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FOR YOUR
FUTURECONSULT
SRIPATHY (JR.)
C/o. HINDU ORGAN

VIOLATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

LEADERS LASH AT 'ONE LANGUAGE' DEMOCRACY

DIVINE RIGHT TO MEET CHALLENGE

(By Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in rising to move the Amendment standing in my name, you will pardon me if I observe that I do so with very mixed feelings. As recently as last evening the personal appeal made by me on the Floor of this House to the Hon. Prime Minister and my good Friend the Minister of Education fell on deaf ears. One begins to wonder already, Mr. Speaker, whether one should not ask, like the Irishman, whether the proceedings of this House are those of a private war or whether anyone could join in it would almost appear that there is a very happy family on both sides of the House, speaking their own language, and some of us have the uncomfortable feelings of being interlopers already. I speak more in sorrow than in anger because some of us have done our best in these years to see whether we could not contribute to the creation of a united Ceylonese nation, and one cannot refrain from giving expression to a feeling of frustration that this ideal is fast receding, and one begins to despair whether it is going to be achieved at all.

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry my Hon. Friend the Prime Minister is not in his seat, but I should like to say this, that before the final and unequivocal declaration in regard to the adoption of one sole official State language was read by us with very mixed feelings in the report of the Throne Speech, those of us who come from the north and the east were almost prepared to welcome with equal fervour,

with equal enthusiasm, a People's Government headed by my Hon. Friend, the Member for Attanagalla

We were prepared to welcome, on behalf of the common people, the removal of a Government which had, over the years, been characterised by the placing upon a pedestal of every form of reactionary conduct.

We would have welcomed this new Government with unmixed feelings, but, whatever the Governor-General's Speech may reveal as the good intentions of this Government, as the progressive nature of a popular Government—in the matter of the introduction of social welfare measures, the intention to ameliorate the conditions of the vast masses of the people, in order, generally, to raise their standard of living—nevertheless, we who form a distinct ethnic group in this country, namely the Tamil speaking people, cannot view with anything but extreme alarm and despondency the declaration of the Government that they have decided to "take necessary steps for the adoption of Sinhalese as the one Official Language of the State" and that legislation is to be introduced at an early date.

That statement, supplemented by the statements of the Hon. the Prime Minister,—whatever consideration the Government may give to the use of other languages, they are inexorably wedded to the one principle that Sinhalese shall be the one and only State language—makes one begin to wonder what possible significance

there could be in the other assertion in the Governor-General's Speech about "the more effective and efficient functioning of the principles of democracy."

The legislative enforcement of the language of a majority down the throats of a majority, in juxtaposition with a phrase like the one I have quoted, is a contradiction in terms. It would be a complete negation of democracy for one distinct major nationality to be deprived of equality of status for its language in this country, but almost in the very next paragraph, they refer to the "more effective and efficient functioning of the principles of democracy." One is the very antithesis of the other. A negation of democracy is propounded in one paragraph, and there is a declaration of intention to adhere to the principles of democracy in the other.

One begins to wonder what exactly is the content of the assertion.

"My Government wishes to assure minorities, religious, racial or otherwise, that they need have no fear of injustice or discrimination. My Government will ensure to all citizens the rights, privileges and freedoms to which they are entitled in a democratic State."

This is a most extraordinary statement when contrasted with what has been said earlier. They talk of "freedom". Let me confine myself to one freedom—the freedom of expression of one's thoughts and ideas in one's own language. The Speech indicates that one's national language is to be deprived of its status of

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PRINCIPLE OF 'LIVE AND LET LIVE' TO SOLVE INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS

((By Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam))

I speak, Sir, on behalf of that great number of those voters in the Northern and Eastern Provinces who have chosen to adopt the federal principle and who have chosen to return 10 out of 16 Members to represent the Northern and Eastern Provinces as members of our Party which has put forward a federal solution to the constitutional problem. It has taken about six or seven years, since we propounded this federal solution, for the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces to adopt this solution as their own; they exhibited that by the manner in which they went to the polls in the recently held elections.

There is a duty thus cast on us who advocate the federal principle to place our case before the voters of the seven other provinces in the hope that those voters, when they see in detail the good points of this policy, will themselves adopt it and agree with us that the federal principle is a correct solution of the national conflict that we say exists between the Tamil-speaking and the Sinhalese-speaking peoples of this country.

Quite a number of other well-informed people consider the federal solution as one which will divide the country. It is not a division of the country; it is merely a distribution of power. The division of a country connotes the cutting of the country into two separate sovereign states. If we had asked that a state be constituted as a sovereign, state consisting of the Northern and Eastern Provinces or of any other parts of this country then

that would be a division. But the federal principle is not a case of division; it is a case of federation, the coming together, and of union. It is meant primarily as a solution to a racial or linguistic minority which stands in fear of extinction under a unitary form of Government.

We can see many examples in other parts of the world where a unitary type of Government has been found to be unsuitable in a country populated by multi-national or multi-linguistic races. The federal principle as applied to Canada was meant primarily for the safeguarding of the French minority that lives in lower Canada or Quebec. The federal principle is applied to countries with divergent linguistic groups. It has also been applied to countries which are comparatively large in size, such as, the United States of America, where there is no question of a multi-national or multi-linguistic problem.

The problem as applicable to Ceylon is a conflict between two linguistic groups, namely, the Tamil-speaking and the Sinhalese-speaking. It is not a problem that arises out of the size of Ceylon. I can only refer in support of my argument to opinions expressed by various politicians and statesmen on different occasions as to the value of the federal principle or the federal solution.

In Canada, for instance, as you know there live the people of French descent who became a minority by reason of the conquest of Canada by the English and English-speaking immigrants entering that country

(Continued on page 5)



சமஸ்தவாயதே ஞானமுக்கலியம்
சமஸ்தவாயதே நானறிவிச்சையம்
சமஸ்தவாயதே நானறிந்தேத்தமே
சமஸ்தவாயதே நன்னெதிர் உமே
சிவசுந்தரமே

Hindu Organ

FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1956

Treasure These Thoughts

A state which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself.

LEFTIST SUPPORT FOR GOVT!

If the spokesmen of the Government Party, during the debate on the Address of Thanks, in the House of Representatives, were unduly presumptuous the Tamil-speaking M.P.s, in agreeable contrast, were earnestly frank. The voting on the different amendments, however, was both interesting and indicative. The entire discussion naturally centred on the discriminatory policy of the M. E. P. on the problem of State language. The Opposition, though commanding an appreciable strength, yet apparently was weak due to its composition not being cohesive. However, the presence of fourteen N. L. S. S. P. and three C. P. members who all along had declared that the safe-guarding of the fundamental rights of the minorities was their chief concern, it was believed, was of sufficient significance. But ironically enough, not one of the three amendments that were moved by the Tamil speaking M. P.s. could obtain the support of a single Leftist at the voting. What does this indicate?

It cannot be denied that so long as a racial interpretation of the problem of official languages is deliberately thrust by the Government the voting on such questions in Parliament will be on a communal basis. But the Leftists who have time in and again professed to be above communal suspicion ultimately could not help proclaiming to the wide world, though unwittingly, that in politics as in domestic affairs, blood was thicker than water. However, the M. P. for Point Pedro proved to be an extra-

(Continued from page 1)

equality, and one is to be compelled to express one's ideas in another person's language.

Is that not a mockery of democracy, a denial of a human right, exercised over the years? I would ask hon. Members on the other side whether they consider freedom of expression a real freedom in this country when one has no alternative but to express, haltingly, some particular opinion of his, however freely, in the language of another.

Already the minds of my hon. Friends opposite are made up. They have come into this House determined, wilfully, to push this legislation through. I await to see what the particular details are in that Bill that will be placed before the

ordinary exception. Perhaps in the iron discipline of the Red Revolutionaries allegiance to party counted more than patriotism. And it so happened that one of the elected representatives of the Northern electorates was seen among the supporters of the Government along with his Leftist colleagues when a division by name was called at the voting on the amendments to the Address of Thanks. The surprise is greater when the significance of this voting is investigated in the context of previous practice of the Leftists of opposing the Government almost as a political hobby. The champions of the oppressed and the down-trodden did not even consider the advisability of declining to vote as one of their camp-followers, the M. P. for Mutur, had done. Where do the Leftists actually stand? we ask. That they have difficult times ahead with the M. E. P., we do not deny. It is also true that their place in the present political set-up of this country is precarious with the Bhikku Front challenging from the flank and the V. L. S. S. P. mixed Mahajana Front refusing to accept the hand of responsive co-operation from the rear. And in the Opposition, there is the U. N. P.—C. P. clash threatening to weaken a seeming solidarity. Now the Tamil-speaking people have learnt it at the very outset of the present parliamentary struggle for existence on terms of equality that the Leftists cannot be depended upon.

House, in fairness to them. But in fairness to ourselves, I have my hon. Friends opposite will not take umbrage if I deal with this question within the ambit of the statement in the Governor-General's Speech, namely, that the Government is committed to adopting the Sinhalese language as the one official language of the country.

There was a request from the other side that we should await publication of the Bill for the actual details, I do not know what consolation we shall derive when the particular Bill is placed before the House and the country. It will suffice if we take the statement, so unequivocally placed before us, and make our comments thereon.

If the minds of the Government Members are already made up on this one fundamental question. I hope it will not sound ironical if I say that I am speaking now not merely to this House, not merely for the benefit of my hon. Friends seated opposite but that I speak with a full sense of responsibility for purposes of record and, if necessary, for the benefit of posterity.

When one considers language rights in the twentieth century, what is being proposed by this Government is something retrograde, an anachronism, an anomaly, in modern progressive times.

I wish to be as moderate as possible. This is not an occasion for mock heroics. I do not wish to be provocative. I would have liked my hon. Friend the Member for Vavuniya not to have said some of the things he said. Moderation of expression at a time like this will not take away from the strength, the essential equity, of the case I state—

I hear my hon. Friend asking me not to speak in vain. It may be that very soon I shall convince my people that speaking in this House will indeed be in vain, but till such time, for purposes of record, I wish to state that we stand here to oppose this declaration of the Government, on the ground that it is a violation of a sacred and fundamental human right.

Language is the basis of one's culture, of one's nationality. It is the mirror of the genius of a people. The words of a language are almost the record of the history, of the past of the people who speak that lan-

guage. I look upon the denial of equality of status of one's language as almost a challenge to one's history, to one's past, to one's culture and to one's civilization. Language itself is a spiritual matrix in which one's culture lives and moves and has its being. Deprived of that matrix there can be no progress, either spiritual or other wise.

We are living in an age where certain fundamental concepts in regard to language have been admitted and accepted without demur. Psychologists and educationists have accepted that the best can be brought out in a race or in a nation only by the use, as an educational medium, of its mother tongue. This country over the last decade has witnessed certain educational reforms in which I believe no section of representatives of the people either in the State Council or in the last two Parliaments have demurred from the general proposition that education to have any meaning, to have its proper content, at least in the primary and elementary stages must be through the mother tongue. That is an accepted thesis in modern progressive thought. That is not all. In modern times one's mother tongue, one's national language is accepted also as the medium through which the government of a country, the government of a race, the government of a State should be carried out. It is accepted as the proper means of conducting the administration; it is accepted as the proper language for our thoughts and generally of the State.

Mr. Speaker, the question then arises where you have two major nationalities; as you have in this country, are you going to deny to one of the major nationalities—I use the words deliberately—its fundamental right for the use of its language as the medium of education and instruction, as a means it must necessarily have in carrying out its affairs with the government and with the State? I ask these two questions and I hope I shall have an intelligible reply.

Again, might I appeal particularly to the neobisitorians who are emerging in the front ranks of the Government? I do not know whether the Hon. Minister of Education really wanted us to take him seriously when he referred to this country in

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its proto-history as being an Aryan country which is being subjected to the maraudings of the Dravidians marauders. I think in the first flush of power, when one is called upon either to conduct a government or administer a State, it is known—I will not say it is well known but it is known—that there is great temptation to so interpret, if not modify, history as to suit one's own propositions and predilections. I would appear that the one-time progressive leftist, the hon. Member for Galle, is today blossoming forth as a prophet of the new Sinhalese nationalism which claims that the original inhabitants of this country were a lot of Aryans. How they happened, by what forms of locomotion, automation or navigation, to arrive in Ceylon in the dim recesses of history one does not know.

But one can only commend to the consideration of my hon. Friend that there are unquestionably things that the original population of this country, the civilized population—I hope I am not by referring to the Yakkas—[*Interruption.*] Will my hon. Friends please possess their souls in patience? I cannot undertake, within the time available to me, to give lessons in history but I think if you would consult your own—

I do not understand that, and I am prepared to give way. I welcome interruptions but I would like them to be intelligent. I do not think it is necessary for the purpose of my submission to this House to make any researches and delve into any hidden past except to state that it cannot be controverted as a matter of history that when the ancestors, or shall we say the part-ancestors, of the Sinhalese race arrived in Ceylon they found in Ceylon an already civilized people living with forms of government in all townships of their own; and that that race, for all practical purposes is Tamil, I think cannot be denied.

(To be continued)

—Mr. G. G. Ponnaambalam

RELIGION AND THE MODERN WORLD

THE present day would have progressed much in the direction of satisfying its material needs. Every day factories pour out some new article or gadget which satisfies a long felt want or brings about satisfaction of a want which it itself creates. Science which has made the scope of human activity international is about to make it inter-planetary as well. Life has become mechanised and individualistic. While individuals struggle to climb up and up the social ladder, nations are struggling to maintain their national interests in a changing international atmosphere and incidentally this is being done through concerted action through world organisations like the U. N. O. and through various kinds of treaties and alliances. At no other period in its history has the world been influenced by economic factors as it is now and it would be no exaggeration to say that world thought of the day is mainly occupied with the problem of the best politico-economic system to satisfy men's material needs. This has resulted in the division of the world into two ideological camps—the adherents of traditional Western Democracy (modified to a considerable extent to suit modern economic conditions) and the adherents of the new Communist creed (who seem to be gaining ground in Asia. There is also a third section which attempts at a combination of the two systems. Gone are the days of Emperors and Empires and gone also are the days of religious wars. Modern states are essentially secular (with the exception of certain Muslim States). But the disappearance of these has not led to the disappearance of war and nations the world over still openly or secretly look upon war as a legitimate instrument of national policy. In such a world what is the place of religion? An explanation to this is what I propose to set down in this article.

It is true that science has advanced. It is also true that Communism has also advanced. But have these succeeded in destroying religion? Certainly not. As long as men have minds they will continue to have spiritual needs, quite apart from the question of satisfying their stomachs. Such needs cannot be satisfied by manufactured goods as artificial comforts or by a politico-economic system however good it may be. It is significant to note in this connection the attempts of the Communists to give a religious twist to their creed and the fact that such attempts have met with many limited success is equally significant. Communism may succeed in doing away with outward practical expressions of religious faith like temple worship and ceremonies connected with same but it can never hope to destroy religious thought inherently

By
Sabaratnasinghe
Kumarakulasingham B A.
(Cey.)

present in every man's soul. This is true especially in the East. Where even today religious beliefs influenced thought and action considerably what the Westerners (rather sarcastically) branded as (philosophical resignation of the oriental) is really the average Easterner's approach to life—a long term approach based on faith in his Maker to set matters right in the end. Though this attitude is consolatory, even in times of prosperity the Easterner is conscious of a life beyond and at some point in life or other he makes amends for his spiritual short-comings. Communism is no Communism if religion will find a permanent place in Eastern thought and activity. Even in Red China there is ample evidence to support this contention. Now a few words about scientific nationalism.

Many believe that the ultimate object of science is disproving religion. Such a view is very fallacious. It is true that a few centuries back science disproved certain religious beliefs related to matters like creation (of earth and beings) but it must be borne in mind that religion is more concerned with the creator than in creation and what is more its object is not to provide an explanation for creation. Whatever is said in this connection is meant to convey an idea of the greatness of the 'creator'. Science on the other hand is more interested in the object of creation and it is not so much worried

about object of 'life' as in how 'life' thinks and acts and what 'life' and objects 'without life' consist of. In spite of all scientific progress, man has not been able to upset any feature of the natural order. The so called 'artificial products' are themselves transformations of other 'natural products'. There was also a time when scientists went so far as to say that 'all life is matter' but the recent experiments on the atom led to a revision of this opinion as for all practical purposes 'the atom is neither material nor spiritual and scientists of today are forced to admit that matter may exist in spirit form—just the thing religion has been saying for long. It is no wonder that the greatest scientific genius to date—the late Einstein openly admitted his faith in the existence of a universal force. Taking the analysis further it is also possible to point out the striking similarity between several of the so called scientific truths and religious truths as found in St. Manickavasagar's Thiruvagam. To those who argue that scientific truths are more accurate because they can be tested, I would like to point out that a good part of scientific study is built around conjecture. My view is that growth of scientific rationalism would strengthen religion.

In the past it is true that religion has been an instrument of disunity but the so called religious strife was caused partly by political and economical causes as well. Today state—church alliance has been broken and what is more the modern man is more tolerant than his ancestor. Means of communication and inventions like the radio have brought the world together. International trade is tending to create (a world economy, even it be an economy based on intense competition). There is one thing lacking to complete the picture viz a world religion and without this there can never be real peace and happiness on earth. Graving materialism can satisfy human needs only up to a point and its growth beyond this point would only serve to emphasise the need for spiritualism. Amidst all the diversity of external characteristics, amidst all the diversity of socio-political economic systems one could also

(Continued on page 6)

Tiruketheeshvaram Temple

The 83rd meeting of the Working Committee of the Tiruketheeshvaram Temple Restoration Society was held recently at the Old Kathiresan Temple, Bambalapitiya, with Sir Kanthiah Vaitianathan, the President of the Society, in the chair. Fifty seven new members for the Society were enrolled. In addition, the following who had given donations of Rupees one thousand and one—(Rs. 1001/-) were enrolled life members of the Society.

1. Mr. & Mrs. C. Ranganathan

2. Mr. & Mrs. K. Chidambapillai

3. Mr. & Mrs. S. V. Murugesu.

A statement regarding the progress of temple construction work was made by the President and comments were offered. It was decided to intensify the efforts for the collection of funds for temple construction work. It was also decided to bring about a greater degree of association of the Hindu public of Mannar District with the affairs of the temple and the Restoration Society by enlisting the maximum number of Hindus of Mannar District as members of the Society and its various Committees and thus assist in making up the target of the membership of ten thousand (10,000) aimed at by the Society.

Among those who participated in the Conference were Messrs K. Alvapillai, S. R. M. Valliappa Chettiar and the representatives of the Old and New Kathiresan temples.

A vote of condolence was passed on the death of Mr. K. Ponniah, an Office Assistant of the Postal Department, who was a member of the Committee of the Society from its inception.

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction
No. 155 T

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Sitham. parappillai Krishnapillai of Vaddukodai Deceased.

Parappillai widow of S. Krish. napillai of Vaddukodai Petitioner.

And,

Minor 1. Kirishnapillai Rajaratnam

2 Kirishnapillai Siva.

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF POINT PEDRO

Testamentary Jurisdiction
No. 561

In the matter of the Intestate Estate of the late Pooranam wife of Thinakarar Pasupathy of Puloly East, Point Pedro Deceased.

Sothimuttu widow of Alvar Kathiramu of Puloly East Petitioner:

Vs.

1. Kathirgamu Rajasingham of Puloly East
2. Kathirgamu Balasundaram of Thumpalai
3. Kathirgamu Balasingham of Puloly East
4. Kathirgamu Vinasithamby of do
5. Sivapragasam Saravananavan of do
6. and wife Arasamma of do
7. Thinakarar Pasupathy of do Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before S. ThambiDurai Esquire District Judge of Point Pedro on the 28th day of March 1956 in the presence of Mr. S. Rasaretnam Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit and petition dated the 28th day of March 1956 having been read.

It is ordered and decreed that the Petitioner above named be and she is hereby declared entitled to have Letters of Administration issued to her unless the above named respondents or any other person or persons interested therein shall on or before the 10th day of May 1956 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 28th day of March 1956.
Sgd. S. ThambiDurai
District Judge

Drawn by
Sgd. S. Rasaretnam
Proctor for Petitioner
(O. 179. 4 & 11)

sithamparam, and

3. Arumugam Vairavanathar all of Vaddukodai.

Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda Rajah Esquire District Judge, Jaffna on the 22nd day of March 1956 in the presence of Messrs Subramaniam and Somasundram Proctors on the part of the petitioner and the petition and affidavit of the petitioner having been read;

It is ordered that the 3rd respondent be appointed guardian ad litem over the 1st and 2nd respondents for the purpose of representing them in the above proceedings and that letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner as the lawful widow of the deceased unless the respondents or any other person interested in the above estate shall appear before this Court on or before the 30th day of April 1956 and show sufficient cause to the contrary.

This 22nd day of March 1956
Sgd. N. Sivagnanasundram
District Judge.

The date for showing cause is extended to 8-6-1956.

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah
District Judge.
30-1-56.

(O 180 4 & 11)

HISTORICAL STUDY OF KASHMIR

HISTORICALLY Kashmir and partly deserted. has a record which places it high among other parts of India in point of interest. Its earliest history takes us into the dim region of Hindu mythology. A current legend in Kashmir relates that the Valley was once covered by the waters of a mighty lake, on which the goddess Parvati sailed in a pleasure boat from Haramukh mountain in the North to the Kon-sarnag lake in the South. In her honour the lake was known as Satisar or "lake of the virtuous woman." The countryside was harassed by a demon popularly known as Jaldeo, a corruption of Jalodbhav Kasyapa, the grandson of Brahma, came to the rescue, but for some time the amphibious demon eluded him, hiding under the water. Vishnu then intervened, and struck the mountains at Baramula with his trident. The

BY

P. DATTATREYA
in the March of India

waters of the lake rushed out, but the demon took refuge in the low ground near where Srinagar now stands, and baffled pursuit. Then Parvati cast a mountain on him, and so destroyed the wicked Jaldeo.

In classical India, Kashmir had an honoured place. The ancient chronicles speak of a "glorious king of Kashmir" named Gonanda, who was "worshipped by the region which Kailas lights up and which the tossing Ganga clothes with a soft garment." In the same records the name of Asoka is associated with Srinagar, a "town of ninety six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth." Buddhist influence predominated in early Kashmir. The kings were probably of that faith, and the third Buddhist council was held in the country. Toleration, however seems to have been the keynote of religious policy in those remote times, and Buddhists and Hindus lived amicably together, but when the famous Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang visited Kashmir in about the sixth century of the Christian era he found the mass of the people Hindus and the Buddhist monasteries few

Another turn in Kashmir's wheel of fate brought it to power about A. D. 528. Mihirakula, a king "cruel as death", who is known to history as the leader of the White Huns or Epthalites. Stories about the brutalities of this monarch are told to this day. The village people still point to a ridge on the Pir Panjal range, called Hastivanj, where the king drove one hundred elephants over the precipice, to amuse himself, as he enjoyed their cries of agony. A notable king was Pravarasena II, who reigned about A. D. 700 and built his capital on the site of the present Srinagar. Another ruler of whom history takes great account is Lalitaditya, who ruled in the middle of the eighth century, and who distinguished himself by his successful campaigns in India and Central Asia. Returning from his last campaign loaded with booty, he followed the usual custom of building a capital for himself. Yet another aspirant for the honour of fixing the state capital was Sankaravarman, a king who reigned from 883 to 902. This king, after the manner of his kind, destroyed Paraspur which was then the capital, and founded a new city, where Pattan is now situated. Finally, in this line of Hindu kings, we have Queen Didda, who reigned from 950 to 1003.

The subsequent history of Kashmir for some hundreds of years was a succession of violent changes in which dynasty succeeded dynasty, as some adventurer or other, by his military talents, acquired power. At the end of the fourteenth century Muslim rule was established over the Happy Valley through a line of kings known as Sultans. The best known of these kings was Zain-ul-abidin. Abolishing the iniquitous poll-tax and other oppressive measures of his predecessor, he inaugurated an era of toleration under which ancient learning was revived and the Brahmins regained their influence. This enlightened Sultan's death left Kashmir a prey to the old anarchical influences, and it was not until the conquest of the territory by Akbar at the end of the sixteenth century that a reign of order was established.

Akbar's association with

Astrological

WEEKLY FORECASTS

'SRI PATHY'

FROM 13-5-56 TO 19-5-56

ARIES Aswini, Barani, Kartikai 1st part [Medha Rasi]

Work will be heavy this week. But you are sure to achieve good results. There will be no mental peace. Relatives will cause you some annoyance.

TAURUS Kartikai 2, 3, 4, Rohini, Mirugasirisha 1, 2 [Idapa Rasi]

Health upsets possible this week. Troubles through father's relatives also shown. Do not commit yourself in writing. Misunderstandings in the domestic field also shown.

GEMINI Mirugasirisha 3, 4, Thiruvathirai, Punarvasam 1, 2, 3 [Mithuna Rasi]

Triumph over competitors promised this week. You will have to face some criticism from your relatives. But ignore them and go straight ahead with your plans. Friends will be very helpful week end.

CANCER Punarpoosa 4, Poosa, Ayilya [Kataka Rasi]

Favours from superiors and friends promised this week. Old investments will bring in good results. But there will be no mental peace. Ill health to children also shown.

LEO Maha, Pooram, Uttirai 1, [Singha Rasi]

You will be able to steer clear of most opposition this week. Your stubbornness will help you much in your affairs. Vehicles may cause you some expenditure.

VIRGO Uttirai 2, 3, 4, Attai, Chittirai 1, 2 [Kanni Rasi]

Troubles through friends of the opposite sex likely this week. Misunderstandings in the domestic circles also shown. Professionally a good week. But no prospects of immediate gains.

LIBRA Chittirai 3, 4, Swati, Visaka 1, 2, 3, [Thula Rasi]

Ill health likely this week. You will have to be in guard against infectious diseases. Friends will help you out of difficulties. Financial gains also promised week end.

SCORPION Visaka 4, Anurasha, Kettai [Vrischika Rasi]

The first two days will land you into some serious difficulties. Improvements promised later. New ventures will bring in good results only after much labour.

SAGITTARIUS Moolam, Pooradam, Uttiradam 1. [Thanu Rasi]

The first two days will be favourable for business deals. But spend Tuesday Wednesday and Thursday morning with care. Rest of the week will turn favourable again.

CAPRICORNUS Uttiradam 2, 3, 4. Thiruvonam, Avittam 1, 2. [Makara Rasi]

First half of the week will be favourable for your personal deals. Triumph over competitors promised. Thursday Friday and Saturday morning must be spent with care.

AQUARIUS Avittam 3, 4, Satayam, Pooraddati 1, 2, 3 [Kumbha Rasi]

Except for the last day this week promises to be a good one. Professional success and fame promised. Most of your worries will be cleared. Spend the last day with care.

PISCES Pooraddati 4, Uttiraddati, Revati. [Meena Rasi]

A comparatively better week. Friends will be very helpful. You are sure to succeed in your undertakings though you meet with opposition at the outset.

Kashmir is one of the poetic traditions of Indian history. Though he visited the Valley only three times he was much attracted to it, and caused his great minister, Todar Mull, to devote to it a prominent measure of his administrative abilities. It is however, to the Emperor Jehangir that Kashmir owes its most opulent memories of Mughal rule. This monarch was greatly drawn to the Valley, and lavished upon it an extraordinary amount of money and care. A conspicuous feature of the Kashmir of his day was the many lovely pleasure gardens which the emperor caused to be laid in appropriate positions, notably around the Dal lake. It is stated that the revenue from these gardens, from the sale of roses and bed-musk, was as much as one lakh rupees a year, a very large sum having regard to the difference in values between

those days and the present time. The Mughal connection lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century, when, in consequence of the decay of the Imperial power, the Subah of the State became practically independent of Delhi. Thereafter it fell under Afghan despotism, and the people were oppressed by a succession of governors from Kabul, each more cruel than his predecessor. At length their condition becoming insupportable, they turned for aid to Ranjit Singh whose rising star was then attracting the attention of India. As a consequence of this appeal the Sikh chief sent an army to Kashmir in 1814, the advance being made by the Pir Panjal. The expedition was a failure, and nothing further was done until 1819, when Ranjit Singh's best general, Mir Diwan Chand, accompanied by Gulab Singh, of

Jammu, invaded Kashmir, and after driving out the Afghan representative, Mahomed Azim Khan, established Sikh rule. A terrible famine ravaged the Valley in the early years of the Sikh ascendancy. Mian Singh was the most popular Sikh governor, and grateful memories of his exertions to repair the ravages of the famine still linger. He was unfortunately assassinated by mutinous troops.

While Kashmir was passing through the later vicissitudes in its history which we have outlined, a new power was growing in influence on the environs of the State. This was the authority waged by Gulab Singh, a Rajput who was one of Ranjit Singh's favourite lieutenants. Created Raja of Jammu in 1820 for services rendered to the

(Continued on page 6)

Violation Of Fundamental.....

—S. J. V. Chelvanapagam

(Continued from page 1)

thereafter. The Canadian provinces as they are called were colonies to begin with, but there was an agitation from the people of Canada for self-government. In the 1830s, therefore, Great Britain appointed a Commission headed by Lord Durham to advise on the solution of the constitutional problem in Canada as it existed then. Lord Durham may be compared in some ways to Lord Soulbury who made a report on the Ceylon Constitution. Lord Durham advised that self-government be granted to Canada, but he took a very arbitrary view of the position of the French inhabitants of Canada. He took the view that the French people living there should, in the course of time, be absorbed by the English people and should become extinct. The report of Lord Durham, which was otherwise liberal and progressive, was marred, as time and experience showed, in that respect. Lord Durham advocated the union of Lower Canada with Upper Canada and expected that, in the course of time, the French people would become extinct; but historians state that the French people would not accept that solution and they made it difficult for the Government of the combined state of Lower Canada and Upper Canada to function in an efficient manner. Durham, in his effort to create a nation, was prepared to destroy the French as a national and cultural minority. Durham's report was embodied in a Statute of 1840 whereunder a unitary government was established combining Lower Canada with Upper Canada. Lower Canada consisting of French inhabitants and Upper Canada consisting of English inhabitants. But the French agitation went on in a manner unexpected by Lord Durham or the Government of Great Britain until finally in 1867 Great Britain, by the British North America Act of 1867, established a federal constitution for Canada and undid the joining up of Lower Canada with Upper Canada and separated Lower Canada into the French State of Quebec.

The term that is appropriate for the federal principle is "federal union." It is from an entirely mistaken view that people refer to a federal constitution as a separation of the

country; it is just the opposite of separation. It is to avoid separation that people choose a federal constitution as a means of synthesising variant elements. It is, however, based on certain standards which civilized governments observe, namely, that it is wrong to destroy a minority, linguistic or otherwise. If it is true that the so called independence of Ceylon is for the benefit of all the peoples of Ceylon, it must be for the benefit of the Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon as well. The Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon have in no uncertain way indicated

(Continued on page 6)

C. N. A. P. T. Jaffna

"It is scandalous that a Chest Clinic completed by the P. W. D. about 7 months ago should still remain without being put into 'operation'" stated Dr. J. H. F. Jayasuriya, President of the Ceylon National Association for the Prevention of T. B. at the Annual General meeting of the Jaffna Branch of the Association held at the Jubilee Health Centre on the evening of 4th instant.

The Rev. Fr. S. N. Arulnesan, O. M. I. occupied the chair.

Muh. E. P. Rasiah, the Hony. Secretary, presented the Annual Report.

Mudaliar C. Muttuthamby, M. M. C. proposed a vote of thanks

The following were elected Office-bearers for 1956

Patron. Mr. M. Sri Khanta, Govt. Agent

Vice-Patron: Mr. S. S. Navaratnam, Mayor,

Vice-Patrons: Mr. K. Subramaniam, M. B. R.

President, V. C. Association

President: Dr. V. T. Pasupati, Vice-Presidents:

Rev. Fr. S. N. Arulnesan, O. M. I., Dr. K. Rajah.

Secretary Muhandiram E. P. Rasiah

Treasurer Mr. E. M. Sittampalam.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

No. 149 T

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Kanapathipillai Arunasalam Vythilingam of Myliddy North

Deceased. Nagammah widow of Kanapathipillai Arunasalam Vythilingam of No. 3 Arasady lane, Vannarponnai West,

presently of Aladeniya, Werellagama Petitioner,

Vs. Vaithilingam Balasubramaniam of Aladeniya, Werellagama Respondent

This matter coming on for disposal before P. Sri Skanda

In the Upper House

Senator S. R. Kanaganayagam moved an amendment to the Address of Thanks. What would be the judgment of posterity on the activities of this Government in regard to the fundamental rights of the minorities—that question should be seriously answered observed Senator Kanaganayagam and added that the attempt to 'Sinhala'ise' the Tamil speaking people of this Island was a negation of democracy, a contradiction and a betrayal of the worst kind.

Senator Sir Pararajasingam formally seconded the amendment.

Senator A. M. A. Azeez said that the fundamental rights must be incorporated in the constitution and declared that the advocacy of Federalism was abhorrent to the Muslims.

Senator S. Nadesan traced the whole history of the problem of official languages and said that party had been accepted all along and had the support of Mr. Bandaranaike both in the State Council and the Parliament. It could not be denied that there were two nations in Ceylon though it was a single state.

The refusal of Government to recognise Tamil as an official language was a violation of the basic principles of democracy. If that right was conceded then the refusal to call Tamil an official language was something which was calculated to hurt the sentiments of the Tamil speaking people for no purpose. He refused to believe that if the problem was approached without passion and prejudice responsible leaders of the Sinhalese people would not see the justice of making Tamil an official language. That was the only way to promote unity and communal harmony in this country.

Rajah, Esquire, District Judge of Jaffna, on the 7th day of March 1956 in the presence of Mr. V. Navaratna Rajah, Proctor for the petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner dated 13th day of January 1956 having been read.

It is declared that the petitioner be granted Letters of Administration of the estate of the deceased abovenamed as widow of the deceased unless the respondent or others interested shall on or before the 28th day of March 1956 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 7th day of March 1956. Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah District Judge.

Drawn by Sgd. V. Navaratna Rajah, Proctor for the petitioner.

27-4-56 Time to show cause is extended for 18.5.56.

Sgd. P. Sri Skanda Rajah, District Judge.

THE PROPOSED LANGUAGE BILL

It is submitted that it is the duty of the Cabinet and Mr. Bandaranaike to confer with the Buddhist Sangha and other groups interested and arrive at some reasonable modus vivendi

His Eminence the Venerable High Priest of Malwatte in the course of his reply at a reception given to him at Calcutta two days ago is reported to have expressed his firm conviction that the relationship between India and Ceylon is too ancient and deep-rooted as not to permit being disturbed by passing moods. The same contention could be applied with equal truth and force in respect of the relationship between the Sinhalese and Tamil-speaking peoples of Ceylon.

Reference is made to this utterance of His Eminence of Malwatte to show that the Buddhist Sangha realises the inward and true significance of national affairs, though such reference could be deemed superfluous in view of the spirit of discrimination and dispassion which we are entitled and bound to associate with the Sangha.

With regard to the future use of English, may I be permitted to quote the opinion of a distinguished son of Bengal with which Ceylon has had close connection through the centuries:—

"English is the finest and most expressive instrument yet evolved by

FOR SALE

Tenders are invited for the sale of a Second hand, Typewriter, Remington Standard No. 12, in good condition.

Inspection may be made at the Saiva Prakasa Press Vannarpannai.

Tenders close on 21-5-56.

The Management does not bind itself to accept the highest or any tender.

man for the expression of both scientific and humanistic ideas."

These are the words of the Secretary of the Indian Science Congress, Dr. W. P. Basu.

It is well to remember that it would not have been possible for great personages like Swami Vivekananda and the Venerable Angarika Dhammapala to have carried the gospels of Hinduism and Buddhism to the nations of the world without the aid of the English language.

Statemanship requires the whole matter to be looked into from a long range view of things in the context of an atomic and fast shrinking world and collaboration between the Sinhalese speaking and Tamil speaking people, in order to preserve the unity, safety and National Independence of the country and its potentiality to contribute its share towards the ideal of International Unity, Peace and happiness.

THE JAFFNA MUTUAL BENEFIT FUND Ltd.

(Established 1918)

BANKERS.

Authorised Capital Rs. 800,000.00
Amount of Calls made Rs. 616,313.00

SHARES: 8000 shares of Rs. 100/- each. 80 monthly instalments of Re. 1/- per share will earn Rs. 100/- for each at the end of the period. Shares issued all times.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed at 1% per annum on the average monthly balance when it does not fall below Rs. 500/-.

FIXED DEPOSITS received for periods of 3, 6, 9 and 12 months and interest allowed at 1, 2, 4 and 6 % respectively.

DRAFTS issued on the National and Imperial Banks to Colombo and the Principal cities of India. Remittances to and from F. M. S. by special arrangements.

INDIAN MONEY bought and sold
LOANS on the security of Jewels a speciality. Part payments accepted.

FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS APPLY TO:

S. KANAGASABAI, Shroff.

Violation OF Fundamental.....

—Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam

(Continued from page 5)

cated that they are not satisfied with this unitary constitution of Soulbury under which we are working.

It is not a new method; it has been tried by other countries in solving inter-racial problems to adopt the principal of live and let live. It will be useful for me to quote the example of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia, before Tito's time, consisted of a number of states under a unitary government wherein the Serbs were in a majority. After the liberation of Yugoslavia from German occupation, Tito, who played a very important part and led the armies of restoration of the country, who shone in the military field, showed great statesmanship in altering the unitary government into a federal government.

Writers on the achievement of Marshal Tito speak as highly about his statesmanship, exhibited by his establishment of a federal constitution in that country, as they do about his military achievements. Today, Yugoslavia consists of as many as 6 states totalling 96,000 square miles. Some of the states are as small as Montenegro with 5,000 square miles, which is the smallest state constituting a federating country, and Slavakia which is 6,266 square miles. I refer to the question of size because many critics of the federal principle state that Ceylon is too small for what they call "division", but what we call "union" of different states created with autonomous powers.

I mentioned that Marshal Tito recognized that under the old system only the majority race, the Serbs, considered the country as their own but that the minority races did not feel enthusiastic about the country as being theirs. Today, after each one of the minorities has been granted autonomous powers over their areas, they all feel, as historians point out, that the country is their own and they feel that in a way different from that which they felt under the unitary form of government whereunder, to all intents and purposes, the majority people ruled the minority people.

To the criticism that Ceylon is too small for division for administrative purposes into federating units and the central State,

the reply is obvious. The ideally constituted federal State is that of Switzerland where the country is two-thirds the size of Ceylon. It is just under 16,000 square miles whereas Ceylon is just over 25,000 square miles. In Switzerland the population is smaller than that of Ceylon. The German-speaking majority is 72 per cent, which is just more than the Sinhalese-speaking majority in Ceylon. The question of the size of the minority or majority is relevant up to a point, but cannot apply to the case of Ceylon. The Italian people who form the third biggest race in Switzerland are just 7 per cent of the population and they have their autonomous states in the form of cantons. It is a patent fact, as seen in other parts of the world, that a minority that has no appreciable share in the government of a country will not be able to protect itself, will not be able to continue its existence as a unit and will not be able to preserve its culture, its language, its religion and its individuality.

When this Parliament opened in 1947, there were eight more Members from Tamil-speaking areas in the central parts of this country who sat in this House than the number that sits in this House today. By reason of the weight of numbers of the majority community, in the first Parliament itself legislation was introduced which had the effect of decitizenising and disfranchising the Tamil settlers in the central parts of this Island. That apart, in the last two Parliaments measures have been adopted to which the Tamil-speaking in the north and the east protested unsuccessfully, namely, measures to colonise areas in the Northern and Eastern Provinces with Sinhalese colonists. There must be certain unwritten conventions or rules to be observed in relation to what is conventionally called territory belonging to one race or other. The Northern and Eastern Provinces of this country have been for a long period of time called and recognized as Tamil provinces. For the continued existence of this nation according to accepted principles, there are a number of factors that are necessary to be preserved. The Tamil-speak-

Historical Study Of Kashmir

(Continued from page 4)

Sikh cause, Gulab Singh, by force of character, speedily organized his territory on firm lines, and, in conjunction with his brothers, Dhyani Singh, who was made Chief of Poonch, and Suchet Singh, who was placed in charge of the State of Ramnagar, eventually established a complete domination of nearly all the country between Kashmir and the Punjab. Ladakh and Baltistan were also brought under control, with the result that Gulab Singh was practically master of all the territory immediately surrounding Kashmir,

When war broke out between the British and the Sikhs, Gulab Singh refrained from taking sides until in 1846, after the battle of Sobraon, he acted the part of mediator between the British and the Sikhs. The treaties concluded as a result of this intervention gave to the British as equivalent of an indemnity of one crore of rupees, the hill countries between the rivers Beas and the Indus, and transferred from the British to Gulab Singh for the sum of 15 lakhs all the hilly and mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and the west of the Ravi. Gulab Singh died in 1857 and in 1860 his successor, Ranbir Singh, sent a well equipped expedition against the mutinous chief of Gilgit and the adjoining territories, and succeeded in finally establishing the Dogra hold upon this outpost. Ranbir Singh was an excellent ruler, and a man of learning, culture and strong intelligence. The close of his reign was darkened by the calamitous famine of 1877-9, which decimated the Valley. On his death in September 1885 he was succeeded by his eldest son, Maharaja Pratap Singh, who ruled for 40 years and was succeeded by his nephew, Maharaja Hari Singh.

ing nation must be sufficiently large in number to retain their identity as a Tamil-speaking people. They must politically occupy portions of land which are separable from the rest. In other words, they must inhabit some portion of the land where they are in a majority. For thousands of years that has been the position.

(To be continued)

THE LANGUAGE SET-UP IN U. S. S. R.

(Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's Speech Continued)

An observation was made again by my Friend, the Hon. Minister of Education, when he said: "There is one language in India which is the State language; there is one language in the U. S. S. R. which is the State and Official language, why not in Ceylon"? I am surprised that even his long association with the Leftist Groups on this side of the House seems to have not served the small purpose of enlightening him on an elementary question, and that is this. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents a linguistic mosaic where each one of the constituent units, each one of the federating Republics, has its own national language within its own territories and confines. But it is obviously impossible for a federal language in such a vast country with so many federating units to be anything but one and that is Russian. Mr. Speaker, is there any analogy between a motley of languages in each of the federating units of the U. S. S. R. and Tamil and Sinhalese in Ceylon?

Let us go on to India. They have at least 13 or 14 major languages in each one of the federating units. Can anybody reasonably suggest that the federal language or the languages of the federation of the Union must be all these 13 or 14 languages? It will become clearly impossible. It is therefore suggested that the language of the federal union must be either Hindi or today, in the view of the southern States at any rate, it should be English, or anyhow let it be one language. There again Hindi is not the language of the majority of the people. It is a language of a major group. That is all.

The only other case I can think of is Indonesia. I do not know what the

hon. Nominated Member thinks about it, but it might surprise you to know that Bahasa Indonesia, which is accepted as the language of the Indonesian federation is a language of a minority, not of a majority. It is the language of a minority for the reason that that geographically the Islands are so extensive—there are as many as 100 languages and dialects spoken in Indonesia—that in order to bring about some form of cohesion, they had to evolve one language which can be accepted as the language of the Union, and Bahasa Indonesia had been accepted. Therefore the analogy ceases.

It is completely wrong to try and bolster up their case by saying that India, the U. S. S. R. or Indonesia has accepted one official language and why not Ceylon. On the other hand, to take any small country in which there are two dominant nationalities speaking two different languages, practically in every such country barring Ceylon, the two languages have been accepted as the national official languages on terms of equality. Indeed, I know of practically no country of the size and dimensions of Ceylon in which this practice has not been accepted.

Religion and the Modern World

(Continued from page 3)

note the striking unity in fundamental human thought and behaviour. It is in this feature of the world that hope lies for establishment of spiritual unity. Such a unity would be oblivious to barriers of race, creed or caste and would be the most potential instrument of world peace. The fundamental sameness of all religions is another factor which strengthens the hope of this ideal becoming a reality.

வான்முதில் வழித பெய்க மலிவனஞ் சரக்கம்னை
கோன்முறை யாக செய்க குறைவினா தயர்கன் வாழ்க
நான்மறை யறக்க கோங்கு நற்றவம் வேன்வி மக்க
மேன்மைகொன் னைக நீதி வினக்குக வலக மெல்லாம்.

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