

THE Hindu Organ.

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RE-MAPPING OF EUROPE

Axis Satellites to be Stripped of Power

According to the Associated Press of America, the Peace Conference that is now sitting in Paris will be called upon to ratify the terms of Draft treaties which have already been formulated by the Big Four.

Under the proposed treaties, the former Axis satellites are called on to pay vast reparations. Their frontiers are reshaped. Their once vaunted military, naval and air might is cut to slenderest of defence forces. On the political side their government will be compelled to guarantee democratic rights to their peoples.

The Ministers of the Big Four who drafted these terms are firm in their opinion that never again should the defeated countries be powerful enough to wage another war and the prospect of United Nations membership is held out to them.

Within six months of the signing of the treaties, the vanquished powers must reduce their armed forces.

Under reparations Italy is called on to pay 100,000,000 dollars to Soviet Union, with an additional sum still to be determined for payment to France and other victimised countries.

From Finland, Hungary, and Rumania 300,000,000 dollars each in reparations are demanded.

The Allies agree, under the drafts, to withdraw their armed forces from the ex-enemy territories 90 days after the signing of the treaties except that the Red Army will be permitted to maintain lines of communication through Rumania and Hungary to the Soviet occupied zone of Austria.

Frontier Changes

Frontier changes include the establishment of Trieste as a free territory whose integrity and independence shall be assured by the Security Council. All Italian territory east of the French Line will go to Yugoslavia together with several Adriatic Islands. France would get strips of Italian territory on the existing Franco-Italian border.

Under the Finnish treaty Russia would get a 50 year lease on Porkkala to establish a Naval base and the Finns would cede outright to the Soviet Union the northernmost Finnish province of Petsamo with its ice free Arctic port. Italy would lose to Greece the Dodecanese Islands she has held since 1912.

A major territorial change made by Hitler would be reversed by the restoration to Rumania of the rich 12,000 square miles of Transylvania originally awarded by Hitler to

CEYLON MERCHANTS

Denounce Financial Policy

The financial policy of the Ceylon Government was denounced by the Chairman of the Ceylon Merchants Chamber at its annual general meeting held last week. "The present State Council has spent very large sums of money on schemes which have by no means proved a blessing to Ceylon. On the other hand, the cumulative effect of these, is increased taxation," he said.

Further he stated "What this country expects of its leaders is to see that money spent is well spent. Often we see grandiose schemes on paper, but in carrying them out, the good intentions are all lost."

State Factories in Chaotic State

Sub-Committee to Inquire

The Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce is not at all satisfied with the way in which the state factories are conducted. It feels they are not well managed and that the articles turned out are very inferior. Hence, it has appointed a sub-committee to go into the whole matter. This sub-committee will visit all the factories managed by the Department of Commerce and Industries and submit early a report to the Minister.

Of late there have been serious allegations levelled against the management of some of these factories. It was even suggested that these factories were the hot beds of "scandalous rackets."

Vivekananda Society, Colombo

Messrs E. W. Ariyaratnam and G. Ramachandran of the Indian delegation delivered addresses on 'Some Aspects of Indian Culture' at the Society Hall, Hill Street on Saturday 27th July 1946. Mr. N. Nidurajah, K. C., the president of the Society presided.

Hungary in 1940. There is still no sign of draft treaties for the chief enemy Powers—Germany and Japan—as the Allies are opposed to treaties with them until they are considered competent to govern themselves democratically.

POLICE-CHIEF APPEALS FOR PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

In his Administration report for last year, Col. R. R. M. Bacon, Inspector General of Police appeals for public co-operation with the Police force. He states that the Police force is making a genuine effort to win the respect and confidence of the public. Following are extracts from the report:

"The people of Ceylon must play their part by pocketing their former prejudices, forgetting the critical clichés they read so frequently in the Press, and treating the police as citizens like themselves but endowed with the special power and mission of preserving the tranquility and order of their normal law-abiding lives."

"Attachment of Criminal Investigation Department Staff to Colombo and provincial stations, has made the public realize that it was to their advantage to co-operate with the police."

"Outstanding result of police work in 1945 was the checking of a crime wave that threatened to assume very serious proportions."

"The check, though of no numerical magnitude, is measurable and I am confident that the coming difficulties can be controlled provided the pressure is maintained. This means that the Force must face yet another year of stern and energetic effort."

"In 1945 there were 31,340 cases of grave crime reported to the police"

of which 22,094 were 'true' cases. There were 5,065 convictions and at the end of the year 5,354 cases were pending.

"The figures for 1944 are: Total 34,023, 'True' 24,747; convictions 4,917; and pending 5,512."

"An analysis of the figures show that theft of property and receiving stolen property worth over Rs. 20 (excluding bicycles) contributed 10,102 cases to the 1945 total of grave crimes. The figure for 1944 was 10,764."

Commenting on crimes in which firearms have been used, Col. Bacon says:

"There is no doubt that there are large numbers of firearms throughout the Island, which are not licensed; many of these are of Service pattern, and have been obtained by some method or another from the various units that have been billeted in Ceylon."

"It is thus desirable that immediate legislation should be brought into effect whereby any person found in possession of a firearm whilst committing crime, should, for that offence alone, be liable to 14 year 'rigorous imprisonment."

"The licensing of firearms in this country, is not satisfactory, and he advocates that his Department should undertake the registration and licensing of all firearms other than shotguns."

THE SOVIET MENACE

Will It Lead To World War 3?

A division of the future world into a Soviet World and a non-Soviet World is envisaged by the well-known American Author Mr. Louis Fisher who is now in India.

Mr. Fisher led a discussion on world problems last week at a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs.

He declared that Russia was today reverting to the old Czarist ideology. The rivalry was now between America and Russia.

The only way of meeting the menace was to so improve the world that there would be, in the non-Soviet world, such economic freedom, individual freedom and prosperity that it will not draw Russia into any foreign soil.

The onus of relieving China, India, and other dominated nations was with the western democracies. "If India becomes free she will be interested in remaining free and will resist any encroachment on her independence. The emergence of

a non-Soviet western world is a sure way to stop war with Russia provided we make it a world politically free, and economically prosperous and happy" he added.

The above statement of Louis Fisher is in strange contrast with that of Mr. S. A. Dange who attended the recent International Trade Union Conference at Moscow, and who is prominent Trade Unionist of India. Mr. Dange, while in Moscow was tremendously impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union. According to him World War III is quite a possibility. "The next World War", said he, "will be a war between democratic and anti-democratic forces. The only question is when it will break out."

"The Russian people felt that though they had won the war against Fascism they might be forced to wage yet another war against anti-democratic imperialist forces. They blaméd the United States, rather than Britain for the present international tension."



Hindu Organ

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1946.

THE TAMIL CONGRESS AND THE FUTURE

IT IS CERTAINLY REFRESHING to hear that not all Jaffna Tamils "are running after Ministerial favours or are fawning upon Sinhalese leaders for personal ends," but we regret our inability to see any parallel between the attempts made by the Tamil Congress to convince the Soulbury Commission of the justice of the demand for balanced representation and the attitude of unquestioning submission to Mr. D. S. Senanayake which finds favour with Messrs. Mahadeva and Natesan. The remnants of the Youth Congress have little in common with the latter, but both of them would no doubt like to have the Tamil Congress out of the way. The reasons are, of course, pretty obvious. But, alliances of this sort confer no lasting benefits on either of the allies, as they will find out for themselves in the course of the next few months.

The *Hindu Organ* advocated adequate representation for the minorities. On the question of balanced representation it found itself unable to give its entire and unqualified support to the Tamil Congress but it recognised the fact that Tamil opinion was solidly in favour of the position taken up by the Tamil Congress. This was not all. The contention of the Tamil Congress on this point was based on the declarations of British statesmen in regard to the policy of the British Government towards Ceylonese aspirations. It was not anticipated that, as a result of the war, the British Cabinet was prepared to discard these declarations, but this is exactly what has happened.

As we have pointed out more than once in these columns the case for balanced representation was presented by the spokesman of the Tamil Congress with great force and ability. The failure of the Tamil Congress to convince the Soulbury Commission should not affect our estimate of the brilliance with which Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam defended his position or of the unswerving loyalty he has always displayed towards what he regarded as the best interests of the Tamil people. Courage and sincerity are qualities that must command respect anywhere. They have nothing in common with the recent disgusting exhibition of political opportunism which no Jaffna Tamil with any sense

of decency is prepared to tolerate. Toadyism as a principle of politics is more hateful than any of the other vices which are perhaps regarded as inseparable from a political career.

Under the new Constitution the Tamil Congress has still to play its part. The services of its leaders who sacrificed a good deal for the Tamil cause should not be lost to the community at a time when it can least afford to dispense with those services. We have always contended that the United National Party is not a party at all. Our views on this point are confirmed by the recent speech of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. It would have been much better of course if communal organisations throughout Ceylon had been scrapped with the publication of the Order-in-Council and an honest attempt had been made to introduce genuine alignments on strictly party lines. We have said so in these columns more than once, but evidently in the South there are difficulties in the way of the immediate evolution of the party system. In the face of this important fact, it would be nothing short of political suicide for the Tamils to liquidate the Tamil Congress whose policy hereafter must be to work the new Constitution in co-operation with others, while keeping a watchful eye on the position of the Tamils under the new Constitution. There is need for watchfulness. The Tamil leaders who have refused to give evidence before the Delimitation Commission are guilty of a serious breach of duty. It is this Commission that has been entrusted with the duty of providing adequate and just representation for minorities within the four corners of the Order-in-Council. If any Tamil refuses to avail himself of this opportunity to secure justice for the Tamils and other minorities, the inference is obvious that he has tied himself up so completely that he is no longer at liberty to do his duty by his own people. The Tamils have no use for such men. It is the business of the Tamil Congress to keep this fact prominently before the Tamil people, and to see that opportunists and traitors receive short shrift at the hands of the public.

LEADER ASSURES TEACHERS

Salaries will be Revised

Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council assured a deputation of the Principal-Teachers' Association that teachers' salaries would be revised. He said he would consider the claims made by the deputation.

The deputation, led by Mr. C. I. Mathew, met Mr. Senanayake on Wednesday. They demanded a uniform scale of salaries for principals and assistant teachers and also parity with those in the public services of the country.

THESE APPEALS—ARE THEY SINCERE?

A Poser For The Sinhalese Leaders

(By "SRIDHARA")

The different statements made during the last week-end by three responsible ministers should be welcomed by all people who have the well-being of the country at heart. The first one came from the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake in the course of his address at Siruppidy wherein he, in no ambiguous terms, said that the interests of Jaffna would never be neglected by him, and that whatever be the risks, he would stick to his policy to see that the Jaffna peasant was given his due place in his schemes of Land Development and colonisation. Mr. Senanayake appealed to the Tamils to cast away suspicion and distrust and to co-operate with him to make this land of ours prosperous, happy and contented.

Simultaneously with the appeal of the Leader of the State Council, Mr. Bandaranayake issued a clarion call to all his countrymen to unite and agree amongst themselves so as to be ready to take the action necessary to wrest freedom for all from the Britisher. Mr. Bandaranayake, has though late, at last realised, we are gratified to note, that real freedom cannot be obtained from an unwilling imperialist power unless and until the demand has the sanction of unity amongst the major communities living in this land.

The other call for unity came from Mr. Corea who on the eve of laying the foundation stone for the new Cement Factory at Kankesanurai made a fervent appeal for unity amongst the communities of the island. His call to cement the bonds of friendship and fellowship which have existed so long between the different communities of the land, is much appreciated.

No one can dispute that the well-being and prosperity of this land of ours depend on the mutual co-operation and trust existing among the different communities. The Tamils, as the torch-bearers of the freedom movement, never for a moment failed to realise this fundamental truth. If Ceylon today is nearer the goal of her independence, it is in no small measure due to the sacrifices made by the Tamil leaders of yore. The Tamils have never been, nor are at any time, wanting in the spirit of patriotism for the land of their birth. Co-operation has been our watch word. Even as late as in 1945, when the Leader of the State Council, in the course of the debate on the Soulbury Report appealed for co-operation and support from the Tamil members of the Council, we were the first to applaud the action of the Tamil members who voted for acceptance of the Report in deference to the Leader's appeal for unity. We supported their action with the sincere and firm belief that the past should be buried in the limbo of oblivion, and that work should start on a clean slate along the path of progress towards the attainment of full independence. We were sadly disillusioned. The events that followed have disappointed us. The hard truth dawned on us that the Leader who, only the other day with bated breath and whispering humbleness as the servant of the whole country entreated for co-operation from the Tamils, had after achieving his objective in showing to the powers that be that his demands have the sanction of the entire country, has disclosed his true self as a colossus bestriding the length and breadth of this island threatening dire consequences to those who have the hardi-

LESS CLOTH, BUT HIGH PRICE

The cloth position is acute in Ceylon today. I-d-a has cut down our allocation to nine and a half million yards of cloth for the second half of this year, whereas the allocation for the first six months of the year was 17½ million yards.

As a result of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the matter of cloth, a cut in the cloth ration is now fairly certain. Asked by a Press Representative how he would cut the ration, Mr. Edmund Rodrigo, Textile Controller, hinted that he would not release any more coupons until the position improved.

Besides the cut in the cloth ration, the Ceylon consumer, in the future he called upon to pay more for his textiles as the price of Indian cloth has already gone up. There are indications of American cloth also going up in price.

hood to oppose him, or be an impediment in his autocratic career.

Honeyed words, high sounding phrases and sentimental appeals are not required now. Deeds are all that is wanted at the present time. If Messrs. Senanayake and Bandaranayake are sincere and well-meaning in their utterances and appeals, we hasten to assure them the Tamils will not be wanting in appreciating them, provided these appeals are followed by concrete results. We repeat that the well-being of the country at large demands mutual co-operation amongst all the communities of the land. But, we assert that that co-operation should be extended by the majority community in the first instance. The Northern and Eastern Provinces have been criminally neglected during the past fifteen years. A factory here and a half hearted scheme of irrigation or colonisation there will not suffice. A complete re-orientation of policy, with the amelioration of the condition of the peasants as its object, is an urgent necessity.

It is an absolute truth that communalism thrives on a soil saturated with economic discontent, and hence, if the poison of communalism that eats into the body politic is to be eradicated once and for all, the economic condition of the masses affected should be improved and a state of affairs created wherein happiness and contentment should give place to discontent and rancour towards those into whose hands the well being of these men is entrusted.

For our part, we welcome the statement of hope and encouragement from the Sinhalese leaders as indicating a change of heart on their part. However the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and we trust that the statements will be followed by concrete actions. Meanwhile, to quote William Lloyd Garrison.

"We will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. We are in earnest—We will not equivocate—We will not excuse—We will not retreat a single inch—and we will be heard."

SQUARING THE CIRCLE OR QUEERING THE PITCH

By S. A. NATHAN

A survey, however cursory, of international and inter-racial affairs as they are zig-zagged time and oft recalls to mind a profound analysis made recently by one of the foremost thinkers of England. He says: Closely associated with the regression in charity is the decline in men's regard for truth. At no period of world's history has organised lying been practised so shamelessly or, thanks to modern technology, so efficiently or on so vast a scale as by the political and economic dictators of the present century. Most of this organised lying takes the form of propaganda, inculcating hatred and vanity and preparing men's minds for war. The principal aim of the liars is the eradication of charitable feelings and behaviour in the sphere of international politics.

While the peace-makers of nations, great and small, are gathered at their old game of patching up the rent and, by their very act, straining the fabric to give way, as they did in 1919, in spite of fresh resolve backed up by a redress of the League of Nations under a new cloak and appellation and by the possession of the "secret" of the atom bomb by the tragi-comedians, a drama is unfolding in the Middle East and the Far East.

The Eastern Mediterranean and the Suez Canal Zone is a scene of dangerous possibilities. The British sphere of influence in Egypt under Anglo-Egyptian treaty is waning and must wane out completely under the current negotiations. Any fresh treaty between the two parties in which the British may seek certain advantages will be very much dependent on the part the British play in the settlement of the Palestine problem. The Muslim world is very much agitated over the position of the Arabs in Palestine. The Turks of Egypt, Asia Minor, Moslems of Southern Arab States, of Persia and even of India are watching closely the trend of events in Palestine. Who knows if Soviet Russia is not nudging the Moslem World in its play of forces against the Anglo-American block?

The Middle East Settlement may perhaps drive the British people to a general election and the Labour Government of Clement Attlee may be turned out of office. There is ample evidence that Churchill and his party bosses are exploiting the situation to the full and the British people are already feeling that the British withdrawal from Egypt is fraught with tremendous political and economic disadvantages. Even in the Labour circles in Britain there is a growing questioning as to the wisdom of Labour policy in the Colonial Empire.

Palestine has been Britain's first world war baby. The afflictions of the world are of European origin. The bitterness and hatred, and bloodshed and destruction in Palestine today is all due to the British and the Americans. The British conceived the idea of a reward, which received warm support from the late President Woodrow Wilson, to Dr. Chaim Weizmann who had rendered inestimable service to the British and their allies by

finding way to supply an indispensable ingredient for making the most powerful type of explosives." This Weizmann is a British Jew, rather a Russian Jew domiciled and nationalised in England, and the leader of the world Jewry. He was offered a large money prize and honours by the late Lloyd George but he declined all that and asked for a national home for the Jews. Already then, the Jews had become the *bete noire* of Europe and amongst certain sections of the population in England and America. The British aided by the Americans gave the Jewish leader the promise of founding a national home in Palestine. The British holding the mandate of the ill-lated League of Nations for the administration of Palestine started squaring the circle or queering the pitch.

The Anglo-American championship of the Jews did not sufficiently foresee the possible reactions among the Palestine Arabs and their co-religionists. Soon after a few Jewish settlements had been founded, the very causes of Jewish subtlety in their traffic with others and their heartless exploitation of those, who get into their grip, which brought on their heads the pogroms of Central Europe and the ostracisms of England and America, roused the Arabs and their animosity has grown ever since.

It is an inexcusable mistake of Anglo-American diplomacy not to have realised the inherent possibilities in granting further admissions to refugee Jews from Central Europe. The unlimited inflow of Jews would be a violation of the British guarantee to the Arabs embodied in the Balfour Plan. Besides, the British must keep the Arabs and other Muslim races in good humour because of their political and economic interests in the Middle and Far East, and they should also placate America through whom the Jews are exerting pressure and to whom the British stand indebted for the war services. There is a battle of wits between the two nations. The British seek to commit America in the tangle. The Americans, more dull-witted, are getting in, though they try to keep the British shouldering the burden. The Anglo-American Commission on Palestine and the recent discussions between them in London have evolved a plan of division of Palestine into separate States under a Federal Centre. The Arab submission to the plan is tempted by a dazzling money gift by America. Meanwhile the Jewish terrorists are busy to soften the British resistance to further immigration. But a perplexed world asks why America, a vast country, does not extend a home to the Jews. How will the Arabs react to the Anglo-American plan and the money boon and how the Muslim World respond to it is yet to be seen.

In the Far East the Indonesian struggle is put under a blind to the outer world for very little news trickles out. Plans are formulated and reformulated by the Dutch and apparently there is an endeavour to outwit and trap the Indonesians to a formula

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Should Religion be Divorced from Politics?

The following extracts from an article in the "Prabuddha Bharata" discuss this interesting question:—

Politics has its proper place and limits in the world in helping towards the unification of mankind. On a superficial view of things the ends of politics seem to be rather based on dynastic or national selfishness. It is true that the motives that have actuated monarchs and governments have been the motives of the glory of conquest, pure and simple or of greed for power and possession, or of colonial expansion to meet the grave economic problem of subsistence which is the natural consequence of an ever increasing population. In order to achieve these ends the means employed have been sheer brute force combined with cunning and chicanery. No wonder, therefore, that the impression is common that politics is a game which rich scoundrels play. But monarchs and politicians are but the instruments of the great force making for world unity, and, consciously or unconsciously, all conquerors by the sword have also helped, though in a most painful and perhaps unnecessarily cruel manner, towards the meeting of peoples and the formation of a bond of oneness in howsoever imperfect a manner. But political methods at best can give only physical peace, the peace based on compulsion and fear. A powerful government may keep under its iron grip many races of mankind in political unity. But

which would yet secure Dutch domination. What part the British are playing in this game may not be correctly assessed, but whatever is their contribution, it shall be directed towards seeing that the virus does not spread to the Malay Peninsula.

The Indian political scene has become tense by the somersault of Mohamed Ali Jinnah and his League. If the Muslim attitude is intractable, the British should share the blame. Chicks come back to roost, they say. The British did encourage the Muslim stand and they have persisted in dubbing the Congress as a caste Hindu organisation. The British Conservative opinion is somewhat apologetic of the Muslim turn-round and critical of the Labour Government and the Cabinet Mission. The situation is indeed grave apparently. The informed quarters in India and England know the Jinnah technique as we know of Senanayake's, and they hope that the Constituent Assembly will duly get about its work. Any way the powder magazine is charged full and the unexpected may happen. The British genius for squaring the circle as the noted Indians journalist Sant Nihal Singh has recently remarked or for queering the pitch as others prefer to call it, is back in the world at the close of World War No. 2 with the prospect of America keeping company. The latest responsible American opinion reassures that America will not withdraw hereafter from participation in European affairs. Anglo-American partnership in world politics may lead to other undreamt of possibilities.

whenever this political unity suffers strain and stress and breaks down, as it is inevitably bound to do under the circumstances, then the whole structure of political unity tumbles down and the peoples fall apart and become a prey to internecine wars.

There is no doubt that in the imperfect stage in which mankind is at present, political unity based on force cannot be dispensed with as wholly bad. But it must be reinforced by the bonds of voluntary co-operation based on the religious truth of the unity of mankind. Democratic institutions will be successful in the long run only in so far as they are able to make people feel they can have all the freedom they want except the freedom to disrupt the unity of mankind. India has always been pleading for the spiritual unity of mankind being recognized in actual practice and in no other country in the world is there such freedom in matters of religion. The Anglo-Saxon races have been in the vanguard in the development of democratic institutions based upon the political freedom of the common man. A combination of the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon races with the spiritual insight of India may yet help to contribute towards the establishment of that world-wide unity which is the professed aim of politicians and priests. But political organizations, if they are to be helpful towards this end, must be based on the principle of brotherhood and not on selfish exploitation.

Religious ideals must infuse politics; in other words politics must be spiritualized, as Mahatma Gandhi says. Religious organizations to be helpful must eschew taking a hand in political squabbles. They must emphasize that God is the God of all mankind and not merely of any favoured section thereof. They must rigorously oppose any infringement of the spiritual unity of mankind by petty politicians bent on pursuit of base and selfish ends. Only a proper application of the religious spirit can take out the poisonous sting of violence and hatred which lurks in political institutions. This can be achieved only from a realization of the religious truth, in the words of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that "all prayer, in whatever language it was, or whatever religion it was from, was a prayer addressed to one God and taught mankind that all belonged to one family and should bear love towards one another". Religion thus rises higher than politics, for politics by its very nature involves conflict; and, uncontrolled by true religion, it may destroy much of the good that mankind has painfully built up through the ages. Infused by the true religious spirit, however, politics is a potent force making for the peace, happiness, and unity of mankind. But religion should not be confused with the particular dogmas or customs of any people. By religion is meant that love of fellowmen which Buddha and Christ preached so nobly and which the Vedanta inculcates in

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Letters to the Editor

THE FUTURE OF THE TAMIL CONGRESS

SIR,—Allow me through the medium of your esteemed journal to meet arguments advanced by antagonists of the Tamil Congress. I refer to Tamils like Messrs. S. Sivasubramaniam, C. K. Swaminathan and others who are constantly branding the Tamil Congress as the only communal organisation in Ceylon. They fail to realise that the United National Party is national in its outlook but communal to the core in its activities. The Ceylon National Congress, aptly referred to by the "Times of Ceylon" as the Sinhalese National Congress, the Sinhala Maha Sabha and the political organisations of the Muslims are all communal bodies.

Tamils belonging to the category of Sir W. Duraiswamy, Messrs. A. Mahadeva and S. Nadesan are always picking holes in the policy of the Tamil Congress. Can any Tamil cite one instance where a Sinhalese has blamed the Sinhalese leaders for discriminatory acts against minorities? Has ever a Sinhalese accused the Sinhalese leaders of showing partiality for their community? Mr. W. Dahanayake has on many occasions framed charges against Messrs. D. S. Senanayake, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and J. R. Jayawardene but has not on any occasion raised a cry over what Sinhalese leaders have done for the benefit of their community at the expense of the minorities. A Sinhalese, whether he is a Buddhist or Christian, capitalist or communist, never forgets the fact that he has Sinhalese blood in his veins.

Before the advent of the Donoughmore Constitution, communalism was unheard of in Ceylon. It was the granting of the entire political power to one community that resulted in domination and discrimination. To part with power which they had enjoyed for fifteen years is no small sacrifice. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of his Presidential addresses some years ago said, "History has not recorded any instance where a nation or individual has given up its privilege for the benefit of another nation or individual." True to this maxim the Sinhalese leaders shun Balanced Representation demanded by the Tamil Congress.

The seed of communalism was sown by the Sinhalese leaders. The formation of the Pan-Sinhalese Board of Ministers, was a communal stunt. Evidence given by the Sinhalese leaders before the Select Committee on National Languages were purely in the interests of their community. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene's notice of motion in the State Council requesting the Government Storekeeper to stock the Lion Flag has communal taint. No minority member (not civil servants) was ever selected to represent Ceylon as Trade Commissioner, High Commissioner or Representative of the Government of Ceylon in India. Much against their will they allowed the establishment of the cement factory at Kankesanur. When the K. K. S. site was approved, Messrs. H. W. Amarasinghe and W. Dahanayake requested the State Council to start cement factories in the South if the K. K. S. factory proved a success.

Can the destinies of the Tamils be entrusted into the hands of these

Sinhalese leaders or Tamils like Sir W. Duraiswamy, Messrs. A. Mahadeva and S. Nadesan?

If the Sinhalese who form two thirds of the island's population need a communal organisation to protect their interests, how much more necessary is it for the Tamils to unite for the same purpose? The discriminatory acts against minorities were the direct causes for the formation of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress. The Tamils should rally round the Congress and do what the Congress expects of them. United we stand, divided we fall.

Yours Truly,
Tholpuram, S. K. Vadivale.
26.7.46.

Mr. Sivasubramaniam's Political Philosophy

SIR,—The article in your issue of the 23rd July, 1946 by Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam under the title "The Tamils and the Future Constitution of Ceylon" seems to be the result of confusion in his mind. It is a matter of much regret that one who not very long ago pleaded through your journal and other dailies for unity among the Tamils should change the note of his tune so completely and say now: let each Tamil go his own way in the political field, for he does it in the best interest of the Tamils. Unity among the Tamils and among their representatives, as unity with other communities, is very necessary for the well-being of that community. If unity among different communities is a necessary ingredient "for the progress and realisation of the political ideals of the people of Ceylon", the same principle should apply to the well-being of any race or group of people in the Island.

Mr. Sivasubramaniam has pleaded that the Tamils should forget the past political differences among themselves. But he does not seem to follow what he preaches. It seems very clear from the article referred to above and his recent letters to the press that he is keeping alive the acrimony for the Tamil Congress which has been engendered by the large majority of the members of that body differing from his views.

I can appreciate all the arguments advanced by him because he is to-day no better than any of the members of the State Council who were expelled from the Tamil Congress. Those councillors did not act in conformity with the directions of their organisation in regard to the voting on the motion introduced by Mr. Senanayake to accept the White Paper. In spite of their pledges and promises, at the critical moment, some of them searched their conscience and others quoted scriptures. In the case of Mr. Sivasubramaniam he is unable now to subscribe to the decisions arrived at by the Tamil Congress. He does not search his conscience and he dare not. For it would prick him. He quotes Sastri and the quotation bears no relevancy to the subject he has chosen to discuss.

It is best not to confuse the issue before the Tamils. The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress of which Mr. Sivasubramaniam was one of the founder-members and a general

secretary till he resigned is mainly a political organisation for the Tamils. Mr. Sivasubramaniam as the secretary devoted all his time and energy to the activities of the Congress. Mr. Sivasubramaniam has left evidence more than it is necessary in proof of the fact that the Tamil Congress must continue to work for the Tamils. The Tamil Congress demanded a scheme of balanced representation popularly known as "Fifty-Fifty" not only as a scheme beneficial to the Tamils but also to the political well-being of the different communities in the Island. It is a scheme of representation approved of in India and acclaimed to be best suited, by many writers on Political Science, to countries inhabited by a heterogeneous people. It was an endeavour on the part of the Tamil Congress to safeguard the liberties of the different communities in the Island of Ceylon.

The Tamil Congress was not successful, greatly on account of want of unity among the Tamils. The Secretary of State for Colonies "watched the voting" and the voting failed to portray the mind of the Tamil people. Hence the Soulbury Constitution was awarded. Mr. Sivasubramaniam says, "All section of Tamils are now accepting the Soulbury Constitution and are vying with one another to work it and reap the benefits following upon its acceptance." Ergo, there is no difference between those who voted for the constitution and those who voted against it. This argument is puerile and has no merit. The Tamil Congress did not want to boycott, for the Tamils know well that it will be an elephant ride for a few boycotters when they go down South and nothing more.

The Tamil Congress has considered its programme in the light of the present circumstances. It must work the constitution "for the realisation of the fullest possible benefit" without sacrificing the Tamil race. For the realisation of the maximum benefit for the Tamils there should be a united group of Tamils in the Parliament of Ceylon. I do know that Mr. Sivasubramaniam does not play cricket. Yet I do not for a moment feel that Mr. Sivasubramaniam would seriously say that it is not practical politics to send a team of men into Parliament to work together and work in union with other members without being self-seekers. We want disciplined men, loyal to an organisation, answerable to it and not act as it seems convenient for the moment. For the purpose of elucidation, let me cite the example of Mr. J. Tyagarajah's voting on Mr. Senanayake's motion. He entered the State Council as an independent member. But he definitely stood for "Fifty-Fifty." He won large number of supporters and workers which he would not have had but for the policy he said he would follow if elected. But when the question of voting on the White Paper came, he had conveniently forgotten this pledge and voted for the acceptance of the constitution. He was answerable to nobody. Perhaps the voting would have been different had Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam been present in Council on that day. If, however, a member was returned through an organisation, then that organisation would be watching every act of that member

Religion and Politics

(Continued from page 3)

every line of its teachings, but which mankind has put into practice rather so miserably as to make us hang down our heads in shame. Really politics and religion at their best are but the obverse and reverse of the same force making for righteousness in this world. Politics does this by putting down by force all wickedness, and religion does it by trying to destroy all wickedness by changing the nature of the wicked man through the force of divine love.

PERSONAL

Mr. C. Shanmuganayagam took his oath on the 2nd inst as an Advocate before Mr. Justice Wijeyewardene in Kandy.

Mr. C. Shanmuganayagam is the eldest son of Gate Mudaliyar N. Canagayagam, J. P., Shroff National Bank, Kandy, and a grandson of Adigar A. Naganathar J. P., U. M., of Jaffna.

Mr. Justice Wijeyewardene in congratulating Mr. Shanmuganayagam said:

"Your father is an old friend of mine and your grandfather, the highly respected Tamil Adigar, has been long known to me; for this reason it gives me great pleasure personally to congratulate you in admitting you as an Advocate of this Court."

and he would be answerable to that organisation for his actions.

There is not bitterness or animosity against those Tamil members of the State Council who voted for the acceptance of Mr. Senanayake's motion. Tamil Congress had rightly expelled them in the interest of discipline. It was Mr. Sivasubramaniam who was most perturbed about the breach of discipline by the Tamil Congress Councillors. He was greatly responsible for the disciplinary action taken against them. Today Mr. Sivasubramaniam is as much wanting in discipline as those members who were expelled. No sooner than there is a little divergence of views between him and the other members, he wants to undo the good work he did for the Congress.

The Tamils must and should have their rightful place in Parliament. Their representatives will be few in number. This must be made up by strength that arises out of team work. To achieve this end, it is necessary for the Tamils to fight the elections through the agency of an organisation—the Tamil Congress, which has grown and is growing from strength to strength. The powers that be and the other communities including the Sinhalese are ever watching us. The Tamils must guard their honour and make it clear that they are a disciplined race. The future of the Tamils depends greatly in returning a cohesive group of members. This will be a prelude to the evolution of Parties within Parliament. *White hall watched the voting on the White Paper; it will continue to watch how those who voted for the White Paper fare at the polls.*

Yours etc.
S. NADARAJAH,

SCRAP BOOK

By DIARIST

It is after a long spell of silence that I am now taking up my pen to write. Since my last contribution in these columns, much water has flown under the bridge. The U.N.P. has been ushered into the political life of this country with a flourish of trumpets. Mr. A. F. Molamure, in the company of Messrs. Natesan and Madadeva, who, it has been said, do not thrive on the reflected glories of their ancestors, extolled the virtues and ideals of this party. The Nationalist Tamils under the leadership of Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam played second fiddle to them. The new maternity ward at the Jaffna Civil Hospital was declared open by the Minister of Health. The Minister for Home Affairs laid the foundation stone of the new O. P. D. The former praised the latter and latter said 'Appa' George was colour blind to communalism.

The Pannai and Pooneryn Causeways are well on their way towards completion. The military hospital at Kankesanthurai is to be converted into a Civil Hospital for the Province. The experiments at the Puttur Well and at Pokkunai, Mr. Senanayake assured, will be conducted to a successful conclusion. He is going to spend Rs. 5,000 on every peasant family to settle them on the land. A road is to be opened up connecting Paranthan and Mullaitivu whereby a large tract of fertile land will be made available for cultivation. The Vadamarachchi Scheme will be put through soon. The foundation stone of the Island's cement factory was laid the other day at Kankesanthurai by Mr. G. C. S. Corea. This is the first factory that is to be built in the North and the first step towards the new era of economic development of the North.

These are the things that have been done for the North in the last two years and to be done in time to come. Most of these were demanded many years ago, and many a time. The Board of Ministers wholeheartedly agreed that the time had come to do something for Jaffna when the signs of a Royal Commission appeared in the distant horizon. The birth-pangs of the U. N. P. did something more. It resulted in a series of ministerial tours of Jaffna unprecedented in the history of this district. The amenities that have already been provided and those well on their way of being provided were mooted not because the people of the North needed them, not because the economic prosperity of the Province was bound up with that of the Island as a whole, not because it was the duty of the State to look after the well-being of the people, not because a sense of fairplay and justice demanded it, but merely to please some of the Councillors of the North. This is what the Ministers, who had been here, have been at great pains to tell Jaffna. They visit, and continue visiting Jaffna more on account of the opportunity for praising their obsequious followers than on account of the solicitude they bear Jaffna. Where does all this lead to if these do not lead to the polls?

Mr. C. K. Swaminathan is sparing nothing to prove that Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam was wrong and that Messrs. Natesan and Mahadeva are right. Assuming Mr. Ponnambalam to have been wrong it does not necessarily follow that the other two are right. His namesake, Mr. S. Swaminathan, speaking at the foundation stone-laying ceremony at Kankesanthurai, said that Ceylon would attain full independence when the Sinhalese and Tamils merge into one race. This is indeed a commendable idea. But how best to set about this ideal task and how

INDIAN NEWS FRONT

Jinnah on the League's Decision

Except the renunciation of British conferred titles by certain Leaguers, nothing has so far been done to implement the League's decision to launch action against their supposed enemies. Who their enemies are, Jinnah and his satellites have not so far made clear. One can understand Mr. Jinnah's outbursts against the British and the Congress. The former, after having pampered him for so long has quite unceremoniously kicked him out. The Congress true to its ideals does not recognise him as the sole custodian of the rights of Muslims. Jinnah's lieutenants—at least some wielding influence amongst the Muslims—do not agree with him in the matter of fighting the Congress. In fact some of them have openly declared that somehow or other, a settlement should be arrived at with the Congress.

Quaide Azam Explains

The Quaide Azam is climbing down. His clarification and interpretation of the League decision, to the Pressmen on Wednesday were less fiery than the speech he delivered to his co-religionists at the League Council meeting. According to him, the decision to withdraw from the Constituent Assembly is not irrevocable, and that the direct action contemplated was neither immediate nor directed against anybody in particular. In fact the League decision is not a declaration of war against anybody, but a "statement concerning the steps we propose to take for our own self preservation and self

many are willing to carry it out? Mr. Swaminathan is the only person who has expressed this pious wish and he ought to give the lead. The best way to achieve this laudable object is for him to have his children educated in the Sinhalese language and have them intermarried with the Sinhalese, for Mr. Swaminathan himself will find it difficult at this stage of life to learn a new tongue and reproduce a species of human beings necessary for the attainment of full independence for Ceylon.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike has admitted that the U. N. P. is a coalition of several parties. But this admission is no surprise, for it was generally believed that the U. N. P. is a conglomeration of parties in spite of Mr. Molamure's asseverations to the contrary. Ostensibly the U. N. P. is going to nominate candidates, but who are going to nominate the candidates? The Central Nomination Board is composed of the representatives of the several parties which go to make up the U. N. P. Each representative will certainly recommend or rather himself nominate candidates from the particular party he belongs to. It is quite evident that the Sinhala Maha Sabha, the National Congress and all the rest of them will put their own candidates in the field under the flimsy camouflage provided by the U. N. P. In view of this blatant fact where does the Tamil Congress stand as regards the coming Parliamentary elections? Already the Congress has sufficiently modified its policy. Its only fault, if it can be said to be one, is that it is not a den of thieves or a safe retreat for cringing, crawling toadies who have neither intelligence nor commonsense to perceive that the average Jaffna man is not going to be deceived by the claptrap which is the only weapon of some of our political time-servers. Mr. Bandaranaike's admission, apart from other reasons is alone sufficient to justify the decision of the Tamil Congress to send candidates on its own ticket to Parliament.

defence." The capriciousness of the League Fuehrer is evident from the reply he has given to a Press Representative who asked him whether there was any possibility of the League revising its attitude to the long term plan. "If you are a politician, you will not ask me this question," said he. The sole aim of the Quaide Azam is to get as much concessions as possible from the Congress. But the time is past when the League Leader's bluffs paid. The Congress is keeping a studied silence over the latest moves of the League, and work in connection with the Constituent Assembly is going on quite smoothly as if nothing has happened.

British Reactions

The League's decision has cast a gloom on British circles who have been building high hopes as to the ultimate success of the Cabinet Mission's Long Term proposals. The India Secretary has called for a detailed report from Viceroy Wavell and it is learned that the whole position as it stands today will be reviewed by the British Cabinet at an early date.

Wavell at It

Quite undaunted by the latest moves of the League, Wavell, true soldier he is, is determined to see that a representative Interim Government is installed at Delhi. It is reliably learnt that plans for the formation of the interim Government have already been issued to both the Muslim League and the Congress. According to the Viceroy's plan, there will be fourteen members in the New Government, of whom 6 will be Congress nominees and 5 will be nominated by the League. The other three members will be nominated by the Viceroy in consultation with the Congress. Neither the Muslim League

nor the Congress will have any right to object to any member being nominated by either party. Thus Congress can, if it so desires, nominate a Muslim among its quota. This was vehemently opposed by the League previously as a result of which the former negotiations for the formation of the Interim Government failed. As the situation now stands, it is dead certain, that the League will not agree to the present proposal, although so far, the Quaide Azam keeps mum over the matter.

Sardar Hits Out

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the strong man of the Congress has hit out. He has given a friendly advice to Jinnah to drop threats and to create a friendly approach to the Congress to settle the grievances, if he has any. The British have decided to quit India whether the Indians like it or not, as they cannot stay here under any circumstances. It is therefore in the interests of the Muslims themselves to give up their present attitude of quarrel and take the constructive path of co-operation. The renunciation of British conferred titles are futile in the face of the British declaration to quit India. According to Sardar Patel neither the Congress nor the British Government can be cowed down by threats and vilifications.

Direct Action Day

The Muslim League has fixed August 16 for observing a "Direct Action day" throughout India. The League wants all Muslims to suspend business on that day and hold public meetings and other demonstrations and re-affirm the two resolutions passed by the Council of the Muslim League. Whether the Council of Action appointed by the Working Committee will undertake the task of implementing the recommendations of the Council, or empower the Council to appoint some other ad hoc body for this purpose is not yet known.

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- (1) Has been ALTERED for the convenience of Members wishing to Participate in the Kathirgama and Vel Festivals, and will Therefore TAKE PLACE

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JAFFNA PENINSULA AND ISLANDS FROM

AUGUST 10th to AUGUST 17th

THE CONGRESS WEEK ACTIVITIES WILL INCLUDE—

- (a) Membership Drive — Target — 50,000 new members
(b) Collection of Funds — Target — Rs. 100,000 for the Tamil National Fund.
(c) Study Circle, Conferences and Meetings—in every District in the Peninsula

A Detailed Programme for the Session and the "Congress Week" will be published later.

E. M. V. NAGANATHAN
GEORGE R. MOTHA,
Joint General Secretaries

(Misc. 126, 23-7 & 6-8)

Order "Nisi" Declaring Will Proved, &c.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 567

Velauther Karthigesu of Karainagar East
Vs.

1. Nagammah daughter of Kandiah
2. Ponnammah daughter of Kandiah
3. Kanapathipillai Subramaniam and wife
4. Sivapakkiam
5. Kandiah Paramanathan
6. Thegavathy daughter of Kandiah all of Karainagar East, the 5th and 6th Respondents all minors appearing by their guardian ad litem the 1st Respondent.

In the matter of the Last Will and testament of the late 'heivapaicillai' wife of Velauther Karthigesu deceased, of Karainagar East.

This matter coming on for disposal before R. R. Selvadurai Esq. District Judge, Jaffna on the 25th day of June, 1946 in the presence of Mr. A. Kanagasabai, Proctor on the part of the petitioner, and the affidavit of the above mentioned petitioner and of the witnesses to the Last Will dated 17th June 1946 having been read:

It is ordered that the Will of the abovenamed deceased dated 20th October 1944 and numbered 9716 be and the same is hereby declared proved unless the respondents or other interested shall, on or before the 13th day of August 1946 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

It is further declared that the said 1st respondent be appointed guardian ad litem over the minors the 5th & 6th respondents and that the said Velauther Karthigesu the petitioner, be the executor named in the said Will and that he is entitled to have Probate of the same issued to him accordingly unless the respondents or others interested shall on or before the 13th day of August, 1946 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

This 25th day of June, 1946

R. R. Selvadurai,

District Judge

(O. 43. 6 & 9-8-46.)

Order "Nisi" Declaring Will Proved &c.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 570

Murugesu Nagalingam of Karainagar East
Vs.

1. Arunasalam Sanmugam of Karainagar North
2. Arunasalam Murugan of do now of Post and Telegraph Department, Trincomalee,
3. Arunasalam Tambipillai of do now of Registry of Titles, Taiping Perak,
4. Arunasalam Tambiah of Karainagar North,
5. Kandappan Nagalingam of do and wife,
6. Manickam of Karainagar North,
7. Tangamuttu widow of Arumugam Ponniah of Karainagar North,
8. Sivanasari and 9 Sivalingam both children of Appasamy Sivasampoo
10. Appasamy Sivasampoo all of Pa. Master's Office Malayan Railway Kuala Lumpur. The 8th and 9th respondents are minors appearing by the Guardian-ad-litem the 10th respondent.

In the matter of the Last Will and testament of Sellam wife of Murugesu Nagalingam of Karainagar Jaffna, Ceylon late of Worthington Road Kuala-Lumpur in the Federated Malay States.

This matter coming on for disposal before R. R. Selvadurai Esq. District Judge Jaffna, on the 3rd day of July 1946 in the presence of Mr. A. Kanagasabai Proctor on the part of the petitioner, and the affidavit of the above mentioned petitioner dated 26th June 1946 and of the affidavit of

ORDER NISI

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF KURUNEGALLE

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 4632

In the matter of the estate of the late Kandappa Charavanamuttu

Deceased
Mrs. Vesalatchi Chellaprah widow of Ratnaswami Chellappah of Manipay. Vs. Petitioner.

1. Namasivayam Coomaraswamy of Manipay.
 2. Subramaniam Muthiarasan of Manipay.
 3. Mrs. Poongavanam Murugesu of Manipay.
 4. Subramaniam Ponniah of Malay States.
 5. Sivagama Sathary Thilliambam of Tinnevely, Jaffna.
 6. Velu illai Thilliambam of Tinnevely, Jaffna.
- This matter coming on for disposal before T. P. P. Goonstilleke Esquire District Judge of Kurunegalle on the 5th day of July 1946 in the presence of Mr. B. Jeremiah, Proctor for the Petitioner abovenamed and the affidavit of Chellappah Nageswara of Colombo, attorney of Mrs. Vesalatchi Chellaprah of Manipay dated 4th July 1946 having been read.

It is ordered that the 6th respondent be and he is hereby appointed Guardian ad litem over the 5th Minor respondent for the purpose of these proceedings unless the respondent shall on or before the 16th day of August 1946 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

It is ordered that the said Petitioner be and she is hereby declared entitled as niece of the abovenamed deceased to have Letters of Administration to his estate issued to her unless the respondent or any other person or persons interested shall on or before the 16th day of August 1946 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 5th day of July 1946.

Sgd. T. P. P. Goonstilleke
(O. 6. & 9.)



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(Mis. 185, 31-12-31-12-46)

the witnesses to the Last Will dated 26th June 1946 having been read.

It is ordered that the Will of the abovenamed deceased, dated 4th May 1939 and numbered 658 and attested by Paramu abaratnam Nair a Public Notary and the same is hereby declared proved unless the respondents or others interested shall, on or before the 14th day of August, 1946 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

It is further declared that the said 10th respondent be appointed guardian ad litem over the minors the 8th and 9th respondents and that the said Murugesu Nagalingam the petitioner is the executor named in the said Will and that he is entitled to have Probate of the same issued to him accordingly, unless the respondent or others interested shall on or before the 14th day of August 1946, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

This 3rd day of July 1946

Sgd. P. R. Selvadurai
District Judge

(O. 44, 6 & 9-8-46)

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