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MR. SENANAYAKE'S SWAN-SONG BUDGET

What are Surpluses and National Income?

By C. N. DEVA RAJAN

Mr. D. S. Senanayake has delivered himself of his last Budget speech. From next year onwards it will be the business of the Minister of Finance to vie with Mr. Senanayake and show whether he is more adept at the jugglery of figures and more proficient in propounding new canons of finance to hoodwink the uninstructed. Mr. Senanayake has taken great pains to review the State Council's 'achievements' during the last fifteen years to justify the oft-repeated message carried to the country-side by his fellow-ministers that the State Council's 'government of the Ceylonese, by the Ceylonese, for the Ceylonese' had done more for the country in fifteen years than what the British Government did during a century. As usual there will now be a surfeit of congratulations and platitudes poured out at the second reading of the budget by our councillors on the "balanced budget" produced by Mr. Senanayake without proposals for new taxation. Those who are tumbling head over heels to join the U. N. P. and share in the *spoils opimz* at the disposal of the Prime Minister Santa Claus will shower paeans on their Leader which will throw even Apollo and Dionysus into obscurity. But what are the facts?

Flagrant Omissions

Mr. Senanayake in his speech travelled from China to Peru, dwelt on many subjects from frozen meat to Civil Aviation, and highly commended the achievements of three of his colleagues viz: the Minister of Health, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Communications. He has discreetly omitted to touch even the fringe of subjects like the future Food and Textile supplies, Immigration and Labour problem, Irrigation, Suppression of crimes, corruption black-marketing, Postal facilities etc. etc. and give his guidance and solutions. Let me point out that while giving the figures for sums spent during the last fifteen years on Education, Health, Milk feeding centres etc., Mr. Senanayake has studiously not referred to the millions he has spent on his pet food production and colonisation schemes and not dared to say what the output of paddy was in 1931 in the country and what it is now. He did not utter one word as to how he proposes to carry on his Internal Purchase Scheme. He merely touched on it and ended by saying that the scheme was adversely affected by drought. He also admitted that the food position

was serious now but a solution of the problem has been left by him to the conjecture of the Council and the people. What a Budget speech!

Surpluses

Mr. Senanayake raised himself to the stratosphere when he declared that the State Council 'had worked the most unique constitution in the world for fifteen years and placed this country on a sounder and more stable financial position than it was ever before'. To prove this assertion he pointed out that at the inauguration of the State Council, in July 1931, there was a surplus balance of only 15 million rupees to the credit of the Government but to-day the accumulated surplus balance was about 165 millions. Here are his words: "Honourable members who succeeded to this legacy" (i.e. a surplus balance of 15 millions) 'may justly feel a glow of pleasurable satisfaction that the current financial year is due to close with an accumulated surplus more than fifteen times the legacy they received from their predecessors.' Mr. Senanayake is ardent that surplus balances are the legacies that one set of legislators hands down to another. What are surplus balances? That great statesman and authority on finance, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, always maintained that surplus balances represented so much money taken from the people over and above what the Government could spend for them. It was by acting on this axiom that statesmen like Sri Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Sir James Peiris and financiers like Sir Bernard Senior and Sir Wilfrid Woods budgetted in the past and laid down the dictum that a surplus balance of ten million rupees was ample for a country like Ceylon to meet any contingency and that it should not be allowed to exceed that figure. It was Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Sir James Peiris, Sir Baron Jayatilke and Sir Waitilingam Duraiswamy who consistently urged from 1921 to 1931 that large surplus balances in the coffers of the Government only tempted the Government to undertake extravagant and grandiose schemes and they adopted the sound procedure of 'remission of taxes' advocated by Gokhale with all the vigour at his command and followed by the Government of India whenever there were heavy surpluses. After the above-mentioned giants passed away Mr. Senanayake, by a process

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Letter to the Editor

THE TAMIL CONGRESS POLITICS

Sir,—The thoughtful section of the Jaffna Tamils cannot but view with strong disapproval the misleading and harmful communal propaganda that is being staged by the leader of the Tamil Congress. It is no longer possible to hide the fact that our misfortunes are largely due to our obstinate refusal to come to terms with Sinhalese leaders when they unequivocally showed a desire for settlement of the communal problem before the arrival of the Southbury Commission in Ceylon. The position of the Tamils of the north under the new constitution is a very difficult one, which requires calm consideration, wise decision and responsible guidance if we are to avoid a repetition of the past blunders.

The first point to be emphasized in connection with the present political situation is the fact that the uncompromising attitude of the Tamil Congress on the fifty-fifty basis, contrary to the advice of senior leaders was mainly responsible for the complete failure of the Tamils to get any weightage for the Tamil Provinces. It was definitely known that responsible Sinhalese leaders were prepared to concede substantial weightage to the Tamil provinces if the Tamil leaders were prepared for a compromise but all attempts for a negotiated settlement were frustrated by Mr. Ponnambalam's unbending obstinacy. Splendid opportunities were lost by the Tamils both at the Bandaranayake Conference and subsequently during the discussion of the Sri Lanka Bill at the Bandaranayake Conference about 45% of the seats for the minorities were almost agreed upon and Mr. A. F. M. Lamure's amendment to the Sri Lanka Bill, brought forward with the approval of the Sinhalese leaders as well as that of Messrs Mahadeva and Natesan, would, if accepted by Mr. Ponnambalam, have given at least 25 seats to the Tamil Provinces. All these compromise proposals were unceremoniously rejected by Mr. Ponnambalam and the Ceylon Tamils lost their best chance of getting reasonable weightage. It is further realised that by his raging communal propaganda he succeeded in preventing other responsible but more moderate and far-seeing public men from placing before the Commission any compromise proposal or even any specific scheme of increased representation for Ceylon Tamils. He placed all his hopes on the Southbury Commission and the British Government. He acted contrary to the advice of sober level-headed councillors like Messrs. Mahadeva and Natesan and misled the Tamils. The result is that the Tamils are not in a position to get anything beyond 12 or 13 seats out

of the 16 allotted to the two Tamil Provinces.

Mr. Ponnambalam had at no time shown a sound grasp of realities. He failed to see that the scheme of balanced representation based on communal representation was definitely dead after its rejection by the Donoughmore Commissioners, and the only practical alternative was to ask for weightage. Responsible public opinion in Jaffna was always in favour of a compromise, and wanted only a reasonable weightage for the Tamil Provinces. All attempts made to bring about a negotiated settlement were widely welcomed, but these did not materialise owing to the uncompromising opposition of the newly formed Tamil Congress to any modification of the fifty-fifty scheme. Mr. Ponnambalam utterly failed to get any concession from the Southbury Commission, which contrary to his expectation, only confirmed the Ministers proposals without any modification. Thus Mr. Ponnambalam courted the worst defeat for Tamils in recent times. With all his talents, pertinacity and unrelenting labours he has failed to achieve anything for the Tamils, and is again attempting to mislead them. It seems clear that his vision is obscured by the defeat of all his plans, and he seems to think that he can rehabilitate his lost position only by denouncing as traitors his colleagues who have shown greater wisdom and foresight in their fight for the political rights of the Tamils.

Yours etc
C. K. Swaminathan,
Nallur, Jaffna.

Less Cloth For Ceylon?

According to a report appearing in the 'Times of Ceylon' of the 19th inst Indian cloth exports to Ceylon may soon be reduced, and what is more Indian cloth, both mill-made and hand-made will cost the Ceylon consumer more.

It was further reported that as far as Indian cotton piece-goods were concerned, the future was gloomy. But every effort was being made by the authorities in Ceylon to get the full quantity of cloth promised this year by India. What the outcome of these efforts would be could not be predicted.

The Government of India had decided to reduce the global quota of cloth to be exported out of India to 150 million yards from the previous accepted figure of 250 million yards. According to Mr. Krishnaraj, M. D. Thackeray, Chairman of the Textile Control Board of India, the Indian Government intends allocating this quota to countries which India is importing food grains.



Hindu Organ

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1946.

THE BUDGET SPEECH

THE ONE NOTE THAT STRIKES us on reading Mr. D. S. Senanayake's Budget speech is that of a curious mixture of regret and hope. But he has cleverly thrown the latter into relief by putting up a glittering facade of elusive, misleading figures. The hope of "full employment, intensive production, maximum savings" raises the people to ethereal heights only to bring them back to realities and the burden of war-time taxation with a sudden shock. Except for the abolition of the Excess Profits Duty the people are, after all, not to be freed of excessive taxation. The National Development Reserve of Rs. 160 millions does not warrant the conclusion that the country's economic and financial position is very sound. The Leader of the House with his characteristic shrewdness warned the members of the State Council against deluding themselves into the belief that Ceylon has reached a comfortable economic position.

While alternately raising the hopes of the people and discouraging them, Mr. Senanayake has studiously avoided reference to certain items of expenditure, which the people are very anxious to know. He has not, except for a scanty reference, dealt at all with his colonisation and food production schemes. Indeed the very scantiness of the reference attracts attention. Many who eagerly awaited the unfolding of one of the most intriguing dramas in the life of this country were disappointed. Mr. Senanayake has painted only a pathetic picture of paddy plants languishing without the help of Providence in the matter of water. It is amusing to note his feeble attempts to make light of a serious matter by speaking of "receding bowls of rice." Perhaps, Mr. Senanayake thinks that a Dickensian touch to his Budget speech would blind the people to his own deliberate omission to give details of public money expended on his one thousand and one food drives. He does not tell us what the fate of the paddy producer is to be. Dealing with agricultural produce in general, he has consigned the local producer to the care of the Commissioner for the Development of Agricultural Marketing. Whether the paddy producer comes within the category of local producers is not known. It will in-

deed be an act of cruel kindness to hand over the paddy producer to the tender mercies of the Commissioner for the Development of Agricultural Marketing, after his painful experience of the Internal Purchase Scheme.

We agree with his and the late Father Le Goo's view that the prosperity of this Island depends on tilling and grazing. But we would like to know what Mr. Senanayake has done to improve the prosperity of this Island by tilling and grazing. His attempts to cover up his guilt in this connection by mere verbiage do not do him any credit. We are at a loss to understand the tortuosity of his mental processes when he asked "with confidence" for the votes for the Department of Agriculture. Agricultural education is essential to make the people agricultural-minded at least to a certain degree of efficiency. But the question is whether the right type of instruction is being imparted to these builders of national prosperity, whether the experience gained at these institutions is sufficient to help them in the onerous duties of a farmer. We have seen some of the finished products of the School of Agriculture. Some of them know next to nothing of agriculture and its difficulties. We doubt very much whether the girls turned out by the Farm Schools would in any way be satisfied with Mr. Senanayake's gift of seven acres, and fear that they will only be raw products unfit for the responsibilities of a farm girl.

The concluding portion of Mr. Senanayake's speech strikes a note which is entirely new to his way of thinking. It is quite surprising indeed to hear Mr. Senanayake proposing "to discover the public will and not the public whim." In fact the State Council has earned a name for disregarding the public will in almost everything. The politician's whim has had a pre-eminent place in the deliberations of this august body. The public will has so far found no place in Mr. Senanayake's particular brand of democracy. Perhaps it is his intention to make us believe that he, who has so long betrayed a callous disregard for the public will or whatever it may be called, has changed his way of thinking. It is not sufficient to express this new change in words alone. It is a strange coincidence that Mr. Senanayake has snatched at Shakespeare's "Hamlet" as a fitting end to his speech. The people of Ceylon have been for the last decade or so compelled by circumstances "to eat the air." They are now looking up to a "promise-cramped" future. He has rung down the curtain on the greatest tragedy of the tragedies of Ceylon—the Senanayake Government.

Indian News Front

SINK COMMUNAL AND PARTY FEELINGS

INDIA SECRETARY'S APPEAL

Concluding his review of the Cabinet Mission's work in India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Commons on Thursday last appealed to the two major parties in India to put aside their keen communal and party feelings and work together for the good of India.

According to reports reaching him "some of the best human material in India" was likely to be returned to take part in the deliberations of the constitution-making body, observed Lord Pethick-Lawrence. "If my expectations are fulfilled," he added, "a good start has been made in the creation of a constitutional structure for India."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in the course of his statement to the House of Commons, paid a tribute to all with whom they had negotiated in India and said, when they left, there had undoubtedly been a change of attitude.

"Cowardly Attacks"

Condemning the attacks made on Indian passive resisters in Durban, Rt. Rev. Leonard Fisher, Bishop of Natal, says in the July issue of *The Vineyard*, official organ of the Diocese of Natal: "As a European, I am ashamed that a section of Europeans have behaved at this crisis with less dignity and restraint than their Indian fellow citizens. The Police are responsible for enforcing laws and maintenance of order, and any attempt to supersede them by mob violence is both stupid and anti-social."

"All who believe in fair play, and care for the good name of South Africa must deplore the cowardly attacks on the resisters' which have recently occurred"

"Sorriest of Trades"

In the wake of the demands of the Teachers of Ceylon for better wages, the Council of the Madras Teachers' Guild at its meeting on the 13th instant, requested the Government to consider their case for better pay.

It also viewed with great concern the unsatisfactory admission to the training schools since it would greatly accentuate the shortage of teachers and retard the progress of education. It requested the Government to pass early orders, revising liberally the scales of teachers in such a manner as to attract capable young men and women to the profession.

The Council authorised its office-bearers to prepare a memorandum on salaries and service conditions to be presented to the Government. It also recommended that a procession of teachers be organised to be taken to the Secretariat to present the memorandum.

Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, opening the Teachers Union Conference held at Salem on the 14th instant paid a tribute to the teaching profession and admitted that today teachers were not happy as the teaching profession had become "the sorriest of trades."

Trade Ban Defied

Action taken by the Government of India to "freeze" trade with South Africa in protest against the Union Government's anti-Asiatic laws is being countered by commercial circles in India itself.

Certain importers in South Africa, states the Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress in a telegram sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, are still daily receiving cables from some exporters in Calcutta and Bombay soliciting orders as usual and intimating that shipping for these exports is available.

Regretting such action, the Secre-

tary says it is deplorable that, while the "satyagrahis" in South Africa are serving sentences of hard labour and courted punishment in order to remove anti-Indian legislation, business between India and South Africa should be carried on as usual.

This complaint coincides with the intensification of the passive resistance movement by Indians in South Africa.

Drive Against Corruption

A determined drive to root out corruption among the public and Government servants will be launched by the Government of Madras. In a Press communique issued on last Friday the Government appealed for co-operation on the part of the public. In explaining its measure for combating this evil, the Government suggested two legal and five administrative remedies.

Of the two legal remedies suggested, one was that the onus of proof that the gift was innocent rested with the offerer and receiver of the gift. The second one suggested that a new offence should be created providing that, if a public servant or his dependants are known to have become possessed of a sudden accretion of wealth, the public servant concerned would be deemed guilty of the offence unless he could prove that the accretion was innocently obtained.

Lectures By Sri Acharyaswamy

Public lectures will be delivered today by Sri S. D. Acharyaswamy of the Universal Brotherhood Mission, Bombay, at the Manipal Hindu College at 3.30 p. m. on "The Message of Swami Vivekananda", and at Nadeshwara College, Kankesanur at 5.30 p. m. on "The Purpose of Life".

The rest of the programme of his lectures is as follows:-

On Wednesday the 24th at the Vaideswara Vidyalaya at 5 p. m. on "Message of Bahavat Gita", and at Chavakachcheri Youth League at 6.30 p. m. "Duties and responsibilities of Students".

On Thursday the 25th at Karainagar Saiva Paripalana Sabha at 6.30 p. m. on "Religion in everyday life".

On Friday the 26th at the Saiva Training College, Tinnevely at 4 p. m. on "Duties and responsibilities of Students" and at Kokuvil Hindu College at 6.30 p. m. on "Culture and Civilization".

On Saturday the 27th at Vigneswara College, Karaveddy at 10 a. m. on "Religion in every day life."

A Free Pardon?

At the meeting of the State Council held on the 17th inst. Mr. B. H. Aluwihare moved a resolution requesting the Governor to grant a free pardon to those political prisoners who escaped from detention and to any other persons convicted of political offences in the last seven years. The debate on the motion stands adjourned.

Police Commission Report

Mr. A. Mahadeva, Minister of Home Affairs told the State Council last week that the Police Commission report would be out in August or September this year.

THE TAMILS AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

BY S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM.

THE editorial of the *Hindu Organ* of 12th July states that the Tamils find themselves under the new Constitution in the happy position of being able to cooperate with all sections of the population for the realization of the ideal of individual and national liberty in the fullest possible measure. The advice and hope contained in some of the sentiments expressed therein are unexceptionable. With your permission I would quote the following passage from the editorial.

"The agitation that preceded the Soulbury Commission is an episode which will be forgotten by both parties in a joint endeavour not only to safeguard the liberties that have been won but also to widen their range and scope.... It is but fitting that the Tamils and other minorities should take up the threads of their work for the welfare of the island as a whole."

The ideas implicit in the quotation to my mind are that (1) Both the Tamils and the Sinhalese will forget the controversies, differences and disputes connected with past constitutional struggles and it is desirable that they should so forget. (2) Certain liberties have been won as a result of past constitutional agitation and have been embodied in the Soulbury Constitution.

(3) These liberties should be safeguarded.

(4) The range and scope of these liberties should be widened.

(5) All communities including the Tamils should make a joint endeavour for purposes 3 and 4.

(6) The Tamils and other communities should resume the task of working for the welfare of the Island as a whole.

These ideas are commendable, if I might say so; and they stress the necessity for forgetting the past political differences between the communities and the need for concerted action. If it is necessary for the Tamils and the Sinhalese to forget their past political differences, it is also equally necessary that the various sections and groups of the Tamils should forget their own past political differences among themselves. Even as political differences between the Tamils and the Sinhalese should be forgotten, political differences between various groups and sections in the Tamil community should also be forgotten. Even as the future of Ceylon cannot be built upon the basis of a memory of past differences between communities but can only be built by ignoring such differences, so also the future of the Tamil community cannot be built upon the basis of past differences between various groups and sections but can only be built by ignoring such differences.

In order to achieve some of the objects set out in the editorial under reference, it is necessary for the various groups and sections of the Tamil community to bury their past differences for the following reasons:

(a) *Co-operation, like charity, begins at home.* Before the Tamils are called upon to forget their past political differences with the Sinhalese, the various groups and sections of the Tamils inter se must forget their past political differ-

ences. There is no virtue or statesmanship in keeping alive the feelings of acrimony engendered by past political differences particularly when such differences do not exist. *If the fifty-fifty demand has ceased to be a live political issue, there is no justification whatsoever to keep alive the feelings of bitterness and acrimony resulting from either adherence or opposition or non-adherence to the fifty-fifty demand* (I do not suggest that the fifty-fifty demand should be retained as a live issue; I am glad that it has been given up.) On the other hand, the attempt to revive and perpetuate the feeling of bitterness and animosity which arose as a result of differences of opinion on a political programme, when that particular programme has been given up or is no longer practical politics or can no longer be practical politics, is highly detrimental to the best interests of the community. Similarly, it is futile to perpetuate the differences between those who voted for the acceptance of Mr Senanayake's motion regarding the White Paper and those who declared their opposition to the White Paper, since all sections of the Tamils are now accepting the Soulbury Constitution and are vying with one another to work it and reap the benefits following upon its acceptance.

(b) In the preceding paragraph, I have endeavoured to point out the necessity for the various groups and sections of the Tamils to forget their past differences in the interests of the community. For the purpose of achieving the objects mentioned in the editorial viz. the safeguarding of the liberties won under the Soulbury Constitution, the widening of the range and scope of these liberties and the task of working for the welfare of the Island as a whole, it is absolutely essential to sink all differences existing among the various groups in the Tamil community.

The purposes mentioned in the editorial could, I submit, be best achieved in the circumstances now prevailing in Ceylon, so far as the Tamils are concerned, by adopting the following course of action: (i) The Tamils must ignore their past differences among themselves and (ii) The Tamils should enter the next Parliament free from the aegis of a communal organization and give the Soulbury Constitution a trial (I use the word "communal" in the best sense of the word). *It would be easier to achieve the objects mentioned in the editorial by the Tamil representatives entering Parliament free from allegiance to any communal organization.* For one thing, the "joint endeavour" contemplated by the *Hindu Organ* could be better achieved by the various communities in Ceylon attempting to work through the medium of political parties than through the medium of communal parties. If the Tamils attempt to unite under a communal organization for parliamentary purposes, the Sinhalese both in and out of Parliament would inevitably unite under an unadulterated communal policy. It will be foolish for the Tamils to imagine that they alone

could unite and achieve success through unity on a communal basis and that at the same time they could divide the Sinhalese. *A unity of the Tamils achieved on a communal basis will inevitably drive the Sinhalese also to unite on a communal basis.* This contingency is bound to result in a deterioration of the position of the Tamils. If parties are sought to be formed on a communal basis in the next Parliament, the Sinhalese will be in a permanent and dominant majority and the Tamils will be in a minority. It is suicidal to bank on the Tamils getting assistance from the other minorities. Assistance from this direction will always be welcome but the Tamils should not build their future hopes of such assistance. Even if the other minorities combine with the Tamils, such a combination will itself be in a minority. We must learn by the lessons of the past and not go on blundering, out of a false sense of prestige and ill-conceived bitterness.

As things are in Ceylon and in view of the relative Parliamentary strength of the communities under the Soulbury Constitution, the Tamils should refrain from taking the initiative of fighting the next elections through the agency of a communal organization, be it the All Ceylon Tamil Congress or the Nationalist Tamil Party or any other communal organization. This statement of mine should not be construed to mean that I suggest that the Tamils as a body should now join the United National Party or the Lanka Swaraj Party. If, however, individual Tamils deem it fit to join the ranks of either party, such action need not be condemned. The fact that the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress submitted a draft constitution to the Soulbury Commission is no ground for people to maintain that the Tamil Congress should under the present different circumstances contest the forthcoming elections as a communal organization running its own candidates. Again it would be entirely unwise to equate the Tamils in Ceylon today with the Irish in Great Britain under the leadership of Parnell and on that score canvass popular support for the running of candidates by the Tamil Congress. The Irish under Parnell fought for Home Rule for Ireland, the separation of Ireland from Great Britain and an independent Irish Parliament, whereas the objective of the Tamils in Ceylon today is a unitary Government and is wholly dissimilar to the demands and policy of the Irish.

(iii) After the Tamil members enter Parliament independently of the control of any communal organization, they must endeavour to work the Constitution both by accepting Office and participating in the Government and also by forming a section of the Opposition. It is only by following this procedure that the best results could be achieved both for the community and for the country. If the situation could be redeemed, it is likely that some success will attend this method rather than any other course of action.

(iv) *A combination of qualities, personalities and resources* among the leaders of the Tamil community

is indispensable to meet the new and difficult situation in order that the Tamil community may survive as an honourable and self-respecting entity among the communities in Ceylon and contribute its best towards the commonweal of the Island. *No particular group or person among the Tamils is equal by itself or himself to the task of coping with the situation.* Further there must be a balancing of qualities and personalities and the best men in the community may be invited to offer their services on the score of godliness, political acumen, administrative experience, ability, integrity, temperamental suitability to work in co-operation with the other communities particularly with the Sinhalese leaders with whom there has been some misunderstanding independence, fearlessness, a high standard of culture including proficiency in Tamil, adherence to Tamil ideals and Tamil ways of thought and tradition, knowledge and experience of military affairs, debating skill eloquence, mellowed judgment and statesmanship. All these qualities may not be found co-existing in any of our leaders. Some of our leaders might possess a few of these qualities; and some others might possess other qualities. It is therefore patent that only a combination of personalities and leaders will be able to produce this requisite grouping of qualities and adjuncts suitable for the critical times ahead of the Tamil community.

To conclude, may I commend the following noble sentiments expressed by the late Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on the subject of political differences of opinion and the way to treat them and solve them: — "What is the view that we should take of our political opponents? Do not consider them as your enemies, consider them as those who supply a deficiency in your education or in your political outlook; regard them as people who are supplementary, who are designed by the economy of human relationships just to give you that which by your upbringing, by your partial leanings and prejudices, you are for the moment without. That is the point of view which a really good citizen, seeking the welfare of the public and not merely the temporary triumph of his cause, should take; that is the point of view from which political opposition should be considered and made a part of our care. To take another view, to bring the bitterness of enmity and lifelong animosity and the habits of uncritical depreciation, constant abuse and vilification, and ascription of unworthy motives to people on the other side is not merely to do wrong to the other persons but, it is to yourselves a disservice of the worst possible character. It must affect your nature, it must poison the springs of your character at the very source. It must keep you to the superficialities of life, it must make you an imperfect instrument of God's will."

HINDU DEVOTIONAL SONGS CONTEST

The Preliminary examination in connection with the above contest which was to have taken place at the Karanavai Centre on 13th July, 1946 had been postponed; it will be held on Saturday 27th July, 1946 at 10 A. M. at the Saiva Vidyasalai, Karanavai North.

VEDANTA MOOLA SARAM OR THE ESSENCE OF THE UPANISHADS

(By A Science Graduate)

(Continued from our issue of 18-6-46)

XXX

VIII. THE BHASMA JABALA UPANISHAD.

The Bhasma-Jabala Upanishad speaks, as the name implies, of the sacred ashes or Bhasmam (the consumer of all sins). We have already had something to say by way of introduction on this subject when studying the short Kalagni-Rudra Upanishad attached to the Krishna Yajur Vedam. Our present Upanishad is a comparatively long one, containing 69 sruties divided into two sections, and is attached to the Atharva Vedam. It forms one of the Pancha-Jabalopanishads and occurs in the list of the 108 important Upanishads. It is in the form of a sermon by the Supreme Compassionate Lord Parameswaran to the Rishi Bhusunda-Jabalan.

Section I starts with the Rishi prostrating himself before the Lord and asking for instructions regarding the rules of Tripundram (wearing of sacred ashes in three lines), the materials of Bhasmam (ho'y ashes), the places where it is to be applied, the Mantras to be chanted, &c. After prescribing how the cow-dung is to be collected before sunrise, deposited on lotus or Asvatha (fig tree) leaves and dried, how the fire is to be kindled, the cakes burnt and the ashes collected in an earthen or other vessel, the sruti proceeds: One should handle the Bhasmam... reciting the Mantras 'Agni is Bhasmam, Vayu is Bhasmam, Water is Bhasmam, Earth is Bhasmam, Ether is Bhasmam, the Devas are Bhasmam, the Rishies are Bhasmam, all this indeed is Bhasmam, the pure and the purifier, I prostrate myself before it which immediately destroys all sins (sruti 4)—This Mantiram with slight modifications is found repeated in the Atharva-Siras, Kalagni-Rudra, Jabala and other Upanishads and in an abridged form in the Isa and Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishads.—The Sruti then goes on to describe how the ashes should be consecrated, and a part of it besmeared from head to foot (Uththulanam உத்தூலனம்) and the balance further consecrated by chanting the Mantiram 'Agnor Bhusmasi' (thou art come from the fire), and worn as Tripundram by drawing across three lines on the head by the second, third and fourth fingers,.....three lines across the forehead....., &c. Non-observance of this Bhasma-Dharanam (பசுமதாரணம்) as laid down, in the morning, noon and evening, is a sin. One should neither eat food nor drink water nor do anything else without prior Bhasma-Dharanam. Neither should one recite the Gayatri nor give oblations to the Devas, Pitris, &c. without this preliminary observance. The section concludes by prescribing purificatory acts for accidental non-observance of this rule, the good results ensuing on its observance, &c.

Section II speaks of answering the calls of nature before sunrise, bathing, meditating on the rising Sun, besme ring the body with the holy ashes, wearing Tripundram and Rudraksha beads in various parts of the body and performing the daily Sandhya. Worship of the Siva-Lingam at the three Sandhyas (morning, noon and evening) is next prescribed: The worshipper should meditate on God alone, who is with Uma (the Lady of Grace), seated on the sacred bull, Golden-armed, Golden-coloured, the Remover of the Pasam (bondage) of the Pasis (souls), the Purushan (Lord), Thousand-eyed, Thousand-faced.....the One in Advaita relation with (inseparable from) the souls, Guna-less, Actionless, Calm, Benign, imperishable, Unchangeable, the source of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudran. Incomprehensible. Beginningless and Endless (sruti 7).—How to bathe the Deity and worship with bilva leaves, &c, is then described. Next comes the recitation of the six, eight and five-lettered Mantras. Further praises of God follow: ... Out of fear of God, the wind blows, the Sun rises, the fire burns, ... He is the Supporter and Protector of all beings. He is earth, water, fire, air, time and the quarters. He is (their) Atman (antaratman, Inner Soul) in Him is everything established. The knower of the Highest (God) reaches the Supreme. ... He has no eyes but has eyes on all sides, no ears or feet or hands or faces, but has ears, feet, hands and faces everywhere. He alone is indicated by Vidya (Gnanam) and His Form is of Vidya (Gnanam) and Vidya only. He is the Lord of all and immortal. Thus realizing Him, one is freed from the bondage of Samsaram (births and deaths). Therefore He is the Remover of the Pasam (bondage) of the Pasis (souls). The Pasis of the Deva and human groups, with concentrated mind, are making effort to reach Him only. Those who reach Him never come back (to the worldly life), yea, they never come back (sruti 12).

Praises of Sri Kasi (Benares) and the different places in the inner shrine therein called Avimuktam: Sivagaram (in the centre), Aisvarya Sthanam (in the East), Vichalana Sthanam (in the South) Vairagya Sthanam (in the West) and Jnana Sthanam (in the North), follow. God resides in the centre of these in the shape of the Jyotir Lingam (ஜோதி விச்சை, Emblem of Light) and should be worshipped: It is this Lingam that should be worshipped. The Sun, the Moon and the Fire do not brighten the Lingam. It is self-shining and resides there assuming the name Visvesvaran pervading through Patalam (the nether world)... (sruties 21 and 22).—Bathing of the Lingam with Kapila (brown coloured) cow's milk, Kapila's ghee, &c., is then described. Further details of worship at Sri Kasi, what and what one should do and what one should not do there, &c, follow, with special emphasis on the need not to neglect the contemplation of the Sri Panchaksharam and the wearing of holy ashes and Rudraksha beads. And the Upanishad concludes: Therefore one should lead his life at Sri Kasi, which is in the form of Lingam, very carefully. Thus says the Upanishad (sruti 52).

We have here attempted to give a bare skeleton idea only of this important Upanishad. Students anxious to make a detailed study of

Agriculture Comes First in Post-War Plans

CEYLON'S post-war development plans, prepared by the Board of Ministers, and published on Friday, are estimated to cost approximately Rs. 1,739,438,037 as capital or non-recurrent cost. The approximate additional annual recurrent cost is Rs. 153,523,091.

The first part of the report is devoted to a detailed analysis of the economic background of the country. The second part deals with the schemes of the different ministries.

The Report states: "It is proposed to concentrate on the first

stage on the agricultural development of the Island and those industries incidental to it and arising from it, such as processing of tea, rubber and coconut manufacture of fertilizers and rubber goods"

It further adds: "We anticipate that for agricultural development alone at least a further 1,500,000 acres are required. On an average the cost of bringing a further acre into cultivation is Rs. 500. On this account therefore Rs. 750,000,000 will be required. In addition we anticipate that subsidiary industries will require a further Rs. 100,000,000."

ALL-CEYLON TAMIL CONGRESS

TWO IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE DATE OF THE

SECOND PLENARY SESSIONS

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

AT THE

JAFFNA TOWN HALL

ON

SATURDAY 17th AUGUST

(not on Saturday 10th August)

(2) THE "CONGRESS WEEK"

WILL BE OBSERVED IN THE

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. MOTH,

Joint General Secretaries.

(Misc. 126. 23-7-46.)

it will have to do so in the regular Guru-Sishya manner after due initiation by a competent teacher.

We should not omit to add here however for the information of our readers that the Linga worship (இலிங்காச்சினை, Linga Archanai), on which very great stress is laid in this Upanishad, is prominently mentioned in the Agamas and in other parts of the Vedas too. In the Rig Vedam, for instance, occurs the following mantiram (Tamil translation by Senthinathiyer): தேவர்க்கு (பொருளும் அருளுமாம்) செல்வத்தை அடையுமாறு, (சிவபிரானாது) விசித்திர ரூபமாகிய மகாலிங்க மூர்த்தியை அபிஷேகாதி பூசை செய்தார், the Devas anointed (bathed with water) and otherwise worshipped the handsome great Linga Form (of Sivaperuman) in order to attain (worldly as well as heavenly) wealth. And based on this Mantiram of the Rig Vedam appears the following passage in a subsidiary treatise: மகாலிங்கனுவானவர் தாயதாயும் சிவாமயராயும் விசித்திர மாயமுள்ள மகாலிங்கத்தைப் பத்தியினால் அருச்சித்துப் பரமபதத்தை அடைந்தார், the great Vishnu worshipped (God in the form of) the pure, stone-coloured, handsome great Lingam with devotion and attained the state of Supreme Bliss.

Mr. Senanayake's Swan-Song Budget

(Continued from page 1)

of continually under-estimating the revenue and over-estimating the expenditure of the Island and by slowly raising the indirect taxes in addition to the introduction of the Income-tax Super-tax and Excess Profits Duty (which by the way exempted plumbago and coconuts), built up a huge surplus Balance and now prides himself over the fact that he is leaving a bigger legacy to his successors than what he received. Any plunderer can leave such a legacy to his heirs. Though he may gloat over his exploits, others—even his heirs—will not glow with real satisfaction. For over ten years now every year has ended with a surplus and, during the war, new taxes were imposed not for meeting current expenditure but for swelling up the surplus balances. Mr. Senanayake's government, keeping to the law laid down by the old Legislative Council, created a General Reserve Fund of ten millions for general purposes and a Railway Reserve of 20 millions as a "nest-egg," and still went on accumulating huge surplus balances—over-taxed money—which are his legacy to his new Cabinet to play with.

After reading the whole of Mr. Senanayake's speech one should be greatly disappointed and surprised at his complete silence over the question of appointing a commission to inquire into the present incidence of taxation in Ceylon, for which notice of a motion was given in the State Council by Mr. J. Tyagaraja, M. S. C., some time ago. It was during the last Budget speech in the Indian Legislative Assembly that the Member for Finance announced the appointment of a similar Commission in India while reduction of certain taxes and termination of Excess Profits Duty were also announced. But in Ceylon Mr. Senanayake is not concerned about the incidence of taxation. He only warns that should Oliver Geonetilleke fail in his mission, after the next sweepstakes are over in England, the question of further taxation will be considered by his government of the Ceylonese, by the Ceylonese for the Ceylonese.

National Income

Among the most misleading figures Mr. Senanayake's speech brims with, the one calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the people is that of the national income. "On the basis of the money value of all goods and services produced by the community, the national income," says Mr. Senanayake, "was assessed in 1937 as being in the neighbourhood of 600 million rupees, and on the same basis it has been estimated that the national income towards the end of the war was in the region of 2000 millions." Deducting the expenditure of 400 millions a year incurred by the Allied Governments in Ceylon on behalf of the fighting services, Mr. Senanayake says that our national income remained at as high a figure as 1600 million rupees in 1945—an increase of 165% over the national income of 1937—giving a per capita income of about Rs. 240.00 in 1945 as compared with a per capita income of Rs. 100.00 in 1937. "This, Sir," declared Mr. Senanayake, "is decidedly an improved economic position." Whoever may be the economic pundit who worked out the national income of Ceylon on the basis of the money value of all the goods and services produced by the country, I challenge

him to say whether he did so with a clean conscience or any sense in his brain. What is the good of taking account of the money value of all the goods produced in the country and dividing it by the number of people in the country to arrive at the per capita national income, when all the tea and rubber estates, which produce the major portion of our goods, are owned by foreigners and worked with foreign capital, foreign men, foreign machinery and tools and when the produce even is transported in foreign bottoms through the agency of foreign firms and dividends are remitted away to foreign countries? Even the imported Indian labourers utilise their wages to buy Indian cloth, Indian rice and curry-stuffs and remit their savings to India after perhaps spending a small sum on only locally produced arrack and toddy. The only advantages Ceylon gains by these foreign enterprises are the small customs duties derived on the exports and on the imports of machinery etc., the circulation of money caused by the foreign concerns and the small salaries earned by our conductors, clerks, tea and rubber makers, peons and watchers. Here also a good part of the salaries earned by our nationals on the estates goes towards the purchase of foreign cloth, foreign shoes and hats, foreign foods and drinks. How much then is left in the country out of the money value of the goods produced? To say that Rs. 240.00 was the per capita national income of the people of Ceylon in 1945 at a time when currency was inflated, when money was cheap and goods dear, when the middle class people were living on their capital paying black-market fancy prices for their necessaries, and that it all indicated improvement in the economic life of the people is absurd to the extreme. To apply to Ceylon the same method of calculating the national income as is done in England—where the production is done with its own capital, its own men and its own machinery and from where the products are carried to the markets of the world by its own steamships—is the silliest thing an economist can do.

All the seven Ministers, including Mr. D. S. Senanayake, have admitted, in their report on Post-War Development proposals, that the estimate of the National Income in 1937 at 600 millions "is a very rough one and therefore no precise definition of what it means is possible". Mark the words "what it means"! Further they say that "as a very rough indication it may be stated that, towards the end of the war the National Income was in the region of Rs. 2,000 million and that at present it is about Rs. 1,650 million. This does not of course mean that the 'real' national income has increased in these proportions." In the face of these admissions, does not Mr. Senanayake resort to legerdemain when he says that the per capita income in Ceylon is Rs. 240.00 a year now? For Mr. Senanayake to allow these figures to gain currency amounts to a crime.

Mr. Senanayake further wants to din into our ears, that Ceylon is one of the most lightly taxed countries in the world. Perhaps he wants to pave the way for further taxation without opposition. But in the same breath he says that "the people of this country are living at standards which enable them barely to meet their minimum needs." Has he paused to consider why this is so? Will not more taxation further reduce their wherewithal to meet their needs? What does his economic and constitutional adviser say to this?

Death Sentence For Torture

MAN WHO WORKED FOR ENEMY IN MALAYA

Sithamparam Pillay Karthigesu who worked for the Kempeitai during the occupation was sentenced to death on July 18th for murder of an Indian estate clerk named Menon in October 1944. Eye witnesses' evidence showed that the accused took a large share in the questioning and beating of Menon who died after a week of continued torturing, which included the "water treatment" and burning the deceased on the chest and feet with cigarette ends.

Ceylon Tamil Discharged

Another Ceylon Tamil was prosecuted in the District Court of Kuala-kangsar, Perak. The accused, S. Ponnaiah, Police clerk in Ipoh before the war and a Police Inspector during the occupation, is alleged to have administered the "water treatment" and caused hurt to an estate labourer. After the evidence, the Judge discharged Ponnaiah and ordered his depositions to be forwarded to the Public Prosecutor for the purpose of considering the prosecution of the complainant for perjury following the submission of the Defence Counsel Mr. E. E. C. Thuraisingam that there was no case.

SPEAKER NEEDS LOUD SPEAKER

In the State Council on Thursday Bernard Aluwihare (Matale) gave notice of a motion urging the installation of a loud-speaker on the table of the Hon'ble the Speaker.

OBITUARY

We regret to record the death of Mr. S. Candappasegaram of Vannarponnai West which occurred last Sunday noon at his residence near Jaffna Hindu College.

The late Mr. Candappasegaram was a student of the great Arumuga Navalar and was a teacher in the latter's college at Vannarponnai for many years.

In Mr. Candappasegaram the Hindus have lost a great teacher.

The remains were cremated at the Kombeanmanal Crematorium the next day.

AUCTION SALE

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

No. 17062

Dr. Veeragathipillai Duraisamy of Thondamanar Plaintiff.

vs.

Sinnathamby Muttukumaru of Vannarponnai West Defendant.

Under and by virtue of the Commission issued to me in this case I shall sell by public auction the under-mentioned mortgaged property on Monday the 19th day of August 1946 at 4.30 p. m. at the spot

Property referred to

(1) A piece of land called Pelaiyavavoo in extent one acre 1 roham V. C. and 16 1/2 Kils with house, plantations situated at Vannarponnai West in the Parish of Vannarponnai and bounded on the East by Road North by land belonging to Vanni Vaithesparan temple, West by the land belonging to Vetharania Tharmamadani and South by the property of Muttukumaru Balasingham

V. A. Durayappah Commissioner.

Jaffna, 20.7.46. (Mis. 129.23)

Ceylon Indians' Case Before Jinnah

Mr. A. Aziz of the Ceylon Indian Congress met Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the 17th inst. and represented to him matters concerning the position of Indians in Ceylon. He also submitted certain papers for consideration by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah expressed sympathy with Indians in Ceylon and informed Mr. Aziz that the matter would be placed before his Working Committee when it meets in Bombay on July 26.

GRAND MUSIC RECITAL!!

by

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N. C. Vasantha Kokilam

OF ALL-INDIA FAME

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on Wednesday, 31st July 1946 at 7. p. m.

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- (3) The Jaffna Hindu College, Jaffna.
- (4) The Jaffna Hindu Ladies' College, Jaffna.

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Mis. 71. 4-6-46 to 4-11-46.

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[Mis. 248. 15-3-46 to 14-7-47.]

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[Mis. 105. 9-7 to 9-10-46]

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Mis. 250. 19-3 to 19-9-46) T

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C. A. CANDAPASEGARAM,

Vannarpannai,
Jaffna, 10-7-46.

(Mis. 106. 19 & 23)

KANKESANTURAI SEAT
(Valigamam North)At the request of numerous people
of the above constituency, I have
decided to stand as a candidate for
the above seat at the next general
election for the new Parliament of
Ceylon."Thopu Valavu" N. Arulampalam
Irupalai, Kopay President,
North Ceylon

Samooga Seva Sangam.

(Mis. 122. 19, 23, 26-7-46)



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

Nallur Kandasamy Temple

ANNUAL HIGH FESTIVAL—1946.

The public is hereby notified that
traffic will be diverted from the
sections of the Point Pedro Road
and Old Store Road adjoining the
Nallur Kandasamy Temple along
Wyman Road, Navanturai Road and
Nallur Cross Road No. 1. from 6 a.m.
to 12 mid-night daily from 2nd
August 1946 to 28th August 1946 on
account of the Annual High Festival
at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple.Sgd. S. W. O. DE SILVA,
Superintendent of Police,
Northern Province.Police Office,
Jaffna, 16th July 1946.
(Mis. 115. 19 & 23)**TENDER NOTICE**The Chairman, Tender Board,
General Treasury, Colombo, will re-
ceive tenders up to 12 noon on July
30, 1946, for the supply of 2,000,000
burnt bricks at the Colony Building
sites at Kilinochchi. Tenders should
be made on forms obtainable on
application from the Government
Agent, N. P., Jaffna, on a deposit of
Rs. 25 for each form. Further parti-
culars can be had from him.
(G. 44, 16, 19, 23)**ORDER NISI**IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA
Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 557.In the matter of the Intestate estate
of the late Innadhiyar Chelirapah
of Changanai West Deceased
Nayakappillai widow of Kathave'n
Saravan mutu of Changanai West
Vs. Petitioner.Aochimuttu widow of Chelirapah of
Changanai West Respondent.
This matter coming on for dispo-
sal before R. R. Selvadurai Esquire
District Judge Jaffna on the 31st day
of May, 1946 in the presence of Mr
T. Sankarapillai Proctor for Peti-
tioner and the affidavit of the above-
named Petitioner dated the 30th day
of May 1946 having been read.It is ordered that the abovenamed
Petitioner be declared entitled to
have letters of administration to the
estate of the said deceased as his
daughter and as sole heir and that
Letters be issued to him accordingly
unless the Respondent or any other
person shall appear before this Court
on the 26th day of July 1946 and
show sufficient cause to the satisfac-
tion of this Court to the contrary.

The day of June 1946.

Sgd. R. R. Selvadurai,
District Judge.

(O. 41. 19 & 23)

ORDER NISIIN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA
Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 403In the matter of the estate of the late
Selliiah Singarajah of Tellippalai
West. Deceased
Annamah widow of Selliiah Singa-
rajah of Tellippalai West.

Vs. Petitioner

1. Singarajah Joseph Emanuel
Marianayagam, 2. Singarajah, Plus
Selvanayagam, 3. Singarajah Joseph
Arulrajah all of Tellippalai West 4.
Philippillai Chelliah Thevasayam
of Tellippalai East Respondents
This matter coming on for disposal
before R. R. Selvadurai Esquire Dis-
trict Judge Jaffna on the 15th day of
January 1946 in the presence of Mr.
M. Sthambaranathan, proctor on the
part of the petitioner and on reading
the affidavit and petition of the peti-
tioner.It is ordered that the abovenamed
4th Respondent be appointed Guardi-
an ad litem over the minors the 1st
2nd and 3rd respondents to represent
them in this action and that the peti-
tioner be declared entitled to letters
of administration to the estate of the
above named deceased with a copy of
the Will dated 25th March 1922 and
attested by A. Ponnammalam N.P.
under No. 11230 and that the same
be issued to her accordingly unless
the respondents or any other person
shall on or before the 25th day of
March 1946 appear before this Court
and show sufficient cause to the
satisfaction of this court to the
contrary.This 15th day of January 1946
(Sgd) R. R. Selvadurai
District Judge.Cause to show
extended to 26-7-46
R. R. S. (Intd)
(O. 40 19 & 23)**ORDER NISI**

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 552.

In the matter of the estate of the
late Karthigesu Basiah of Kokuvil
East Jaffna Deceased.
Karthigesu Kanagaratnam of Chanka-
nai Jaffna, petitioner.

Vs.

1. Sinnathangam widow of Rasiah
of Mailakoodal in Tellippalai
West Jaffna
2. Muthalithamby Ponniah
3. and wife Annam of Kokuvil
East Jaffna.
4. Sinnathamby Sabaram
5. and wife Pakkiam of Kokuvil
East, Jaffna. Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal
before R. R. Selvadurai Esquire.
District Judge, Jaffna, on the 9th day
of May 1946 in the presence of Mr.
S. Cumarasuriya, proctor on the part of
the petitioner and the affidavit of the
petitioner dated 5th May 1946 having
been read it is declared that the
petitioner as the heir of the said in-
testate is entitled to have letters of
administration to the estate of the
said intestate issued to him unless
the respondents or any other person
shall, on or before the 12th day of
July 1946 show sufficient cause to the
satisfaction of this court to the con-
trary.

This 11th day of June 1946.

Sgd. R. R. Selvadurai
District Judge.

12th July 1946.

Order Nisi extended for 26-7-46.
Sgd. R. R. Selvadurai,
District Judge.

O. 39. 19 & 23

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(Mis 15. 12-4 to 11-10-46.)

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[Misc. 245 B. 12-3--12-9-46 T.]