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Tamil Demand for Balance of Power

By
A Correspondent

Political Character of Anti-Indian Agitation

The Balance of Power

AS we all know from the days of the Manning Constitution, the Tamils have been pressing the Government to recognise the principle of the balance of power in Ceylon politics. The idea was that no single community should be in a position to dominate over the others. I feel that, in view of the increasing Chauvinism of Mr Bandaranaike and his followers, the Tamils, both Ceylon and Indian, should insist on equal representation with the representatives of the Sinhalese in the Council. I confess, however, in view of recent spurious manifestations of Tamil opinion, that even if we succeed in obtaining recognition of the principle of balance in the voting strength of the State Council, it may not help us much. It is quite possible that, even under a balanced constitution, the politicians in power may be able to get hold of some members of the other communities and try to give us the semblance of a representative Ministry. Your reference to Quislings in one of your articles ought to be elaborated further. Apart from this possibility, however, there is no reason why the Tamil point of view should not meet with approval at the hands of the Governor and Downing Street. The population of the Sinhalese is a little over three millions. The population of the Tamil community (Indian and Ceylon) is nearly one million six hundred thousand. If the Muslims are added to our number, the strength of the Tamil-speaking population will be over two millions. If the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking population are given an equal number of seats, the Europeans and Burghers will be able to hold the scales even.

Not an Exaggeration

I trust this will not be considered an exaggerated demand. I have the high authority of Mr S. Srinivasa Iyengar, a great Hindu, an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, a great constitutional lawyer,

and regarded as one of the ablest politicians and thinkers in India, for saying that the principle underlying the Tamil demand for balanced representation in the State Council is quite fair and practicable. About eight months before his death, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar published a memorandum advocating equal representation for the Hindus and Muslims of India in all the Provincial Councils and Ministries and in the Central Legislature and Executive. He advocated an equal distribution of power between the Muslims and Hindus. The disparity between the Hindus and Muslims in India in numbers is much greater than the disparity between the Tamil-speaking population of Ceylon and the Sinhalese. This is an undeniable fact, and without recognising it, the communalists in power are not entitled to ask for a larger measure of self-government. They forget that, with every such step in advance of the present Constitution, which is bad enough from the Tamil point of view, the minorities are entitled to demand and to obtain an increasing measure of protection for themselves. In the case of the Tamils, the fact seems to be forgotten that they have been rulers of the island for a considerable period, and that they are an old race with an old civilisation and language. They have contributed more towards the cultural, material and political advancement of Ceylon than anybody else.

India and Ceylon

THE arrival of the Indian delegation synchronises with the recrudescence of the former campaign against the Tamils. I have always held the view that the move against Indians is political and not economic. Its object is simply to reduce the voting strength of the Tamils. It is impossible to depend on papers like the "Daily News" to give a correct account of the trend

of public opinion in regard to this matter. Even the proceedings in the State Council are not always fully and fairly reported. The latest attempt of the "Daily News" to air its views on behalf of "Ceylon" is sheer propaganda worthy of that famous liar, Dr. Goebbels. The Indian delegation is going to try and solve a problem which has an important bearing on the fortunes of the Tamils, and I think it is the duty of the "Hindu Organ" to give a lead to the rest of the country in disposing of the misrepresentations that are bound to be made. The Tamils of Ceylon are the real connecting link between India and Ceylon, and they serve to bring the two countries together. It is unfortunate that there is not a single Tamil on the Ceylonese Delegation. Under the circumstances, can the Tamils allow India and Ceylon to drift apart? We must realise that our ultimate destiny is linked up with that of India and no temporary inconvenience or disadvantage should be allowed to cloud our vision and endanger our heritage. Even if we have to undergo a certain amount of inconvenience and loss for the present, I am for satisfying Indian demands in the larger and ultimate interests of the country. The defence of Ceylon, as has been rightly pointed out, is bound up with the defence of India and is to a great extent dependent on India's strength. Mr Bandaranaike and his Chauvinists will pass away and we shall always be compelled by the force of circumstances to depend on India. This is, of course, as it ought to be. The Hindus of Ceylon have a special obligation in the matter, as the ties between them and India are much greater and more intimate than the ties between India and any other section of the Ceylonese community. For the Buddhist religion Ceylon is certainly indebted to India, but I venture to think that Hinduism will be

the real and only bridge between India and Ceylon. For the future safety of the Hindus of Ceylon and their religion, the link between India and Ceylon should not only be kept intact but also strengthened.

How to Treat the Indians

I am for giving equal political rights to Indians in Ceylon if they satisfy some such test of domicile as is applied in Britain in the case of foreigners. The position of Indians in Ceylon is even stronger than that of foreigners in Britain, and the Ceylonese are not certainly foreigners to India. This ought to be the normal relationship between India and Ceylon. No form of discrimination should be allowed to prevail against Indians in Ceylon. Regarding future immigration, a reasonable adjustment should be possible, having regard to the pressing need for the immigration of Indian labourers for agricultural purposes. The present negotiations are seriously handicapped by the fact that the Board of Ministers do not represent Ceylon. They represent only one community, which is only one of the several communities inhabiting the Island. The Indian delegation is representative, but, as I have said, the Ceylonese Delegation is not at all representative. The views of the Ceylonese Delegation are, therefore, bound to be one-sided. This is an initial defect. It is best that one remembers the unrepresentative character of the Ceylonese delegation lest the Indian representatives mistake its real character, though it is too late to rectify the error committed by the Ministers.

Why we Need Indians

I would like to see Indian labourers coming in large numbers and settling down in the Wauna and the North Central, Eastern and North-Western Provinces and convert their wastes into farms for the benefit of the country as a whole. Ceylon is said to have had a population of nearly twenty millions many centuries ago. Now, a great part of her area is uninhabited, and her population is much less. The greatest need of the moment is to increase this population and make the country self-supporting in the matter of food and other essential commodities. Without the assistance of India, this object cannot be achieved. It is Indian labour that has developed the country as it is today and without it no further development is possible.



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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1941

ROWDYISM AND CORRUPTION

THE JUDGMENT DELIVERED by Mr. Justice Hearne on the election of Mr. A. E. Goonesinha to the Maradana South seat of the Colombo Municipal Council should serve to remind the public once more of the two grave dangers threatening our nascent democracy—rowdyism and corruption. His Lordship's findings constitute a telling indictment of the manner in which the partisans of Mr. Goonesinha, by violence and abuse, prevented the voters on the other side from going to the poll. It would appear from the judgment that right from the beginning of the election campaign violence had been adopted as the chief weapon of the so-called "Reds." Quite early in the campaign an attack was made on the boutiques of Malayalees in Forbes Road with the sole object of alarming the entire Malayalee community and deterring its members, who favoured Dr. De Zoysa's candidature, from going to the poll. Near the polling station at St. Joseph's College the conduct of the "Red" crowd was equally reprehensible. Women who desired to vote were abused in vile language and stones were thrown. At one time the situation was so dangerous that a party of police from the depot had to be called to clear the crowd in the central portion of the grounds, not once, but three or four times.

Under these circumstances His Lordship has held that there was no real electing by the constituency at all in the sense that the constituency did not have a free and fair opportunity of electing the candidate which the majority might have preferred; and that the incidents previous to the election were calculated to prevent, and did in fact prevent, a free and fair exercise of the franchise; for, "independently of what had previously occurred, the happenings on the day of the election itself were such as to make it an utter sham, a mere travesty of that freedom of choice which is essential to the validity of an election".

The fact must be remembered that what happened at the election which Mr. Justice Hearne has declared void is by no means an isolated instance. Such things have happened before and they are likely to happen again, unless the aid of the law is invoked to defeat just that type of gangsterism which the Supreme Court has rightly condemned, and unless a determined effort is made to educate

the voters in the principles of public morality. The public of Ceylon, however offensive this may be to our new-found conceits, is one that easily succumbs to violence and corruption, and if people like Mr. Goonesinha are allowed a free hand in determining the composition of our Legislature and local bodies, democracy will become the most serious menace to our well-being. But, it is not only violence and corruption that have to be avoided. The other day at the election of a Chairman for the Aero Club votes were canvassed on considerations of race and caste. At more than one election to the Legislature similar appeals to the inherited prejudices of our people have been made. If we believe in democracy, we are not entitled at the same time to believe in a state of things which cannot but be regarded as the very negation of democracy. There is no democracy on earth which can be identified with one caste or race, and there is no democracy which can be set up for the sole benefit of a class of persons.

It is not our view that Mr. Goonesinha stands alone in this somewhat queer conception of democratic institutions. An electorate utterly ignorant of the most elementary principles of democracy and code of honour which public opinion in advanced countries has devised for the conduct of public men, may always be trusted to elect representatives after its own heart. It is a great credit to Ceylon that, in spite of these obvious draw-backs, certain sections of her people have succeeded in sending to the State Council as well as to local bodies representatives who have no cause to be ashamed of themselves. But, the fact has to be admitted that the rowdy and the bribe-taker still predominate in our Councils and even in the Village Committees. At a recent election to the post of Chairman for one of the Village Committees in the North, one of the candidates decided to give up the contest on grounds which ought to make the whole country realise what is going on in the villages in the name of local government. According to this candidate, he gave up the contest at the last minute because most of the members demanded money for their vote. When the members were asked the reason, they, in their turn, contended that they had spent money during their elections on bribes and drink and, therefore, they had the right to demand money in determining the question of Chairmanship. This is a state of affairs which can do no good to the people of any village. The process of demoralisation has already set in, and it will not be long before the public of Ceylon will be confronted with Village Committees whose chief business would be to divide the spoils amongst the members.

Notes & Comments

Indo-Ceylon Talks.

THE Indian Delegation has arrived. The wish is natural that every point of view should be placed before the delegates, and one need not be surprised at the attempts being made to impress on the delegation particular views of the manner in which the problems before the delegates are to be settled. The Indian delegates are certainly not novices in the art of negotiation. Nor are they ignorant of the graver issues involved both for India and Ceylon. As pointed out by a writer in another column, the Ceylonese delegation is not so representative of Ceylonese opinion as the Indian Delegation is with reference to the public of India. There is nothing, however, to prevent the Indian delegates from discovering for themselves how people who remain outside the Ministry view the whole situation. The last conference could not have failed to open their eyes to the real difficulties in the way of a settlement. These difficulties are political, and not economic.

The Bribery Commission

THE Commissioner appointed by His Excellency the Governor to inquire into the charges of bribery and corruption made against the members of the present State Council has invited the assistance of persons who are in a position to testify on matters which come within the scope of the Commissioner's inquiry. All who have information which may be of value in this connection are requested, in the first instance, to send signed documents to the Commissioner. It is stated that, apart from such information, the Commissioner is also prepared to receive suggestions from the public as to how available information can be reached. As we remarked at the time the Commission was appointed, those who possess any information on the subject owe it to themselves and the public to place it before the Commissioner. It is rumoured that Jaffna too will send its quota of witnesses. We wonder whether some members of the State Council ever bargained for the present turn of events. It must be noted that all witnesses before the Commissioner are given complete protection. Such being the case, it would not be a matter for surprise if the losing side in every transaction thought the present a good opportunity to pay off old scores.

The E. P. D.

The action of the State Council in exempting Agriculture and plumbago from payment of Excess Profits Duty was condemned in the last issue of the "Hindu Organ". "Can anything be more unprincipled", asks the "Times of Ceylon" "than the selection of a small section of the island's economy for the doubtful honour of paying a vicious, swingeing, war-time tax from which the majority are exempt?" It is a pity that the Councillors did not fully realise the utter lack of principle involved in their action. Many of them were interested in certain branches of agriculture exempted from the tax. Others had interests in plumbago mines. It is curious that they should have permitted themselves to play the role of judges in a matter vitally affecting their pockets. We agree with the "Times" that "the day this unprincipled, sectional and discriminatory excess profits duty is introduced in Ceylon will be the blackest day in the political history of the island", but our contemporary forgets that the majority of our Councillors do not indulge in the human weakness of looking back on their past records for the simple reason that these records are not worth looking at. They always look forward to the future—which, under the circumstances, is what wise men ought to do.

Fertilisers and the War

OWING to lack of ships Ceylon is unable to receive her usual supply of fertilisers. Agriculture in Ceylon consumes annually a large quantity of sulphate of ammonia and nitrate of soda. As these fertilisers are no longer available, Ceylon is driven to find substitutes containing a reasonable percentage of nitrogen. In India groundnut cake and castor cake are widely used as nitrogenous manures. In the hands of cultivators who do not fully understand the use of chemical manures, these organic manures will be found very useful and safe. Besides, groundnut and castor seed can be produced locally in large quantities. The cultivation of groundnut in irrigable areas is quite feasible during the fallow season following the paddy harvest. Being a leguminous crop it enriches the soil, and groundnut cake, its by-product, can be used as manure for the cultivation of paddy. The nitrogen content of groundnut cake is about seven per cent., and this, with the required quantity of bone-meal, ought to be a satisfactory substitute for chemical manures and also for cattle manure where this is not available. It is impossible to say at present how far cocoadust ponnac can be depended on as a substitute for chemical manures but, if it is possible, we trust the Department of Agriculture will not fail to take the public into its confidence.

"Noose Round Private Schools"

THE attitude of the Ministry towards private schools has evoked a good deal of hostile criticism. According to the Rev. Fr. E. Gaspard of St. Aloysius' College, Galle, the noose was being gradually tightened round private schools. "The Minister of Education", said Father Gaspard recently, "tried to deal them a fell stroke in 1939, though it failed. But the clever tactician that he is, Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara is manoeuvring to send us out of existence." It is to be hoped that the Minister concerned will clear himself of the charge of harbouring murderous designs against private schools, which laid the foundation of all education in Ceylon. That the State, which assists these schools, is entitled to control them goes without saying, but such control should be exercised solely in the interests of education. Nothing must be done by the Ministers to interfere with the rule of supply and demand.

The European Element in Council

IT is interesting to note that the attitude of some of the European members in the State Council towards the Excess Profits Tax has created a certain amount of dissatisfaction. Mr. F. H. Griffiths and Mr. E. C. Villiers voted against the amendment to refer the bill back to the Board of Ministers, while Mr. H. E. Newham voted for it. Even Mr. Huxham's revelations do not appear to have made any impression on Messrs. Griffiths and Villiers. The "Times of Ceylon" is naturally shocked at this exhibition of complaisance towards the very questionable method of taxation adopted by the Council. We wish to remind the "Times" of the fact that this is not the only occasion on which European Members of Council have displayed a degree of political opportunism which helped neither the Europeans nor the other minorities in the island. They have been too prone to accept the accomplished fact as their sole guide. The Europeans have sometimes failed to see, behind the imposing facade of Ministerial solidarity, the factors that are bound to decide the eventual political destinies of this island.

Mr. Peri Sundaram on Indian Case

Position of Ceylon Indians Defined

In his speech at a public meeting of Indians in Colombo, Mr. Peri Sundaram presents the Ceylon Indian Case.

THE Ceylon Indian case put by the Congress delegation both before the Government of India officials as well as before various bodies and public men in India with whom we had to discuss and in statements to the Press, was that in the face of facts and in the face of findings of the Jackson Commission (1) a large part of the settled Indian population in Ceylon was in the recent past being treated as having no permanent interest in the Island and that Indians in Ceylon were thus obliged to bring their disabilities to India's notice. (ii) The history of past relations between the two countries, their geographical position as well as any conceivable possible relationship between them in the future all required that any differences that may exist at present between the peoples should be approached in a spirit of unification and not in a conventional spirit of isolation or rules of nationality. (iii) A large number of Indians having gone over to Ceylon in response so far to Ceylon's agricultural and industrial demands, the status of such Indian already in Ceylon should first be recognised as it was recognised before 1930 and their freedom in matters of occupation and employment should not be arbitrarily interfered with. Wage and living conditions of estate labourers on Ceylon estates require considerable improvement before they can be considered satisfactory. Qualification for political and economic rights for Indians in Ceylon should be based on a given number of years' residence and not on complex considerations of domicile. Any scheme of control of immigration which gives freedom of immigration only as coolies and labourers would be inconsistent with India's national dignity. Any solution of the existing impasse broad based on consideration of humanity and neighbourly mutual goodwill was to be welcomed and in matters of trade India should show her neighbour all possible concessions. This, I say emphatically, was no new attitude to the problem, but just what Indians in Ceylon had been urging all along within Ceylon itself.

Earlier Talks Exploratory

I need not recall that the talks between Raj delegation and the Ministerial Delegation last November were exploratory and that the conference could not arrive at a satisfactory basis for the settlement of the outstanding questions. You had the advantage of reading the full report of the proceedings of the meetings at Delhi published by the Ceylon Government and the report of the two Governments and from these you would have gathered that the discussion as directed to the status of Indians resident in Ceylon, and the difference between the proposal of the Ceylon Government and the Government of India as put by the Hon'ble Mr. Senanayake at the Mirigama meeting of the Ceylon National Congress immediately after his return from Delhi was:—

"The Ceylon Ministerial Delegation's proposal was that the franchise should be given to all Indians now in Ceylon who have permanently settled down here, and that full rights of citizenship should be given only to the second generation of such Indians and the Indian Government's proposal was that full

rights of citizenship with very minor restrictions should be given to all Indians who have lived five years in Ceylon and have their families here."

The proposal of the Ceylon Ministerial Delegation amounted to treating the major part of the Indian population as sojourners who could be subjected to any kind of discriminatory treatment and to recognising liberally the right to citizenship of a handful of people of second generation. The second generation theory is peculiar to Ceylon and does not obtain in any other part of the world. I am not including Burma of course.

About the close of the Delhi discussions, the Hon'ble Mr. Senanayake expressed regret that they could not come to any agreement but he assured, that whether they agreed on these matters or not, goodwill will remain as far as their side is concerned, and the Hon'ble Mr. Bajpai in turn stated: "I regret very much this position should have been reached, but when there is a clash of principles, I really feel that time is ripe for complete candour. That is the reason why he thought it desirable to state their point of view with clarity and without reserve or reticence." The Delegations at the time closed the conference with the feeling that there was nothing to prevent a fresh approach or resumption of negotiations. We are glad that at the request of the Ceylon Government the Indian Delegation with the addition of two unofficial members without Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar whom also we would have welcomed, is visiting Ceylon, returning the compliment, to resume the talks. But we cannot fail to observe that between last November and now there have been happenings such as the introduction of two Bills in Ceylon viz. the Bill for regulation and control of entry of non Ceylonese into Ceylon and the Bill for the Registration of non-Ceylonese in respect of which the Ceylon Indians have expressed their views and the Indo-Burma Trade and Immigration Agreements. As regards the latter there is a resolution before you.

The principles that should guide us in consideration of questions of status and immigration are clearly set out in Mahatma Gandhi's recent statement to the Press on the Burma Agreement which is characterised by him as an unhappy agreement, and I feel that it does not necessarily follow that the Burma Agreement should be a pattern and that the circumstances, conditions and problems of Burma are parallel or same. I like to point out that as a matter of fact, there are certain acknowledged differences between the problems of Burma and the problems of Ceylon.

Another important fact which is noteworthy is in Ceylon, the Indian

estate labourers brought on the invitation of the Government of Ceylon and on undertakings expressed or implied. In Burma there was the Baxter Commission which has preceded the Indo-Burma Agreement and the Raj Delegation has been closely, if not exactly, following the Baxter recommendations. In Ceylon, on the other hand, there was the Jackson Commission on Immigration which has definitely found "that no case exists for restriction and immigration between India and Ceylon about which more will be said later by the speakers to follow."

No Further Modification

I have already touched on the general principles which were formulated in the case put forward by the Ceylon Indian Congress Delegation and the position taken by the Raj representatives at the Conference regarding the status and rights of Indians already resident in Ceylon. You will note that the Government of India's representatives have already conceded in the November talks much of what we stood for as our demands and we now wish that at least there should be no further modification and the position taken last November should be adhered to. What we demand is that in the event of the Government of India agreeing to the regulation of future immigration the right of such immigrants to acquire full status and rights should be safeguarded and that no agreement should be reached without the prior consent of the Ceylon Indian Congress. We are assured that the resumed talks will be merely exploratory.

Before I conclude I wish to refer to one passage in the Baxter report i.e., "it should be much more widely known in Burma that the immigration of Indians overseas has never and can never pay any significant part in the solution of India's population problem. The whole of the Indians now settled and employed in Ceylon, the African territories, Malaya and Burma are less than the average annual increase of population in India and therefore the fear that Burma may be used as a kind of safety valve for a growing Indian population appears to be without foundation".

The Baxter Commission was appointed by the Burman Government with the concurrence of the Government of India in specific terms of reference. In Ceylon Sir Edward Jackson was appointed as sole Commissioner for 1936 by the Ceylon Government with the advice and consent of the Board of Ministers to inquire into with specific terms of reference to consider the following questions:—

(1) The extent of immigration from India of skilled and unskilled

workers and whether it is increasing or decreasing.

(2) Whether such immigration has caused or is likely to cause unemployment or other economic injury to the permanent population.

(3) Whether any restriction or control beyond that already existing should be imposed on such immigration and if so what form such restriction or control should take.

The Jackson Report

Sir Edward Jackson in answering the first stated that in times of prosperity the curve of immigration rises and in times of depression it falls and the curve of Emigration goes up.

To the second term of reference he definitely answered thus: (So far from causing economic injury to the permanent population, immigrant workers made possible an economic and general advance which could not have taken place without them and in the benefits of which the great majority of the population, directly or indirectly, share today.)

On the third question of restriction, Sir Edward Jackson has found that no case exists for restriction of immigration, that the tendency of workers to come into Ceylon when there is none operates as a form of natural restriction, that in the circumstances of the case, it is neither necessary nor possible to evolve any other scheme of restriction. You will agree with me that in the case of Ceylon, no case had been made out to depart from the findings of Sir Edward Jackson. We base our claim on principles. Mahatma Gandhi who has an intimate acquaintance of Immigration law of several countries has in his recent statement laid down certain principles for our guidance. Referring to the Indo-Burma Agreement he says that "one would have thought that the least should have been done was that to have automatically recognised as fully domiciled every Indian found in Burma on the date of promulgation of the Agreement and that India's could not be made a Labour country, the presence of whose inhabitants must carry heavy penalties including tickets of leave such as criminals carry. They do not cease to be less offensive because they bear the inoffensive name of passports and permits. I should be prepared to underband the validity of the permit and passport system when the necessity is clearly established."

This statement equally applies to our Ceylon problems. Our demand that no agreement should be reached without the prior consent of the Ceylon Indian Congress is easily understandable if it is realised that the present talks by the Government of India with regard to any agreement with Ceylon affect vitally us who are indissolubly bound up with the prosperity and peace of the Island and may I state that to-day the Ceylon Indians here with diversity of interests are united in making a common demand with one voice on the question of their status and rights fully realising the wisdom of the message of Mahatma Gandhi to the Ceylon Indian Congress Delegation that your future lies in our strength?

THE ELEMENTS OF SAIVA SIDDHANTAM

SIDDHIYAR—AN INTRODUCTION

(By a Science Graduate)

V. 'Atu.Atu.Athal' (அது அது ஆதல்) or the Assimilative Character and Lack of Independence of the Soul

One great distinction between God and man is that God is independent, Swatantiran (தன் வயத்தன், சுதந்திரன்), which man is not. The soul is a-swatantiran or para-tantiran, not independent or dependent on others. In the 'bandha' or bounden state it is bound by, or dependent on, or partaking of the nature of Pasam and is hence called Pasu and, being bound by or under the influence of Pasam and helpless to extricate itself from its fetters it stands in need of the help of the free Being, Pati or God's Grace. பணிபட்டோன் அசுதந்திரன் ஆதும் பணிபெயரச் செய்வோன் நீடு சுதந்திரம் உண்டாம் ஒருவன், so we are told by the author of Olivilodukkam. The fettered soul is incapable of acting without the help or energising presence of God who alone is independent. இறைவன் தன் சன்னிதிக்கண் உலகின்தன் சேட்டை என்னும் மறைகளும் மறந்தாய், says Siddhiyar, You have forgotten what the Vedas say, that the world gets into action in the presence of God. In Kanda Puranam we read:

செம்மாந்து தற்புகழும் சேவர் குழுஉம் மருள்
எம்பான் பிறன்போல் இருந்து ஓர் தருப்பு சிறீது
ஆம்மா தன் செய்கை அனாதும் எனக் காட்டினனே
கம்மா ஆர் முற்றும் சில என்னை காண் அன்றே

The Gods (Devas) were self-conceited and bragged, every one proclaiming his own prowess; but got disillusioned when our Lord appeared in the garb of a stranger and proved by putting up a trifle straw that all actions are energised by Him. It is idle to boast that we too can act independently.

The allusion here is to the story told in Kena Upanishad where the Devas Agni, Varunan, Vayu, &c., had a dispute as to which of them was the strongest. When it was apparent that they could not settle the dispute among themselves there appeared in the vicinity a fair damsel (Uma Haimavadi) whom they approached and begged to arbitrate. Uma Deviyar directed them to Siva who appeared at a distance disguised as a Yaksha (இயக்கன்). The Yaksha planted a straw in front of Him and said that whoever destroyed that straw was the strongest. The Fire-God burnt with all his fury but the straw was unharmed. The Wind-God blew with all his might but the straw remained unmoved where it stood. Similarly the other Gods too had their try, but with no better success. Then it was that the Truth dawned on them that they were powerless by themselves and that any powers they had were derived from the Supreme Energiser.

Every one is aware of the Puranic story of the fight between Brahma (the Creator) and Vishnu (the Preserver) as to which of them was the Supreme God and the appearance in their midst of Siva Peruman in the form of a huge column of Fire whose top and bottom the disputants were unable to find out in spite of their best efforts. This event is celebrated to this day by the lighting of bonfires at Tiruvannamalai and other temples not only in India but also in Ceylon including even Vishnu temples, (—we do not really know what significance the Vaishnavas attach to this festival,—) and even in our homes in the festival of lights (விளக்கீடு) observed on the night of the Tisu Karthikey day in the month of Karthikey (November—December) every year.

These Puranic and Upanishadic stories are meant to illustrate not only the proposition that there is only one Supreme Being and that the other so-called Gods are souls (Pasu) but also the fact that souls are dependent Beings, not independent like God, and that when they exercise any powers it is all borrowed authority derived from the One God, similar to the authority exercised by ministers, judges and other officials by virtue of the powers delegated to them by the earthly sovereign authority. வினாக் கமலந்திரன் மானும் ஏவலான் மேயி
சூழ்ச்சி புரைத்த அநிகார சத்தி புண்ணியம் கண்ணலாலே. They derive their authority by the command of the Lord as a result of their good Karmam.

It may be conceded that the soul is incapable of standing on its own legs in the 'bandha' or fettered state, but can the same incapacity be predicated of it in the Moksha or freed state? And if so is there such a state as Moksham worth speaking about? Our Lord Meykandan is quite definite on the point. பஸ்வாதே நொழும் பாகும் அக்கு. The soul serves God (or is subordinate to Him or is dependent on Him) in various ways even in Moksham, for if the contrary doctrine that the soul is independent of God in the Moksha state were to be seriously entertained, it would only mean a second and enlarged edition of the Brahma-Vishnu battle, with the difference that instead of there being two contestants only for supremacy there would be a whole host of such contestants, every one of the crowd independent of the rest, and there would be pandemonium, and we shall be landed in Aneka-Isvara-Vadam (அநேகேசுவர வாதம்) or Polytheism. Therefore it is that the Siddhanti denies the independence of the soul whether in the fettered or freed state and says that God alone is independent and that the soul is dependent. It may

(Continued on page 6)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

English Educated Tamils

Sir,—My letter of the 28th August 1941 under the caption "English Educated Tamils" was not meant to raise a controversy. It was written mainly to show that the Saiva Paripalana Sabai of Jaffna which all Hindus in Ceylon look upon as a common Hindu Organisation, should not unnecessarily draw a line of demarcation between the various sects of Hinduism. Hindus throughout the Island consider the Saiva Paripalana Sabai, The Jaffna Hindu College, The "Hindu Organ" (both English and Tamil) as common organisations working for the good of all Hindus irrespective of sects. Any attempt on the part of the authorities of these Institutions, at any time, to circumscribe them within a narrow circle of ideas and ideals, will not receive the approval of the thoughtful section of the Hindus in Ceylon. I, as against such an attempt I raised a word of protest in my letter which you were good enough to publish. But, the letter of a "Member of the S. P. S." appearing in the issue of the 1st instant, necessitates a reply from me to clarify my position.

No one will take any objection to the Sabai requesting Saivaites to study Saiva Religious Scriptures. But what we object to is that the Sabai should not unnecessarily protest against the English Educated Tamils who are ignorant of the Tamil Language, for studying "Mayawada" books. When a man is ignorant of Tamil is it not better to study at least 'Mayawada' books and have some religious convictions rather than be without any knowledge of any form of religious belief? After all "Mayawada" also is a system of Hindu Philosophy having a very large number of followers in India and Ceylon, even among the Tamils. A Mayawadi can also be a Saivaite. Perhaps this fact is not known to the 'Member'. Mayawada is not a religious sect but is a name given to a set of philosophical doctrines. Any person can be a Saivaite and at the same time be a Mayawadi by philosophical convictions.

All Saivaites need not read the works of the "four Saiva Teachers." It is not a *sine qua non* for being a Saivaite. Only those Saivaites who are Saiva Siddhantis by belief are bound to "learn first the Saiva books" enumerated in the report. Saivaites who have no knowledge of Tamil or who have a desire to read only English books on 'Mayawada' need not be ridiculed or penalised as aliens to the faith of Saivism. I am by birth a Saivaite but do not belong to the Saiva Siddhanta school of thought. There are many Saivaites in Jaffna who, like me, are not Siddhanta Saivas, but still worship God in the Name of Siva. The Twenty Eight Divyagamams are also our Sacred Scriptures. We do not accept the conclusions of the writings of the Saiva Teachers mentioned in the report.

Yours truly,
C. C. COOMARASAMY.

155 A Wattumulla Road,
Mount Lavinia, 4-9-41.

[The Correspondence on this Subject is now closed—Ed. H. O.]

NEWS IN BRIEF

Personal

Mudaliyar S. Kandiah and Mrs. Kandiah left on 3-9-41 on a pilgrimage to South India. They will be away from Jaffna for about a month.

New Chairman of Village Committee

At the first meeting of the Manipay Village Committee, presided over by Mr. V. Visvalingam, Office Assistant to the Government Agent, N. P., and held on the 1st instant, Mr. C. Thiagarajah, Secretary of the Manipay Social Service League, was elected Chairman. The contest was very keen.

Crusade Against Crime

Speaking to a gathering of over 1000 people from Valigaman West and North which included Heads of Educational Institutions and members of Village Committees at the Village of Suthumalai, Mr. Sydney de Soyza, A. S. P., Jaffna, emphasised that the Police were out to protect property and life and not to harass anyone. He deplored the tendency to use the knife in quarrels and said that unlike those of the South people in Jaffna fought shy of helping the administration of law and order by coming forward and stating what actually took place. Mr. de Soyza appealed to the people to actively assist the Police in their work. Dr. R. M. Kennedy, Director, McLeod Hospital, Jaffna, endorsed Mr. de Soyza's appeal. Mr. A. Cheliah paid a tribute to the keenness with which Mr. de Soyza went about the villages preaching the crusade against crime. His anti-crime drive said the speaker, would be as beneficial to the people as any health measure. The meeting was presided over by Mr. A. Cumaraswamy, Principal, Jaffna Hindu College.

Victoria College Alumni Association

At a meeting of Old Boys of the Victoria College held at the College Hall, it was unanimously resolved to inaugurate an Old Boys' Association to be known as the Victoria College Alumni Association.

Mr. M. Ponnambalam was voted to the Chair. Mr. T. Sangarappillai, Proctor, acted as Secretary pro tem. The Chairman in explaining the object of the meeting said that through the idea of an Old Boys' Association was being mooted that day, fifty years after the establishment of that College, yet he hoped that the O. B. A. which they would be inaugurating would grow from strength to strength.

The following were elected office bearers of the O. B. A.:

President: Mr. P. G. Thambiappah (Principal)

Vice-Presidents: Dr. K. Shivapiragasam, Mudaliar R. N. Sinniah, Messrs: S. R. Kanaganayagam, P. Navaratnam, K. Thilliampalam and S. S. Moorthy.

Hon. Secretaries: Messrs. T. Sangarappillai and N. Kanaganayagam.

Treasurer: Mr. K. S. Pillai.

Auditors: Messrs. M. Canapathipillai and M. Somasundram.

Managing Committee: Messrs. M. Ponnambalam, S. Annamalai, M. Sivapirakasam, A. Kandiah, S. S. Ratnam, P. Vithalingam, N. Senathirajah, V. Selladurai, A. R. Rajanayagam, Dr. S. Thambiah and Mubandiram M. Krishnar.

Mr. Thambiappah, the Principal, and Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam addressed the gathering on the importance of an association of that nature.

Forget Antiquated Party Cries

The Essentials of Good Government

WHEN we say that we are fighting for democracy, and especially the British conception of democracy, we are appealing to something which is already familiar to every student of history and modern social endeavour. It is recognised at once in the persistent effort towards the emancipation of the individual citizen, the emancipation of all classes, and, in the last stage, the emancipation of all nations, which has characterised British history for many centuries.

This democratic impulse is something permanent in the spirit of the nation. It is not in itself a policy, but at each moment of history it has to be translated afresh into policy. Amid the routine and the rough-and-tumble of ordinary party politics it becomes obscured, and in periods of reaction are often in the ascendant, and paralyse the more positive forces of progress.

But in moments of danger such as the present—of danger not merely to the country, but to the very ideas which belong to its essence—the sense of self-preservation is uppermost; and by a rare stroke of luck we have a Prime Minister whose personality attracts the loyalty of men of different parties, of different types, but who are now responding to the situation in the same spirit, however divergent their records in the past.

It is imperative that men of good will should recognise that the position today is unique, presenting opportunities that have never been presented before, and may never occur again. Faced with the emergency, and intent upon a victory both for Britain and for the British way of life, Conservatives, Liberals and Labour men have got together on the practical job of running the war and the country without any sense of conflicting party purposes or incompatible ideals.

The differences which were magnified in party politics assume their truer proportions, and the things which a nation fundamentally liberal in character desired have come to the fore.

A Social Revolution

Under these circumstances, and under the stress of war, it ought to be recognised that a social revolution has actually been accomplished, more complete and more sudden than anything dreamed of by Sir Stafford Cripps in his most revolutionary moments.

For the purpose of conducting the war Britain has been turned temporarily into a Socialistic State, in which private capitalistic enterprise on a vast scale has been suspended or controlled.

The railways, shipping and ship building are under State control. Productive concerns have been taken over by the State or their production immediately controlled. Factories manufacturing for civilian consumption are to be thinned out by compulsory rationalisation. Excess profits in business are confiscated.

Workers in the docks in the great shipping centres are to become the direct employees of the State. The trade unions for their part have sacrificed hard won and treasured privi-

leges, and the transference of labour is subject to control.

In every sphere of industrial, commercial and social life the State has stepped in to plan and organise the whole life of the community with a view to maximum efficiency in producing equipment for war, in providing and distributing essential commodities for the people, and ensuring their safety, comfort and even, in certain cases, means of recreation.

In these tremendous feats of wartime Socialism individuals of all parties and classes have co-operated, not because they wanted Socialism, but because they agreed about certain measures that were necessary, and took the shortest means, under wartime conditions, for getting them adopted.

In this unexampled effort there is no doubt in any reasonable person's mind about what we are fighting for. Nor is there much doubt about the kind of things that should be done to promote the welfare of the people whilst the struggle is on, or to make them equal to it.

This unanimity, the sign that there is behind all the normal disagreements a fundamental agreement about essentials, is something that should be guarded as long as there is danger, and through all the critical period of reconstruction.

Only an Expedient

If there is one thing which this war has proved up to the hilt, it is that State-Socialism is not an end in itself, and scarcely even a policy—it is an expedient which in this or that circumstances may be adopted to secure certain ends. It is the ends that matter. They are the only justification of any method, whether it works by State or private enterprise.

What everyone agrees about now is that wealth must be more efficiently produced and more fairly distributed; that economists must address themselves to the task of preventing the anomaly of poverty in the midst of plenty; that nutritious food must be available for all; that opportunities in education must be equalised; that every man is entitled to leisure and pleasure, and facilities for them.

These, and things like these, are the real desiderata, and the best Government that provides most opportunities for national well-being, not that which conforms to the formulae and fads of egotistical or fanatical party politicians.

If we can make use of that good will which is so evident today, if the spirit of sacrifice which the war has called forth can be prolonged in the vital years of reconstruction, if we can concentrate on the measures for promoting the welfare of the people and forget antiquated party cries, then there is hope that the democracy for which we are fighting will bring the reality of freedom.

—From the Spectator.

Notice to Correspondents

K. SHANMUGASUNTHARAM; 'NACHIKETA'—The Correspondence on this subject is now closed.

—Editor H. O.

INSULARITY OF CEYLON

WHY GENIUS DOES NOT THRIVE

(CONTRIBUTED)

The Mayor of Colombo, Dr. R. Siravanaouttu, is not alone in regretting the absence of a world famous figure in Ceylon. Nor is he the lonely sparrow in pining for one in the future. His view that, if Ceylon could produce one world famous figure, a great poet, writer, dancer or composer, then only the millions spent on education in this country would be justified, will be shared by as many as there are real lovers of this Island. Ceylon has been uniquely barren in this respect, all this time; for, she has been unwisely rearing a strange plant whose characteristics she did not know. Any amount of manuring and watering helped to produce only leaves and more leaves. Even the surprisingly few buds that forgetfully rear their heads die away prematurely. This spurious out-lander has never known bearing a full blossom to spread its fragrance far and wide, nor a fruit for the eyes of an outsider to covet. Little wonder; it is not the fault of the soil, nor is it that of the plant. Where then lies the fault? Clearly, in the unthinking hand that brought the two together.

How, then, in India?

How then is it possible, one might ask, for India which is in the same predicament as Ceylon to produce world famous figures? Those at least of the Indians who have achieved world fame did not stop with what the system of education there could give them. They went further. They sought after knowledge, not only in the language of their political masters, but in that of the makers of the Indian culture. The Universities in India encouraged higher studies and created a thirst for more and more knowledge. These have been denied to Ceylon. Education in Ceylon stopped with the qualifying of men for the Government machinery and the professions. Though India too did this, her sons did not stop thinking and dreaming. Trade and Commerce, Science and Art, Philosophy and Religion had each its votaries. India, therefore, has her Tatas and Walchands, Kamans and Tagores, Radhakrishnans and Gandhis. The vastness of the Indian continent might be regarded as a factor that has contributed to the emergence of so many great men. The insularity of Lilliputian Ceylon is perhaps responsible for the dwarfed personalities whose achievements have been no less dwarfish. Little things easily upset Ceylon's equilibrium. It has become a bear garden where differences multiply with the number of self-seekers. These are invariably magnified in a small island, but are lost or ignored in the high conflicts of great thoughts and ideals in the neighbouring continent. Little things and little men hold the stage here while great things and great men hold sway there.

The Hope

With the reparation of Ceylon

Letter to the Editor

Local Government Service

Sir,—It has given me immense satisfaction to find that at last the member for Galle has made the longfelt suggestion that a Local Government Service should be established. Added value was there when the Hon'ble, the Minister for Local Administration told the house then that he too had in view a scheme on those lines.

I venture to make a few suggestions. One is that careful attention should be paid in the selection of clerks for village committees for they stand parallel to the permanent Civil heads of other Local Bodies, like Municipalities. The Chairman is there and the members too, but they change at least once in three years. Only a moral responsibility could be attached to them. Therefore the real responsibility rests with the clerk. It is not too much if facilities are also provided to them to deposit collections.

Another important point that needs the immediate attention of the Authorities is the condition of service of clerks. They must be granted a fixed scheme of salaries, increments, promotions, leave and pensions. Then, the final authority to take disciplinary action as regards the V. O. Staff should not be vested with the Village Committees.

In consideration of the above and other minor problems the creation of a Local Government Service is the best possible solution. I hope the Hon'ble the Minister would be kind enough to put into action what he told the house the other day.

May I also suggest that a conference of All Ceylon Village Committee Staff—just like the conference of the Urban Council Staff that took place on the 29th at the Technical College—he called by the Commissioner of Local Government, to thrash out these urgent problems.

Yours etc.,

K. C. THURASINGHE,
Valdukoddi, 30 8-11.

from India began the former's degeneracy. She hitched her wagon to Britain and cut herself off from her old moorings. The new impact stunned and exhausted her, leaving in her little life and vitality to steer her own course. With the establishment of the Peradeniya University, however, let us hope that she will return, like the prodigal son, repentant and wise, to discover her own soul. This soul planted in its native soil of culture and traditions and manured with the best available knowledge from other countries should certainly thrive well and bear such fruit as will compel recognition from the outside world. That day, who knows when, will Ceylon have proved her existence. Then, as the Mayor of Colombo wishes, Ceylon would have justified the millions she has (wasted) spent on education. Her name will thereafter be identified not with Lord Lipton's tea plantations, but with something higher and nobler which the world holds in respect.

The Indo-Ceylon Talks

Views of Jaffna Indians

A meeting of the Jaffna District Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress was held at 6 p.m. on Monday, the First of September, at the Barathy Bhashya Vidyasalai, Vannarponnai, with Dr. M. O. Chacko, the President, in the chair. At this meeting two important resolutions, one condemning the recent Indo-Burma agreement and the other urging the Government of India to adhere to the position taken by it-delegation at the conference with the Ceylon Ministerial delegates last November regarding the status and rights of Indians resident in Ceylon, were passed. The second resolution urged that the forthcoming Talks should be only exploratory, and no agreement should be reached without the prior consent of the Ceylon Indian Congress.

Mr. A. Sitaraman, moving the first resolution, described the events leading to the Indo-Burma Talks and the thoroughly unsatisfactory nature of the terms of the agreement. Indians all over the world were shocked by the manner and iniquitous terms of the agreement, and this agreement had been roundly condemned by Indians of all shades of opinion. It was no exaggeration to say that the agreement had not found any single individual or party to support it. Mahatma Gandhi's statement on the Indo-Burma agreement issued last week has exposed to the world the gross injustice done to the Indians in Burma. Mr. M. Veerabhadran Chettiyar, the President of the Indian Traders' Association Jaffna, seconded the resolution.

The second resolution on the Indo-Ceylon Talks was moved by Mr. T. N. Subbiah who stressed the need for vigilance on the part of Indians in Ceylon. The terms of the Indo-Burma agreement have proved very unsatisfactory

because Indians in Burma had failed to place their case convincingly before the Raj delegation, and the public had not been taken into the confidence of the Government of India. The Delegation to Ceylon has two very able and experienced statesmen, and we have been assured that no agreement will be entered into before giving the Indian public an opportunity to discuss the question. He wanted that the Ceylon Indian Congress, as the central organization of Indians in the Island, should be consulted before any agreement was reached.

Mr. K. S. Ramachandra Iyer who supported the resolution urged Indians in Ceylon to speak with one voice on the question and stressed the need for passing resolutions like the one he supported. He did not want the case of Indians in Ceylon to go by default.

Mr. M. S. M. Buhari, President, Indian Muslim Association, Jaffna, stressed the importance of the resolution in that it gave expression to the fear in the heart of every Indian in Ceylon that he might be let down as badly as his compatriot in Burma.

The President in his concluding remarks exhorted all members to register themselves as voters for the State Council elections.

The meeting came to a close with a hearty vote of thanks proposed by the Secretary.

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[Q. 82 7-8-6-11-41.]

THE ELEMENTS OF SAIVA SIDDHANTAM

(Continued from page 4)

be likened to a crystal which cannot stand by itself but flourishes by clinging to whatever it catches on to. Or it is like a crystal which assumes the colour of whatever object it is placed near. The most favourite simile with our writers is, the eye. இருளில் இருளாகி எல் இடத்தில் எல் ஆம், பொருள் இல்லாத புழி, says Umapathiyar. Is there no such thing in the world that appears dark in darkness and shines in the light? Such things are the eye, the crystal, &c. The eye has the capacity to see just in the same way that the soul has the capacity to know, but when there is no light and it is placed in darkness (Anaya Malai) it is dark and unable to see (know) but when it dawns and the sun (God) rises the eye (soul) partakes of the light (Guanam) and sees (knows.) Just as continued contact with light is essential for the eye to see, contact with God (or His Grace) is essential for the soul to remain in the freed (or Moksha) state. Hence it is that we state that the soul is dependent on God even in the state of Moksham.

—(To be Continued)

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