

# THE Hindu Organ.



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## Keep Your Leaders Under Control!

By  
A Correspondent

### Tamils' Only Hope of Salvation

#### A Lesson for Ceylon

I trust readers of the "Hindu Organ" have read in the Indian papers about the action taken by the President of the Muslim League against Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Prime Minister of the Punjab, Mr. Fazlul Huq and all those members of the League who have joined the Defence Council or the Central Executive Council. The reasons given by Mr. Jinnah for his action may not sound very convincing to everyone but, in the result the incident shows that Indian political associations are prepared to assert themselves with reference to the conduct of the most distinguished and influential of their members. The Prime Minister of the Punjab has a position of his own in his province as well as in the political life of India as a whole. He is a realist in politics and is one of those who believe in giving whole-hearted support to Britain in the conduct of the war. In obedience to the mandate of the League, he has resigned from the Defence Council. Mr. Huq has asked for time. It is evident that the President of the Muslim League and the Working Committee are not prepared to subordinate their policy to the personalities who have the handling of it. One wonders how some of our leaders would react to orders given by the Jaffna Association, the Ceylon National Congress, or the Sinhala Maha Sabha. I have in mind more than one gentleman in Ceylon who, in spite of the obvious disservice he has rendered to the cause of his electorate, still finds a place in the State Council. The Tamils themselves have been let down very badly on more than one occasion. I would remind them of the agitation over the question of site for the new University, the Tamil boycott of the State Council, and the vital question of political reform. The considered views of men like Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir Ambalavannar Kanagasabai, and Mr. A. Sabapathy, one of

the distinguished editors of the "Hindu Organ", were set at naught. The Tamils, however, share, with the other communities of the island, the virtue of tolerance towards their leaders. The truth seems to be that public opinion has not reached a high standard. If its judgments are sometimes defective, its ability to enforce its judgments, even when these are indisputably correct, is simply nil. As for the Tamils, their whole attitude towards things is dominated by two ideas: the desirability of not offending the sensibilities of prominent persons and the wisdom of pretending, for the sake of appearances, to be satisfied with a state of things, which, in their heart of hearts, they themselves condemn. We must try and get over these two grave racial defects. Until we do so, Jaffna will continue to fare in the political field as miserably as she has done in recent times. One may not agree with all that Mr. Jinnah says, but one cannot fail to admire the fact that he is no respecter of persons and that even the tallest of Muslim leaders are brought to book by the Working Committee of the Muslim League and its president.

#### A Fatal Defect

REGARDING the Indian problem, I feel that, unless there is a radical change in the Constitution of Ceylon whereby all communities will be adequately represented and the principle of balance of power introduced, it will be almost impossible to come to any permanent and satisfactory settlement with India. Neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India can influence the Ceylon Government as the latter is at present constituted. The only alternative is that there must be a change in the constitution of the Ceylon Government. Only such a change will bring about a change for the better in the relations between India and Ceylon. The influence of the Government

of India and the influence of the Imperial Government are external factors. The Government of Ceylon, speaking for the people of Ceylon, must be so constituted as to reflect the views of the country as a whole, which, I think, are more favourable towards a friendly settlement with India than the attitude of the present Board of Ministers. Unless this internal change in the machinery of Government is brought about, outside agencies will fail to achieve anything more than a compromise for the time being.

#### Divide et Impera

WHILE I am on the subject of Indo-Ceylon relations, it would not be amiss if I referred to the policy of *divide et impera* which is just one of the many political vices the Ministry and its supporters have copied from England. These politicians are even now alleging that the British are practising this policy and they are very sore about it. The same thing is said by politicians of the Indian National Congress. Our Indian visitors, who form the delegation now in Ceylon, may conclude from the attempt to take up this old grievance of pre-reform days, that the British in Ceylon are at the old game. The truth is entirely different and cannot fail to entertain the older politicians amongst the Indian delegates. The truth is that the old game is being played by the politicians in power. This ought to be made clear to the Indian delegates. Having established a control over the island based entirely on communal ideas, these politicians are now trying to consolidate their position and overawe other communities by putting into operation, so far as the Tamils are concerned, this principle of *divide et impera* so dear to the heart of that type of British imperialism, which, at least so far as Ceylon is concerned, is almost extinct. They are trying to set the Indian Tamils against the

Ceylon Tamils and the Ceylon Tamils against the Indian Tamils. Their object is to divide the two sections of the Tamil community. Ceylon Tamils, who support the reasonable and just demands of the Indians, are accused of selling the country to outsiders, viz., Indians; Indian Tamils who wish to be on friendly terms with Ceylon Tamils are accused of supporting the reactionaries. I repeat that their whole object is to divide the two sections of the Tamil race in Ceylon by intimidation, cajolery, deception and every other form of artifice which were supposed to be the stock-in-trade of the ruling race to continue its control over the subject peoples. A Ceylon Tamil leader like Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam, than whom there is no truer and greater nationalist, is accused of being a friend of the Indians and of being a traitor to the people of this country. Indian Tamil leaders like Mr. I. X. Pereira, who is nothing if not National, is accused of being an opponent of the political progress of this country. This campaign is carried on not only by these politicians, but also by their press and their satellites in the public service.

#### A Very Old Trick

THESE politicians know that Indian public men are keen on the political advancement of their own country and that they cordially dislike the reactionary in politics. So, when visitors come from India, in so many little ways, in the press, at the dinner table, the great truth is dianned into the ears of the visitors that the leaders of the local Indian community are political reactionaries. This is done for no other reason than to cloud the real issues and prejudice the cause of Ceylon Indians in the eyes of Indian politicians. It is a false excuse invented as a cloak for their own sins. This reminds me of a story I heard about a local option poll. A drunken objector to the principle of local option was very noisy. An over-zealous temperance worker handled him roughly. The objector cried out and the officer who presided wanted to know from the headman what it was all about. The headman was

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### AMERICA'S INTERVENTION

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S decision to keep German and Italian marauders out of the American defensive zone in the Atlantic is an epoch-making event. With large commitments in the Mediterranean and the Far East, the British naval forces available for the protection of the sea lanes in the Atlantic are not as powerful as they should be. It is very much to the credit of the British Fleet that, in spite of these obvious handicaps, it has succeeded in reducing, to an appreciable extent, the losses inflicted by enemy craft on a line of supply so vital to the conduct of the war. That Hitler's campaign against British shipping with the avowed object of enforcing a blockade of the British Isles was remarkably well conceived and executed with the ruthlessness so characteristic of the Germans has been evident from the initial successes of his campaign. There was the same success, and the same ruthlessness, during the last war too, but, on both occasions, German piracy had to reckon with the traditional American hostility towards any manner of interference with the freedom of the seas. Add to this the fact that, while during the earlier stages of the last war the people of the United States were inclined to be friendly towards the Germans, long before the first shot was fired in the present struggle the fundamental philosophy of the Nazi regime as well as its excesses had placed Germany well outside the pale of American sympathy. With every victory of Hitler over the nations of Europe American hostility towards Germany has increased and this has been followed by a grim determination to see the democracies through at any cost. The amendment to the Neutrality Act, the Lease and Lend Bill, and now the President's order to shoot at sight—these are proof of the growing realisation in the United States of the truth that the cause of America and of the European democracies is one and the same. Apart from the sinister implications of German hegemony over Europe, referred to by the President in his latest broadcast, the impossibility of American democracy surviving the destruction of its European counterpart has become increasingly apparent to the American public. There is to a great extent a certain measure of historical truth in this view which cannot be ignored. The rise

of the great American democracy would have been impossible with a Britain as a mere vassal of Continental despotism and the France of Rousseau and Robespierre mouthing the jargon of a new tyranny far more intolerable than the tyranny of the French Kings. It would perhaps be more correct to say that the rise of democracy in Europe had its climax and its complete justification in the democracy of the United States. When, therefore, the Germans not only proclaim their intention of doing away with the freedom of individuals and nations, but also demonstrate the success of their war on that freedom, it is inevitable that Americans should tell themselves that the point of definite danger, not only to Europe but also to America, has been reached.

Unfortunately for the peace of mankind, the very virtues of the German race are also their vice. They are superb in their thoroughness and their capacity for organisation but their plans have always failed to take into account ordinary human factors which contribute so much to the upsetting of the best of plans. With all their knowledge, the Germans have ever displayed a truly amazing ignorance of human nature. They never understood the Americans, and they have not taken the trouble to understand the Asiatics. Take their propaganda in America and Asia. The whole campaign has miscarried because the emergence of Germany as a Fascist Power has come to be rightly regarded as something utterly inimical to the liberty of the world. This grim aspect of German political philosophy was only partly understood during the last war. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs acted as a screen, and people accustomed to look at the surface of things thought there was little difference between the monarchy of the Germans and the monarchy of the British. The German Reichstag under the Kaiser clothed in the trappings of democracy served to intensify the illusion. The world is greatly indebted to Hitler for presenting Germany to the world in all her nakedness, in all the blood-stained panoply of a master race that knows no rights and no duties. It is this revealing pose of Hitler's Germany that has shocked the world and at the same time sealed the fate of Hitler; for, there is not the slightest doubt that the entry of the United States into the war, limited though it is to certain specific purposes, can have only one effect on the future course of events: the defeat of Germany. The British and American Fleets in the Atlantic, assisted by the Air forces of the two countries, will have no difficulty in disposing of the sorry improvisation with which Hitler sought to establish a naval blockade. As we have said, the plan was cunningly conceived and ruthlessly executed, but it had to depend for its eventual success on the acquiescence of the United States and a progressive weakening in British naval strength. These calculations have now been falsified. The British Navy is today much stronger than it was before the war, and the American President has proclaimed his decision to give short shrift to piracy.

## Notes & Comments

### The Fifth Column

A WRITER in one of the Colombo papers inclines to the view that "fifth column activity is not altogether absent in the present atmosphere of the Indo-Ceylon talks." Apparently, there are three groups of these fifth-columnists. There are those Ceylonese who are beholden to Indian interests here; some of those Ceylonese politicians who depend on the Indian vote at the elections; and a group of officials and others who like to stand well with the Indians. If there are Ceylonese politicians who depend on the Indian vote, it is equally true that there are others who would like to see that vote eliminated from an election campaign. This is what is meant by the statement that the anti-Indian agitation is not altogether prompted by economic reasons.

### Of Course

AN indignant correspondent, writing to a Colombo paper, affirms that, if the peasantry of any nation perishes it cannot survive. Of course, it cannot. You don't perish and at the same time survive. The correspondent proceeds further: with the extinction of the rural population, we are told, will come the extinction of the religion they profess, leaving only Muslims, Tamils, Malaysians and Catholic villagers to survive. Under these circumstances, let rural Ceylon by all means thrive on a mixed diet, and leave the perishing as well as the surviving to less wise mortals.

### Bad News

HERE is bad news for Communism in Ceylon: a special session of the Clermont Ferrand court martial is reported to have sentenced several communists for having attempted to reconstitute the communist party. Two communists were sentenced to death, two were sentenced to hard labour for life, and others to varying terms of imprisonment. This is indeed too much to pay for what has been successfully pleaded in Ceylon as a joke.

### A Bee Demonstration

IT is announced in the press that a demonstration in the handling of bees will be given at the Government Training College premises, Colombo, on Saturday next, and that the public are cordially invited to be present. The public will do well to remember that the bees are no respecters of persons.

### The Public Trustee

THE Public Trustee has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of the Supreme Court. In delivering his judgment in a recent case, Mr. Justice Keeneman said: "In my opinion, the conduct of the appellant (the Public Trustee) fell very far short of the conduct which may be expected of a prudent man dealing with this property as his own. The District Judge has held that the loss was due to the gross negligence and supineness of the appellant, and I cannot say that that finding is not justified on the evidence." It remains to be seen what the authorities will do. The matter is one that calls for immediate inquiry.

### What Really Matters

THE recent Village Committee elections in the North reveal a state of affairs that demands the immediate attention of leaders and authorities alike. The elections have, as a whole, marred the harmony of village life. Where once the villagers lived a peaceful life the elections have driven a wedge. The traditional good neighbourliness of the villager has given place to petty rivalry and bit-

terness. In short, the evil consequences that flow from an election campaign leave the villager a sadder man. He undergoes a mud-bath in the course of exercising his vote to elect a village representative. Every inducement to win his vote is used, regardless of the reactions that linger behind to render his life uncomfortable, if not miserable. Wrong ideas of prestige, caste feelings, intimidation, inducements, false hopes and questionable tactics let loose in the course of an election remain to wreak their vengeance. The village thus becomes a bear garden, the worse for every triennial visitation. This might seem an overdrawn picture. But facts are facts. There is, however, no way out, but to go through the soul-crushing mill to qualify ourselves for self-rule. These are inevitable pangs for the birth of political consciousness among our masses. But, are there no better and healthier methods of learning the elementary lessons of self-help and self-rule? The pity of it is that those whose duty is to teach do not pause to think of these questions. They merely take the country by storm periodically and leave the devil to mind the rest.

### The Real Task

THE question of teaching the villager to appreciate his responsibilities as citizen never worries the place-seeker whose concern for the voter begins and ends with the election. This brings us face to face with a grim position, in shameful contrast to what one finds in other subject countries which are politically conscious and aspire for freedom. There are leaders in those countries who, spurning power, politics and places, silently but effectively work among the masses to better the lot of the latter, and incidentally educate them on their rights and duties. These really are the nation-builders, patriots to the core. In Ceylon we have only politicians and politicians and hardly any nation-builder. The crying need of the country is a band of social workers who will endeavour to ameliorate the conditions of the masses and instil into them ideas of self-help and self-respect which could certainly achieve greater things than what the mere adult franchise granted to them could ever hope to. The Indian villager of today is not the cringing, indifferent and incapable person of a decade ago. A number of popular movements aiming at diverse forms of social amelioration have achieved for India socially, economically and politically what the legislatures for long years were unable to achieve. The All-India Spinners' Association, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Temple-entry movement, the Rural Reconstruction movement—to mention only a few—under the inspiration of the great political organisation, the Indian National Congress, have helped, more than all the political associations put together, to place India on the road to self-dependence and self-rule.

### What Ceylon Should Do

CEYLON'S progress, it should be clear to any thinking man, lies also in that direction. Politicians might be left severely alone to indulge their vote-winning hobbies. Selfless workers are the need of the country. There is a faint glow seen on the horizon: rural reconstruction seems to capture the imagination of a few youth here as well as in South Ceylon, and there are signs that the movement will gain momentum and become a means of uplifting the villager. Ceylon will do well to profit by the glorious record of the achievements of the silent and devoted social workers who are building up a better and happier India.



# Nations Died For Want of Religion

## Example of Ancient Rome

I

### Epic Poetry and Religion

**E**PIC poetry is the birth and inspiration of national history. While history records the events in the life of a nation, epic poetry sings the glory and birth of a nation. If epic poetry is not a faithful record of facts, it is because Gods and men so intermix and interact that one has to believe that the destiny of human beings in the group is influenced and interfered too much with by the Immortals. But one so inclined must remember that, however scientific-minded and sophisticated many may have grown, the tendency to father anything novel and daring on the Gods is deep-rooted in man and is an unconscious tribute to his — may it be said — divine potentiality. Or it may be that in moments of profound inspiration, as is the case with the Epic poet, the gulf between Heaven and Earth is transcended and to the poet's vision man is but the Supreme creature for God to worry about yet. However, history has not recorded of any nation that has not had its divine origin according to the Epic poetry, or has not been born under its peculiar Olympic auspices. It is clear, then, that of the birth of a nation is if celestial parentage, according to the Epic poet, its significance is that religion is a great motive power in the birth and growth of a nation, and that the success of the founder of a nation is entirely due to the collective response of his followers who co-operate with him in the belief and with the feeling that it is God that has sent the leader for them to serve and obey.

### Evolution of Religion

**T**HE evolution of religion, like the evolution of the species, is from the simple to the complex. Primitive religion is a story of child-like belief and childish practices, for, it was in that era in human history that the marvels of nature and the sublime magnificence of the Heavens enthralled man in awe and fear, before could reason awoke and unravelled to him the mysteries of Nature.

In the age of primitive religions, the collective life of man was in its tribal stage with its mysteries and taboos. The Leader or the Chief of the tribe was the elect of God and he ruled the tribe, gave them laws and held the tribe together in common fear of the same Godhead. The word 'Religion' from 'religior', to bind together, gives the meaning of 'that which binds or holds together', suggesting that religion had a political origin and significance before it assumed in course of time, its peculiar meaning of the path to salvation. The religion of the individual consisted in ancestor-worship and the worship of the forces of nature personified, but there were tribal religious practices in which the whole tribe took part. Such were Spring Festivals, Harvest Festivals and the like. Group practice of this kind held the tribe together by inspiring in each member of the tribe the belief that the welfare and security of the tribe depended to a great extent on the

cumulative effect of their individual supplications to the Godhead. The administration of the morality and discipline of the tribe was left in the hands of a few aged men chosen for their wisdom as the special interpreters of the will of the Godhead. The body politic in the tribal stage ran its course smoothly till a disaster of Nature or of some hostile tribe overtook it. Especially in the latter instance, the faith in the invincibility of one's own Gods is due to the superiority of the victorious tribes' Gods. Religion, then, in its early stages, was a means to an end. The state was regarded as the reality to whose welfare the lives of men were subordinate. A model state of this type was Sparta. It took years of evolution before the meaning of religion was understood, and rescued from its role of a hand-aid to politics.

### Man's Two Worlds

**M**AN lives in two worlds, one the world of concrete realities and the other the world of abstractions. Action and reflection are the twin activities of the human organism, and the excellence of civilisation is assessed by the degree to which the conflict between the two is reduced to its possible minimum, and life becomes harmonious, without the inner conflict that always vexed the thoughtful man like Shakespeare's Prince of Denmark. The greatest movements in history, the highest achievements of dramatic art, the soaring flights of philosophy or religious speculation, these all depict the play of conflict. The lives of the great religious founders tell the same story of the conflict in their lives, how they wrestled with the problem and having found a solution compassionately taught their fellows the way of liberation. All religious teaching, then, is devoted to man's problem of adjustment to the Universe, even as all educational effort is directed to the adjustment of the child to the society of which it is a unit. In like manner, civics teaches what correct citizenship is, and politics the right and duties of a man as a unit of the state. Man is born, without choice, into numerous institutions, a truth that Rousseau, the high priest of the French Revolution, aptly stated in the words "man is born free and yet is everywhere in chains." The newborn child grows into the adult who has to adjust himself to his family, his society, his state, his religion and lastly the Universe. By Universe is meant the unity that man perceives in the multitude of institutions, conceptions, ideals etc., that the inner and the outer world abounds with. Religions and state, being the products of Man's mind, are the off-springs of the conflict of the inner and outer worlds, being the solution by man of the problem of life. Man, among other things, is a member of a religion and also of a nation; there is the emotional response of man to his religious ideals and also in his national ideal. Most men are born into the religions of their forefathers, which, if they had the choice, they probably would never

have followed. This also applies with equal force to the nation of which they are units. Such thinking is an illustration of what philosophers call the freedom of the will, but the forces of custom, compulsion, environment and heredity are too overwhelming for men to strive against. Medieval European history illustrates the tyranny of tradition. It was after the dawn of the Renaissance in Europe that the new spirit of criticism and free thinking liberated man from the shackles of tradition and reduced the conflict between the inner world of thinking and the outer world of action, thus enabling man to live according to his thinking, like a rational being. This stage is a land-mark in the development of man as a rational being. But the rational gains of man have been at the expense of his national entity to which he belonged. The Holy Roman Empire was possible with one emperor and one Church, the Pope being the Spiritual head and the Emperor the temporal. The emotional bond that held people together was the Roman Catholic Religion, so that the establishment of a political Empire was possible. But with the fall of Constantinople before the Turks and the flight of classical scholars from that city to Italy, the Greek spirit of free criticism and scientific inquiry that one imbibes from a study of the Greek and Latin writers, set free the spirit of revolt against a corrupt and tottering Empire that was held down by the weight of belief and tradition. The Holy Roman Empire crumbled down, and modern Europe arose with its new conceptions of rationalism and Protestantism. It is evident, then, how the emotional homogeneity that religion can achieve among men is a potent force to create and sustain an Empire, and also how the disturbance of that homogeneity spells disaster for the political superstructure reared on such a foundation.

The Roman Empire, before it became Holy, was a victim of such disturbing forces. Empire connotes dominion and exploitation, and without subject peoples to be enslaved and taxed, the pomp and grandeur of an aristocracy cannot be maintained. After the magnificent victories of Pompey, Caesar and Antony, the city state of Rome became a world-empire, and foreign slaves, foreign customs and foreign religious practices infested Rome. The ancient religion of Rome that was simple but austere degenerated with the advent of the new and alien influences; that Roman Moral Code of virtue and discipline lost its hold over Romans. The family, that Roman institution remarkable for its solid and preservative character, with its Pater-familias, and Materfamilias, became corrupt and impure. The Roman aristocracy that had given to Rome great generals and statesmen was now transformed into a swarm of licentious rakes wallowing in vice, voluptuousness, oppressing the subject countries. Highborn youths and maidens from the conquered lands were sold in the slave-markets at Rome to serve in the harems of Patrician libertines. Roman virtue now stood for oppression and vice, and provided a singular nursery for the birth of a new religion of love and humility. In

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distant Nazareth was born the humble carpenter's son whose simple message of love won the hearts of men living in an atmosphere of hatred and Roman tyranny. The dignity of man was re-established and his freedom and value restated by the message of Christ. The religion of love won in its conflict with a degenerate and soulless Paganism, but the victory of humanitarian spirit meant the vanquishing and fall of imperial Rome. The new religion sounded the death-knell of the Roman Empire. If the emotional homogeneity of the Roman world had not been disturbed by the influence and force of Christianity, probably Roman virtue could have re-discovered itself and the wide arch of the Roman Empire still stood defying decay and time. But that was not to be, and the victory of the human spirit was purchased at dear price, as a true Roman would have said.

### Religion A Conserving Factor

**I**T would appear then that religion is a great conserving factor of national integrity, both directly and indirectly. The direct influence of religion on national greatness is seen in a people of religious homogeneity, instances of which are found in ancient history. On the other hand, in countries where the population is not religiously homogeneous, national unity is endangered by the existence of diverse religions among the people. Modern history is full of the problem of minorities, be they racial, religious or otherwise. European history of the 16th and 17th centuries is a record of the conflict between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The defeat of the Spanish Armada was the defeat of Popery. The victories of Cromwell were the triumphs of Protestantism which was only about 150 years old in England. The 18th and 19th centuries are known as the age of reason and the age of science, and during these periods there is a marked decline in the influence of religion on national history. Religion became a personal matter, and the state left it there. Good conduct was a legal or social necessity and a man's morals a matter for his conscience. Religion was thriftily reserved for the Sunday in the week. Among the European nations, there was a race for colonial empire outside Europe side by side with a race for democracy within Europe. It is the proud boast of the European nations that they are Empires, that they rule over vast regions of the globe, that the sun never sets in their empire. But though countries and people may be held in bondage by the sword and the bomb, the immoral domination over helpless peoples is not an index of national purity or prosperity. On the other hand, the internal history of these nations reveals the rot and the decaying influences at work. There is a growing conflict between the ideals that men believe in and the activities they pursue.



# Wanted - A Corruption Commission

## Forced Levies On Teachers

### A New Policy

IT is gratifying news that, after considering the problem of forced contributions levied by Managers of Schools from teachers, a sub-Committee (composed of the Director of Education, Dr. W. Ivor Jennings, the Very Rev. Fr. M. J. LeGoc, the Rev. R. S. de Saram, Mr. P. de S. Kularatne and Mr. T. B. Jayah) of the special Committee on Education has reported in favour of the following proposal:

"The Department of Education shall not concern itself with the question of contributions made by teachers of Assisted schools for the benefit of the schools; any complaints or disputes that may arise in this connection as between a teacher and a manager shall be taken up by the Teachers Association in the case of English teachers, and by a 'Joint Board' of teachers and managers in the case of Vernacular teachers. The Teachers' Association or the Joint Board, as the case may be, shall take necessary steps to protect the teacher from being victimised for failure to give or continue to give a contribution or contributions."

I suggest that a Corruption Commission be formed to inquire into forced levies on teachers. This Commission should have representatives from each district teachers' associations, which is affiliated to the provincial association and to the All-Ceylon Union of Teachers. Evidence could even be given in camera; the effect would be the supply of startling data. 'Secret' evidence is, in my opinion, to be deplored but is the outcome of the unfortunate, sorry conditions prevailing in the profession today. As the investigation reaches final stages, teachers may be given direct payment as a temporary measure, for, this would expose the irregular practices of the Managers. As an alternative, the Divisional Inspector of Schools may take over the management while investigation proceeds. The Hartley College dis-

continuance case has certainly set many people thinking and along the right lines too! If teachers' associations are to exercise greater protection for members and secure for them the elementary rights of wage-earners, they must be prepared to support, temporarily, a dismissed teacher, whose case is being investigated. A trade-union spirit must develop if the noble profession is not to be ignoble and teachers' associations should acquire greater powers as and when necessary.

### Supreme Committee

THE investigations of the proposed Corruption Commission could be reported on for action to a Supreme Committee composed of a Supreme Court Judge (if we forget the Bracegirdle repercussions), the Auditor-General (to check falsifications in accounts), the Director of Education (to explain his position as partner under the contractual basis of the Code) and a representative of the A. C. U. T. (to air the professional viewpoint). I for one cordially support the suggestion that the Director of Education be provided extra powers with regard to control over the discontinuance of teachers and that Managers of schools should be forced, in cases where this course of action is justified, to reinstate discontinued teachers. The Code should definitely be amended to guarantee the security of tenure of the teachers. Our 'anti-denominationalist' Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara once stated that he could not check a certain manager because he was not the only one guilty of irregularities!

"All this constitutes a serious scandal which must be investigated if worse is not to follow", comments the 'Times of Ceylon' editorially on October 29. "We reiterate the suggestion put forward a few weeks ago—that in view of the barefaced manner in which teachers are robbed and the state defrauded by managers of schools, a Supreme Court

Judge should be appointed to inquire into these allegations of dishonesty". A similar Corruption Commission in Malaya investigated all departments of life affected by bribery and corruption and produced searching revelations. The result was a heartening tonic in the public life of the country. Perhaps the Bribery Commission at present investigating allegations of bribery, as far as State Councillors are concerned, will produce a like effect. In the State Council last year Mr. B. H. Aluvihare condemned a school manager who forced contributions from teachers but the State Council adopted a 'Babes in the Wood' attitude, exemplifying the muddled state of politics so benignly bestowed on us by the Donoughmore Commission. This synchronises with the Government's 'do-no-more' attitude as far as political reforms are concerned!

### Vacancies

WHEN a vacancy occurs on the staff of a school, the candidate, who is prepared to work for the lowest salary and who promises to sign the receipts regularly on the 10th of the month, even if the salary is unpaid, is selected. Things move in a vicious circle and work stagnates. Teachers generally coax their managers and wheedle out their salaries and will have to remain content with whatever is given to them. Too often the teacher has responsibilities which cripple his action and there is always the shadow of the pain of dismissal.

### Salaries

THE payment of salaries in some schools is interesting. In some cases a part-payment is made every month and a lump payment at the end of the financial year. I am assured that the total will never be the full amount due. In other schools each teacher is assigned a class from which he collects the school fees, which is his monthly stipend. He gets a lump sum during "grant" time. Is this a fairy tale? Ask me another.

More than 80% of the teachers are paid irregularly or not in full, stated

By  
**T. KathiraVellu**

a correspondent to the 'Times of Ceylon'. Why then do teachers have a servile mentality and succumb to force of circumstances? Commentator Mr. T. W. Hockly replies, "As a sheep before her shearers is dumb so he opened not his mouth." Most of the letters published in the newspapers were from teachers who dared not sign their name to them for fear of reprisals!

Let us investigate the problem more sympathetically and in stoic prose jot down the results. The Code lays down that teachers must be paid their salaries on or before the 10th of the month following the month of service. Teachers who refuse to sign their receipts whether payment is made or not are the targets of criticism. Some excuse is found and the teacher given notice of discontinuance. He protests, the department holds an enquiry and the Director may approve or disapprove of the discontinuance. The final appeal may be made to the Executive Committee of Education.

Suppose the discontinuance is not approved. The only thing that the department can do, under existing conditions, is to see that no one is appointed to the vacancy. They have not the power to compel the manager to reinstate the dismissed teacher. Sometimes the private management of a school is surrendered. Here government should step in and take over the management. What the majority of teachers want is more government control over English Schools and a Widows' and Orphans' Pension Scheme for the future.

The views expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect my views as Secretary of the Valikaman East Teachers' Association. I am deeply indebted to professional acquaintances who furnished me with the necessary data. To them I say, "Thanks! United we stand!"

## Tamil Demand For Balance Of Power

By  
**"Ceylon Tamil"**

### Why Balance Representation Is Unacceptable

THE recrudescence of the clamour for balanced representation and, preferably a revival of communal representation, has this time assumed a subtle quality and complexion in the plea advanced by "A Correspondent" in the "Hindu Organ."

On previous occasions the agitation for fifty-fifty ratio of representation was pitched to the key of browbeating Whitehall into the grant of balanced representation, quite irrespective of the vital considerations affecting the country as a whole; and, obviously enough, this view was held untenable so much so that Governor

Caldecott did not even care to make a passing reference to this demand in his Reforms Despatch to the Secretary of State for Colonies. Therefore it is surprising that "A Correspondent" still persists in riding the hobby horse in regard to this question of balance of power. Why is this demand for balanced representation unacceptable? This demand is arbitrary, impolitic, mischievous and reactionary. It is arbitrary in the sense that it attempts to convert a majority into a virtual minority. It is impolitic in that it exhibits a sense of narrow sectionalism irrespective of the larger interests of the country. It is mischievous in

that it attempts blindly to play the imperialist game of divide and rule. It is reactionary in that it attempts to revive communal representation in a veiled form and goes against the basic principle of democratic government. This demand has a tinge of Pakistan, whereby our local Jinnahs want to pierce little Ceylon in to geographical parts.

### Useless As a Remedy

BALANCED representation, even if conceded, cannot solve the problems now confronting the minorities. In the first place, the minorities in the island are not united. Their interests clash,

They have not a common cause on which they can unite. The two economically important minorities, the Europeans and Indians in the role of exploiters will never join hands with the exploited Ceylon Tamils. A common religion and a common language will not alone unite the Ceylon Tamil and the Indian Tamil. The economic aspirations of these two run counter to each other. The recent history of the agitation for balanced representation amply illustrates that the minorities are not united in their demand. In spite of the fact that this recent demand for fifty-fifty ratio of representation originated from the mathematical brain of a Scottish Accountant of a Colombo firm, he himself would not take part in the minority deputations that waited on H. E. the Governor to urge the claim for

Continued on page 5



# 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

(Continued from our issue of 8-9-41)

It is this particular characteristic of the soul, its capacity of assimilating the qualities of whatever it is attached to, that is known to the Siddhanti as சார்ந்ததன் வண்ணமாதல் or அது அது வாத்தல் (literally 'that-that becoming') in the words of Meykandan. There is no getting away from this basic teaching of Saiva Siddhantam as regards the nature of the soul in whatever state it is. The soul undergoes many Avasthas (அவத்தைகள்) or states of existence. Three elementary Avasthas may be noticed here, (1) Kevalam (கேவலம்) or lonely state when it is in an undeveloped condition enshrouded in Anavamalam, (2) Sakalam (சகலம்) or bodily state where it is provided with bodies, organs, worlds and objects of enjoyment and (3) Suddham (சுத்தம்) or purified state. We have the following slightly expanded definitions of these Avasthas in Siddhiyar:

அறிவிலன் அழகுந்தன் சித்தன் தூராகதி குணங்கனோடும்  
செறிவிலன் கலாதியோடும், சேர்வுஇலன் செயல்கள் இல்லா  
குறிஇலன் கருத்தா இல்லன் போகத்தில் கொண்கை இல்லா  
பிரிவு இலன் மலத்தினோடும் வியாபி கேவலத்தில் ஆன்மா

Non-intelligent, bodiless, imperishable, not possessed with even the innermost of the internal organs, actionless, desire-less, not a self-agent, not possessed of the appetite for enjoyment, united to and co-existent with Anava Malam, such is the soul in its Kevala state.

உருவிலன் கொண்டு போக போகியத்து உன்னல் செப்பல்  
வருசெயல் மருவிச் சத்தம் ஆதியாம் விடயம் தன்னில்  
புரிவதும் செய்து இங்கு எல்லையோளியும் புக்கு உணந்து  
தரிதரும் சுலமான அவத்தையில் சிவன் சென்றே

Endowed with a body and internal and external organs and the faculties of desire, knowledge and action, possessed with the appetite for enjoyment, subject to births and deaths, in localized pervasiveness or co-pervasive with the products of Maya, such is the soul in its Sakala state.

இருவினைச் செயல்கள் ஒப்பில் இசைந்தன் சத்தி தேயல்  
குருஅருள் பெற்று ஞானயோகத்தைக் குறுகி முன்னே  
திரிமலம் அழகுத்துப் பண்டைச் சிற்றறிவு ஒழித்து ஞானம்  
பெருகி நாயகந்தன் பாதம் பெறுவது சத்தம் ஆமே

When the stage of eyeing good and evil equally is reached and the Lord's Grace descends on the soul, it gets the Guru's blessing, practices Guana Sadana, gets rid of the three Malas and of its localized knowledge, becomes omniscient and reaches the feet of the Lord. Such is the Suddha state of the soul.

To be continued

## KEEP YOUR LEADERS UNDER CONTROL!

Continued from page 1

wise in his generation and calmly informed the officer that the man was crying out for his son, and the victim was proted through the crowd to continue the search. This is what the communalists in the State Council are doing. They are doing their best to divide the Tamils and also to separate one minority from the other. It is a matter of public interest that this aspect of the matter should be fully understood by the Indian delegates. Occasional visitors from India are generally ignorant of local conditions but they nevertheless attempt to study the conditions in Ceylon during a short stay and make their decisions. It is also a matter which must be kept in mind by both sections of the Tamil community who cannot afford to forget it if they want to survive and if Ceylon is to become one united self-governing nation. It is nothing but natural that both sections of the Tamil community should instinctively draw towards one another. It is not a conspiracy against the legitimate ambitions of any community; it is only an effort at self-preservation. The cry that this unity of Ceylon and Indian Tamils is intended to harm others cannot deceive any impartial student of

affairs in Ceylon. The only method of evolving a Ceylonese nation is for each of the communities to look to its own unity and thereafter unite with the other communities in a common endeavour to promote the welfare of all. If the Indian and Ceylon sections of the Tamil community are not united, how can they expect to achieve unity with the other races in Ceylon?

### Villages Tribunals

I HAVE read with a good deal of interest the articles in the "Hindu Organ" about the attempt now being made to enlarge the jurisdiction of Village Tribunals. I would suggest to the lawyers of Jaffna that they should lose no time in making representations to the members of the State Council and the Legal Secretary. Every lawyer attends to his own affairs and when some unsatisfactory piece of legislation is passed, it will not do merely to blame the State Councilors. The legal profession as a body sleeps over many matters but individual members do not hesitate, in the library or elsewhere, to keep up a running fire of comment, good well as bad, on the Legal Secretary and State Councilors. Let the lawyers take the initiative and press their views in advance.

## TAMIL DEMAND FOR BALANCE OF POWER

Continued from page 4

such a representation. Mr. Kerr would only hold "a watching brief"! So much for the solicitude and support of the ex President of the European Association. Not even the marathon speech of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam would convert the European group in the State Council and some other minority members in Council to his way of thinking, when a division was taken at the Reforms Debate in the State Council. Another significant fact to be remembered is that the minority members in the Council, and more particularly, the European nominated members were mainly responsible for the election of an All Sinhalese Board of Ministers although Sir Baron Jayatilleke has indiscreetly taken upon himself the credit for such a Ministry. Messrs. Cary, Pereira, Villiers, and Parfitt could certainly have decided otherwise the election of Ministers in some Executive Committees. Yet, they thought it fit to pull their weights with the Sinhalese. Then why blame the Sinhalese? The shortsighted and selfish policy and conduct of some of the Tamil representatives in the Council and a caucus in Jaffna has literally reduced the once important community—the Ceylon Tamils—to the pitiable role of political orphans in the island.

### Interests Identical

POLITICALLY and economically the interests of over three million Sinhalese are identical. But the political and economic interests of over two million Tamil-speaking population are divergent. Indeed, it would be a Herculean task to rally them round a common plank. One must always bear in mind the cardinal fact that the Europeans and Indians in the role of exploiters cannot be ever expected to sympathise with the Ceylon Tamils, whatever lip service they may do to the Tamil cause. Their attitude to Ceylon problems is entirely governed by other considerations than the future political status of the Ceylon Tamils. But, on the other hand, the Ceylon Tamils and the Sinhalese, as the exploited communities in the island have common problems that would unite them. The sooner some of our Tamil friends realise this, the better it is for all. Purely from self-interest, the

European and the Indian must compromise with the Sinhalese. And the agitation against the Indian in Ceylon is economic more than anything else. The Indian labourer not only allows himself to be exploited, but also allows his foreign master to deprive the Ceylonese peasant of his land and opportunities for work. The Indian has become a serious rival to the normal life of the Ceylonese. The Indian capitalist has sucked the life blood of the race. By a process of peaceful exploitation, Indian capital has deprived the Ceylonese of their lands. In trade, they exert a stranglehold on the country. Hence, if Ceylonese attempt to put their house in order, people of the type of "A Correspondent" should not raise the cry of discrimination and attribute Chauvinistic tendencies to the people of the country. On the other hand, Ceylon will welcome all Indians who make this Island their permanent home, but under no circumstances should a single Indian who comes here to make Ceylon his Eldorado be tolerated. An unrestricted flow of Indians—labourers or otherwise—in large numbers with no permanent interest in the island should not be allowed.

### The Tamil Quislings

THERE has been some reference to Quislings among Tamils in the "Hindu Organ". Does "A Correspondent" refer to those Tamils who have opposed the Lavals among them who have been the greatest allies of foreign exploiters? Tamil Councilors, particularly two of them, and their small band of reactionaries have, in collusion with the foreign elements in the Island, done a great deal of harm to the Tamils and Ceylon. They have suffered themselves to be used as scapegoats by imperial and Indian interests in the country.

One cannot understand how "A Correspondent" can argue that Tamils and the rest of Ceylon should subordinate the larger interests of the country just to meet the fifty-fifty demand which has no moral or political basis. "A Correspondent" and others of his mentality would do well to remember that such unreasonable and arbitrary demands would import to Ceylon the unfortunate conditions that prevail in the India of today.

### SAIVA LECTURES AT SELVA SANNITHY

During the recent festival season at this temple Valliamthirumana-padalam, which forms part of the Skandapurana, was chanted and discourses on the songs were made by Messrs. M. Thanbiappah and Vidwan Nadarajapillai during the nights from 6.30 p. m. to 10 p. m. Lectures on 'அடியார்க் பெருமை' திருவாசகம் and பரண்படனம் were also delivered during the last three nights by Mr. Vidwan Nadarajapillai, one subject being taken for each night. Several devotees attended the discourses and lectures, which were arranged by the residents of Thondaimanar and the staff of the Thondaimanar Hindu English School.

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



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## THE ISSUES AT STAKE

Sir,—Living as we do in the midst of a titanic conflict, which all thinking people are agreed, will usher in fundamental changes in the world, it is indispensable that we must have a clear grasp of the forces that are determining the course of world development. In times of stress and storm, in times when events follow each other at hurricane speed, when what takes ten years of normal development takes place in ten months, the minds of most of us are bound to be dazed. We are overwhelmed by the kaleidoscopic changes that flash before our eyes in the world arena. But it is precisely at such times that a firm grasp of the fundamental facts of the situation is required and clarity on the issues involved is indispensable if we are to be able consciously to fashion our future and not to be helpless victims of blind social forces.

The most important link in the chain of present world events is the Soviet-German War. Fascism, having dominated Europe, has hurled itself against the Soviet Union in an attempt, though a hopeless attempt, to smash the most formidable obstacle that stood in the way of its aim of world domination. It is therefore necessary that an answer to these questions is given. What does Nazi Germany stand for? What does the Soviet Union stand for?

What is the record of the Hitler gangsters? It is a record of dastardly destruction, of barefaced, brutal, brigandage. The inauguration of the Nazi regime was heralded by the burning of the Reichstag and accompanied by the destruction of elementary human rights and by the concentration camp. Other achievements to the credit of this robber regime are the burning of all progressive literature and the destruction of culture. The culminating achievement of these blood-thirsty fiends was the misuse of science for purposes of war. They put the entire economy of the country on a war-footing and piled up masses of armaments. "Guns not butter" became the slogan of these criminals, a slogan which has led and is leading thousands and hundreds of thousands to a horrible death. Fascism is the organisation of social decay. It means death to the common peoples.

What does the Soviet Union stand for? The testimony which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, an author of international reputation, gives about the Soviet Union is convincing and compelling. In his speech delivered on the occasion of the celebrations of his eightieth birthday and in his reply to the public letter by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, he pays glowing tribute to the Soviet Union. He bears witness to the fact that the Soviet Union has freed its entire people from the double scourge of Poverty and Ignorance. He shows his unstinted admiration for the fight the Soviets waged against starvation and disease. He shows his unbounded enthusiasm for the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union. In this testimony which Tagore

gives, we have the verdict of one who is recognised all over the world as a man of intellectual honesty and boldness and as a man with sincere goodwill for all mankind. That such a man should pay this glowing tribute speaks volumes for the achievements of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is a country where the standard of living of the entire people is constantly rising and on the basis of this constantly rising standard there has taken place an unprecedented flowering of culture—culture not merely of the numerically superior Russians but culture of every national and autonomous region. Culture in the Soviet Union, as is evidenced by intellectuals like Sir P. C. Ray, is not the monopoly of the few. The Soviet Union, they say, aims at making the entire people cultured. They further declare that what the Soviets have built is a new civilisation. This is testimony that must awaken us to the immense issues involved in this struggle. This is testimony that must irrefutably prove that the Soviet Union is fighting for civilisation, for progress and for the salvation of mankind. The good wishes of all progressive mankind are with the Soviet Union in this fight against international gangsterdom and brigandage as personified in that enemy No. 1 of mankind, Adolf Hitler.

Yours etc.,  
"PROGRESSIVE".

## Order Nisi

## IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1068

In the matter of the estate of the late Jeremiah Murugesapillai Kanaganayagam of Navaly, Jaffna Deceased.

Kanaganayagam Anantham of Navaly, Jaffna, presently of Colombo.

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Thavamany daughter of Kanaganayagam of Navaly, Jaffna  
2. Thayamany daughter of Kanaganayagam of do  
3. Kanaganayagam Thiruchelvam of do  
4. J. C. Charles of Nallore

Respondents.  
This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that the abovenamed 4th respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the minors the abovenamed 2nd and 3rd respondents and that letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 28th day of August 1941 in the presence of Mr. K. Nadarajah, Proctor for Petitioner, and the affidavit of the petitioner having been read: it is ordered that the 4th respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the said minors and that letters of administration be issued to the petitioner in respect of the estate of the abovenamed deceased unless the respondents or any others shall on or before the 1st day of October 1941 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 28th day of August 1941.  
(Sgd.) C. Coomaraswamy  
District Judge  
(O. 32, 11 & 15 9-41)

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