinging sweetness of their dissipation because they have no better substitute. They would all actively and earnestly work for the cause were it made real to them. Let us urge you to give them an occupation that will be both attractive and creative; an occupation that will seduce them from their frivolities and vain amusements,—an occupation that will feed their minds, their bodies and their souls. Let me urge you to establish circles for the study of economics, sociology, the vernaculars and all subjects germane to our cause.—A study of all the ills that afflict Ceylon so that we might then discover an effectual cure for her malady. I assure you we can triumph only through study, study that will feed the mind, that will purify the soul, that will heal the body.

Let me pray that you will in your fight for Mother Lanka turn to your own mothers and sisters and walk hand in hand with them. As they suffered to bear us, as they moulded us and guided us, so is it today in their hands to bring strength, courage, hope and the reality of the ideal to us.

Let me pray that as you set out in search of the Ideal, your march will be steadfast and your road to the Palace of Freedom will be lit by the Beacon of Truth.

Forest Department Advertisements.

The Divisional Forest Officer, Northern Division, Jaffna will sell by public auction at 9.30 A.M. on Tuesday the 17th May, 1932, the following material in five lots, lying in the Jaffna District:—

Lot I 100 Pals logs
Lot II 10 Satio logs
Lot III 1 ton Ebony pieces (with sap wood)

Lot IV 2 Teak poles
Lot V 10 Warichebus.

For further particulars please see notice date the 26th April, 1932, appearing in Government Gazette of the 29th April, 1932.

J. D. Sargent,
Conservator of Forests,

Office of the Conservator of Forests,
Colombo, April 30, 1932.
G 146 5

All-India Hindu-Milan Utsava.

FROM 1ST TO 7TH BAISAKHI, 1339 B. S.

There is no denying the fact that one of the main causes of the present weakness, degraded condition, disunion and gradual decrease of the Hindu society is the suicidal exclusiveness of its various castes and sub-castes from one another in social life and activities. This pernicious practice has poisoned the whole body politic and the inevitable consequences have been that the Hindus cannot hold their own against aggressive aliens even where they are in an overwhelming majority in spite of their learning, wealth and the best of world's philosophy and religion. In all ages sages and religious teachers such as Buddha, Shankar, Ganesha, Nank, Kavi, Dayanand, Ramdas, Ramkrishna, Ramachandra, Vivekananda and last but not the least, Mahatma Gandhi have all in one voice pointed out the baneful effect of this 'violent practice', namely social boycott, so to say, of one caste or section by another. This suicidal practice which has no Shastric or historical sanction behind it, had been eating into the very vitals of the Hindu society and made it an easy prey to aggressive alien faith with the effect that scores of our brothers and sisters had to embrace Islam or Christianity. In this present age of competition and strife if the Hindus mean to live, this pernicious practice must be killed root and branch. It is no longer an academic but life and death problem with the Hindus.

To remove this cancer from the Hindu body-politic a concerted attempt will be made under the auspices of the Hindu Mission during the first week of the new Bengali year all over India for regeneration and solidarity of the Hindus on the surest foundation of love, common brotherhood, equality and justice. We earnestly appeal to all Hindus who have the good of their society and country at heart, to join us wholeheartedly in our humble attempt to achieve this end, namely cohesion and solidarity of the Hindus by removing all meaningless barriers, and fighting against social 'internment' and 'externment'. For the sake of liberty of conscience we must fight against social 'ordinances', which oppress the soul and cause our degradation.

We hope during the first week of Baisakh public meetings will be held all over the country in villages and towns, in hostels and boarding houses, in schools and colleges, in temples and maidans to celebrate the All-Hindu Milan Utsava with all seriousness of purpose and devotion that it deserves. We also appeal to the Hindu Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the Amrita Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and other Sabhas and Samghas to join us and make a concerted attempt to remove this vice of untouchability if it still exists anywhere, and lay the foundation of a strong and united Hindu community.

The following programme may be followed with necessary additions and alterations to suit local need:

1. Congregational prayers in temples and public places.
2. Public meetings and processions.
3. Inter-caste dining.
4. Entry into public temples.

The local organisers and workers will collect money from house to house which will be spent specially for this purpose. Every house-holder is expected to pay at least one anna for this cause. Half of the money collected may be spent to meet the expenses incurred for the local celebration or may be placed in the hands of the local Hindu Sabha or the Hindu Mission, if any, and the other half should be remitted to the Treasurer, Hindu Mission at 82 B, Harish Chatterjee Street, Calcutta, Calcutta. A detailed report of the celebration with names of the organisers and workers should be sent to the following address: Babhikanto Acharyya (Maharaja Mymensingh), Hony. Treasurer.

Swami Satyananda, President, The Hindu Mission.
Haridas M. Jandhar, Founder, Amrita Samaj,
Hindu Mission Office, 82-B, Harish Chatterjee St., Calcutta, Calcutta.

Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF MULLAIVITU

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 271,
In the matter of the estate of the late
Vythilingam Kandiah of Eratperiakulam

Deceased.
Wallammal widow of Ponlab Alias Supplah
of Eratperiakulam

Petitioner.
This matter of the Petition of the above-named Petitioner praying for Letters of Administration to the estate of the above-named deceased be granted to her coming on for disposal before J. N. Bond Esquire District Judge, Mullaivitu on the 20th day of January 1932 in the presence of Mr. S. Pasupathy, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner, and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 18th day of December 1931 having been read; It is ordered that the Petitioner be and she is, as the sole heir, hereby declared entitled to have Letters of Administration issued to the estate of the above-named deceased issued to her unless any person or persons interested in the Administration of the deceased's property shall on the 24th day of February 1932, at Vavuniya or before that date show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Sd. B. N. Bond
District Judge.
January 20, 1932.

The date for showing cause has been extended to March 16, 1932 at Vavuniya.

24th February 1932
The date for showing cause has been extended to April 22, 1932.

16 March 1932
The date for showing cause is entered to 27th May 1932.

O 354. 5 & 9

AUCTION SALE.

The following valuable properties of the late J. A. Muthuvaloe will be sold by public auction on Saturday the 21st May 1932 commencing at 4 P. M. at the spots.

1. All that separated portion of land in extent 17½ Lms. V. C. in and out of all that land called Kokkumpulam in extent 20 Lms. V. C. situated at Urelu in the Copay parish of the Valigamam West Division of the district of Jaffna, Northern Province, which said portion of 17½ Lms. V. C. lying to the west of the high road passing the through the said land is bounded on the north by the property belonging to Sithar Murugar and others on the West by the property belonging to Savuntharam widow of Murugasar and others and on the South by the village boundary of Urumpirai together with the well and plantations standing thereon.

2. All that land called and known as Kokkumpulam and Murugai Sitty in extent 24 Lms. and 11 Kls. together with the well and plantation standing thereon situated at Urelu aforesaid and bounded on the East by property belonging to Muttalikutty Murugar and others on the North by property belonging to Muttupillai wife of Kadiripillai on the West by property belonging to Thangachikutty wife of Eliyatamby and others and on the South by the property belonging to Kadar Vairvathar and others.

Jaffna, 2/5/32.

V. A. Duraiappah,
Auctioneer & Broker.

Mis 493/5.

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NOTICE.

In order to avoid inconvenience and delay, our friends, who are good enough to send us advertisements, are kindly requested to see that the same are sent to us at least a day earlier than the date of publication.

Manager.

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