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NEED FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION

Question of Representation

IN view of the Secretary of State's decision to appoint a Royal Commission before the question of further reforms is considered, the following report of Mr. A. Mahadeva's speech in the State Council on Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's motion for the appointment of a Royal Commission will be read with interest:—

Mr. Mahadeva: May I say a word on this subject?

What a confession from the Minister of Agriculture and Lands? We, Sir, after making strenuous efforts some months back came to a decision on the question of representation. That has been referred to by more than one Member of the House. And who prevented that decision coming into effect? The Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: Yes. I admit that,

Mr. Mahadeva: He says now, "Please come to an agreement."

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. Mahadeva: He said "We are living in the most happy times"—happy times for him, no doubt, when he can rule as he likes, but certainly not as we would like the country to be ruled.

The Minister of Agriculture and Lands tried to draw, very effectively, a red herring across the trail of this debate by suggesting that anyone who asked for a Royal Commission, would be supporting a demand for the removal of adult suffrage. I am very sorry to have to point this out. But I was in the old Legislative Council, and among the 17 Members who voted against adult suffrage for this country was the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: I would like the hon. member to prove that. I never have at any time opposed adult suffrage. I never asked for it and I never opposed it.

Mr. Mahadeva's Speech

Mr. Ponnambalam: The Congress opposed it.

The Hon. Mr. Senanayake: I was not in the deputation that opposed it.

Mr. Mahadeva: He is very satisfied with the present Governor. But that feeling of satisfaction was not extended to His Excellency's immediate predecessor, nor even to the Governor who was here just before Sir Edward Stubbs.

Very Unfortunate

THE Minister of Agriculture and Lands tells us that previous Governors have reported on the working of this Constitution. We would like to have seen those reports and to have seen what they thought of this constitution. It is very unfortunate, Sir, that a new Governor within a few months of his arrival in the Island and with several years more of service in this Island to run, was called upon to report on the Constitution. I would have welcomed it very much more if His Excellency's views were expressed when he was about to leave the Island. Then we would have known what considerations were uppermost in his mind as to the Constitution, then he would not have been placed in that very difficult position that if he had to report in a sense adverse to the demands made by the Board of Ministers he would have had to face the campaign of calumny that was the lot of his predecessor.

I say, it was very unfair to the Governor to have placed himself in that invidious position and we ourselves believe that the solution of the problem should be reached by ourselves as was suggested by the hon. member for Kandy. We have tried our utmost to do that, but the chief obstacle is the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. I am sorry to have to say it. He is satisfied with the present Constitution, he is satisfied as the leader of a communal group in this House,

and because we..... The Hon. Mr. Senanayake. I would like to know how the hon. member makes me the leader of any communal group. I am not the leader of any communal group.

Mr. Mahadeva. That is our view of his position. He is the leader of a communal group in this Island, a communal group which has been enthroned by the Donoughmore Constitution and which even under His Excellency the Governor's proposals, will continue to be enthroned for some time longer.

Outsiders Not Wanted

THE Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Lands does not want this question to be decided by outsiders who come here with an open mind. He is frightened, I take it, of a decision given by an impartial body. If that is not the case why does he object to it. Delay? Why, Sir, he had the opportunity during all these years ever since he came into this Council nearly eight years ago when they were all clamouring for a reform of the constitution about 1931, he could have expedited the steps taken for a reform of the constitution. Instead of that he lingered over it, waited until Sir Graeme Thomson left the Island; he waited until Sir Edward Stubbs, who was opposed to his views left the Island, and now that he has found a Governor who appears sympathetic to his views, he wants to push the matter to a conclusion.

Sir, we do not want to steal a march on anyone; we only want the case between the different communities adjudged by an impartial commission sent out by the Secretary of State and their Report acted upon after they had heard all the evidence.

The Governor's View

I was rather surprised that His Excellency the Governor should suggest in his Dispatch that, even if a commission

were sent out, they should not listen to any evidence. How will the commission judge the weight to be attached to the recorded evidence? You may as well ask an appeal Court Judge to come to a decision without the advantage of having the case argued before him. The evidence previously recorded is there, it is true, but it is suggested that no one should point out to the Commissioners who would come out the relevancy and the accuracy of that evidence. Sir, I cannot understand a situation like that. The only satisfaction that can be given to the country is the appointment of a Commission, unless, of course, we can agree among ourselves; and I am sorry to say that there does not seem to be any prospect of our doing that at the moment.

There is another reason which I would like to urge why a Royal Commission should come out. The Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Lands said that the position of the country is getting worse and worse. Are the Board of Ministers not responsible for it? The Board of Ministers, each one of them, is paid a handsome salary. Are they not responsible for the finances of the country? Why was collective responsibility given to them in respect of the finances of the Colony? Is this the way they have discharged their duty?

If they have discharged their duty in that way, if they have made the position of the finances of the country worse and worse as suggested by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, the time would come for having the administration of the finances of the country investigated by an impartial group of men and for them to pass an opinion whether this attempted shifting of the blame from the shoulders of the Board of Ministers to the council is justified or not.

A Weak Lot

PERSONALLY, Sir, on that very question which seems to weigh most with His Excellency the Governor and certain others, the question of the

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POLITICS ALWAYS MISUNDERSTOOD IN CEYLON

THE Jaffna Hindu College Old Boys' Annual Dinner came off on Saturday in the upper hall of the Science Laboratory. The hall was tastefully decorated and covers were laid for about 120. The Hon. Mr. Justice F. J. Soertsz was the chief guest. Mr. A. Cumaraswamy, the President of the Old Boys' Association, presided.

After the loyal toasts, Mr. Soertsz proposing the toast of the College expressed his sense of appreciation of the kindness shown him by the Chairman and the Managing body of the College for inviting him to occupy that place of honour at the dinner. He was deeply grateful indeed that the honour had fallen to his lot to propose the toast of the Hindu College. It was very gratifying that the seat of the College principal should be filled by an old boy of the College. The present boys of the College must congratulate themselves on the fact, that they had as their principal an old boy of the College. He had no doubt whatever, he said, that when the occasion arose for a principal to take the place of Mr. Cumaraswamy, he would be forthcoming from amongst the ranks of the boys of the College, worthy to take the place of a worthy principal. On his visit to Jaffna he was greatly impressed at the number of colleges that existed in Jaffna.

Jaffna Man

"The Jaffna man", continued Mr. Soertsz "seems to be able to secure a place sooner or later and he always makes good the place he has

Hindu College Old Boys' Dinner

been called upon to fill. I think that is due not only to the system of education that is being imparted but also to the fact that the Jaffna pupil is able to take full advantage of the education he receives.

The Chairman replying to the toast thanked Mr. Justice Soertsz for the great honour he had done them by being there with them that night. They were not certain whether he enjoyed the vegetarian dinner of theirs, but they felt he had done them a great honour by accepting their invitation. He (the speaker) was wondering as to what he should speak that night. They had spoken rather too much of their carnival and of its great success. They were happy to hear that one of their sister colleges, St. John's, was undertaking another venture of the kind which they held last year. He understood carnivals were occasions for marriages in this country; there were sometimes broken hearts also.

A Hindu Ladies College

The immediate object of the Association, continued the Chairman, was to establish a Ladies College near about the College. Almost every college had a sister school. They hoped to attach a girls' school to the College also.

Having a rather representative gathering there, he thought, they

would excuse him if he made a few remarks on life in this country. He had heard a communist say, "What does it matter if I am a Hindu and you are a Buddhist. We are living in one country and must all live together. There is no question about living in one's country, Ceylon being our home." The home had a master and servant, but in what relationship were they going to live in this country, had always been the question. The question of master and servant, the speaker personally felt, should rest on their merits and not on any kind of manipulation at all. "What we want in this country," he said, "is recognition of pure merit. If this is granted all our differences will disappear."

They had heard a lot, about parents' right. It was a very difficult question to answer. It was obvious that their denominational system of schools had come to stay

for another length of time. Referring to examinations, the speaker said that he personally would not regard the value of those examinations.

Teachers and Politics

Continuing the Chairman said that they had a great political body in Jaffna, the Youth Congress. He had his personal admiration for its members because he knew they were a very energetic people, though some of them were schoolmasters. He did not very much like schoolmasters taking a very active part in politics. Not that he felt they should legislate against their taking part in politics, but he felt that "politics in our country is always misunderstood. Politics is always against personalities. The opposite camp tries to bring you down. That is our unfortunate position."

Mr. S. Jayaveerasingham, B. A. proposed the toast of the Sister Associations.

Mr. S. Thambidurai, advocate replied.

Mr. T. Muttusamipillai, advocate, proposed the toast of the Guests.

Sign of a New Age

Dr. (Miss) E. M. Thillaiampalam, Principal, Chundiculi Girls' College, replying said that the Hindu College had its history for nearly 50 years. She had been the preserver of what was lovely and valuable in their common heritage such as Tamil literature, music and Tamil customs. She was very happy to see so many of their ladies present that night. That was a sign of a new age. They must not only preserve what was good of their past, but must be ready to move with the times, for they were now living in a world of new and changed values and the entire outlook of human society was changing. With that, woman had come out to play a new role in the scheme of things as they were. In the past education was for the privileged few. Now woman was demanding equal rights and opportunities for herself in the present changing world. She felt that she had a right to her life of liberty and happiness. That could become real only when she was educated to the point where she was able to find full expression to her powers. That meant that she wanted a chance to develop her intellect, her knowledge of social environment and true cultural values. Appreciation of beauty, rhythm and harmony were essential for the full development of a woman's personality. When she was given her chance for this type of education she became not merely a decoration in the home but a real social asset, as a true companion to man sharing with him not only the responsibilities of the home but the betterment of society as well as economic and political development of country.

She was glad to hear, continued the speaker, that they were proposing to have a Girls' College attached to the Hindu College. They would not consider that College as a rival to them but rather "as an additional effort towards the betterment of our sisters in Jaffna. I therefore wish the scheme a great success."

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1079

In the matter of the Intestate Estate (in Ceylon) of the late Naganathar Sampanthanathar of Chunnakam in the Island of Ceylon but late of Johore Deceased.

And in the matter of the appointment of a guardian-ad-litem over Sampantha Nather Mahadevan of Averangal presently of Silver-smith Street Colombo.

Minor. Sotthipillai widow of Sampanthanathar of Averangal

and Petitioner.

1. Sampanthanathar Mahadevan and
2. Naganathar Kumarasingham both of Hill Lodge Silver-smith Street, Colombo

Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before T. Quinton Fernando Esquire District Judge on the 16th day of October 1941 in the presence of Mr. Ehamparanathan, Proctor on the part of the petitioner abovenamed and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated the 16th day of October 1941 and the order of the Supreme Court dated the 12th September 1941 having been read.

It is ordered that the said Naganathar Kumarasingham the 2nd respondent be and he is hereby appointed Guardian-ad-litem of Sampanthanathar Mahadevan, the minor 1st Respondent and that the said petitioner is the widow of the said intestate and is entitled to have letters of administration to the estate (in Ceylon) of the said intestate issued to her unless the Respondents or any other person or persons shall on or before the 26th day of November 1941 shew sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

Jaffna the 16th day of October 1941.
Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy
District Judge

True Copy
Ehamparanathan
Proctor for Petitioner
(O. 40, 6 & 10-11-41)

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MR. SENANAYAKE'S VISIT TO JAFFNA

By
K. Sivaprakasam

Tamils Must Stand United

Not At All Convincing

I am sure that the vast majority of Tamils would have greatly relished your esteemed editorial articles that appeared in the "Hindu Organ" of the 23rd, 27th and 30th October 1941. No doubt Mr. Senanayake takes an interest in the affairs of the Northern Province. It is also true that as the Minister of Agriculture and Lands he is doing enormous good to the Ceylonese. But he has not done much to the Northern Province. He has studied thoroughly the working of the Donoughmore Constitution during the last 10 years as will be seen from his lecture at the Town Hall. He dealt very well with the defects of the said Constitution. The audience listened with rapt attention to Mr. Senanayake's lecture but they were not, it appeared, satisfied with the replies given by him to the questions put to him. The reply given by him to a question put by one of the members of the audience if he could tell why not even a single Tamil had been given a place on the Board of Ministers, was not at all convincing. He stated that he believed that there was not a single Tamil on the Board of Ministers, the reason being that when a demand was made for further reforms it was stated by the authorities in England that unless the Board of Ministers could put up a united front, they would not consider any suggestions for the reform of the Constitution. (Why should he say he believed? He knew this as a fact.) He also stated that it so happened that among the Ministers chosen by the first Council were a Muslim, an Indian and a Kandyan and these three Ministers failed to take the same stand on the Reforms question as the other Ministers. Now, the question comes why not even a Jaffna Tamil was given a place on the first Board of Ministers. Did Mr. Senanayake and his party foresee that a Jaffna Tamil also, if elected a member of the Board of Ministers, would fail to take the same stand as the Sinhalese Ministers? The non-election of at least a Jaffna Tamil on the first Board of Ministers clearly showed that the attitude of the Sinhalese was one of hostility and contempt towards the Jaffna Tamils.

A Deliberate Act

WHEN the present Board of Ministers was formed, the Sinhalese deliberately formed a homogeneous Board of Ministers. It is not clear why Mr. Senanayake said that there was no deliberate attempt to keep out non-Sinhalese. However did the Sinhalese Board of Ministers succeed in inducing the Secretary of State to accept the Reforms formulated by them and recommended by the Governor? No. Why? Because the Secretary of State realised that the 2nd Majority race also must be satisfied with the Reforms put forward by the Sinhalese. As pointed out by you, it was very much to the credit of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam who went to

England at the proper time and succeeded in enlisting Parliamentary support for the Tamil point of view. We the Jaffna Tamils should therefore be greatly indebted to Mr. Ponnambalam. Now only after the Secretary of State's rejection of the Governor's recommendations and his decision that there should be a complete investigation by a Parliamentary Commission of all facts including the Tamil's own particular grievances before the question of further reforms is considered after the war, Mr. Senanayake wants Tamil help. In the course of his reply, he stated that to compensate for the non-inclusion of a Tamil in the Board of Ministers, the Sinhalese elected a Tamil as the Speaker. The said Tamil was not elected Speaker unanimously. He was elected by a majority of one vote only. Subject to correction, I may state that the majority of Sinhalese voted for Mr. Francis de Zoysa. When another member asked him what guarantees the Tamils would get from the Sinhalese in the event of their joining forces with them, Mr. Senanayake stated that there should be mutual trust and that they should unite to free themselves from exploitation by non-Ceylonese. "There should be mutual trust" will not do. The Sinhalese should promise in unequivocal terms what they would do to the Tamils. The Chairman asked Mr. Senanayake to make a promise that in future all appointments would be made only on the impartial recognition of merit without distinction of caste or creed. Mr. Senanayake stated that he would try to do so but he did not promise. The Chairman should have also asked Mr. Senanayake to promise to persuade his colleagues also to do the same.

In conclusion, I should exhort the Tamils not to swallow the sugar-coated pills of the Sinhalese leaders, with venom inside. They must make a united stand for their rights and privileges.

II

DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN

The "Morning Star" writes:—

The Chairman of the meeting at which Mr. D. S. Senanayake gave an address on the Donoughmore constitution described him as having come into the lion's den. Mr. Senanayake was indeed a bold man in daring to address a hostile audience mostly composed of those who regard him as the head and front of the anti-Tamil section of the Sinhalese community. He went further. He invited his audience to ask him questions. This was due, we presume, to his sincere conviction that he is not a communalist at all. Whatever we may say of Mr. Senanayake, his sincerity is undoubted. He does not possess the graces of a diplomat, and does not use words to conceal his thoughts. He does not mince his words, and his strokes are straight from the shoulder.

We have called him a Daniel in the lion's den for another reason also. The lions did not eat him up. Though many in the audience had a fine opportunity to denounce him by putting him terrible questions, they did not do so. They treated him with the utmost courtesy as their guest except for a little insinuation from a young man who caught him on the jaw.

The most formidable question was of course about "the homogeneous ministry" and curiously enough the question was put by a Sinhalese young man, presumably with the object of drawing him out to put up a defence. If so, the question was a tactical blunder. Mr. Senanayake in reply said that it was necessary to put up a united front as regards political reforms inasmuch as the Secretary of State wanted the Board of Ministers to forward a scheme acceptable to the whole body but that the Indian and Muslim members of the Board sent dissenting memoranda. Now any child could understand that what the Secretary of State wanted was an agreement of the representatives of the various communities. He could not have been silly enough to hint that they should go to him, with the opinion of a Board consisting of members of the same community. It would be well for Sir Baron and Mr. Senanayake to confess that in forming a homogeneous ministry they committed a Himalayan blunder. Again if the Sinhalese leaders really wanted a united front, they should have tried to find out whether there were members of other communities that would toe the line. But did they? We suspect that Mr. Senanayake was speaking with his tongue in his cheek, and was only repeating parrot-like the lame excuse of his leader. For he promised the audience that in the next Board

three would be at least one member of the Tamil community.

As to the question what guarantee the Sinhalese leaders would give to Tamils that they would treat their brethren fairly if they co-operated with them, Mr. Senanayake gave a satisfactory answer. That guarantee is human nature. Trust begets trust, Mr. Senanayake said. No better guarantee could be given. At the same time we should like to point out that the minorities have a duty to perform in this matter. They should return to the Council men who have a will to achieve political unity.

Mr. Senanayake was given a splendid opportunity to refute the slander against him that he did not care for the interests of the people in the North. His statement of facts to show that he was doing a great deal for the North was entirely convincing. When we come to know that he is sending an expert to carry out the lagoon scheme first mooted by Mr. Bala-singham years ago shows the extent of his solicitude for people here. Again, he gave the assurance that there would be no discrimination whatever in the matter of jobs under Government against the Tamil people. Indeed we know of two cases at least in which the Minister stood up for the rights of Tamil officers and had them appointed in preference to men of other communities. His statement that he made that he always advocated the employment of Ceylonese in preference to outsiders is true, and we should give him credit for this attitude.

On the whole our impression is that Mr. Senanayake rings true. Besides being the ablest of the Ministers, he bids fair to become a statesman having the interests of the whole country at heart in planning for its future. We would give him one little hint. He is sometimes impatient and does not suffer fools gladly. Patience is a *sine qua non* for a leader, and we have no doubt he would acquire this virtue as days go by. Contacts like this will go a great way to bring the two majority races together politically.

PROTEST AGAINST URBAN COUNCIL

Public Meeting at Pt. Pedro

A resolution protesting against establishing an Urban Council in Point Pedro was passed unanimously at a public meeting held at Thumpalai new Hindu Vernacular School Hall on Saturday, Mr. S. Kandiah, physician, presiding.

Messrs E. W. M. Walton, V. Subramaniam, C. Subramaniam, S. M. Ramasamy spoke. Mr. Sam. T. Solomons, President, Point Pedro Maha Jana Sabha, moved the following resolutions which were seconded by Mr. C. Subramaniam and carried unanimously:—

a. "The Ratepayers of the Sanitary Board of Point Pedro and neighbouring Villages in public meeting assembled unanimously appeal to the Minister and the Executive Committee of Local Administration not to impose on them an Urban Council at a time when the cost of living is increasing, and respectfully urge that a Sanitary Board be allowed to function."

b. and that copies of the resolution should be sent to

1. His Excellency the Governor,
2. The Minister of Local Administration for the information of the Executive Committee,
3. The Government Agent N. P., Jaffna.
4. Point Pedro Member of the State Council.

for sympathetic action Moved by Mr. C. Subramaniam, Teacher, Puloly Boys' English School, Point Pedro, and seconded by Mr. V. Subramaniam the following resolution was passed unanimously.

"The Ratepayers of the Sanitary Board of Point Pedro and neighbouring villages in public meeting assembled unanimously resolve to send a deputation consisting of Messrs. G. G. Ponnambalam, M.S.C., Sam. T. Solomons, R. W. M. Walton, S. M. Ramasamy, T. V. Kandiah and V. Kulandavelu to place their grievances and difficulties before the Minister and Executive Committee.

In support of the Resolution a petition was signed by over 600 residents immediately after the meeting. (Cor)



Hindu Organ.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1941

THE SITUATION

THE LATEST NEWS INDICATES that the Germans are doing their best to secure a final decision on the Eastern front. The main object of the German drive, as has been stated more than once by Hitler himself, is to destroy the Russian armies, or, if this cannot be done, to give them such a shattering blow as will destroy their capacity for organised resistance. The wheatfields and industrial resources of the Ukraine and other portions of European Russia under German occupation, and the oil of the Caucasus, are doubtless by themselves important objectives, but, unless the Russian armies cease to exist as a vital factor in the struggle, the German gains are not likely to be permanent, and Germany's military position in Russia may at any moment be effectively challenged. The fact must be remembered that, even after the German armies had overrun practically the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia, the German General Staff considered the Russian Army and the growing military output of the Russian factories as a menace to Germany. That the Germans, who have renewed their attacks at several points, will strain every nerve to occupy Rostov, Moscow and Leningrad is only to be expected, but the one hopeful feature of the present situation is the ability of the Russians not only to resist the German attacks with a considerable amount of success but also to counter-attack the enemy at more than one vital point. The enemy's advance has slowed down, though it would be a mistake, judging from past experience, to suppose that this necessarily means that the invading forces have been brought to a standstill. It may well mean that the Germans are trying to give their soldiers a much needed rest and to repair their equipment. The wear and tear of the fighting during the last four months in respect of mechanical equipment must have been tremendous. With all their genius for organisation, the German generals will still find it a difficult problem to maintain their communications and keep up a continuous flow of supplies to the forces at the front. Even here excessive optimism would be misplaced. The industrial resources of Germany and her vassal states are great,

and it may well be that the German General Staff, which had longed for some time to put its ideas of a *blitzkrieg* into practice on the plains of Russia, is actually in a position to meet the difficulties entailed by the advance into a country whose distances are enormous.

But, the actualities of the present military situation in Russia make one thing quite clear: the *blitzkrieg* as such has failed. With all the terrific expenditure in men and material, the Germans have achieved only a slow, methodical advance, which is being strenuously contested at every point. The overwhelming pressure needed for the success of the *blitzkrieg* can never be maintained at the same rate throughout the present fighting which is really war pure and simple without the *blitz*. Along with this, it might be as well to bear in mind the certainty of a still greater reduction in the pressure the German army will be able to exert on the Russian forces as it continues its advance into the Caucasus. It is in the Caucasus that the British and Russian armies are likely to make an effective stand. According to the "Times" (London), "the race between the German advance on the one hand and our efforts to prepare for the shock and aid our Russian allies on the other is in part a race between methods of transportation. We have a great distance to cover by means of land transportation, while the enemy would doubtless employ transportation by water if he could gain command of the Black Sea. But in the main the conflict is between land and sea routes, just as when the clash comes it will be between forces based on land power and forces based on sea power". Be this as it may, the clash is bound to come, and it will have a profound effect on the future, not only of Europe but also of Asia. It is not a question merely, as the "Times" says, of aiding Russia. The defence of the Caucasus is vital to Britain and the British Empire. The internal combustion engine and all that it connotes constitute a serious challenge to sea power as it was understood in former times. When sea power was the dominant factor in the world, the invasion of Asia by land would have been dismissed as a mere fantasy. The only European Power which could have done it was Russia, and this is why from the days of Lord Kitchener the British Government was disposed to regard Russia as the only potential enemy of Britain in Asia. All this has now changed. Hitler and his legions have learned the modern trick of marching on wheels, and it looks as if the only way of beating them is to beat them on their own ground and with their own weapons.

FIRST STEP TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Need for National Unity

By

K. Shanmukham

Bar-at-Law

IN this land of ours there are several communities, different religions and customs. The population of this island is nearly six millions of whom the Low Country Sinhalese form about two millions and the Kandyan nearly a million. The rest are Tamils, Muslims, Burghers, Malays and Europeans. The minorities i. e. the non-Sinhalese, form nearly half the population of this country.

The Donoughmore Constitution was introduced into the government of this country in June 1931. The new constitution brought into the forefront two factors: (a) universal adult franchise (b) abolition of communal representation. These were without doubt healthy introductions into our system politic. Unity of purpose should have been the single guiding light in our political advancement but on the contrary the different communities have been striving towards different principles. It is necessary to analyse the cause for this disastrous situation.

Lack of Foresight

THERE have been two general elections since the advent of the Donoughmore Constitution. The committee system of government has been for the first time tried in this island. Lord Donoughmore and his associates took their model for this form of government by committees from the London County Council. We have since seen the results of the experiment. Corruption, bribery, jobbery and altogether a political degeneration have been the direct consequences of the committee system. It appears to have no redeeming feature so far as the minorities are concerned, as shown by the all-Sinhalese Ministry which is in office today. There have been two ministries since 1931. In the first instance two ministers were chosen from the minority communities but with more experience of the working of the constitution, the Sinhalese leaders saw to it in 1936 that not one minority member found a place in the inner government of the country. This fact will ever remain a dark spot in our political history. The reasons advanced by the Sinhalese leaders are, to say the least, ridiculous and not worth a moment's attention. The latest exposition on the subject has been by the Hon. Mr. Senanayake in Jaffna that a homogeneous all-Sinhalese ministry was the only solution to enable a united front to Whitehall on the question of further reforms. Whitehall wants not a united demand from seven ministers elected by a fraction of the legislature but a united voice from the entire nation. It is here that the Sinhalese leaders have demonstrated their utter lack of statesmanship and political foresight.

Change of Heart Needed

WHATEVER the principles that have been followed by the Sinhalese leaders in the State Council, one fact clearly emerges from their actions. If a united Ceylonese nation is to be founded in our generation there should be without doubt a change of heart. It cannot be denied that communalism is

rampant everywhere. Communalists have been in the forefront as a direct result of the communalistic trend in our political history. No Sinhalese who has carefully followed the sequence of events in this country for the last ten years could with any reason blame the Tamils for their present attitude. The mathematical schemes as adumbrated by Mr. Senanayake and the political conspiracies of the Sinhalese leaders are responsible for the present unhappy stage in our political life. History will repeat itself in Ceylon as in other countries. If the Sinhalese desire to enjoy national independence, if this country is to attain the goal that we all yearn for there is only one way for the attainment of that end. There should be first and foremost the sine-qua-non of all political progress—national unity.

An Indisputable Fact

THE Sinhalese leaders should now, if they have not realised it yet, open their eyes and see this indisputable fact staring in their face that Ceylon is not the land of the Sinhalese alone but that of the Tamils, Muslims, Burghers, and Malays as well. Any number of resolutions by Singhal Maha Jana Sabhas, or the Sinhalese Congress otherwise called the Ceylon National Congress cannot and will not pave the way for self-determination. The Tamils will not strive to any degree in the attainment of the goal of freedom until the Sinhalese admit their supreme folly of the last ten years and apologetically mend their methods. If this does not happen, then no political advance will ever be made. And consequently all parties will suffer in the end. One fact will remain to the end of this struggle, and that is that every minority community, however small it may be, if it is not a willing partner in the fight for freedom, there will be no freedom attained. This is a fact in the history of nations. The Hon. Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, may argue as much as he likes and, however much the Sinhalese leaders may plot and scheme, this land will be a land of slaves as long as the major and minor communities do not stand shoulder to shoulder and achieve their political liberation.

Lesson from India

TRUST the Sinhalese, says Mr. Senanayake. How can there be the least faith in one who has consistently within the last ten years schemed and conspired for the exclusion of the minority communities from political power? The Sinhalese committed the greatest blunder from the point of view of themselves as well as the nation when they conspired to form the all-Sinhalese Ministry. Why do not the Sinhalese leaders take a lesson from India? The best of our so-called leaders do not bear any comparison with even the back

Continued on page 5

BALANCED REPRESENTATION

By
A Correspondent

Vital to the Tamils

Fundamental Considerations

I propose to write a few notes on some of the fundamentals underlying the demand made by the Tamil community for balanced representation. This demand is the most important plank in the political programme of the Tamil community. The application of the principle of balance of power has been put forward by our community as the solution of Ceylon's political ills. It is also the most vital issue that divides the Sinhalese community from the other communities in the Island. All the other communities (barring the Sinhalese) have more or less approved of the position taken up by our community. It is, therefore, imperative that there should be no misunderstanding or mistaken ideas either among ourselves or among other communities about our greatest demand. There have been attempts to mis-interpret our demand. There have also been cases of genuine misunderstanding of the principles underlying the demand and our motives. In the circumstances, it is of paramount importance that we should try to restate briefly some of the essentials of the principle of balanced representation. The enumeration of the essentials of this principle will, as in such cases, fall under two heads:-

What Balanced Representation IS and

What Balanced Representation IS NOT.

Some Fallacies

At the outset, I should say that the demand for balanced representation in the councils of the State among the various communities in the Island is nothing more or nothing less than the application of the principle of balance of power in Ceylon politics among the various sections of the Island's population. Having made this observation, I would like to proceed further in exposing some of the fallacies which are associated with the ideal of balanced representation. It has been alleged that those who are for *Balanced Representation* are against self-government for the country. Nothing could be further from the truth. Not only is balanced representation not inconsistent with self-government, but, on the other hand, balanced representation is a necessary and indispensable adjunct of self-government in a country like Ceylon and is inextricably bound up with the latter. It is not possible to have self-government, independence or swaraj, call what you will, in Ceylon unless it is based on the principle of balanced representation. The demand for self-government carries with it and implies the introduction of the principle of balance of power among the various sections of the people of Ceylon. The introduction of balanced representation will not retard but will accelerate the onward progress of the country towards self-government. It has also been said that balanced representation is against the principle of democracy. I wish to submit that this is also another fallacy. One of the logi-

cal results of the introduction of democracy in Ceylon would be the introduction of balanced representation in the Island. The spirit and substance of democracy could only be established in this country if balanced representation is introduced and firmly adhered to as a permanent feature of Ceylon Polity. Again, the demand for balanced representation has been said to be communal. This is also another example of misrepresentation. The demand for balanced representation is based on the principle that no community should be in a position to dominate over the others. It thus postulates the elimination of communalism from the politics of this country. It seeks to establish a Ceylonese nationalism in place of any sectional or racial communalism and to substitute a Ceylonese democracy in place of a communal oligarchy that now rules over the country and that will continue to rule if the present constitution continues.

Not Anti-Sinhalese

Interested friends have been at pains to tell us that the demand made by the Tamils for balanced representation is anti-Sinhalese. We wish definitely and with all the sincerity and emphasis at our command to state that there is nothing anti-Sinhalese in our ideal which seeks to establish the principle of CEYLON FOR THE CEYLONESE. The demand for balanced representation is not anti-Sinhalese or anti-anybody. Even as the demand for self-government is not anti-British, the demand for balanced representation is not anti-Sinhalese. Balanced representation is pro-Ceylonese and therefore necessarily pro-Sinhalese also. The demand is not made by the Tamils out of a feeling of ill-will towards the Sinhalese or out of any selfish desire on the part of the Tamil community. The greatest exponent of the principle of balanced representation was the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. He was the greatest Tamil produced by Ceylon since the British era. He was also the greatest Ceylonese, if friends of the other communities will permit my saying so, produced by our country during that period. He was also one of the greatest friends of the Sinhalese community. Among the Tamils and other non-Sinhalese communities, there was no greater and truer friend of the Sinhalese community than the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. I am making a special reference to the connection of the principle of balanced representation and the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan as a token to inform all concerned that the principle of balanced representation was strongly advocated by a person whose friendship and services towards the Sinhalese community were beyond question and un-surpassed and that adherence to the principle is in no way inconsistent with goodwill towards the great Sinhalese people. The ideal has been placed by our community as a measure calculated to lead to the future happiness and wellbeing of all the communities in the Island

and of all parts of our common motherland. It has further been represented that the Tamils are making a move to combine the minorities against the majority community. Again this is also an incorrect version of our movement. We Tamils do not desire to combine against anybody. We only wish to work for the common welfare of the Island and to be allowed to contribute our share towards its happiness. Another objection raised against balanced representation is that it will keep apart the various communities in the Island. This objection is equally groundless like the other ones. The various communities in the Island are now dis-united because political power has been exclusively and completely concentrated in the hands of one community. If there is a balanced and equitable distribution of political power, the various communities will be brought together and the foundation for a united Ceylonese nation will be laid. The different communities will also begin to co-operate with one another in the common task of serving and building up the motherland.

A Harmless Principle

Another great virtue of balanced representation is that it is based on the principle of harmlessness. That is to say, no particular community in Ceylon will be in a position even unconsciously to injure the others and no particular community will be harmed by its establishment. Such being some of the characteristics of the demand for balanced representation, it is submitted that it is *an article of faith with us and not a bargaining lever*. It, therefore, does not permit of any surrender. It is a principle which cannot be sacrificed or bartered. It is the pivot which ought to govern the future constitutional progress of the country. It is not a question of a few more seats in the State Council for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It is a mistake for some people to think that the demand for balanced representation has been put forward as a lever to obtain merely increased representation for the Tamils. A few more seats for the Tamils, without balanced representation, will only result in additional expenditure to the country, without much corresponding benefit. A few more seats with balanced representation will merely lead us up to a blind alley. Once and for all, it is best to remember that it is not a question of seats but a question of principle. The gentleman who presided at the meeting convened by the Youth Congress to hear Mr. Senanayake was kind enough to say that the chief Tamil grievance arose as a result of the losses and losses of office in the Public Service and promised redress on this account. This is also a mistaken interpretation of our demand. There is no substitute for balanced representation. The Tamils consider the matter of balanced representation as an *article of faith as sacred as the principle of self-government itself*.

In fact, self-government cannot exist in this country without balanced representation. Therefore, the Tamils will always adhere to their present demand for balanced representation. Again, other substitutes like the conversion of the Jaffna Lagoon into a fresh water lake, even if followed up by a like conversion of all the seas round the Peninsula, though good so far as they go, will be no alternative to the great political principle we are striving for. Old social relationship between the Sinhalese and Tamils including inter-marriages and the courtesy shown by Buddhist worshippers to Hindu Gods, though pleasant, cannot take the place of a great principle, vital to the very life of our community and the country at large. We know the old saying that when people ask for bread, they are given a stone. No attempts to grant a few amenities to the people of Jaffna without conceding their main and just political demand will be acceptable.

Forget Persons and Individuals

Our regard for the services rendered by the present Minister for Agriculture, the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, in developing certain parts of the Island, cannot blind us to the realities of the situation and make us forget the essential requirements of the situation of the country. If Mr. Senanayake's services in the cause of agriculture are to stand in the way of the Tamils pressing for what they consider to be a rightful solution of the political ills of the country, then regard for the services rendered by Sir D. B. Jayatilake to the cause of the Sinhalese language and the Buddhist religion ought to have a greater weight with us. Similarly, each one of the present members of the Board of Ministers will have some qualification or other for which he is entitled to be given credit. Appreciation of an individual's particular activities, qualifications or labours, should not and will not prevent people from discharging their duties to the cause of nationalism and self-government in Ceylon. The principle of Balanced Representation cannot be compromised even as the principle of self-government cannot be compromised, because both stand on the same pedestal, emanate from the same Motive Power and are expressions of the same Great Ideal in short, because Both are one and the same.

FIRST STEP TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Continued from page 4

benchers in Indian politics today. The sacrifice, ability and above all the sincerity of the Indian leaders is incomparable—the like of which no nation has yet seen, not even the Ireland of De Valera, Michael Collins, Parnell and Griffiths—and yet she is struggling for freedom, for her liberation from the foreign yoke. The main obstacle in India as well as in this country is national disunity. This problem will have to be solved and solved before anything else is attempted towards political regeneration. For the present state of distrust of the Sinhalese by the minority communities in this Island the Sinhalese leaders alone are to blame. This charge cannot be conscientiously refuted by them and this grave question has to be solved by them and them alone in the first instance. This is the first and necessary step in the struggle for any measure of constitutional advance. Without this there will be nothing achieved, nothing gained.

WHAT MODERN FARMERS SHOULD KNOW

By
V. K. RudraSingam

Educated Youth's Opportunity

Education Necessary

PROBABLY few callings require such a wide range of knowledge as farming. The farmer should have a practical knowledge of most of the manual work about the farm. He should have a certain amount of technical training. A little knowledge of chemistry, biology and engineering would be of immense service. He should know a little of book-keeping. He should be an able organizer and have qualities of leadership. He should be astute and have a gift of sensing an opportunity. He ought to be a thorough business man too. A farmer with such a wide range of abilities ought to be able to run a farm more consciously on a business basis. Many of you would realise the fact that only a few possess these qualities. The young people can be made to acquire such knowledge through the medium of Agricultural Colleges and Farm Institutes. Colleges and Institutes should be established at various centres. The establishments should provide the students with a systematic training combined with practical work. The establishment of such Colleges and Institutes ought to provide us with a well-trained agricultural community; because, the young people will find that farming is not meant only for the peasant. Now I shall go into the question of facilities for large-scale farming in Ceylon.

Large-scale Farming

When considering the possibilities of large-scale farming, the question of farm sizes comes in. In America farms only of an area of five thousand acres and above are considered to be large farms. Farms less than five-thousand acres are classed as small holdings. In Ceylon farming on such a large scale is impracticable. Land is not so plentiful. In England farms of an area of one hundred acres and above

come under the category of large farms, and those less than one hundred acres come under the class of small holdings. The scale in use in England is applicable here. In Ceylon most farmers use wooden ploughs and oxen as the horse was used in England and other places before. Large-scale farming on a business basis cannot be carried on with wooden ploughs and oxen. Production on an economic basis is essential to make a farm pay. As I have stated before, scientific progress has revolutionised agriculture. Agricultural machinery and implements are on the market. However, we have one drawback. Agricultural machinery cannot be utilised to the fullest possible extent because of the geographical features of the land and the nature of the crops grown. Paddy, as most of us know, is a water-plant. The farm has to be divided into small fields to facilitate irrigation. In small fields it is impossible to use tractors and such like things. Again fuel is more costly here than in England, America and other places. Labour is costly in those countries and, comparatively speaking, labour is cheap here. We find that machinery cannot be used here as it is done in other countries. Is it possible for us to use other agricultural implements capable of saving labour? It is possible to do so. Labour-saving implements can be made use of here. There are such implements specially made to suit animal draught. By using these implements a farmer can reduce the cost of cultivation by a considerable margin and thereby get a better return for his pains. I have said above that production on an economic basis is essential to make a farm pay. It would be more appropriate if I said that maximum production on an economic basis is essential to make a farm pay. Maximum production cannot be achieved

without proper replacement of the fertility of the soil. It is impossible for a farmer to manure a large area with cow-dung etc. It is possible only on very small holdings. Here science comes to the rescue. Fertilisers can be had in any quantity and at very moderate prices. The soil analyst is able to tell us the deficiency of the soil of any land if a sample of it is sent to him. We are in a position to make up the deficiency, if any. Though a well-manured farm will certainly yield more and Engineering and Science have made farming on a large and economic scale possible, yet there is a very important thing I have not touched upon. That is capital. No enterprise will be successful unless it is given proper financial backing. Many of the younger generation are not well off. In the case of the rich, in most cases we find the parents holding the purse-strings. You cannot make these worshippers of mammon give financial support to such "foolish ventures" as they call it. This difficulty can be overcome if the State lends a hand in the form of State-aided farms.

State-aided Farms

With regard to State-aided farms, the Government is making an effort to satisfy only one section of the people, namely, the peasants. The effort has appeared in the form of a scheme known as the Peasant Colonisation Scheme. It has not proved very successful. As I have observed before, farming, to be made a success, depends much on the abilities of the farmers. I have pointed out the diversity of qualities needed by a farmer. There are some who possess these qualities in a high degree, but naturally they are few. The peasants cannot be said to be among the few. It has not struck the Government that the middle class can be made land-minded. I am very much surprised that the Government has

not given a helping hand to the educated young men—especially the unemployed. It must be understood that the Peasant Colonisation scheme will only suit a certain section of the people. It would not at all suit the middle classes. The number of acres allotted is very small. It would not meet the requirements of a member of the middle class. A middle class farmer ought to be allotted at least thirty acres. Then only it will give him an income of about seventy-five rupees a month. The scheme in general should be made attractive. The jungle must be cleared at State expense. The cost of growing and collecting the first crop should be met by the State. The State should provide living quarters on the farms. It must grant loans to them to enable them to effect the necessary improvement without much delay. These loans ought to be made repayable by instalments. A market should be provided for their produce. For, success depends much on the market. It would still be better if the recruits were given a short training in an Agricultural School before they are given the lands.

Conclusion

I have pointed out the various obstacles that stand in the way of making Young Ceylon land-minded. These are, in fact, not at all real obstacles. They can be met and overcome. I have enumerated the various advantages to be gained by adopting farming as a career. To the young men I say: Drop all your false pretences! All you have to do is to shake off that false sense of pride. "Men may come and men may go, but I go on for ever", it is said about rivers, but it can be said of farming too. Ceylon needs your help. In such a time as this her need is great. The Government is quite willing to help you if you want it. By choosing farming as a career you are not only satisfying your needs, but also doing a service of national importance. You can truly feel proud that you are of service to your country.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary No: 979 T.

In the matter of the intestate estate of Subramaniyakkurukkal Siyasamikkurukkal alias Sheo Guru Khator of Chavakacheheri Jaffna late of Beninars in North India.

Deceased.

Velambihiammah widow of S. Siyasamikkurukkal alias Sheo Guru Khator of Chavakacheheri Jaffna.

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Subramania Sarma
2. Mattusamy Sarma
3. Sabanayaga Sarma
4. Parameswary Sarma
5. Sarveswara Sarma all children of Sivanandaparathi of Chavakacheheri widow of Kilakkuveethi in Sivanparan S. I.
6. Kanagasabapathikkurukkal Somasundaram Kurukkal
7. Kanagasabapathikkurukkal Thiagarajakkurukkal
8. Kanagasabapathikkurukkal Parachacharakurukkal
9. Krishnanamoorthy Iyer and wife
10. Valambal alias Vallavambal
11. M. Subramaniam and wife
12. Paldiam
13. Pavaniammah wife of the 8th Respondent all of Chavakacheheri
14. Jegathambal daughter of Nadarajakkurukkal of Vallveddy

15. Nadarajakkurukkal Rengasamy Iyer
16. Appotharunakkurukkal Santhirasegarar
17. Appotharunakkurukkal Subramaniam
18. Nadarajakkurukkal Ratnasabapathy
19. Nadarajakkurukkal Ramanathan
20. Nadarajakkurukkal Sundaramoorthy
21. Diruthvey daughter of Nadarajakkurukkal
22. Subramaniyakkurukkal Appotharana Kurukkal all of Chavakacheheri Respondents.

This matter coming on for final disposal before E. V. R. Samaravickirama Esquire Acting District Judge Jaffna on the 27th day of January 1941 in the presence of Mr. V. Canagasabai proctor on the part of the petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner having been read, it is ordered that the 1st Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors the 2nd to 5th Respondents, 22nd Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors the 16th and 17th Respondents and the 6th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 18th to 21st Respondents for the purpose of protecting their interest and of representing them in this case and that the petitioner be declared entitled to have letters of administration to the Estate of the said intestate be issued

to her as his lawful widow, unless the Respondents or any person or persons interested shall appear before this Court on or before the 5th day of March 1941 and state objection or show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,

District Judge, Jaffna.

This 11th day of February 1941.

Order Nisi extended and re-issued for the 10th of November 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy, District Judge, Jaffna.

Drawn by V. Canagasabai Proctor for Petitioner

WEDDING

The marriage will take place according to Hindu Rites at Tholpuram on Friday the 7th instant at 6 a. m. of **Thanga Devi** daughter of Mr. & Mrs. N. Eliazhamy, Planter, Singapore, with **Mr. V. Vijai Theivanthiran** Advocate, Colombo, son of Mr. A. Valapillay of Araly West, Jaffna.

Relations and friends are cordially invited. Reception at bride's residence in Tholpuram.

(Straits and F. M. S. papers please copy.)

Tholpuram, 4-11-41.

[Mis. 128 6-11-41]

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THE ELEMENTS OF SAIVA SIDDHANTAM

SIDDHIYAR—AN INTRODUCTION

(By a Science Graduate)

VI. 'Sadanas' or Religious Practices

(Continued from our issue of 30-10-41)

The four main Margas or paths of Sariya, Kriya, Yogam and Gnanam are briefly explained in beautiful and at the same time easy language by Kadaval Maha Muniver in his 'Tiru Vathavur-Adigal Puranam'. The description occurs where Thakshinamoorthy, the Divine Guru who taught the Truth to the Vedic Rishis, Sanakar, Sananthanar, Sanatber and Sanatkumarar, is depicted as initiating Manika Vachager into the Truth and instructing him with the philosophy of the Siva Gnaana Bodham. We read from the Puranam:

ஆவலால் எமக்கு ஆம் மலர் பரங்கன்
ஆக்கல் அம்மலர் பறித்தல் அம்மலரால்
தா இலாவகை தார்பல சமைத்தல்
தண்பியில் எம்புகழ் சாற்றல் அன்புடன் நாம்
மேவும் ஆலயம் அலகிடல் மெழுகல்
வினங்க நல்வினக்கு இடதல் எம் அடியார்த்து
எவல் ஆனவை செய்தல் இச்சரியை
இயற்ற வல்லவர்க்கு எம் உலகு அளிப்போம்.

Planting and rearing flower plants with religious fervour, culting their flowers and making garlands of various kinds for Us, chanting Our praise, cleaning and washing Our temples and lighting them and obeying the commands of Our devotees. These form Sariya and those who perform them We admit to Our Kingdom.

கந்த வர்க்கமும் கிளர் மணப் புகையும்
கவின் கொள் தீபமும் புனித மஞ்சளும்
கொத்து அவித்த நல் மலரும் மற்ற உளவும்
கொண்டு மாயையின் குணங்கள் ஒன்று இலராய்
ஐந்து சுத்தி செய்த அகம்புறம் இறைஞ்சி
அங்கியின் கடன் கழித்த அருள் வழி நின்று
இத்த நல் பெரும் கிரியை அன்புடனே
இயற்ற வல்லவர் எம் அருகு இருப்பார்.

Gathering sweet-smelling substances, Dupam (frankincense), Deepam (lamps), Manchanam (holy water), freshly opened flowers and other necessary accessories, with pure mind, doing the five Suddhis (acts of purification) and worshipping Us both internally and externally and fulfilling the duties of Agni Kariyam (literally fire acts), those who thus perform Kriya as laid down in the Agamas with true love sit by Our side.

முக்குணம் புலன் ஐத்துடன் அடக்கி
மூலவாயுவை எழுப்பு இரு வழியைச்
சிக்கெனுமபடி அடைந்து ஒருவழியைத்
திறந்து தாண்டவச் சிலம்பு ஒலி உடன் போய்த்
தக்க அஞ்ச எழுத்து ஓர் எழுத்து உருவாம்
தன்மை கண்டு அருள் தரும் பெரு வெளிக்கே
புக்கு அழுத்தினர் எமது உருப் பெறுவர்
புயியில் வேட்டுவன் எடுத்த மென் புழுப்போல்.

Controlling the mind and the senses, stopping the inward and outward breath and carrying it upwards along the Sushama (spine) with the Music of Divine Motion, fixing the mind steadfastly and contemplating on the Sri Panchaksharam (five letters) and realizing their mergence into one and getting immersed in the enjoyment of Divine Space (Chidambaram), Such is Yogam and those who practise this Sadana are transformed into Our Image, like the worm becoming the wasp.

பார்த்த வான்கலை முழுதும் ஆகம் தூல்
பருதியும் பல சமய சாத்திரமும்
தெரிந்து தேர்ந்து அகில் வாய்த்த முப்பொருளின்
செய்தியே பொருள் என மனம் தெளிந்து
புரிந்து போத்து உன சிற்றறிவு அனைத்தும்
போக்கி அவ்வறிவு எனச் சிவ போதம்
விரிந்து தோன்றும் நெஞ்ச உடைய வித்தகரே
மேன்மை ஆன நம் மெய்ப்பதம் பெறுவார்.

Learning the expansive Kalas (sciences) and Agamas and various religious books and rating them all at their proper worth after mature consideration and realizing the truth of the Tri-Padarthas and getting rid of egotistic knowledge and attaining Siva Gnanam. Such (in brief) is Gnaana Sadana and those blessed souls who thus realize Siva Gnanam attain to Our Sacred Feet (Sayujjiyam or final Beatitude).

Contemplation on the Sri Panchaksharam is another important Sadana, a sine qua non to the seeker after spirituality. We shall dilate on this in a future article as complaints have reached us that our articles are getting a bit too long.

We shall conclude this article with a few words regarding image worship, in condemnation of which a good deal has been said by a large number of Western writers and not a few of our own countrymen. This form of worship, is recommended by our teachers and, like all Sadanas, this is only a Sadana and no more, only a means to an end and not the end itself. The image is a form used to represent the Lord. It is not the Lord Himself, who is nameless and formless (ஒரு நாமம் ஓர் உருவம் ஒன்றும் இல்லான்) and who is beyond the reach of thought, word and the corporeal senses (சொற்பதம் கடந்த தொல்லோன் உன்னத்து உணர்ச்சியிற் கொள்ளவும் படான் கண்முதற் புலனற் காட்சியும் இல்லோன்).

We read in one of the rare hymns of Ammaiyar: (our mother of Karaikkal)

அன்றம் திரு உருவம் காணுதே தூட்டட்டேன்
இன்றம் திரு உருவம் காண்கிலேன்—என்றும் தான்

எவ்வருவோ தும்பிரான் என்பார்கட்கு என் உரைப்பேன்
எவ்வருவோ தின் உருவம் ஏது.

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

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

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

The fact is, the Lord's Form cannot be seen objectively. It has to be realized through what is known as 'Pati-Gnanam' (அவனருளை கண் ணாகக் காணல்), of which we shall speak at greater length on a future occasion. We shall content ourselves with stating here that all Sadanas and all worship, as practised by all religionists, resolve into forms of idolatry in some form or other. Says our Lord Meykandan:

பாலகமேல் தான் அசத்தாம் பாவநாதிதம் எனில்
பாலகம் ஆம் அன்று என்னில் பாழை ஆம்—பாவகத்தைப்
பாலித்தல் தான் என்னில் பாவகம் ஆம் தன் அருளால்
பாலிப்பது பாம் இப் பாழ்.

If God can be contemplated with the mind, He becomes Asat (or destroyable, as all objects seen by the senses whether external or internal are destroyable). If He is beyond contemplation, He is a sham only (and of no benefit to us.) If He is neither thinkable nor unthinkable He becomes a non-entity. If (you say that) you meditate on the unknowable by assuming (the same as being possessed of certain) attributes, then too He is no more than a sham. Know that the Supreme Lord is realizable with His Arul (Grace) and hence is not a non-entity.

Here we prefer to quote the words of the learned writer we quoted in a previous article. Nallaswami Pillai comments on this venba and says: 'This verse discusses the various conceptions of God by the Yogis, and they are reduced to either mere idols of the human mind or fiction or non-entity, in all which cases the meditation of God will bring us no profit whatever. When the highest conceptions of God in the Yoga philosophy are thus declared to be mere material idols or myths, it need not be pointed out that any representation of the Unknown and Inconceivable by either the eye or the ear or any other human senses will be equally material conceptions and fruitless. This then is our real reason for the objection taken to all forms of idolatry. The religions ordinarily professing hatred of idolatry are based on such narrow philosophic foundations that they simply object to the idols of the eye, namely pictures and statues, &c, but their ordinary conceptions of God conveyed by the language and sound are equally gross and idolatrous. If you object to a male representation of God in gold or marble as your father and to a worship of the same, why do you call Him 'Our Father' and 'Our Lord' and repeat other names which are mere idols of the ear? and what benefit would it bring you the worship of these mere names? If you object to locate the picture of the eye in a temple, why do you build Him a temple in words and in your mind and say 'Our Father which art in Heaven'? This heaven of your mind is as unreal a representation of God's abode as the temple of the earth. A prayer is a mere word or sound worship, and all our Mantras fall within this category. God can only be and is therefore represented by means of all the human senses, and the mental conceptions simply follow from the sensory conceptions. Of all these, however, the eye and the ear standing foremost among the most intellectual of the five gateways of knowledge, the symbolic forms of these two senses are deservedly most popular'. Here follows an extract from M. Barths' Religions of India: "Sacrifice is only an act of preparation, it is the best of acts but it is an act and its fruits consequently perishable. Accordingly although whole sections of these treatises (Upanishads) are taken up exclusively with speculations on the rites, what they teach may be summed up in the words of Muniaka Upanishad 'Know the Atman only and away with everything else; it alone is the bridge to immortality.' The Veda itself and the whole circle of sacred science are quite as sweepingly consigned to the second place. The Veda is not the true Brahman, it is only its reflection. And the science of this imperfect Brahman, this Sabda Brahman or Brahman in words, is only a science of a lower order. The true science is that which has the true Brahman, the Para Brahman, for its subject.'

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Y. 89 A, 21-11-40—20-11-41. (1's)

Need for a Royal Commission

Continued from page 1

finances of the colony—if there had been found on the Board of Ministers two or three members who said, this kind of thing shall not go on; we shall not be a party to this, we do not want to be jockeyed by any executive committee into wrecking the finances of the country or we shall resign, if two members of the Board of Ministers could have said that, there would have been created immediately a parting between those who were for husbanding the resources of the country. That did not occur. All the members of the Board of Ministers stuck out that it is we the back-benchers on whom there is in reality no financial responsibility, that it is we who have played havoc with the finances of the country.

There is a great deal to be looked into by a Royal Commission and I hope that, whatever the decision of the majority of Members of the Council—I know it will be against the appointment of a Royal Commission—it does not require much acumen to know that the majority of members of this House would not welcome an independent investigation—I hope that the Secretary of State will see the justice of this demand and appoint a Royal Commission.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1050

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Somanathar Muttukumar of Singapore.

Muthuachy widow of the late Somanathar Muthukumar of Chulipuram Vs. Deceased Petitioner

1. Muthukumar Maheswary (minor)
2. Somanathar Selvanayagam both of Chulipuram Respondents

This matter coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire District Judge of Jaffna, on the 5th day of August 1941 in the presence of Mr. M. K. Subramaniam Proctor on the part of the petitioner abovenamed and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated 2nd day of August 1941 and the Order of the Supreme Court dated 4th June 1941 having been read:

It is ordered that the 2nd Respondent abovenamed be and is hereby appointed guardian-ad-litem of the minor the 1st Respondent abovenamed to represent her for all the purposes of this action and the Petitioner be and she is hereby declared entitled as the widow of the abovenamed deceased to have Letters of Administration to the above estate issued to her accordingly unless any person or persons interested shall on or before the 10th day of September 1941, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 18th day of August 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy
District Judge.

Extended for 21-11-41
Jtd: L. W. De. S.
A. D. J.
(O. 44, 3 & 6-11-41)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

(Held at Point Pedro)

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 166. P.

In the matter of the intestate estate and effects of the late Ramalingam Damodarampillai of Karanavai North Deceased.

R. Damodarampillai Shivagurunathan of Karanavai North Vs. Petitioner.

1. Thamotherampillai Ramalingam
2. Damoderampillai Subramaniam
3. Damoderampillai Senathirajah
4. Damoderampillai Mailvaganam
5. Maragathavalli daughter of Damoderampillai
6. Balambikai daughter of Damoderampillai
7. Puvaneswari daughter of Damoderampillai
8. Ponnar Vannichchy widow of Damoderampillai all of Karanavai North. Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before L. W. de Silva, Esquire, Additional, District Judge, Jaffna on the 15th day of October 1941 in the presence of Mr. P. Kanapadhipillai, Proctor on the part of the petitioner and the petition and affidavit of the petitioner having been read:

It is ordered that the abovenamed 8th respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors the 4th to 7th respondents to represent them and to protect their interests in these testamentary proceedings, that the petitioner as son be declared entitled to take out Letters of Administration to the estate of the said deceased and that Letters of Administration be issued to him accordingly unless the respondents or any other persons shall on or before the 20th day of November, 1941 appear and shew sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

The 16th day of October, 1941.

L. W. de Silva,
Addl. District Judge.
(O. 45, 6 & 10-11-41.)

NOTICE

I Vaiththianather Kandiah of Chunnagam now of Kuala Lumpur in the Federated Malay States, do hereby give notice that I have already revoked and cancelled the power of attorney executed by me in favour of Vaiththianather Visuva-nathapillai some years ago, as I have executed another Power of Attorney in his favour in favour of my daughter, son-in-law and the said Vaiththianather Visuva-nathapillai today the 21st October 1941.

Dated at Seremban this 21st day of October 1941.

V. KANDIAH.
(Mis. 122, 3--17-11-41.)

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