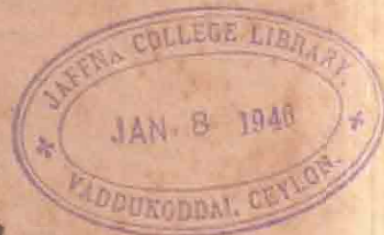


THE Hindu Organ.



Editor:
A. V. Kulasingham

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Letters To The Editor

Britain Has A Socialist Government!

Sir,—Put then sir, what is in a name? The Socialist of to-day is a National Socialist tomorrow. And sir, Herr Hitler was a National Socialist. The Tory of today is a Liberal Nationalist tomorrow. Fascists called good Christians—the Spanish Fuehrer is one—change overnight into Christian Democrats and end their political career as democrats. For instance, the Tory of England is said-to-be a real representative of democracy.

One morning we all rose to hear the news of the shattering blow dealt to Torydom in England. Papers mentioned the exit of Tories like Leopold Amery, Brendan Bracken, Randolph Churchill and Hore Belisha. Amery is the father of a traitor-fascist; the second had in the coalition government as great a record as that of the Nazi Doctor who was in charge of the German propaganda machine; Randolph is the father's real son and his wife recently obtained a divorce; as for Hore Belisha, please permit me to mention, dear sir, that this man wanted Chamberlain to acquire bases in Turkey to bomb Baku and Batum in Soviet Russia! Such men were ruling His Majesty's Empire at various times during the past centuries.

The advent of the Socialist government in the land of Olive, Drake and Warren Hastings, was applauded by many as the word "Socialism" means a good lot to the common man. Socialism means equality for all human beings in the following spheres: economical, political, social and cultural. The four freedoms named in the Atlantic Charter cannot be denied by a socialist government to its people. Mr. Attlee's government, though young, has a more sinister record than any of the previous Tory Prime Ministers. The British Labour Party promised the Nationalisation of all key industries, better conditions of service for the wage-earner and the closest co-operation with the U. S. S. R. among many other things. The process of nationalising is still going on and the recent mass strikes speak about the continuation of the exploitation of the workers. The Labour government has thought it best to nationalise industries in Britain; but when the Czechoslovakian government expressed the same policy in its country, socialist Britain protested. The Britisher's investment in Czechoslovakia—this gives us the clue as to why Britain and America are accusing the Balkan regimes of being Totalitarian—were being threatened! What is good for the goose is bad for the gander, says the socialist government—which by the way has a

regard for the rights of small nations or did it not persist at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers that Chiang's China and De Gaulle's France should be represented in all conferences? Don't say Britain's love then, for the right China and France was due to have two more votes in the "Western Democracies"—of England!

To socialist Bevin elections in the Balkans are not democratic. To him Tito and the other People's leaders in the Balkans are Bolshevik dictators. Adolf too hated the nasty Bolshevik. In the name of God may I ask what right Britain has to speak about the democracy in the Balkans, when elections in India are conducted under a reactionary electoral system, when we in Ceylon are under a nearly ten-year old State Council with no assurance of an election before 1947? Recently a British Socialist Minister explained in a conference when Tito's Yugoslavia proposed that all Colonies should be governed by International Trusteeships, that the people in the colonies are not capable of electing their representatives by voting, as they cannot understand all those difficult procedures, and insisted on nominating the representatives for the colonies. That is the British way of training the subjects nations for self government! India today is a vast concentration camp. Even Bevin's promise about a change of brass plates in front of India House has failed to come about.

In Indonesia the British socialists are busy fulfilling their "moral obligations"—please tell me sir is it really moral?—to the Dutch. The British General-Renter calls him the "smiling general"—has just to smile and Indonesian villages go up in flames, and is anxious to establish 'law and order' to enable their Dutch Allies to negotiate with "reasonable and representative" Indonesian leaders. The Indonesian village of Bekasi was razed to the grounds by Britain's Indian hirelings as a reprisal. If Warsaw, Rotterdam, London and Belgrade speak about Nazi brutality then what does Bekasi signify? America has permitted only the use of its arms in Indonesia, provided the "Made in U. S. A." labels are removed. It is following a policy of non-intervention says Mr. Byrnes! How honest? How democratic? Eh? Let history judge.

Attlee and his henchmen still believe in grabbing and in helping others to grab. That is why they are unable to follow a progressive policy and work for the common good. Their statements are pious.

(Continued on page 2)

AN APPEAL

(By J. T. Hensman)

Godhood, Samadhi, Advaitam these are but different names of the one goal which should decide the question of one's religion and life. Man strives to attain Godhood, Samadhi and Advaitam. What religion is it that teaches Advaitam? Hinduism alone teaches it in a national way. Advaitam is the polestar of Hinduism. Everything in Hinduism is directed to that one goal. Advaitam is Heaven (Mukti). It cannot but be so, for, man should become or be divine in order to be eternal. For, God alone is eternal and anandham (bliss); and man, to be in Heaven, should be heavenly, eternal and blissful. Hinduism teaches and directs the soul to that end and anyone who understands this has to accept and adopt that teaching and give up everything else. Otherwise he will miss the goal—his salvation.

One therefore wonders and grieves when men and women are indifferent regarding their faith. How sad a sight it is when intelligent persons give up Hinduism for other religions as was done by two intelligent girls who changed their faith recently! What a sad sight it is to see Hindus indifferent to what happens to boys and girls whom they send to Christian schools? Not only are these young persons in danger of being proselytized but also in danger of missing their goal (Mukti or Heaven.) Before converting any children to Christianity from Hinduism, the Missionaries should satisfy them or their guardians that there is no salvation in Hinduism. Otherwise no one has any business to teach, much less convert a Hindu. It is sheer cruelty for any one to take advantage of another's immaturity to turn the latter away from Heaven. It is true that Missionaries taught us English. But they made us forget our mother-tongue, thus making us unable to read some of the greatest and most sublime literatures in the world—the Tamil and Sanskrit literatures and gave us an empty husk in place of real corn, to wit: the fountains of life of the Hindu religion. Even now, they are the enemies of our efforts to go back to our ancient homes where life and light are found in abundance.

The tragedy of the situation is in our reluctance to save ourselves. Oh! the riches we have lost and are losing. Bharata Devi appeals to the descendants of her Rishis and seers, Acharyas and Gurus of ancient days to restore her to her former glory. Our brothers in Bharata land have wrought wonders and our sisters are pressing forward. There is more to be done. Darkness has got to be dispelled. Light, soft refreshing light, has to be restored.

Farewell Social To Sanitary Inspector

Mr. P. Nadesan, Sanitary Inspector, Point Pedro was entertained by the leading residents of the Point Pedro Puloly and adjacent villages at a farewell Social at the Methodist Girls High School, Point Pedro on Saturday 29-12-45. Citizens of the area had gathered even from such distant places as from Colombo, Trincomalee and Batticaloa to do honour to the departing officer.

At the public meeting which followed, Mr. K. S. Arulandhy, Principal Training College, who presided, paying a well merited tribute, declared that Mr. Nadesan belonged to the very rare class of officers who were able to please the Department as well as the public.

Mr. S. Kandassamy read and presented an address in which reference was made to the dynamic energy, radiant enthusiasm and remarkable resourcefulness with which Mr. Nadesan carried out his duties overcoming conservatism, prejudice and ignorance. The organization of the Point Pedro Social Service and Health League, the Maternity Home and the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic were solely due to his selfless service. By winning the Gold Medal for the best Sanitary Assistant throughout Ceylon in 1941 he had placed Point Pedro in the Health Map of Ceylon. The Point Pedro annual Health Week Celebrations have become such an indispensable feature and have reached such a high standard as to contribute the major share in annexing the Michael Gunaratna Shield for Jaffna M. O. H's. area.

Mr. V. K. Nathan, Education Officer Jaffna and Mr. C. Thanabalasingham, Proctor, paid glowing tributes to the selfless service rendered by Mr. Nadesan.

In reply Mr. Nadesan paid grateful tribute to the personal courtesy, full co-operation and generous indulgence always extended to him in his work by the public, headmen, the teachers and lawyers and the Sanitary Board authorities.

The sun has got to be cleared of the shrouding clouds. The hungry, dazed and dying world looks to us for succour.

What more! Christ and his apostles look to us to save them from the hands of so-called Christians into whose hands they have fallen, who have left them wounded and bleeding. Let us do the work of the good Samaritan of that ancient story and put them in the care of some who will tend them.

This is a New Year. Let this be an appeal from Christ to our youth the children of Bharata-Mattha rescue him from the hands of his betrayers and crucifiers.



Hindu Organ

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1946.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

WE PUBLISH ELSEWHERE A letter from Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam on the present political situation. Our correspondent concludes his interesting letter by saying: "It will be plain to anyone that it is not the Tamil Congress or its policy that has failed or been discredited but the Tamil Councillors who have failed their community and the country at a very critical stage by their action in Council." It is true that the publication of the Soulbury Commission's report and the White Paper was the signal for certain persons, who were opposed to the Tamil Congress demands but who were perhaps too weak and timid to voice their opposition, to try and discredit the Tamil Congress. They had an object in doing so. Mr Sivasubramaniam tries to show that the failure of the Tamil Congress was due to the failure of the Tamil Councillors to stand by their pledges when they proceeded to vote on the new Constitution. In other words, Mr. Sivasubramaniam suggests that the Tamil Congress would have succeeded if only the Tamil Councillors had voted against the Constitution. At the very outset we had in these columns, refused to subscribe to this proposition for reasons which still appear to us to be convincing.

We agree with Mr. Sivasubramaniam that the President of the Tamil Congress, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, had done everything humanly possible to enlist public sympathy in England on the side of the Tamil Congress proposals. We are convinced that, with the energy and brilliance characteristic of him, he would have placed the Tamil case fully and convincingly before the British public. But, it is also true that, in spite of Mr. Ponnambalam's advocacy, the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued the White Paper. Now, technically, the White Paper is not final, but in 99 cases out of 100, it is final. The decisions arrived at by the Secretary of State involve no reflection on the proposals of the Tamil Congress or on the services rendered to the Tamil cause by Mr. Ponnambalam, but they do mean that the Labour Government in England had made up its mind to rid itself of all responsibility for the minorities. We do not think that, in

the face of the Government's pious insistence on granting responsible government to Ceylon without the slightest regard for the interests of the minorities, contrary to the declarations of previous Governments, there was the slightest hope of working up an agitation in England which would be effective enough to compel the Labour Ministers to revise their mistaken policy.

What is more important, we, for our part, became convinced that it was a tragic mistake to have trusted the British Government to act as a final court of appeal in the dispute between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. It would be superfluous at the present stage to enter on a defence of the Tamil cause: it needs no defence. But it is obvious that the decision of the Secretary of State was not a decision on the merits of the case presented to him: it was a political decision of which any Government should be ashamed. In the face of this shameless and unprincipled betrayal of the minorities, one thing, to our mind seemed to be clear: unless the Tamils were prepared to follow the example of Ulster and refuse to submit to the betrayal, the only course of action for them was to accept the new situation and see what they could do for themselves. In one respect, the acceptance of the new constitution was a gain to the Tamils, after their painful experience of the ways of the British Government: acceptance meant the elimination of the British Government as a factor in internal politics, leaving the Tamils and the Sinhalese free to negotiate for an understanding honourable to both or to fight. Tactically, such a position would be more favourable to the Tamils than having to deal with the British Government and the Sinhalese leaders at one and the same time. Besides, the Tamils were quite able to maintain their position in Ceylon long before Europeans set foot in the country. There is no reason why they should not do so now.

This is why we, in these columns, refused to find fault with our Councillors for voting in favour of the Constitution. This attitude on our part was not influenced by personal considerations and we feel it our duty to ask our correspondent not to attribute personal motives to those who defended the action of the Councillors in a most trying situation. We do not think Mr. Sivasubramaniam's line of argument serves any useful purpose so far as the Tamils are concerned. As we have said, the Tamil Congress policy requires no defence, but if that policy failed it was the plain duty of others to evolve another. We suppose this was what the Tamil Councillors did.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 1.)

Their actions are wicked. They are killing the Indonesians like rats and cats to prevent the existence of a free Indonesia by the side of oppressed countries like India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. They hounded to death the members of the E. P. M. in Greece because they never wanted to see a Communist state by the side of Britain's life-line to India. Their desire to see the Red Army off from Iran is to give the Sheik Co. a free hand in the affairs of that country. They oppose Russia's entry into the Mediterranean because they fear their interests may be threatened. Britain has interests all over the world! What a great responsibility! Attlee sees a sword hanging above his neck always. Poor soul!

Capitalist press magnates everywhere are preaching to the masses about reconciling the Western and Soviet conceptions of Democracy. To the common man democracy can have only one meaning. The Yellow press cannot continue to challenge the fact that the October revolution has brought about a sweeping organic change in every branch of life over there in the U. S. S. R. Impartial history will deliver its verdict. When Russia became Socialist, Moscow renounced claims to all territories *predatorily seized* by the Tsar's government. After all what have the British socialists done? It is ironical to hear that Bevin had the impudence to call the Russian Foreign Commissar a fascist. Britain first came here to trade. Clive himself first came as a shopkeeper and only later turned out to be a good man hunter and an empire builder. Coming to the point Britain first came here to trade and now insists on sending commissions headed by the Lordships now and then to examine the patient and to measure out the amount of freedom that can be administered to the native. We little care as to what happens in England. But let everyone be left to himself.

To condemn a nation wholesale would be to repeat what vile vituperative and vitriolic writers like Catherine Mayo and Beverly Nichols have done. But the fact remains that Attlee has a Tory's heart; that Bevin is a greater Tory than Churchill; that these men are continuing the job left incomplete by the Austrian corporal. Britain has a Socialist Government and its statements smacked of utter hypocrisy. Let me go a bit further by saying that the world's conviction that the Englishmen are history's prize hypocrites—the Yankee is second—is doubly strengthened to-day. Co'ombo. Yours faithfully, 1-1-1946. Student Democrat.

The Present Political Situation

Sir.—Apropos the White Paper and the proposed Soulbury Constitution, both of which have unanimously been disapproved by Tamils of all sections, including the "Hindu Organ", and the present political situation, may I be permitted to draw the attention of the public to certain important features. I feel that in fairness to the Tamil community, publication should be given to truth, even if impalatable. Reviewing the situation, I am reluctantly compelled to refer to the action of our Tamil Councillors, whom many of us including myself have endeavoured to hold in respect.

To begin with, I wish to advert

to the effect produced on British public opinion with regard to our demands by the voting of the Tamil Councillors. In canvassing the support of British Parliamentary and other political circles for the demands put forward on behalf of the Tamil community by the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, contact was established with some Parliamentary Committees, to whom the President of the Tamil Congress, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, had made representations. In addition to these representations, further representations on behalf of the Tamils were made from Ceylon generally against the Soulbury recommendations and to prevent the implementation of the White Paper. But the voting on Mr. Senanayake's motion in the State Council has had a baneful influence. In view of the voting of the Tamil Councillors accepting the White Paper, those in the United Kingdom who were inclined to support the Tamil demands on their merits were placed in a difficult situation. A cable in reply to one of my communications received by me from one of the Parliamentary Committees is very revealing. It stated as follows:—

"Will put your case but grave's handicapped by action of elected Tamils in voting for Constitution"

The cable was received after Mr. Ponnambalam had left for Ceylon and was on the high seas.

The further fact that the Tamil demands were favourably viewed by British political circles could be seen by the policy of leading journals like the London "Times" and "Economist" (which fortunately were reproduced and commented on by the "Hindu Organ") and the journal of the Fabian Society, which is an authentic exponent of Labour Policy. I would like to quote the following extracts from the contributions of the London correspondent to the "Ceylon Daily News", who cannot be accused of any partiality to the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress.

The "Ceylon Daily News" of Wednesday, December 12, 1945, contains a communication from its London correspondent where the following appears under the caption "Council's Vote Conclusive."

"It should be pointed out that opinion here, which had formerly been susceptible to the views of Tamil leaders, has been greatly impressed by the figures of the State Council vote. These are regarded as conclusive in many quarters where doubt previously existed."

From the above quotation two things are clear, first, that the work done by Mr. Ponnambalam when in England and by the Tamil Congress generally had the effect of creating public opinion in the favour of the Tamil demands, and, second, the voting in the Council had completely transformed the situation for the worse so far as the Tamils are concerned.

Again in the "Ceylon Daily News" of December 20, 1945, the same London correspondent gives in a paragraph headed "Fabian Views on Constitution" the following:—

"Describing the White Paper proposals for Ceylon as the Labour Government's first test case in Constitution making, the Journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, which reflects Socialist views and trends of Colonial policy, thinks there may be a case for the Tamils' claim to parity in representation between the Sinhalese and all the minorities combined."

In this extract are given the official views of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. The Journal of this well known and influential body of leaders of political thought, recognises the reasonableness of "parity in representation."

(Continued on page 5)

Northern Province Teachers' Association

JUNIOR SCHOOL CERTIFICATE
EXAMINATION (English), Dec. 1945

The following are the results of the J. S. C. Examination conducted by the N. P. T. A., J. S. C. Examination Council.

First Division Passes are starred. Distinctions in subjects are indicated as follows:—e English Language, el English Literature, a Arithmetic, t Tamil, l Latin, m Mathematics, gs General Science, p Physics, ch Chemistry, rs Rural Science, b Botany, hc Housecraft, hp Hygiene with Elementary Physiology, g Geography, h History, d Art, bk Book-keeping, ci Civics, sh Sinhalese, sn Sanskrit.

PASS LIST

ATCHUVELY, A M ENG. SCHOOL:—Elaiyatamby Rajadurai, Thuraiappah Subramaniam, Rajah Jegasothy, Sivagnanasundaram Alalasundaram.

CHAVAKACHERI, DRIEBERG COLLEGE:—x Chelvarajah Nalliah a, h, Gnanaratnam Eliathamby, Kanagalingam Murugesu, Kumarasamy Ponniah, x Markandu Sinnappu, Nagarajah Vallipuram, Navaratnam Saravanamuthu, Ponnudurai Kandiah, Selvarajah Chelliah, x Somanathan Subramaniam, a, Somasundaram Muttu, Somasundaram Nadarajah, Sundaralingam Veerasingam, Tharmalingam Chelliah, Thevathasan Kandiah, a, Thevathasan Sinnathurai, Thevanathan Ponnuchamy, x Thuraisingam Veerasingam, a, h, x Chandramany Thuraiasingam a, Gnanamuthu Kandiah, a, Kaliamammah Sivasamy, Kanagambikai Sabapathipillai, Maheswari Thambi-rajah a, Mangaleshwari Ramalingam, Rajeshwary Sathasivam, Rajanesam Chelliah, a, Santhamalar Saravanamuthu.

CHAVAKACHERI, HINDU COLLEGE:—P Ambikaipakan, N Kumarsingam, x S Manicavasagar, x V Navaratnarajah, a, m, M Thamo-tharampillai, V Atputhamalar, M Saraswathy.

CHUNNAKAM, SKANDAVARODAYA COLLEGE:—Manicavasagar Eliathamby, Thuraisingam Kandiah, Navaratnam Thuraiappah, Sivakumaran Subramaniam, a, Kuna-nesaretnam Maruthappah, a, Kathiraimalai Appachi, a, Muthukrishnar Nallathamby, Kanagarajah Sinnathurai, Rajaratnam Velautham, a, Selvadurai Nagamuthu, x Selvarajah Ponnampalam, a, m, g, Nagaratnam Ponnudurai, a, Rajendram Ratnam, Kanagaratnam Somasegarampillai, a, m, Thirugnanasambandan Pararajas-ingam, a, x Gnanasoorian Krishnapillai, e, a, p, Gnanasanthiran Krishnapillai, a, Tharmalingam Mailvaganam, Kanavathippillai Ponnampalam, a, Selvanayagam Mariampillai, a, Palasingam Chellappah, x Balasubramaniam Krishnasamy Iyer, e, a, m, bk, Santhirasegaram Eliathamby, Kanagasundaram Mailvaganam, Selvadurai Thambypillai, a, m, Mahenthiran Sinnanair, x Sivalingam Thambiah, Sivalingam Thambipillai, a, Kangadevi Muttu-thamby, Sivagnanam Vinasithamby.

CHULIPURAM, VICTORIA COLLEGE:—Arunachalam Nagalingam, a, m, Chellappah Senthirajah, Gnanalingam Vaithilingam, Gnanachandramoorthy Chinniah, a, m, x Kanningshwarasarma Anandasubramania Sarma, a, t, m, x Kathiraimalai Sathasivam, a, m, ch, x Krishnasamy Vanithamby, a, m, Kuruparan Nadesan, a, Mailvaganam Sangarappillai, Murugamoorthy Sithamparappillai, x Nadarajah Subramaniam, a, m, Ponnudurai Ponniah, a, m, Rajasingam Sinniah, m, Sabaratnam Suppiad, a, Sivagurunathan Ramalingam, a, m, Subramaniam Muthucumar, Subramaniam Thambu, a, m, x Suntharajah Muttiah, a, Varatharajah Ambalavanar, Viswanathar Sanmugam, m.

JAFFNA CENTRAL COLLEGE:—Abdul Wahab Azana Mohamed Ali, Chinniah Thevarajah, Devakadacham Rasiah Rasanayagam, a, m, Kurupainayagam Isaac Velupillai,

Krishna Iyer Narayana Iyer, x Mahendra Christie Chelliah, a, gs, Martin Fredric Maharajah, Rajaretnam Vinayagamorthy, Sabapathy Murugan, Saliheen Noordeen, Selvacone Isaac, Selvaratnam Sabaratnam William, a, Senathirajah Sanmugam, gs, Senthirajah Jegunathan, m, Sivasubramaniam Ponnudurai, Sri Ananda Canagaratnam, x Sri Padmanathan Ramanathan, gs, Thambi-rajah Retnam Arulanathan, a, Thiagarajah Chelliah Arunachalam, a, gs, Yogaratnam Kurunathan Marimuthu.

JAFFNA, ST. PATRICKS COLLEGE:—Anthonipillai S, a, Balasubramaniam S, Cyril B, a, Emmanuel B, Gomez G R, x Gunaratne Y H De S, e, h, x Joachimpillai C A, e, a, m, p, Karunadasa K, Masilamany E, Nicholas P J, x Perera J F R, a, m, Swampillai V A, x Sattrukkalsinghe B, e, a, m, h, St. George Victor, a, Abraham S, a, Arumainayagam S J, a, Bastiampillai M, a, Benedict K, x Boniface S, a, m, b, p, ch, Christopher J T M, a, Cyril A, Daniel G M, x Fernandez B N A, M, Ganesanathan C, Joseph B M, a, Joseph Paul, e, Nagaratnam T, a, Navaratnam S J, Amirthanayagam S C, Benedict P J, Francis G, a, x Maharoof M R, Perera E S R, Rajanayagam A J, e, a, Selvaratnam E, a, Sirimane L, x Soosaipillai A M, a, p, Thambi-rajah T, x Thasan B P M, a, b, Thiagarajah K, a, Vilvarajah V, Xavier J F, a.

JAFFNA, VEMBADI GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL:—Ariyadutty Rajeshwary, x Ariyadutty Saraswathy, el, h, Edward Samathanavathy, Eliezer Mary Arumairatnam, a, Kandiah Maheshwari, x Kathiravelu Rathirane, e, a, t, el, m, x Kumarasamy Thilagavathy, a, x Moses Celestine Kirupairetnam, a, el, h, x Packianathan Ranimalar, a, el, Perinpanayagam Thepamany, Ponnampalam Parasathy, x Ramanathan Thevanayagi-ammal, a, x Retnasabapathy Nagaratnam, a, el, h, g, x Sinnathurai Mangayargarasu, Somasundaram Kaladevi, Tharmalingam Parameshwary, Thuraiappah Ariyamalar, a, Vairamuthu Kamaladevi.

KARAINAGAR A M ENG. SCHOOL:—M Saruveshwara Sarma

KARAVEDDI SACRED HEART COLLEGE:—S Velautham, S Ganesan, x P K R Mariathas, a, V Nadarajah, N Santhirasegaram, J P Rajanayagam, x S B Gulasingam, a, x Rajaratnam, a, m, T Muttiah, V Subramaniam, K Vettivelu, M E Thiagarajah, R Thiagarajah.

KARAVEDDI VIGNESHWARA COLLEGE:—Kandappu Velupillai, Kan-dasamy Vallipuram, Mailvaganam Kartigesu, x Murugesapillai Mailvaganam, a, m, Nadarajah Kandiah, a, x Paramanathan Sinnakuddy, a, m, Rajasingam Solomon Chelliah, Sithamparappillai Kathirgamu, a, m, t, Sivasumpu Kandiah, x Subramaniam Arumugam, a, d, Thiagarajah Velupillai, x Vettivelu Velan, a, t, m.

KOKUVEL HINDU COLLEGE:—Retnapragasam Selvadurai, a, x Sivapathasuntharam Vairamuthu, a, t, p, m, Sivasubramaniam Nadarajah, a, Sironmanisingam Eliathamby, a, x Selvaratnam Arumugam, a, m, Selvaratnam Kandiah, Kadirgama-thamby Kanagasabai, Rajaratnam Thambiah, Panchalingam Eliya-

thamby, Sanmuganathan Ponnampalam, Rajanayagam Nadarajah, Kandasamy Murugesu, a, Sanmugarajah Vallipuram, a, g, m, Selvadurai Retnam, Sambasivam Somasundaram, Nadarajah Selliah, x Parvathaparthini Kanagaratnam, a, m, Maheshwari Appapillai, a, Jeevanayagi Selliah, Maheshwari Navaratnam, Somasegaram Somasundaram.

KOPAY CHRISTIAN COLLEGE:—Samson Sabaratnam Sanmugaratnam, Thambipillai Thevendrakumarasamy, a, Velupillai Seevaratnam, a, Kandiah Rajendram, a, x Nagalingam Sivagnanapragasam, a, Sinnappu Rajah, x Perampalam Chelliah, x Ponnuswamy Canesan, a, Ariyadutty David Sabaratnam, a, Sanmugam Thevarajah, Kandappu Poothathamby, a, x Sanmugalingam Thillalingam, a, m, g, p, Ambalavanar Veerasingam, Saravanamuthu Jacob Thuraisingam, a, Sinnathamby Subramaniam, x Mary Pushparanee Joseph, a.

MANIPAY MEMORIAL ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Thuraiappah Gnanamany, Thillainathan Logaretnam, Alagaratnam Rukmani a.

POINT PEDRO HARTLEY COLLEGE:—x Arudpragasam K D, e, a, gs, Bartlett L S, a, m, Ganesan M, a, x Ganesan S, a, m, Jegatheesan T, Kanapathippillai P, Krishnapillai N, Muttiah S, Muttiah P, a, Muthukumarasamy R, Nadarajah R, a, m, Nalliah A, Pakianathan A, Peethamparam S, Ponniah V, a, Rajendram S, e, a, Ramakrishnan S, a, Retnasabapathy N, x Sabaratnam S, a, m, Sathanathan G, Sivagurunathan T, a, Sivakrishnanarajah P, Sivalingam V, a, Sivanathan K, a, m, gs, Subendran V, a, m, gs, Sugunatheeran N, Thirunavukkarasu K, a, Vadivelu S, Velautham V, Arunasalam B, (Miss) a, gs, Nallathamby S, (Miss) gs, Sithamparappillai P, (Miss) gs, x Sivapathasuntharam M, (Miss) m, gs.

POINT PEDRO, METHODIST GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL:—x Kaneshwary Kandiah, Punithawathy Kathiravelu, Rajeshwary Subramaniam, a, Kaneshamma Chinniah, Parameshwary Thamothearam, a, Mangayarkarasu Singaravelu, Varathaluxmi Navaratnam, Manorangitham Chelliah.

SANDILIPAY HINDU ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Balasubramaniam K, Ganesan K, a, Gunabalasingam S, a, Gunaratnam E S, Kandasamy T, a, Maheshwary S, Narumalar S, Paramanathan K, a, Rajalingam S, a, Rasaiiah S, Selvaratna N, a, Singaratnam T, a, Sivapalasundaram V, a, Sivarajakumaresan T, a, Thiya-

garajah N, Veerasingam P, Gunaratnam S.

THILLIPALAI MAHAJANA COLLEGE:—Balasubramaniam Vairakapillai, Kanageshwaran Nadarajah, Kanapathippillai Kandiah, Mahadevan Muttiah, Nadarajah Moothathamby, a, Nadarajah Arumugam Thambypillai, Nadarajah Thamothearampillai, a, Nageshwaran Appaiah, x Namasivayam Subramaniam a, t, Puvirajasingam Velupillai, Rajaretnam Nagalingam, Rajaretnam Thambiah, Rasiah Elaiyathamby, Retnam Velupillai, Retnasingam Velupillai, Sanmugaratnam Rajaretnam, Sivalingam Krishnapillai, Sivapathasuntharam Kathirithamby, Sivapatham Arumugam, a, Sivapragasam Subramaniam, Sivapragasam Sangarapillai, a, Sivasothi Eliathamby, Thevarajah Chellappah, Thirunavukkarasu Eliathamby, a, Vairapillai Arumugam, a, Velautham Vallipuram.

UDUPPIDY GIRLS' ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Sivaretnam Ariyadutty, Maheshwary Kandiah, Yogammah Kandasamy, Jeyamalar Nallathamby, a, Thangachiammah Pasupathy, Rajeshwary Sinnathurai, Sothiretnam Subramaniam, Pakialakshmy Thirugnanasambandan, Sivanatha Thevy VelumMylum.

UDUPPIDY ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Anchukam Vallipuram, Balasubramaniam Subramaniam, a, x Gopalsundaram Muttusamy, t, p, Gunaratnam Sinnathamby, a, Kanagasabai Nagamuthu, Moothathamby Sivapathasuntharam, Murugapillai Sabapathippillai, Navaratnammal Sivapathasuntharam, a, Paransothy Gopalsundaram, x Rajalingam Muthuthamby, a, t, m, Retnasingam Rajanayagam, a, Sabapathippillai Thambiah, a, Selvamarkandu Ramalingam a, Thirunamam Arumugam, t.

UDUVIL GIRLS' ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Sivagnanam Perampalam, t, Pushparanee Saravanamuthu, Ahilanandanayaki Kulnayakam, Yogeshwary Kanagaratnam, Pathmawathy Sathasivam, a, x Savithiri Rajadurai, a, Sarveswary Thambippillai.

VADAMARACHI HINDU GIRLS' ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Amirthanayagi Sithamparappillai, el, x Suntharanayagi Sithamparappillai, a, b, el, x Yogamani Subramaniam, a, m, Jayalakshmi Vijayaratnam, Selvaratnam Thurai-rajah, Anushayadevi Thanapalas-ingam, a.

VADDUKODDAI HINDU ENGLISH SCHOOL:—Balasubramaniam Murugupillai, Nadarajan Markandu, Pararajasegaram Selliah, a, x Thavamany Subramaniam, a, el.

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COMMUNALISM and CONSTITUTION

BY S. A. NATHAN.

II

"Where there is the cash nexus, there is sure to be endless friction."
—Carlyle

Interesting, provoking and even valuable is the study and analysis by Dr. Jennings of the political complex in Ceylon. All that is based upon certain presumptions of his. Biology and other sciences hold out something possible and positive in broad outlines. But by themselves these sciences and the appreciation of the truths that they expose do not, and cannot, resolve the complex and make the path of the reformer smooth and sure. The science that can definitely supply the solvent is sociology and the allied science of socialism.

Sociology and socialism can remove those barriers of suspicion, jealousy, ill-will and hatred based upon economic grounds. All other problems turn and twist on the problem of how best to promote and protect the physical security of the individual and the race. It has been the problem for ages past, and will be, for ages to come. All human struggles and conflicts have been due to economic causes. Social sciences alone can successfully interpose and blunt the edges of competition and rivalry in the game. Political power is merely a lever to raise and balance the economic well-being. Applied sociology and socialism need not necessarily produce blood fusions and end in a mongrel society. If it produces in the long run such a society, let it, and the world will be the poorer for a dull uniformity. Such a tragedy has not overtaken even England where fusion has taken place on a mass scale. If anthropological identity has tended to disappear ethnological identity persists there in the shape of classes. The English, rather the Britons, are not a classless society and nation. The British social scales are direct and definite counterparts of castes in India and Ceylon. The class antipathies of the British are freely scattered in the pages of their history. Due to intensive and purposeful application of sociology and socialism to create a closely-knit nation that can go almost crazy in time of war with the cry of "my King and country, right or wrong," and that had to be closely-knit to secure its physical existence by political conquests of other parts of the world which are economically fruitful so that it might be fed and clothed—class differences may not be acerbic and acute. Yet the differences are there under studied control and for any Britisher to pretend that our caste and communal differences are a singular phenomenon in the world, is wide of the truth.

The Old Dean Inge is an Englishman of vigorous and versatile personality who does not truck his opinions for gold or glory. Writing on British democracy he condemns it as make-believe and failure. He questions the representative character of the British government under any party direction. He does not hope much from the British Labour. He bases all that on the contention that there is not the freely-thought and unified expression of popular

will. He does not mince words when he says that the British "democratic" politics is class-ridden and therefore incompetent and a serious break-down of government is averted by a competent and permanent Civil Service. If the Dean's opinions are based upon observed facts, then the British Society and democracy is honey-combed and beset by contrary pulls as much as our own; but the frame-work holds together on an economic necessity. The Dean can have no ill-will towards his own people to malign them and their form of society and government. His words burn when he says, "we who have seen the thing at close quarters are not inclined to burn any more incense before the fetish. It was a necessary phase in political evolution; that it is the final phase hardly any one believes any longer." It is clear then from inside sources that the British people are as "Communal" as anybody outside and their form of government is not the last word in well-balanced constitutional device. It is the unrelenting economic necessity that ties up the show from falling to pieces.

So then the causes of "communalism" in Ceylon as expounded by Dr. Jennings are not the real causes. The real causes have been bred out during the last century and a half. The foreign rule has set in motion several separatist tendencies compared with which the natural differences of race and language and religion do not exert as much pull against the emergence of a common political awakening and consciousness. The English educated few in all communities have tended to acquire wealth and more wealth by annexing government jobs and positions in the trades and commerce of the country and have thus created not only communities within communities but in the hunt for jobs they have set up claims for one community as against another. For this rivalry for jobs which has produced rank and reeking communalism the Government should take the whole blame. The Government has been wholly responsible for the race and craze for government jobs. It made the jobs attractive by disproportionate pay and perquisites as compared with the means of livelihood of the farmer and the artisan. And entry into government service has not always been on merit basis. Plenty of wire-pulling has been brought into play. It is a natural human sequence and it has led to a terrible communal bitterness. Government offices are staffed and packed with hands, many of whom have little or no work to do. Most of them would have turned to productive occupations had not government service offered them ease and comfort and idle time to create the mischief of communal politics. Those others who by virtue of English education have carved out careers in the professions of law medicine and teaching have thought of politics on racial lines for the sole purpose of keeping themselves in clover at the expense of the ignorant and guileless villager whose racial passion has been fanned up.

The villager himself is awakening from his torpidity. The

awakening is a crude one. It is a form of jealousy and rancour against the English-educated. It is a kind of communalism of the non-English educated against the English-educated for the latter's life of sleek polish and snobbery treats the former with discourtesy and contempt. The Labour Movement in Ceylon has this ugly aspect for which the English-educated and the Britisher must be held responsible. Crime in the country may be partly traced to this display of wealth by those who have made it by easy means.

Another rich source of division and communalism is the foreign propagandist religion. Missionary agencies never meant any harm. But they emphasised the "superiority" and "uniqueness" of their religion. In spite of the good they have done, they have added to disputes and differences which have soured inter-communal life. In the name of God and for His sake man has run amok among fellow-men. Christians and Hindus, and Christians and Buddhists are frankly communal in outlook and action and even occasional disclaimers by free social contact do not dry up this breeding ground of communalism.

In the midst of this hotchpotch

of parties and banalities based upon various modes of life and activities how can any healthy common outlook in civic life ensue? Race and language *per se* do not promote communalism. In England race and language have not prevented the class and group mentality. It is indeed other factors that are behind the lack of common civic sweetness of temper and conduct. The one thing that can help to remove communalism and pave the way for tolerance and harmony and for contentment with due proportionate share of good government and fruits thereof, is applied sociology and socialism. They must be taught and inculcated into the life of the people, young and old. The propagandist cry of "superior fare" in religion and education must be restrained by legislation. The gilt edge of the government job must be taken off.

As to leadership "few will take the trouble of persuading the people except those who have an interest in deceiving them." Let leaders beware of what they say and do. Then communalism will die a natural death and communities can work out their common destiny without injustice to any group or individual.

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Kasthuriar Valavu,
Jaffna, 29-11-45.

M. R. KARALASINGHAM,
Secretary.

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S. KANAGASABAI,

(Y. 164, A. 21-11-41—20-11-44.) (T's) Shroff.

Letters to the Editor

(Continued from page 2)

sensation between the Sinhalese and all the minorities combined", which which is one of the main demands of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress and of the Tamil community.

It may be mentioned that in addition to expressions of opinion referred to above many political groups, journalists, and politicians whom Mr. Ponnambalam contacted in England had expressed their agreement with the justice and soundness of the Tamil Congress representations and promised their support. It is, however, not proper to divulge their names or give details.

It is important in this connection particularly to take note of a pledge given by the British Government through one of its Secretaries of State in November 1937, viz, that selected changes to the Constitution could not be adopted unless with the consent of all important interests in Ceylon. This is another reason why the Tamil Councillors should have indicated by their votes that the consent of the Tamils was not given to the proposed changes in the Constitution.

The statements given above show that the voting of the Tamil Councillors has had an adverse effect on the Tamil demands and has been gravely prejudicial to the community. The Tamil State Councillors cannot get away with the facile explanation that their voting either way would not have altered the situation.

Nor is it fair by the community for the friends and supporters of the Councillors to defend their action, without taking a long range view of the position of the community but only motivated by a desire to please people for the present and to maintain friendly social relations with them as individuals. It was Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan who said that personal friendship should have nothing to do with public duty. If ever there was an occasion in the history of his people when that veteran politician's advice should be followed and acted upon it is the present crisis, when the Tamil community is at cross roads. Then only can these friends hope to serve the community and Ceylon honestly.

Reading through the statement I have so far made briefly referring to salient features in the situation, it will be plain to any one that it is not the Tamil Congress or its policy that has failed or been discredited but the Tamil Councillors who have failed their community and the country at a very critical stage by their action in Council.

Yours etc.,

S. Sivasubramaniam.

[We comment editorially—
Ed. H.O.]

R. A. F. Hospital At Kankasanturai

Sir,—In the issue of the "Times of Ceylon" of 31st ultimo was published a letter from one Mr. Chelliah, wherein the writer of that letter says "Dr. S. Subramaniam, our Grand Old Man of Jaffna, has truly given expression to the public opinion in the North." This is certainly not so, as can be easily ascertained by a reference to the latest issues of the "Hindu Organ."

In another part of his letter Mr. Chelliah goes further and says that the Education Minister's proposed establishment would be lost in the maze of the buildings of the R. A. F. Hospital. If this has any weight at all, one wonders whether the doctors would not lose their patients in such a maze if those are converted into a medical institution.

Finally I would like to conclude that Mr. Chelliah's statement that people are revising their opinion is

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Pandit Kunzru said he saw no reason why India should not ask S. E. A. C. to provide shipping facilities to enable Indians to send food and comforts to their relatives in Malaya. SEAC permission was necessary, he stated, for Indian Medical Missions to visit Malaya.

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totally misleading. As far as I am aware local public opinion is entirely vigorously opposed to the establishment of a T. B. Hospital,

Yours etc.,
NATIVE,

Kankasanturai,

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(Mis. 182, 27-7-1-46)

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction
No 378.

In the matter of the last will and testament of the late Kandar Selvadurai of Urumpirai Deceased.

Saraswathy daughter of Selvadurai of Urumpiray Petitioner.
Vs.

1. Rajeswari daughter of Selvadurai
 2. Selvadurai Mahendiran
 3. Thanalaithumy daughter of Selvadurai
 4. Panchalaxmy daughter of Selvadurai
- The 2nd to 4th respondents are minors appearing by their G. A. L. the 5th respondent.
5. Thialmattu widow of Selvadurai all of do
 6. Sarvaswary of do Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the petitioner praying that the 5th respondent abovenamed be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the 2nd to 4th respondents, that the last will filed of record be declared proved and that the petitioner be as executrix named therein declared entitled to letters of probate, coming on for disposal before H. A. de Silva Esqr, District Judge Jaffna on 6th March 1945 in the presence of V. Navaratnarajah Proctor on the part of the petitioner and on reading the affidavit and petition of the petitioner.

It is ordered that the 5th respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the 2nd to 4th respondents for the purpose of representing them in this case, that the last will filed of record be declared proved and that the petitioner be as executrix named therein declared entitled to have letters of probate, unless the respondents or any others shall show sufficient cause to the contrary on the 17th May 1945 at 10 a. m.

Sgd S. J. C. Schockman,
District Judge.

4th May 1945.

Extended to 15-1-46.

It'd. R. R. S.
D. J.

(O. 190. 7 & 10)

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(Misc. 196, 7/1-7/4/46.) M

VEDANTA MOOLA SARAM

OR

THE ESSENCE OF THE UPANISHADS

(By A Science Graduate)

(Continued from our issue of 10-12 45)

XX

V. THE MANDUKYA UPANISHAD (Contd.)

The following Mantiram proceeds to state a still greater truth, the greatest truth of the Upanishads: The all-calm, non-dual Sivam (or God), the wise think, is *The Fourth (Chathurtham)*, which (takes) cognizance neither of internal nor external objects, nor of both, which is not even of the form of knowledge or consciousness, which is neither intelligent nor non-intelligent, which is invisible, actionless, incomprehensible, undefinable, beyond thought, indescribable, whose only proof is its existence, with no trace of the conditioned world. This, it should be known, is the Atma (Paramatma) or God (Mantra 7). —The idea intended to be conveyed by this all-important sruti is that Siva Peruman is the "Chathurtham" or Thurya Moorthy (தூரிய மூர்த்தி) who transcends all the different aspects of God described before and whose nature cannot be fathomed by man with his limited intelligence, however much he may try. We can only quote some parallel lines from the Tamil by way of further explanation:

சிவன் ஒரு உருவும் அல்லன், சித்திரமோடு அசித்தும் அல்லன்,
பலம் முதல் தொழில்கள் ஒன்றும் பண்ணி இவானும் அல்லன்,
தலம் முதல் யோக போகம் தரிப்பவன் அல்லன், தானே
இவை பெற இயைந்தும் ஒன்றும் இயைந்திடா இயல்பினான்.

(Siddhiyar.)

Sivan is neither formless nor possessed of form. He is neither the intelligent nor the non-intelligent. He performs not the functions of creation &c. He assumes not the poses of an enjoyer or a renouncer performing penances, &c. Though all these characteristics apply to Him (in a sense), they do not apply to His intrinsic nature.

ஊர் இலான், குணம் குறி இலான், செயல் இலான், உரைக்கும்
பேர் இலான், ஒரு முன் இலான், பின் இலான், பிறிது தூர்
சார் இலான், வாய்போக்கு இலான், மேல் இலான், தனக்கு தூர்
நேர் இலான், உயிர்க் கடவுளாய் என்னுனை நின்றான். (Kanda Puranam)

He who has no country, no attributes, no marks, no actions, no names to speak of, none before Him, none after Him, no other support, no birth, no death, no superiors, none equal to Him,—He stood within me as the God of my life.

வின் முதல் பூதலம், ஒன்றிய விரிசுடர், உம்பர்கள், பிறவும்
படைத்த அளித்து அழிப்ப மும்மூர்த்திகள் ஆயினே (Devaram)

Thou didst become the Tri-Moorthies to create, sustain and dissolve (the universe consisting of) the incomparable Akas down to Earth, the all-embracing and expansive luminaries, the heavens above and all the rest.

இப்படியன், இவ்வருவன், இவ்வண்ணத்தன், இவன் இறைவன், என்று
எழுதிக் காட்ட ஒனாதே. (ibid)

It is impossible to describe in writing that He is of such and such a nature or of such a shape or of such and such a colour or specifically to point Him out and say this is the Lord,

மூலம் ஆகிய மூவர்க்கும் மூர்த்தியைக்,
காலன் ஆகிய காலற்கும் காலனை. (ibid)

The Lord of the first Three and the Destroyer of the god of Death.

மூவன் காண், மூவர்க்கும் முதல் ஆனான் காண், முன்னும் ஆய், பின்னும்
ஆய், முடுவு ஆனான் காண் (ibid)

Know that He is the Three, know that He is the Origin of the Three, know that He is the Earliest, the Following One and the Final End

மூவரும், மூப்பத்துவரும், மற்று ஒழிந்த
தேவரும், காணச் சிவபெருமான். (Tiruvachakam)

Siva Peruman not seen by the Three, the Thirty-three and the remaining Devas.

ஒரு நாமம், ஒர் உருவம், ஒன்றும் இல்லான். (ibid)

He who has no name, no form, nothing.

சொற்பதம் கடத்த தொல்லோன்,
உன்னத்து உணர்ச்சியில் கொள்ளவும் படான்,
சண் முதல் புலனெல் காட்சியும் இல்லோன். (ibid)

The ancient One, beyond the reach of words, not conceivable by the mind and not perceivable by the eye and other senses.

தேவ தேவன், மெய்ச் சேவகன், மென் பெரும் துறை காயகன்,
மூவராலும் அறிய ஒனா முதலாய ஆனத்த மூர்த்தியான். (ibid)

Mahadevan, the True Hero, Lord of Perunthurai in the South, the Blessed Lord who was in the beginning unknown to the Three (Brahma, Vishnu and Rudran)

அன்றும் திரு உருவம் காணாதே ஆன் பட்டேன்
இன்றும் திரு உருவம் காணவில்லை —என்றும் தான்
எவ்வருவோ நம்பிரான் என்பார்க்கு என் உரைப்பேன்,
எவ்வருவோ நின் உருவம், வது. (Ammaiyar)

Then when I became Thy slave I saw not Thy Holy Form, Neither have I seen It since then even today.

What shall I say to those who ask "What, Oh! what is your Lord's Form?"

What form is that My Lord, Thy Holy Form? Oh! what? please say.

சுருதியே, சிவாகமங்களே, உவகனாற் சொல்லும்

ஒருதனிப்பொருள் அனைவ் ஈது என்னவாய் உண்டோ,
பொருதினைக்கடல் நுண்மணல் எண்ணினும் புகலக்
கருத எட்டிடா நிறை பொருள் அனைவ் யார் காண்பார் (Thayumanavar)

Oh! Vedas, Oh! Sivagamas, is it possible to visualise the magnitude of the One Incomparable Truth described by you? Even if one can count the tiny sands of the ferocious, foaming sea, who is there that can find out the immensity of the Indescribable, Inconceivable, All-filling Truth?

(To be continued)

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