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SOME RETRENCHMENT PROPOSALS.

“BY AGRICOLA.”

THE frame of our Public Services was designed on the basis that Ceylon was a Crown Colony and She is held for the benefit of the Mother-Country—Great Britain—and that the basic principle of administration should be at its best, a form of “enlightened selfishness” of which the British official was the judge. The laws were made more definite and strict because the Colonial operations were to be made safer and easier. The habits and customs of the “Mother-Country” were deliberately introduced because the Colonists should not meet with circumstances of embarrassment in treating with “native leaders” with regard to the details of the “Colonial policy”.

The policy pursued during the last 135 years has brought this Island—once said to be the abode of Kubera, the god of wealth—to the verge of bankruptcy.

The necessities of European situation has opened the eyes of England to the futility of holding down countries of older civilisation with force and attempting to plant a commercial civilisation for her own benefit.

The British Government has, at long last, declared that it is willing to put us on the road to Self-government. If that is the honest intention, the beginning is well made with the Public Services.

Root and Branch Reform.

The Retrenchment Commission, if and when it comes to Jaffna, should be told that whatever may be the fate that awaits their report (there is no promise that their report will be acted on when received) they should aim at a root and-branch reform of the Public Services consistent with the scope of their terms of reference. The direction of new outlook indicated by the Donoughmore Scheme and the presence of the old “steel-frame” (L.G.’s description of the Civil Service) should result in an inconsistent and face-both-ways situation. The patching-up of the old garments will not suit the new Constitution. It is a complete new outfit that is desired.

Nowhere perhaps the truth of the law of “diminishing utility” finds more cogent illustration than in the Public Services of Ceylon. I may state the law thus:—“Up to a certain point, as in the application of chemical manure, the return per unit may increase, but after a point is reached it will diminish and if the applications are persisted in, they may even become injurious”. Since Sir Arthur Havelock, a late Governor (1890-96) who gave an all round increase of 10% on the salaries of public servants, every Governor who came in added to the emoluments, allowances and comforts of Public Officers borne on the Civil List.

The P. W. D.

If the reader will take up a copy of Civil List for 1902 and one for 1930 and compare the salaries and the personnel, say of the Public Works Department first, for those two years—about—30 years apart—he will find his investigation yielding results of appalling interest. Then the District Engineers started on a salary of Rs 2000/- and rose to a maximum salary of Rs 6000/- per annum. There were fewer Engineers then than now. They were then their own technical assistants, draftsmen, designers and quantity appraisers. Their office staff was small and travelling was hard. And yet it was under this regime that trunk-roads were constructed, bridges built and most of the public buildings were constructed. Look at the picture presented on Civil List 1930. Salaries have been more than doubled since 1902, allowances increased and technical assistants provided. These are not all. Office staff has been increased and travelling rendered comfortable and easy. And do we get the money’s worth from the District Engineer? He maintains the works constructed under the old regime and it

would seem that the policy persisted in from time to time to provide the public officers with super-salary and super-comforts has produced this one result of estranging the subordinates from their superiors, who in turn have developed a mentality of supreme indifference to things around them and supercilious contempt for people whose incomes were not worth considering. The injury has been two fold; (1) personal and (2) national.

The above observations apply in a general way to the other departments of Government as well.

Why Governors Come to Ceylon.

Our present Governor has voluntarily surrendered a 15% on his salary to our Treasury for which act of self-denial we are thankful. Even after the rebate, his salary as compared with that received by Sir Arthur Gordon (afterwards Lord Stanmore) is excessive. Can this poor Island afford to pay from its revenue a reward in rest, comfort and luxury with a big margin for hoarding, to the Governor, in the shape of salary and allowances for services done in other parts of the Empire? Usually the Governor comes here before his retirement from the Public Service under operation of age-limit.

Our system of administration of justice, I venture to think, is responsible, in a great measure, for increase of crime and the prevalence of corruption in the country. The system enforces proceedings to be begun and continued in a foreign language; at every step, payment of money is a necessary condition. The old Biblical injunction “it is better to give than to receive” finds its application at the bar in its reversed order. The old Tamil maxim of conduct “உடலார் பெரிசுடார் இடமார் இழிசுடார்” receives no acceptance. The phenomenon is perplexing to the unsophisticated villager. To seek justice at the hands of “the great” means to him a long journey entailing him ruin and degradation. The practice of law tends to undermine the old foundations of society. When a man is made to break from his social moorings, he becomes anti-social and then a criminal.

Why High Salaries for Law Officers?

The salaries of Crown law officers and District Judges are high. It is argued that some lawyers at the bar are getting large incomes and therefore the salaries of law officers should be high. The rule to find the average income of a professional is to find the total income of the profession for a specific period and to divide the sum by the number of persons in active practice in the profession. The quotient is the average income per capita for the period reckoned and this may be reduced to terms of per annum by dividing it by the number of years for which the income was struck. The basis of comparison for economic purposes should be this average and not the income of some stand-out-lawyers earned about the evening of their career or through some fortuitous circumstances of elevation.

The argument that judges should be placed above the reach of greed and that this could be done by giving them big salaries is not worth consideration. Greed is like fire, the more fuel it gets the more it blazes forth. The case of a Judge of Colombo District Court which came up before the Supreme Court recently is in point.

Committee of Provincial Administration.

The establishment of Panchayats, conciliation courts and provision for trials of civil cases in association with assessors of high social standing and character should mark the inauguration of a new era in the administration of justice, especially in the Provincial towns and rural areas. This would not only

reduce expenditure but should be the means of reclaiming character.

As a measure of retrenchment and in the interests and advancement of rural prosperity, the provincial administration may be managed by a small committee. The success by administration by Boards (e.g. Municipalities, U. D. C’s. &c.) has been demonstrated. The number of Provinces may be reduced to not more than five in place of Government Agents, a “Commissioner” with advisers in the Provincial Engineer, Divisional Agricultural Officer and two members of the State Council elected from the province (these two should be chosen by ballot and to sit for 3 years only) should constitute the Committee of Provincial administration. A new tradition may be created by abolishing the Office of Assistant Government Agent and converting the districts to Rural Council areas under the Presidency of Revenue Officers.

Suppression of Land Settlement Department.

The Land Settlement Department is an anachronism and a white elephant. It was conceived in greed by a late Governor Sir West Ridgeway who, it would seem had the desire to create a land combine here. The late Mr. Coomaraswamy who opposed the passage of the Waste Lands Ordinance following the dictates of his conscience had to pay a heavy penalty for exhibiting his courage of conviction in public. The Chillaw Association under the leadership of Mr. C. E. Corea exposed the wickedness of conception and the only good that resulted from the exposure was that Governor Ridgeway took off his eyes from land to sea and bought the Pearl Fishery lease with finances contributed by a Jew Syndicate.

The cost of the Land Settlement Department is about 3 times more than the price of land that it “settles” calculated at a reasonable price. The Department has functioned for the last 30 years. The one apparent result of its operations has been the economic unsettlement of the natives of Ceylon. Now that rubber and coconut booms have subsided, the Department may well be suppressed and the office files be transferred to the office of the Land Commissioner.

Fusion of Departments.

The Land Commissioner should have deputies in the Provinces and these assisted by a few Surveyors should parcel out lands for development and hand over areas to local authorities for disposal on terms suited to environments and local conditions.

The fusion of some public departments is an absolute necessity. The Irrigation and the Public Works Departments should blend, the resulting efficiency from such a blend would be a great gain to the Island. Some of the big tanks were restored (eg, Kalawewa) when Irrigation Department had no separate existence. The village tanks may be handed over to local authorities on conditions of appointment of a supervising and co-ordinating agency to advise the local authorities.

The Police and Excise Departments may be amalgamated into one. Efforts should be made to localise the police. Local authorities should be led up to realise the duty of providing for their own police protection.

The Ministerial portfolios should be reduced in number. A Minister for the Interior is an urgent necessity.

WANTED.

A Cashier for the Jaffna Co-operative Stores. Salary Rs 50/- per mensem, security cash Rs 2000/- or Rs 4000/- approved property. 6% interest will be paid for cash security. Applications should reach the Secretary before 10th June 1932.

V. M. VEYAGASUM,

Hony. Secretary, J. C. S.,

Jaffna, 22/5/32.

Mis. 505 26 & 29

COMMERCIAL OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED YOUTHS.

SCHOOL PRINCIPAL'S ADVICE TO STUDENTS.

No apology is needed to publish the excerpt from the Report presented by the Rev. Father Rector of St. Patrick's College at the prize-giving in 1930. The problem of unemployment among English educated young men is more acute today than when the Rev. Father invited young men to seek fresh fields and pastures new. There can be no doubt that the words of the Rev. Father will inspire some at least of our youngmen to be venturesome enough to seek careers outside the charmed circle of the Clerical Service and the professions—

“Our chief concern at present is how to dispose of the finished products of our Secondary Schools. Most of the openings in which our passed students found a successful and honourable living are gradually being closed to them. The professions are over-crowded and the Government Service—for a long time the happy hunting ground of the Jaffna man—is at present being reduced to its simplest expression. A few boys, very few who left us last year and this year, are at the University College preparing for a degree. The big majority who normally would have been absorbed by the clerical, railway, survey and other departments are still wandering in search of employment. Even some of our graduates are working for a mere pittance in England to avoid coming here and wasting their time; and the silver lining to that dark cloud has not yet appeared. I do not know if the following remark will be appreciated by the parents of our boys but it is the intimate conviction of one who has lived 30 years amongst you and has the true interests of the people greatly at heart. I believe that the people of Jaffna have burnt too much incense before the altar of Government and the so called professions, that they showed lack of vision in narrowing their idea of respectability to a Government billet, to what they call, at home *Oaththiagam*. I do believe that a sturdy and sensible people like the Tamils should learn a lesson from the present adverse conditions of life and revise their standards of respectability and competence. I may repeat an unpleasant platitude when I say that this is a poor land; but what I find the people will not see is that it is daily made poorer, not by extravagance in food or dress, but by the constant drain of all the profits of the trade caused by the presence of half-a-million people into the neighbouring continent. Nobody wishes to find fault with the very successful communities of Chetties who monopolise the grain trade, not with the Bombay silk merchants, nor the Muslim holders of the hardware goods, nor the South Indians who have studded the town with stores where the retail trade is carried on. They deserve regard for the pluck and business acumen, but the bitter fact remains that they are all foreigners and suck the life-blood of the Jaffna Tamil community. I have heard people well versed in local conditions estimating the yearly profits of trade of the Jaffna town which cross the seas at over one million rupees. It is difficult to have patience with people who complain of poverty and merely make a present of a million rupees to foreigners, through a mistaken sense of respectability. Why must a young man be a lawyer or have passed the clerical examination to aspire to the hand of the fair and well-dowered daughter of a community leader? I repeat that these bad times ought to bring down the Jaffna people to a sense of realities and induce them to direct their educated children to the yet untrodden but successful paths of local trade. There is the example of the European communities which think it natural and in no way degrading that when leaving Eton or

Continued on page 3



The Hindu Organ.

YALPANAM, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1932.

TOWARDS UNITY.

NEVER BEFORE IN THE AFFAIRS OF CEYLON did the tide of opportunity swell with promise more favourable for the achievement of self-Government than now. The intelligent section of the people can no longer have patience with a constitution which has broken down in its first trial. The masses are slowly beginning to realise the farcical character of the State Council. The present economic depression is, not without reason, attributed to the left-handed policy of the Government with regard to local industries. Is it any wonder that the villager who has been taught to thank the Government and gush with enthusiasm for the Britisher for all the blessings in his life should now find the streams of gratitude dry when he is thrown out of employment, and his wife and children are starving for lack of food. Sullen discontent throws its lengthening shadow over English educated youths of the middle class who are unable to find suitable employment under Government or in mercantile houses. Their grievance and that of their parents may be against the system of Education which has rendered the boys unemployable in any other field of work. But the Government which fosters and controls such an inelastic system cannot escape blame altogether. There is thus dissatisfaction among the people with the present system of Government. The people, and all sections of them, will co-operate in any effort to revise the present constitution and make it responsive to public opinion and interests.

The longing to win freedom to manage their own affairs unfettered by dictation from outside is natural to a people whose civilisation in the past evokes a thrill in the bosom of the humblest villager. It is, perhaps, the urge of the Time-Spirit or the example of India and even smaller countries that has touched the anguished soul of the people to a larger vision of self-realisation.

It is irrelevant to consider what the attitude of the Colonial Office may be with regard to the political evolution of this country. If the people are prepared to pay the price for their freedom the Briton will not withhold it. The price is unity amongst the people and firmness of purpose.

The *Puranas record instances of grave temptations placed in the way of great Rishis who practise the vow of continence. It is said that damsels of surpassing beauty are sent down to divert them from the path of austerity. Many have succumbed to song or dance or figure or speech and have forfeited the fruits of years of penance. A moment's loss of control, a slight forgetfulness, a little lapse, a thoughtless act or omission spells the ruin of countless years of tapasya. These temptations are conspired by the guardians of the Deva-loka, to put the mettle of the Sadhakan to the test and purify him of desires that might lurk in the subconscious mind.

It is necessary that the leaders who will assemble to formulate the demands of the country should go deep down into their own self and achieve that heart unity which alone will render them impervious to the subtle influences which will be released to deflect them from their purpose. This will be the test of their credential to speak on behalf of the people and their capacity

to win the freedom the people seek. Difference of race and colour and religion will vanish the moment the heart of the people is felt beneath the surface. Interested parties are certain to appeal to passion, to sentiment and historical tradition to set up Ceylonese against Ceylonese. Brother may be tempted to strike brother. These temptations might be necessary to purge our leaders of the vestiges of slave-mentality which years of alien domination have engendered in them.

If the leaders pursue their goal without swerving from the path of rectitude and service to the country, we have no doubt that the country will be spared the errors in the past and the sufferings, if any, involved in the bid for freedom will be reduced to the minimum. Our enemies are ourselves and none else.

It is heartening to learn that the Ceylon National Congress have issued invitations to the various political organisations in the country to join the National Committee to carry out the object of their resolutions. The Liberal League have likewise invited representatives to meet at an All-Ceylon Conference. We trust that both these powerful bodies will meet with ample response and that they will explore every avenue to secure unity of action among themselves, as they are already united with regard to the goal to be achieved. Let us hope that in this noble undertaking they will have the co-operation of every section of the people and if this hope is not realised, the leaders or such of them as are able to agree, would do well to secure the maximum of agreement possible without sacrificing a jot or tittle with regard to the ultimate object. It is a matter of supreme importance that essentials should be kept apart from details and substance from shadow.

SWADESHI STORE.

A NEW VENTURE IN JAFFNA.

A pleasant function took place last morning in the busiest quarter of the Grand-Bazaar when Mr. K. S. S. Nadarajah of Vannarpommai, an English educated young man, invited the members of the public to participate in the opening of a Swadeshi Store. There was a good gathering present to congratulate the youngman on his enterprise. Mr. Nadarajah proposes to stock Ceylon articles from every part of the Island and thus actively further the "Buy Ceylon" Campaign. We trust the public will support the new venture of Mr. Nadarajah and encourage similar undertakings in other parts of the Island. There can be no excuse for any one now to refuse to use local products. Mr. Nadarajah may be relied upon to cater to the needs of his patrons with articles from any part of the Island. We wish him every success.

Foul Play at Manipay.

DECOMPOSED BODY OF BARBER WOMAN.

The dead body of an elderly barber woman is reported to have been found in a decomposed state in an unfrequented narrow lane at Manipay. A nasty stab wound in the throat gives the clue that she was the victim of violence. The perpetrators have not been traced, although the police are on their track. It is strange that the attention of the authorities was not drawn to the offence in time.

Guru Pooja.

The Thirugnanasambantha Moorthy Nayanar Guru Pooja came off on Sunday the 22nd instant, and was celebrated in the Karainagar Hindu English School with much devotion and enthusiasm. In the morning Pooja was performed. There was a musical entertainment in the afternoon, after which Mr. A. Annugampillai, Proctor S. C. delivered an interesting lecture on the "Life-history of the Great Saint."

Education in Ceylon.

600,000 Children at School:
400,000 in Ignorance.

A WAY OUT

By S. RAJARATNAM, Advocate, Manager, Hindu Schools.

CEYLON had a net-work of schools in days when she was free. Pansala schools in Sinhalese Districts and pial-schools in Tamil Districts were there in every village. The Portuguese closed down the existing schools and started a few Christian schools and launched in the work of proselytising the heathen natives. The Dutch at the start encouraged education by establishing more schools and gave scholarships to promising students to complete their studies in the Ceylon University though they themselves carried on the work of winning souls for Christ. Since the British occupation of Ceylon education is going on at a snail's pace and much has yet to be done to make the to-morrow's "hundred per cent electorate" iterate, if not to reach the standard reached by many free countries.

It took over a hundred years for the British Government to introduce a system of partially free and compulsory elementary education in Ceylon. Ordinance No. 5 of 1903 made primary education compulsory and free in Urban areas and Ordinance No. 8 of 1907 in Rural areas.

Since the year 1903 the pace of progress quickened a bit and Ordinance No. 1 of 1920 made the tax-payer meet the entire cost of primary education and made primary education free and compulsory.

Primary education is compulsory in law, from 1907 in Ceylon. Yet one sad fact remains. By the end of 1930 over 400,000 children were growing to citizenship without any education whatever as against 600,000 that were being taught.

The Schools are either State or aided and managed by religious or educational bodies and private individuals. There is a good number of unaided schools. The education of a child costs the Government far more in a State school than in an aided school. Denominational and Educational organisations and other institutions are rendering a great service to the country by running schools at considerable sacrifice.

From October 1930 the Government has been acting rather niggardly in registering schools for grants-in-aid. Economy by enforcing educational starvation is a policy which no Government responsible and answerable to the people would ever dream or dare to pursue.

The Manager of a new school has to make an application to the Director for registration for grant-in-aid. The Inspector of Schools visits the school 3 months after its opening and makes a report to the Director about the fitness or otherwise of the school for registration for grant-in-aid; if the school is fit for registration then the Director gives a Gazette Notification and invites observations or criticism from interested people before a month elapses. After the objections, if any, are disposed of the school is provisionally registered and the Annual Inspection follows sometimes between the 8th or the 15th month of the opening of the School. On the report of the Inspector, the Director announces through the Gazette the registration of the school for grant-in-aid.

The Director of Education on instructions from the Government registered only those schools that were provisionally registered before October 1930; and up to the introduction of the following year's Budget not one school was provisionally registered. What more! even the registration of those Tamil schools which the Director gazetted for observation or criticism to be sent in before 4th or 5th October, 1930, have not been registered for grant as yet.

Once again hopes began to rise high. The new Government or rather the

Leader of the State Council in his speech when he introduced the Budget for 1931-1932 made an encouraging announcement that Rs. 600,000/- have been added to the Education vote mainly to be used for the registering of new schools. All Ceylonese Members of Council congratulated the Board of Ministers for having taken the right step in respect of the most important of all national services. The State Council in spite of its other grave constitutional faults has the redeeming feature of representing a 100% electorate and perhaps it made an honest attempt "to have its future masters educated." Managers of the new schools received information that they would get grants-in-aid for new schools at the next annual inspection.

But alas! the Director of Education or the Minister of Education and his Committee (who knows!) stepped in and reversed the sane and progressive policy administered by the Leader of the Council and approved of by the State Council. Perhaps the Financial Secretary is pulling the strings from behind. Only Rs. 17,000/- budgeted is earmarked for the payment of grant to new schools. This re-actionary step of the Educational authorities places everyone concerned in an altogether awkward situation. The Minister of Education has in this case robbed Peter to pay Paul. What has he done? What has been voted mainly for the new schools has been used to pay old schools. Why? The authorities made an error in calculation, and the Minister has not the courage to face the Council once again and ask for a supplementary vote to meet the deficit of the old schools as he did in the case of 80 Buddhist Schools. Had the Minister or the Committee of Education given sufficient thought for promoting the interests of the country they would certainly not have diverted the grant for new schools to pay the old schools and thus retard the progress of education which is of paramount importance to the building up of the nation. But if they had instructions from the Financial Secretary or the Government to earmark only Rs. 15,000/- out of the Rs. 600,000,- for new schools and Rs. 2000/- for Pansala schools then they should have let the State Council know the dictation of the Financial Secretary to throttle even elementary education. Again the Minister and his Committee have placed themselves in a compromising position by the manner of allotting the Rs. 17,000/- to nearly 15 estate schools, 20 Sinhalese schools, a petty Tamil school in the wilds of Wannai and the one Muslim school in Colombo. The figures speak for themselves. Evidently some discriminating hand was at work. Some Tamil schools that were before October 1930 gazetted for observation with a view to provisional registration had failed to receive the attention of the Education authorities when they disbursed of even this moiety of Rs. 17,000/- among the new schools possibly according to their likes and dislikes, and thus they have perpetrated a piece of gross injustice to the several new schools and especially Tamil schools of the North. There seems to have been no fair play in allocating even this paltry Rs. 17,000/-. The situation created by the Minister, his Committee and Director of Education is thus both ugly and disastrous to the educational progress of the country.

Economic depression or not, responsible executive authorities would think twice before they decide on a cut in the vote for elementary education, the most vitally important of all the national services. Education should not be starved under any circumstances.

A vigorous educational policy is the crying need of the time. Every child of school-going age should have sufficient provision made to find himself or herself in school at least five years in early life. This is achieved only by opening hundreds of schools adequate enough to provide for the education of the 400,000 children growing in ignorance and not attending any school at present. If the Department of Education acts in the way it has done with the Rs. 600,000/- budgeted mainly for the registration of new schools prospects for the future look gloomy indeed.

What the Government should do to-day is to give sufficient encouragement to all educational agencies to open as many schools as are needed to make the future 100% electorate fully literate. As Government schools would be very prohibitive just now, on account of the capital expenditure and the recurrent extra cost of running them, ample assistance should be given to unofficial agencies.

Of the aided schools the number of English and Bilingual schools have been practically stationary from the past 6 years to judge by the 1930 report of the Director, though the number of students has increased every year by about 1000 and the present number of students is about 60,000 in 260 schools with 3900 teachers costing the Government Rs. 1,900,000. Trade depression will naturally affect the attendance in this class of schools hereafter.

In the Vernacular schools there has been a yearly addition of 66 schools and 9,000 students in the past years. There are now 2150 schools with 260,000 students and 8100 teachers costing the Government Rs. 3,800,000. The yearly increase of 9,000 students is absorbed half and half by the new and old schools. Thus a yearly increase of Rs. 67,500/- is required to register the 66 new schools with 4,500 students as was done in the past years of plenty.

The only difficulty is that no additional funds are available. Three solutions are open. They are (1) surcharge on the salary cost of the teacher (2) raising the quota of pupils per teacher and thus put many of the teachers on the list of unemployed (3) by the reduction of the age limit of students for eligibility for grant. This also will drive many of the present teachers to fill the ranks of the unemployed. The last two are unthinkable to me. The only solution seems to be an equal sacrifice all round. This could easily be done by a sliding scale of surcharge on the salaries of teachers. The saving must be just enough to pay the salaries of the new school teachers on the reduced scale. If in 1930 each Vernacular Teacher on the average cost Rs. 470/- when their number was 8100, we will have to proportionately surcharge a certain amount to meet the cost of the extra teachers of the new schools. This seems to be reasonable. What militates against this course of action is that there are about 500 European British officers in Ceylon. Their salaries and emoluments have to be, safe-guarded at any cost by the British high officials of Ceylon who do not want to draw a distinction between British and Ceylonese officers. Hence they do not want to reduce the salaries of the Ceylonese officers, but are actually turning out into the streets a good many Ceylonese. I as a Ceylonese feel and also realise that Ceylonese officers would prefer a temporary reduction of their salaries, so that all their brother officers in employment. If Ceylonese officers voluntarily make this sacrifice, even if British officers are not prepared to do so, the fact would be a tremendous argument to reduce the number of British officers in Ceylon from time to time. A long view has to be taken.

If Ceylonese officers' salaries are reduced, naturally the teachers themselves would feel that they are in honour bound to follow the example.

Even if the Ceylonese officers salaries are not reduced we can rely on the teachers who are members of a noble profession to set the example at least till the financial situation improves, so that none of their fellow-workers may be driven out of employment.

My solution does not take the teacher away from the salary scale on the pension scheme. It advocates only a temporary surcharge which every one, in these days of depression, must be prepared to undergo. Will the Educational authorities see the soundness and practicality of this solution?

INDIA'S PREPARATION FOR SWARAJ.

BY HISTORICUS INDICUS.

(Contd. from the H. O. of 23-5-32)

V.

POLITICAL REFORM—CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION (1884—1905)

The despotic measures which marked the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton (1876—1880)—the father of bureaucratic die-hardism in India—struck deep terror into the hearts of a people who were still oppressed by the memories of the '57. The morale of the children of India had suffered so much that even that bravest of Indian newspapers—the *Anrita Bazaar Patrika*—cried out thus in an agony of despair: "What can the doctor do when the patient is stiff and cold? India is dead to all sense of honour and glory. India is an inert mass which no power of late has been able to move..... India has no heart, and those of her children who have yet any portion of it left, have been deadened by blank despair. Talk of regenerating India to the Indians; You might as well talk to the sands of the sea" (Quoted in Mrs. Besant's "India: A Nation," p 30)

Birth of Political Institutions.

Fortunately, however, Lord Ripon's regime (1880—1884) revived the spirit of India and filled her with new hopes. It was now that the idea dawned upon Indians that political agitation was a weapon which could not be ignored without prejudice to the best interests of their country. As days passed by, the need for an organized expression of public opinion and for the creation of institutions which might be used in furtherance of its practical realization came to be felt in an ever-increasing degree. The controversy which raged so hotly round the Ilbert Bill of 1882—a bill which, in some measure, sought to equalize justice between Europeans and Indians—taught the latter that, unless they were organized politically, their wishes would remain for ever unfulfilled. Efforts were therefore made in various provinces to set up political associations which could focus and express definite views on problems of current politics. The National League of Calcutta, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and the Mahajana Sabha of Madras were among the premier political associations established about this time.

Literary Influences.

There were also at work strong literary influences promoting a spirit of vigorous nationalism. Journals like the *Indian Mirror*, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, and the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* of Poona, the *Hindu* and the *Madras Standard* of Madras—all laboured hard in the cause. There were, moreover, eminent authors (most of them, curiously enough government servants, who first taught us, of course indirectly, the rudiments of 'sedition'. Bankim Chunder Chatterjee, author of the beautiful *Bande Mataram* song, D. L. Roy, author of the equally beautiful *Anar Desh*, and Rangalal Bannerjee—all Deputy Magistrates in Bengal—published inspiring prose and poetic compositions which painted in brilliant colours the glory of our inheritance and the gorgeousness of our aspirations. Again, there were bold and patriotic "unmuzzled" civilians like A. O. Hume and Surendranath Bannerjee, who knew at first hand dubious and devious methods of the bureaucracy, and wished to do their utmost to arrest the development of such methods so that the country might be saved from their evil consequences. There were, of course, brilliant lawyers like W. C. Bannerjee Budhruidin Tyabji, who wanted to check the encroachments of the state on the privileges of its citizens. Lastly, the unifying forces generated by the dynamic energies of the Brahma and Arya Samajas and the Ramakrishna Mission tended still further to promote the political strength of India. Though these Samajas were not, as pointed out before, connected in any direct way with politics, the spirit which underlay their activities was also the spirit which generated and maintained the new political movement.

Continued up.

BOYCOTTERS AGAIN.

KOCKUVIL V. C. ELECTIONS

"OUT TO WIN SWARAJ"

Expressed or unexpressed sympathy with anti-boycott appears to mean everything to a candidate in Village Committee elections.

It was only last month that an anti-boycott who is the Chairman of the Village Committees' Conference was denied the privilege of even a seat in the Puloly Village Committee elections.

On Tuesday last another Chairman who is suspected of anti-boycott sympathy met with the same deal at the hands of the people of Kockuvil and Kondavil at the Village Committee elections held that day.

The Election.

The triennial elections to the Kockuvil Village Committee came off on Tuesday last at 3-30 p. m. Mr. E. T. Dyson, the Government Agent presided and conducted the elections with the assistance of the Kachcheri Mudaliyars and clerks. About a thousand people assembled at the Village Committee house and great enthusiasm prevailed among them.

Before the elections began it was decided that 18 members should be elected. Two lists were submitted to the Presiding Officer. In one of them was found the name of Mr. C. Muttuvelu, J. P., the Chairman of the expiring V. C. When the voting was closed it was found that 16 candidates of the second list and only two of the other were elected. The present Chairman was refused even a seat, only about 130 voting for him, while the largest support was accorded to Mr. A. S. Sadasivampillai who polled about 750 votes.

Out to Win Swaraj.

When a villager stood up from among the crowd, one of the officers told him to sit down and remarked that, that was not the way to win Swaraj.

"We are out to win Swaraj, and you will see how we win it," came the prompt reply from the villager.

The voting came to an end at 5 p. m.

The Government Agent thanked the people for the orderly manner in which they had carried on the elections.

Mr. T. Sinnathamby proposed a vote of thanks to the Presiding Officer. —Cor.

St. John's College, Jaffna.

SHAKESPEARE'S TWELFTH NIGHT

in the College Hall on Friday, June 3rd at 8 p. m.

in aid of the College Sick Room.

Old Boys and friends please to note. (Mis. 507 26th.)

Continued.

Prophetic Remarks.

About this spirit a shrewd European observer had made some prophetic remarks in 1872: "Its first step" said he, with reference to the Brahma Samaj, "has been to march to the attack of Hindu religious institutions, its second will be to march on to a consideration of the justice of our government in India. When the spirit which produced the Brahma Samaj turns its attention to the affairs of the state, when its members, amply educated and entirely unprovided for, spread amongst the people and communicate to them the intelligence of the freedom enjoyed in England, when they point to the fact that the Indian has no share or voice in the administration, nor the smallest control of the public purse, and that the honourable offices of Government are devoured by foreigners to the exclusion of the natives of the country, when they point out that India is annually undergoing an enormous depletion of solid money, which is taken from the soil to be spent in England, when they point to the fact that the people are taxed more heavily than any people in the world, when, finally, they show that this is only necessary because the country is obliged to support an enormous foreign army and an expensive alien Government—when all these things are made known, as one day they assuredly will be, there will arise a deep-seated feeling of universal hatred, which will surely make itself felt." (R. H. Elliot, "Concerning John's Indian Affairs", quoted in the *Modern Review* for May 1918, p. 540.)

(To be continued.)

MEMORIAL To Sinnathamby Pulavar.

A fund has been opened in this Office to erect a suitable Memorial to the memory of the immortal Sinnathamby Pulavar.

Subscriptions will be received by me and acknowledgments made in these columns.

A meeting of contributors will be held before deciding upon the shape the Memorial should take.

M. S. ELIATHAMBY,
EDITOR, HINDU ORGAN
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IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 7717.

In the matter of the estate of the late Sivakampillai alias Pakkiam wife of Velappan Manikkam of Puloly West.

Murugappan Sabapathippillai of Puloly West
Vs.
Petitioner.
1. Ponnaththay widow of Murugappan of Puloly West
2. Velappan Manikkam of Batticaloa Kachcheri Respondents.

This matter of the Petition of the above-named Petitioner praying for letters of Administration to the estate of the above-named deceased Sivakampillai alias Pakkiam wife of Velappan Manikkam coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour Esquire, District Judge, on the 2nd day of October 1930 in the presence of Mr. S. M. Aboobucker Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the Affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 27th day of September 1930 having been read; It is declared that the Petitioner is the uncle of the said intestate and is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate issued to him unless the respondent or any other person shall, on or before the 17th day of November 1930, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Sgd. D. H. Balfour,
15th October 1930. District Judge.
Time extended till 30-5-32.
O. 360. 26 & 30.

COMMERCIAL OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED YOUTHS.

(Continued from page 1.)

even the University, their sons should succeed them at their stores or open a business of their own. I distinctly remember a symposium made by the late W. T. Stead amongst various commercial houses of the City of London from which he came to the conclusion that the demand in those houses was for Oxford and Cambridge Graduates, as it was found that the better educated a man was the more successful he was in business. I shall see with pleasure boys of St. Patrick's College entering the Commercial profession and I can assure them of my unstinted support and my profound respect for their pluck in breaking the ice of prejudice and venturing on unexplored seas. There is one way in which we can all help to tide over these days of financial crisis: it is by reducing expenditure all round.

Present Indian Situation-

REPRESSION—A WASTED EFFORT.

Bombay: The progress of the Government's Congress War has admittedly several lessons for both the Government and the Congress to learn. So far as Congressmen are concerned, no definite assertions can be made as to what are the lessons which the Congressmen have learned or would learn as a result of the developments of the last four months until the Congress is once again restored to the status of a lawful organisation and Congressmen are liberated and are in a position, as free citizens without any external pressure, to reevaluate their political programme in the light of experience which the present Government-Congress War has given them. But so far as the Government are concerned, it cannot be said that the Government have not adequate data before them to form decisive conclusions on the mere success or failure of the experiment of the present Government-Congress War.

LIBERAL LAPSE.

What is really the outstanding impression of the Government circles in India and in London in regard to the Government-Congress War, is a question of the utmost importance, as the future trend of events is bound to depend to a very considerable extent on the conclusion that has been arrived at as a result of experience of the last four months. I reliably understand that, when the Delhi Correspondent of the "Times" telegraphed to his paper recently, bitterly complaining that the Liberals have utterly failed to take advantage of the flig when the Government held for them by a ruthless suppression of the Congress, he was only echoing the bitterness which at least the Government of India circles were giving expression to.

THE DEAL PLAN.

There is no attempt in Government circles to disguise the fact that the object of the War against the Congress was two-fold. The one object is to maintain Law and Order by a ruthless suppression of all attempts by Congressmen to defy constituted authority. But although the Government circles have not chosen to lay any emphasis on the second objective, it is not open to any dispute if it is asserted that an equally important objective of the repression campaign was to clear political field of all inconvenient political opponents and to leave the field free for the Loyalist, and the Communist and the Moderate to combine and organise a counter political party to the Congress. I reliably understand that, in the very early stages of repression, when a number of leading Liberals and progressive politicians waited on His Excellency the Viceroy in one connection or the other, it was suggested that that was the psychological occasion for all believers in constitutional method to combine and organise a powerful political party.

THE RESPONSE.

The suggestion was that the Liberals, the Muslims, the Anglo-Indians, the Christians, the non-Brahmins, the Depressed Classes, the Parsees should all combine on the basis of a strict adherence to the constitutional methods, and proceed to organise the electorates in such a manner that, when elections are held for the reformed legislatures, the Government may be assured of, if not a majority, at least a very substantial percentage of seats thrown open to election. I have very high authority for stating that, barring the communalists, other politicians irrespective of party labels, told the Viceroy in very unmistakable terms that, while they would yield to no party in combining in the country the doctrine of Civil Disobedience, they would consider it contemptible for any self-respecting leader of Indian opinion even to make an attempt to organise a constitutional party when the Congress was banned, and Congressmen were imprisoned in their thousands.

VICEROY SHOCKED.

I understand that it came as a shock to the Viceroy to realise that deeply laid plans for the repression of the Congress was a wasted effort in the face of the definite refusal of the progressive politicians to avail themselves of the opportunity to entrench themselves in unassailable positions in the electorate.

A THREAT AND REBUFF.

In the meanwhile, the communalists tried to exploit the natural disappointment felt in Government circles at the refusal of the progressive politicians to organise against the Congress, by pressing on the Government that they were the only stable element in the country, and that it was only a fair price that the communalists demanded in return when they insisted that His Majesty's Government should bind themselves before making any further progress in constitutional reforms by a communal award accepting "in toto" the demands of the communalists especially the Muslim communalists. Whatever the support or the lack of support to the Muslim communalists from the Government of India or Whitehall, I have reliable authority for stating that His Majesty's Government have definitely informed the Government of India and the Mus-

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Continued

lim communalists through the usual political channels that, finally, whatever award His Majesty's Government may make on the communal question would be entirely tentative and would be liable to be superseded in the event of any agreement between the different parties, and secondly, that in deciding upon the time and place for making the communal award, His Majesty's Government can have no regard whatsoever to the ultimatum which the Muslim Conference at Lahore has sought to thrust upon the Government.

COMMUNALISTS' HOPE.

It will be remembered that according to the time-table of the Muslim Conference, the communal award must be delivered before the 22nd May. Till recently, hopes had been entertained in communalist circles that His Majesty's Government can be expected to make the communal award in the first week of June which, while technically not within the time-table of the Muslim Conference, would substantially comply with the Muslim demand. It is in this belief that considerable pressure had been brought to bear on the authorities that the meeting of the Consultative Committee which had been convened for the 2nd May be postponed to the 23rd May.

ALTERED PLANS.

But events have once again taken an unexpected turn. It has now been decided that His Majesty's Government is not in a position to make any communal award until the end of June or early in July. The result is that once again very strong representations, I learn, have been made by the Muslim Communalists that the meeting of the Consultative Committee convened for the 23rd May should again be postponed to a late date in June or to an early date in July, so that the Consultative Committee will not be called upon to transact any important business until the communal award has been made public.

THE THREAT.

The intentions of the Muslim Communalists are easily understood. The intention which Muslim Communalists have made no effort to hide, is to hold the threat of Muslim non-cooperation with Government if the communal award does not entirely satisfy the Muslim demands. It is an open secret that His Majesty's Government have no intention whatsoever of accepting the Muslim demands in regard to statutory majority in the Punjab and in Bengal on the basis of separate electorates. While the Government are in no mood to advance the date of award a day longer than they can help the Muslim communalists are very

(Continued up)

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(Continued.)

anxious to block all progress in the Consultative Committee until the communal award is made,

POSTPONEMENT.

The Secretary of State has not yet given his final decisions on the representation made to him on behalf of the Muslim communalists that the meeting of the Consultative Committee now convened for the 23rd May, should be again postponed. Consensus of opinion in political circles is that the meeting of the Consultative Committee is likely to be postponed.

A POSSIBILITY.

There is, however, one other possibility for which the Muslim Communalists are not in any way prepared. That possibility is that His Majesty's Government might make the communal award early in July, and, in view of the experience of delay in the Consultative Committee, completely abandon all plans of session of the Consultative Committee in India and invite the Consultative Committee or a smaller Sub Committee, to proceed to London early in July for direct consultations by His Majesty's Government. If this alteration in the plans of the Consultative Committee is effected, it would be very much welcome to the progressive section of Indian politicians.

According to the well informed circles, so far as the labours of the British Committee of the Round Table Conference are concerned, they are directed to a drafting of a Parliamentary Bill embodying the principle of an All India Federation with responsibility in the Centre, subject to safeguards. That the Federation scheme still holds the field is the evident assertion of well-informed political circles. (Rangoon Mail)

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