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The Besetting Sin of the Tamil Race

By

A Correspondent

Greater Vigilance Needed

Party Discipline

IN a recent note I touched on the necessity for disciplinary action on the part of political bodies against their members and leaders. The point requires further elaboration. I referred to the example of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League as the incident took place only about two weeks ago and has not yet blown over. There are, however, other examples of similar action taken against influential leaders from the policy adopted by the Indian National Congress in these matters. Though the Muslim League and the Congress are opposed to each other in many matters, they both seem to be agreed on the desirability of taking disciplinary action against prominent members who refuse to conform to their declared policy. No less a person than the Premier of the Central Province, Dr. Khare, had to surrender the Premiership because of his disobedience to Congress orders and his going counter to the policy of the Congress. When he was compelled to give up his Prime Minister-ship by Mahatma Gandhi, he complained of the drastic steps taken by the Mahatma and the Working Committee. Mahatma Gandhi replied that in a country like India Dr. Khare was deprived of his Prime Minister-ship, and that he was fortunate in getting off so lightly, for in another country Dr. Khare, for his breach of trust and disloyalty to the political principles of his party, would have been deprived of his head. The case of Mr. Nariman, a leading Bombay lawyer and a very prominent member of the Bombay Congress Committee at one time, is another in point. Owing to his disregard of Congress principles, he was made to resign from the councils of the Congress and was not given any place in the Congress Ministry which was formed at Bombay. Even such a stalwart like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who has sacrificed his all for the country, had to come under the disciplinary action

of the Congress in view of his defiance of the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee. It must be noted that Mr. S. C. Bose, apart from his being a great patriot who has sacrificed everything for his country, was President of the Congress itself. But, the Indian National Congress decided that even the President must submit to the rules and policy laid down by the Congress and thus proved itself to be an organisation which is no respecter of persons. I would also like to cite the striking instance of Sir Shanmugam Chetty, once President of the Central Indian Legislative Assembly. Sir Shanmugam Chetty was originally a Congressman and was at one time a prominent office-bearer. He entered the Assembly, was elected President, and thereafter gave up his Congress connection and on occasions went against Congress policy. The Congress had no alternative but to challenge his position at the next general election. A Congress candidate was put forward officially by the Congress to contest Sir Shanmugam Chetty who had become an Independent and Sir Shanmugam Chetty was defeated. Sir Shanmugam Chetty lost his seat in the Assembly and along with it the Presidentship of the Assembly. This procedure was adopted by the Congress in spite of the opinion in certain quarters that the President of the Central Assembly was above party politics and that he should not be contested in his constituency if he sought re-election.

In Ceylon

NOW, compare all this with what happens in Ceylon, when a prominent politician puts his policy and programme in his pockets and proceeds to tell those in authority his own version of what the people think. All the information the public gets of the secret intrigue carried on behind everybody's back is some startling and radical change in the attitude of officialdom towards some burning question

of the day. An attitude of lenience towards breach of faith of this description would be entirely misplaced. We Tamils have two words for this attitude which are certainly very expressive: முயற்சிமீறல் and சபாநிதிமீறல். Tamil readers of the "Hindu Organ" will have no difficulty in understanding the significance of these words which indicate the besetting sin of our race. We are a polite and grateful people. Full of anxiety for the present and the future, we are at the same time mindful of innate human values. But even a virtue can be carried too far, and it is a fact that in politics it is being carried too far for the safety of the Tamils.

Divide et Impera

THERE is yet another example of the policy of *divide et impera* followed by the Sinhalese leaders in their attitude towards the Tamils. After the so-called Jaffna boycott, when the people of Jaffna wanted the boycott to be lifted and to enter the Council, the present Sinhalese leaders tried their very best to keep Jaffna divided into two camps: boycotters and anti-boycotters, though they themselves had entered Council. The Sinhalese leaders and their Press would not allow the people of Jaffna to send representatives to the Council, but continued to support the boycotters—a very illogical and dishonest thing to do. Normally, they should have supported the anti-boycotters who were for entering the Council which the Sinhalese themselves had entered. This is a clear instance of their policy of divide and rule. Again, not only do the Sinhalese leaders try to play the game of *divide et impera* between Indian and Ceylon sections of the Tamil community but they also try to divide the Ceylon Tamils among themselves. They try their best to divide the Eastern Province Tamils from the others, and the Jaffna Tamils from the Colombo Tamils. I don't blame the Sinhalese leaders either. They only tried to use a poli-

tical weapon that came very handy. I am only concerned with their dupes who refuse to profit by past experience.

Is It National?

RECENTLY I noticed the words "Ceylon National Congress" in the "Hindu Organ". Is the Ceylon Congress national? It is perhaps as national as the Sinhala Maha Sabha of which Mr. Bandaranaike is the chief ornament. I would strongly deprecate the use of such words without any qualification, as they convey an entirely wrong impression to outsiders. The Ceylon Congress is no more national than the European Association. By using a wrong expression, we are doing a great disservice to the Ceylon public as well. We know that the Ceylon Congress is not at all national and that it is a communal organisation masquerading as a political and national body. If we use the expression without any qualification our own people in Ceylon may come to believe, by a process of auto-suggestion, that there is after all something national about this communal caucus. People in India and England will also be misled into thinking that we have in Ceylon the equivalent of the Indian National Congress.

Balance of Power

I have read with care the article by "Ceylon Tamil" criticising the Tamil demand for balance of power. The article is full of inaccuracies and fallacies. For the present, I refer only to a few of these. The writer is wrong in thinking that the principle of balance is an arithmetical formula of the fifty-fifty ratio in political representation. I wish to remind him and others of his way of thinking that there has been, so far, no official pronouncement or resolution by any Tamil organisation or any Tamil leader that the principle of balance of power rests on the fifty-fifty ratio. The pronouncements of Tamil organisations and leaders have been to the effect that no single community should be in a position to dominate over the others in the Legislature. As a matter of fact, under fifty-fifty scheme, the principle of non-dominance by any particular community over the others cannot work in practice and will therefore to that extent be defective. In my next notes I propose to deal with the other points in "Ceylon Tamil's" article. The matter is of vital importance to the Tamils and all that I ask is that, in considering it, we should not allow ourselves to be influenced by any other motive than a strict and prudent regard for the interests of the Tamils and the larger interests of the island as a whole.



Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1941

DANGEROUS MISCONCEPTIONS

AS WE EMPHASISED IN THE last issue of the "Hindu Organ" Mr. D. S. Senanayake's references to the foreign ownership of land may well give rise to certain dangerous misconceptions regarding the whole land problem in Ceylon. It is true, as he says, that, when the diet, clothing, employment, dwellings and belongings of the people of Ceylon are taken into consideration, their present state is really lamentable. In spite of education, the majority of the young men are unemployed and the trade of the island is in the hands of foreigners. We are unable to see, however, what relevancy there is in the foreign ownership of up-country estates to the deplorable condition of the people of the country. Foreign ownership came into the field because there was no indigenous ownership, or, if there was one, it failed to avail itself of its opportunities. If the condition of the people leaves much to be desired, if there is unemployment in spite of all the money wasted hitherto on education, if still, in spite of a century of British rule, landlessness, poverty and starvation are the lot of the common people, then the causes are not far to seek. That the land laws were for many decades conceived and administered in the interests of foreign enterprise will be readily admitted, but the fact must be remembered that in those days foreign enterprise was practically the only enterprise available for the development of land. There was almost a total absence of indigenous initiative for the development of large tracts of land. The land laws, therefore, contrived to place large tracts of land in the hands of non-Ceylonese who have succeeded in developing their holdings and have achieved a measure of prosperity which is one of the most valuable assets of any Government that rules over Ceylon. It will never do to look upon this development and its consequent prosperity as a grievance. Rather it should serve as an example and an inspiration to Ceylonese—an example of what brains, character and enterprise can do to develop the large tracts that still remain and that are far more suited to the cultivation of the staple produce of the island than the uplands devoted to tea and rubber. Today the permanent population of the island shows a great ad-

vance on what it was during the coffee days. There is more initiative and enterprise in its general outlook. Thanks to the reforms, the representatives of the people have passed land laws which aim at the elimination of foreign enterprise and the distribution of all available land among the people themselves. Agriculture is being encouraged as it had never been encouraged before, and, with wisdom, persistence, and foresight, the day is not far distant when poverty and dependence will cease to be the hallmark of our citizenship. Mr. D. S. Senanayake deserves the gratitude of the country for the policy he has initiated.

Where, however, Mr. Senanayake and some of his colleagues err is when, by their references to foreign ownership of land and the poverty and unemployment that are only too true, they try to make themselves believe in the existence of an agrarian problem in our midst. So far as we are able to judge, there is no such problem. There could be an agrarian movement only if landlessness were a fact. The landlessness of the Ceylonese peasant, be he Tamil or Sinhalese, is of his own seeking. He is, in the great majority of cases, too ignorant and too indolent to leave his old village and establish himself in the areas awaiting development. It is a hopeful sign of the times that the present Government is prepared to give these people any land available in the neighbourhood of their native village, but, at the same time it is beyond the power of any Government to transport them to undeveloped areas and to make them fight malaria and other diseases against their will and in spite of their ignorance. It is here that the stress laid in ministerial utterances on the condition of the peasantry becomes somewhat misleading and obscures the real issue before us. The greatest need of the moment is to find careers for those of our young men who are fitted by their training and outlook to take a hand in the development of the available resources of the island in land. With a view to meeting this need, the Ministers have initiated various schemes for settling on the land young men with the necessary qualifications. The success of these schemes will depend on the training given to the young settlers and the care taken in selecting them. If in spite of all that is being done and is likely to be done to help these young men, they do not care to seek their livelihood from the soil, the cause is not want of encouragement or capital but our traditional love of employment on other people's property and a positive reluctance to face the uncertainties and dangers of the pioneer's life. Take just one instance. If Mr. Senanayake prevailed upon the Legal Secretary to invite applications for the post of Police Magistrate, Minneriya, or on some other Government Department to advertise a vacancy for a mere Overseer—somewhere in the jungle, there would be hundreds of applications from the North and the South, and there would be appreciative paragraphs in the news papers, farewells and what not. Malaria would recede completely into the background. Whose is the fault?

Notes & Comments

Indo-Ceylon Talks

THE latest news regarding the progress of the Indo-Ceylon talks seems to be good. At one stage failure appeared to be inevitable. It is now expected that the negotiations will result in a settlement satisfactory to both sides. As one of the Indian delegates pointed out recently, it would be impossible to meet the maximum demands of both parties. Any settlement must necessarily be in the nature of a happy compromise on these demands. That there is an Indian problem in Ceylon admits of no doubt. If it were not so, as Sir Mirza Ismail emphasised last week, there would be no Indian delegation in Ceylon to work out a solution. A solution must be found in the joint interests of India and Ceylon. We agree with Sir Mirza that there is no valid reason why the two great communities of the island, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, should not live together, as they have done for many centuries, in peace and amity and co-operate with one another for the common good of the island. What is needed is that there should be an earnest desire to co-operate on the part of leaders of both communities. Slogans and expedients which only serve to widen the gulf between the two communities should be eschewed by both sides. In both communities, we feel confident, there is a genuine desire to understand one another's difficulties but at the same time both communities are handicapped by the ambitions of place-seeking opportunists. The only safe course is for the true and good men on both sides to get together regardless of political differences and revive the time-honoured tradition of sincere co-operation between the two communities. There must be no attempt to help one community at the expense of the other. The country has had enough of the devious ways of inter-communal diplomacy. Let us look at the grievances and try to meet them at least half way. We cannot afford in these days, as Sir Mirza Ismail said, to exhaust our energies in dealing with artificially aggravated internal conflicts.

Need for Earnestness

THE problem of minorities is not a new one. Hitler had these problems and he has solved them in his own fashion. The other day Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer reminded his audience that the problem of minorities was bound to occur in any constitution whether it was the unitary type or the federal type. Even in families, Sir Alladi said, all members do not think alike. The problem can be solved only by adopting generously the principle of give and take. "There must be mutual goodwill and yearning to solve the problem" added Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer. The advice, we hope, will not be lost on politicians in Ceylon. Mere lip-service to the cause of Ceylonese freedom and the greater well-being of the people of Ceylon will never bring about that yearning to solve troublesome problems that divide two great communities. Our loyalty to the greater cause must so dominate our outlook that we shall bring an abundance of goodwill, knowledge and sincerity to bear on the task of solving these problems. We must not lose sight of the end while quarrelling over the means. And we must also face hard facts and apply to the solution of our problems those widely accepted principles of justice and fair-play that must always govern the relations between the majority and the minority. Given all these things, there is no reason why Ceylon should not unite in a worthy effort to help herself and also the Empire which is now engaged in the most fateful struggle in its history.

Drift Towards Dictatorship

IS the world drifting towards dictatorship? On a superficial view it

would seem that it is. But the real trend of human thought and action at the present moment is towards democracy. In countries like England the Prime Minister has become virtual dictator for the duration of the war, but the British Parliament has not given up control over the Government. But, in India, according to Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, the Liberal leader, the present tendency, especially in political parties, is towards dictatorship. The Congress has a dictator in Mahatma Gandhi and the Muslim League in Mr. Jinnah. As pointed out by a correspondent in another column, both dictators have been by no means slow to enforce discipline. Dr. Paranjpye, however, has grave doubts as to the future. If, he said, the tendency towards dictatorship went further and further, they would be faced with a dictatorship in India, in which a large body of citizens would have to say "yes" to whatever the dictators would say. The progress of the country on such a line would not be worth having.

Too Much of It

IF dictatorship is hateful—and it certainly is—it is at the same time possible to have an over-dose of democracy resulting in unsettlement all round. This is what Mr. E. W. Kannangara is trying to do. He wants to give the Northern Province a few more Urban Councils by way of a serious object-lesson in democracy. His proposals include the conversion of the Sanitary Boards of Mannar, Point Pedro, Valvettiturai and Kayts into Urban Councils. We are glad that the "Jaffa Catholic Guardian" has entered a timely protest against the move to foist Urban Councils on the people of Valvettiturai and Kayts. As our contemporary rightly says, the ambitions of local politicians must not be taken into account. In Ceylon positions of even local eminence are much sought after, but as the "Guardian" says, "the deciding question is whether an Urban Council could be successfully worked in these areas. At present the income of the Sanitary Board of Kayts is about Rs. 6000 and that of Valvettiturai Rs. 8,000 including Government grant and licence fees of all kinds. The people are paying 10 per cent. of their annual value and any increase of the rates will be too heavy a burden on them. The bulk of people in these towns cannot really afford the luxury of an Urban Council." Referring to the objection that Sanitary Boards are not democratic, our contemporary says that what Kayts wants is water and not democracy to quench its thirst.

Opinions expressed by writers in contributed articles do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor.

Wedding

The marriage took place on Monday, the 8th instant, of Mr. M. Mathiapparanam, Proctor S. C. and Notary Public, the second son of Mr. C. Muttuvellu J. P., Kekuvel, with Sri-mathi Vijayalakshmi Ammal, the only daughter of Mr. P. K. Somasunderam, Proctor S. C. and Notary Public, and Mrs. Somasunderam of Thavady. A well attended reception was held the following day from 4 to 8.30 p. m. at Silambu Valavu, Kekuvel.

Hindu Board Classical School, Tinnevely

New classes for Pundits, Bala-pundits and Pravasa Pundits in Tamil and Sanskrit will be formed on Vijayathasami Day. This school is run by Pundit Kanapathypillai of the Tinnevely Training School. (Mis. 104, 22-9-41)

Nations Died For Want of Religion

Cause of National Decline

II

Disturbing Forces of Religion

THE Coal kings and the Motor Magnates who pray on Sunday, cannot with a clear conscience, repeat the Lord's Prayer for the Lord's Kingdom to come, after pocketing the huge profits they get from the ill-paid workman's labour. In this atmosphere of mental turmoil and unrest, the disturbing forces of Eastern religious influences are at work, and one hears often the longing cry of the European for Christ and his own lost soul. It is this maladjustment that mentally leads to national decline. For a nation is but a collection of individuals, and national ideal must harmonize with the individual's ideals if the nation is to live. Should there be the perpetual whispers in men's hearts that national acts are wrong and unrighteous, the human spirit revolts from giving that spontaneous emotional sanction to acts of the State. It is to quell the voice of the moral self that modern rulers enlist in their support the Press or the radio. Propaganda is an indispensable and powerful weapon which is aimed at making men think and feel in the way that the rulers would have them think and feel. Nevertheless no one can fool all the people all the time. It is well known that man is by nature incapable of liking always the unrighteous or wicked. A high tribute is this indeed to human nature, but the moral self of man is the fountain source of the forces that destroy a nation. If man has the power to reform himself and readjust his ideals, then the men who form the nation should readjust the ideals of their declining nation and save it from decay. Unfortunately mental growth or development is not uniform among men so that the nation is divided against itself and cannot stand.

Stress on Right Conduct

RELIGION is the adjustment of man to the universe and is as much as the greater part of life is the life of conduct or action, religion lays great stress on right conduct. An integral part of every great religion is its moral code, and the civilisation of mankind is, to a great extent, due to the training and purification of the primitive instincts and impulses by the refining influences of religion and morality. Instinct and impulse are older than religion or morality, and they can be as strong and uncontrollable as they originally were. The wise and good statesman relates the nation's ideals to the background of his religion and moral complexes and draws out the necessary emotional energy and impetus from men to make the nation a living and sacred cause. The unscrupulous political adventurer, on the other hand, makes a clever appeal to the crude primitive instincts in man and achieves his own wicked ends. This is perhaps

the reason for Lenin reviling religion as the opium of the masses, for unscrupulous exploitation of the people is sometimes done in the name of religion. In pre-war Germany this was the Gospel that Nietzsche preached. He criticised Christianity as a religion meant for slaves and not for the virile and masterful Nordic type because it extolled humility as the greatest virtue. Later Von Ludendorff, the brilliant German Field Marshal, started a new cult for Germans, and condemned Christianity as a weakening influence undermining the virility of the Germans. In the East, the greatest political genius of the age is Mahatma Gandhi who gave a religious aspect to the national service, and placed in the Indian nationalists' hand the irresistible weapon of Satyagrah.

Religion in the East

WHILE, in the West, modern political theories condemn religion or ignore it, in the East, which is over-riden by religion, religion has now been harnessed to nation building. National decline in the West is due to want of religion. National decline in the East is due to an over-dose of religion. In Indian history, the great Hindu Empire declined with the rise of Brahminism. Ritual overwhelmed Hinduism and stifled it. It has been said that the decline of Empires in the East was entirely due to religion which made men other-worldly. All Eastern religions set forth a practical method of realising God with the consequence that men took interest in worldly matters and turned their eyes inwards or heaven-wards. Characteristic of this apathy is the Eastern resignation to Fate or Karma, a fascinating philosophic theory that is sometimes misunderstood. The desire for immediate comforts of life, the dream of a place in Moksha, these are the two ideals of the average Easterner, and very praiseworthy ideals, too, if they are not suicidal from the national point of view. Besides this general feature, certain religions are unsuited to the temperament and genius of some Eastern peoples. The Moral Codes they set forth are too ascetic and stern so that there is either a faithful practice of them which makes men unworldly or a hypocritical lip-service which degrades men. But the most potent complex in the Easterner is the religious complex; national resurrection is only possible in a religious background. To a people whose life is so permeated and governed by religion, the emotional energy of the whole being centres round religion, and the existence of a nation should be made to appear to them a religious necessity. A critical analysis of the Easterner's mental make-up and his mode of life, social institutions etc. must be a necessary preliminary before the nation-builder can devise ways and means to capture their imagination and their emotional

energy for the creation of a nation.

Rise of Totalitarianism

THE rise of the modern Totalitarian States provides an interesting study of the methods of the nation-builder's task. Post-war (1914-18) Europe left Europeans in a state of complete disillusionment and unbelief in Christian doctrines. When the Russian Empire collapsed after its hectic days of vice and orgies practised in the name of religion under its arch high-priest Rasputin, the simple faith of the Russian farmer turned away with disgust from a religion that permitted of such horrors. God cannot be so unjust, they felt, and so God cannot surely with such a monstrous iniquity to exist. The Russian Revolution began in the hearts of the Russians who felt in this manner, and the work of Lenin became simple. Lenin gave them a new faith and a new creed which left God out, and created a new nation. That volume of emotional energy the Russians gave to religion Lenin diverted to the new faith and the new state. The methods of Mussolini and Hitler were not different. Mussolini awakened the emotions of Italians to the ancient glory of Rome and the exploits of Caesar, and gave the image and the dream of a new powerful Italy. Hitler, too, discovered for the emotional German the perfect Aryan type formed to rule; the new Germany was the God whose humble servant he was. The totalitarian state has no God but itself, and from its citizens it demands complete surrender of mind, the heart, the body and the purse. It has no religion but itself, and so long as the emotional energy and the heart's longings that man spends on the most momentous and supreme concern of life, namely God, is for a time centred on and diverted to the State as the Supreme Reality, the totalitarian state could survive. But the conception of God reasserts itself in the intellect and the cry for God that rises in man's innermost self, is heard again clamouring for a most all-satisfying reality. Emotional energy is diverted, then, from the unsatisfying state, to the all-satisfying religious reality resulting in the decline of the nation.

The Task Today

THE task, then, of the modern nation-builder is simple enough if he knows the secret that the strength and durability of any human institution entirely depends on the emotional sanction that man gives to it. The intellect can not create; criticism of defects and weaknesses cannot touch the human heart. It is to the emotional nature of man that the appeal must be made. But, then, arises the question, has not the institution known as the nation outlived itself? Is it necessary for the development of man? Surely in the past, the institution known as the nation has been the easiest invention of man for human advance in the aggregate. And if

By
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the purpose of the nation is only a means to an end and not an end itself, could not the horrors of modern warfare perpetrated in the name of national aggrandisement be avoided by doing away with the organized nation, so that humanity may be the better for it? If religion is the highest activity of man and the realisation of God man's highest end, logical thinking leads to the conclusion that any institution that stands in man's journey towards heaven must be discarded. But unfortunately, the emotional urge for religion is yet weak and feeble, and has not captivated human beings to the disregard of any other object. Therefore, the existence of the nation or the state is still necessary to train and develop man from the crude primitive being he is to his full spiritual stature. And the bedrock on which the nation could be built is the religious instinct of man, because it is then that man realises that the nation is a means to an end. If men practise what they preach, if men have a true perception of values continually without losing sight of them, then there is no religious maladjustment, and there cannot be national decline.

Jaffna District Boy Scout Local Association

This association is going to celebrate its 25th anniversary on Saturday, the 27th instant at 4 p. m. in the Old Park, Jaffna. A contingent of Boy Scouts from the South are invited to join this. Mr. E. W. Kannangara C. C. S., Commissioner of Local Government, will represent the Scout Headquarters. There will be a display of Scout Craft and a grand Camp Fire Concert. One of the main features of the display will be a sham Air Raid followed by First Aid. A portion of the collections will be devoted for War Charities. Admission by tickets:— Chairs -50 cts, Benches -25 cts and School Children -10 cts.

North Ceylon Rural Reconstruction Society, Jaffna

A centre for training girls in cottage industries and other handicrafts is proposed to be started in Jaffna. Candidates who are willing to join are requested to apply before the 20th of September, 1941, to the Secretary, Women's Section. Arrangements will be made to those who are willing to stay as resident students.

MRS. N. MAHESWARI DEVI,
Secretary,
'Santiniketan',
Vannarponnai,
Jaffna.

(Mis. 103. 22-9-41)

Failure of The Indo-Ceylon Talks?

A Correspondent writes to the "Hindu" of Madras:-

Points In Dispute

A shroud of mystery surrounds the doings of the Indo-Ceylon conference, giving room to all kinds of conjectures. The cryptic press statements issued give no indication of the progress of the talks. It was announced that on the opening day the question of immigration was discussed. The next day's communique stated the franchise question was the topic for consideration. Those who had read the proceedings of the Exploratory talks held at Delhi had been hoping that the first subject that would be examined would be the status of Indians now resident in Ceylon. For some reason the order was altered on the first day. Then again instead of considering the question of franchise and domicile as it affects the whole range of rights of citizenship over the political and economic field on a footing of equality with Ceylonese it appears the discussion centred round franchise only. This naturally created fears in the Indian population that in adopting a policy of give and take, if the Indian delegation agreed to certain concessions in regard to franchise, whether in other fields their existing rights would be guaranteed. It is certain even on the basis of the Delhi talks and the existing provisions in the Order-in-Council the Indian population will have to be divided into different categories for purposes of franchise. Articles 7 and 8 of the Order in Council practically divide the Indian population for purposes of franchise into three classes, viz., (1) persons with domicile origin, (2) persons with domicile of choice and (3) persons with certificates of permanent settlement. The Select

Committee of the State Council appointed to report on Election Law and Procedure opined that there can possibly be no difference between permanent settlement and domicile, and a person who possesses a certificate of permanent settlement must necessarily be a person domiciled in Ceylon and so every person who is entitled to registration under Article 9 is also qualified for registration under Article 7. But in actual practice Article 9 dealing with certificates of permanent settlement has been a dead letter and most of the estate labourers have sought registration under Article 7. The Article runs as follows:-

"Any person not otherwise disqualified shall be qualified to have his name entered in a register of voters if he is domiciled in Ceylon or if he is qualified in accordance with Article 8 or 9 of this Order; provided that, except in the case of persons possessing Ceylon domicile of origin, domicile shall not be deemed to have been acquired for the purpose of qualifying for registration as a voter by any person, who has not resided in Ceylon for a period of exceeding five years."

Article 8 deals with literacy and property qualification and is not now the subject of controversy except for the fact that insistence of literacy in English, Sinhalese or Tamil prevents Indians with knowledge of other Indian languages especially in the urban areas from securing the right of vote even when they satisfy the property qualification. Addition of the words 'or any other Indian language' is not only desirable but necessary to treat all

Indians speaking any Indian language on terms of perfect equality.

The ingredients of Article 9 which is somewhat long, are that (1) the person should have been continuously resident in Ceylon for a period of not less than five years, exclusive of temporary absences not exceeding eight months (2) that he should make a declaration stating that he is permanently settled in Ceylon or residing in the island with intent to settle therein. The holders of certificates of permanent settlement shall not be entitled to claim any rights, privileges or exemptions which under the law of Ceylon are not common to all British subjects resident in the Island.

In view of the loss of privileges involved under Article 9, the estate labourer has naturally sought registration under Article 7. It is contended that, in view of the difficulties involved in the enquiry into the domicile of a person, such as his future intention as regards his place of residence etc., on satisfying the factual test of five years residence, the estate labourers who ought to have been registered under Article 9 have all been registered under Article 7 and thereby the restrictions contemplated under Article 9 for this class of voters have been nullified. Therefore, it is understood that clarification is sought in regard to the three classes already referred to. Various suggestions have been made for removing the alleged anomalies so that the original intentions of the framers of Articles may be carried out. There is very little support to the school of thought which de-

mands omission of Article 9 altogether. As such omission would be against the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission and of the Governor's Despatch on the same, it is rightly argued in certain quarters that it would mean a breach of faith as the recommendation was made taking into consideration the special circumstances of the estate labourers. So, all that is demanded is the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Article, and then the loss of rights, privileges and exemptions which those coming under this Article are now enjoying would be deemed as a sign of abiding interest in the Island. While it is true such loss of rights etc., places them on a footing of equality with the sons of the soil in certain respects, all other rights the Ceylonese enjoy are still denied to them. Moreover, these peculiar rights, privileges etc., form part of the undertakings given by the Government of Ceylon when the Government of India issued the notification under the Indian Emigration Act, 1922 and so they really constitute terms of the contract as it were. The estate labourer can be required to renounce them only when he is guaranteed full citizenship rights over the whole political and economic field, and thus enable him to identify himself wholly with the interests of the people of the Island. As long as discrimination is sought to be imposed by legislation or otherwise, it is needless to say conditions for creating 'abiding interest' are absent. So the Government of Ceylon should assist rather than hinder the promotion of that 'abiding interest' by offering treatment on terms of perfect equality with the Ceylonese.

The Inner Meaning of Hitlerism

By

*Sri Hlokananda
Mahabharati*

Democracy Must Stand Up For God

HITLER has at last met his match. Shall we say, his doom?

His mad lust for conquest and domination is not satisfied with bringing practically the whole of Europe under his heels. This time he has attacked Russia.

It's the last outburst before evil is finally conquered. Out of evil cometh good. Evil has its necessity. It is part of the Divine Scheme. Evil is that good may be.

Hitler also is an instrument in the hands of unseen powers. Hitler has been raised for the world's punishment, to break the world's complacency, to awaken and provoke the hidden powers of good that is in every man and woman, in every nation. Hitler's role is to deal a crushing blow to the world's existing political and economic order. Either the world is to surrender to God and stand up for God's Righteous World Order, or it must submit to Hitlerism. That is the alternative before the world.

Hitler's role—indirectly—is to cure the world of the great evil of imperialism, of moral, political and economic isolation. His role is to

make the world think and ACT. Is it to be God's world, ordered according to the Divine Scheme? Or, is it to be a reign of Hitlerism?

Hitlerism has been before Hitler came. There are other Hitlers than Hitler himself. The world's moral and spiritual—as also political and economic conditions—produced Hitler. Now Hitler has arisen, and thrown a challenge to the whole world: Are men to go back to God and live in God's Righteousness? If not, let them surrender to Hitlerism and live in perpetual moral, political and economic slavery.

Hitler was the world's necessity. Hitler serves a Divine purpose. Hitler shall go—as Lenin and Trotsky have gone—not as others wish but at God's appointed time.

Heap abuses on Hitler, as much as you like. It is of no use. Self righteousness is a sin. Hitler has done and Hitler will do his work. Hitler is a challenge to the whole world to correct itself spiritually and morally—and renew the world's political and economic order according to the Lord's Scheme. Hitler is a challenge to the whole world to drive out Hitlerism from every

human heart and every human action, individual or national, from every stronghold where Hitlerism does still reign. Hitler and Hitlerism want man's conscience to be fully awakened that Hitler may be rejected and Hitlerism stamped out from the world. That is the purpose behind the rise of Hitler.

Hitlerism cannot be bombed out of existence. Hitlerism cannot be killed by force of arms. It has spread its tentacles far and wide. Its roots are deep in human nature. It is constantly being fed and strengthened by the thought, speech and actions of all men and all nations. It is a moral and spiritual disease.

To end the reign of evil is to begin the reign of good. To banish Hitlerism from the world is to call God in, for men and nations to surrender to God, to abandon their old ways of life, of thinking and doing and begin a new way of life based on God's Righteousness, in conscious and joyous fulfilment of God's plan and purpose.

If it is a Nazi victory, it will be an evil day for the world.

If it is a Communist victory, the world will be made safe for the

reign of Godless, materialistic Communism. That also will be an evil day for the world.

If it is Democracy's victory?—What does the world gain by it?—Absolutely nothing, if it is not at the same time a victory for Righteousness, Brotherhood, Freedom, World Peace and Universal Well-being.

Democracy deserves to win, only if it stands up for God's Kingdom on Earth, for a World Brotherhood embracing all mankind, for a World Union of Free Peoples and World Commonwealth. Democracy is meaningless if it is not a conscious and consistent attempt at translating Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man in all things of life.

Democracy deserves to win—only if it takes its stand with God, and starts at once, with God as the starting point, a reordering of the world in fulfilment of the Divine Scheme: a World Union of Free Peoples and World Commonwealth.

• If it is to be a victory, as it shall be, it must be victory for the Divine Scheme. The Divine Scheme is all that matters. The Divine Scheme is the only alternative, the only cure for Hitlerism, for Godless Russian Communism and imperialism in all its varied forms.

Victory unto the Divine Scheme!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE CHUNNAKAM THIRUGNANA
SAMBANDA VIDYASALAI

Sir,—The grievance of Mr. S. Rajah is not very clear. Mr. A. Markandan is to be pitied for his vagaries in his endeavour to vindicate his injured innocence. If the latter only ventilates the failure on the part of the powers that are to call a public meeting I understand his sense but when he endorses the statements of the former I am forced to think otherwise.

With due respect to the memory of our Grand Old Man I will ask these gentlemen two questions

1. Do they seriously say that the heirs have not taken any steps? It is nothing but perversion of truth to say that they are not aware of the abortive attempts of the brothers by petitioning the Department. The heirs themselves have done the greatest dishonour to the memory of him by reducing his services to the standard of flesh and blood. His services have a better and nobler meaning which even his brothers could not appreciate and hence their claim.

2. Do they suggest and endorse the humiliating request that the heirs should not be in the way of the appointment of an efficient committee? My answer is they cannot and they could not. This statement and endorsement reveal the utter ignorance with which a certain section—and this includes some influential persons too—has been groping about to create mischief. The knowledge of the circumstances under which the school was established, the original correspondence with the Department and above all of the deed which Mr. Markandan said he read, did not at least restrain them from firing the ill-conceived letter to the Department.

I must frankly say that the so-called members of the committee have not acquitted themselves well of their duty to the public. While the procedure is for the public to elect a body it is arbitrary and arrogant for a certain number to say they will represent the public. It is this preposterous manner of the constitution of the committee that made my two friends to rush to the press with what came uppermost in their minds with out weighing them.

I am still to be convinced whether the quasi-public meeting already held was a constitutional gathering. The why and the wherefore of a public meeting is apparent to every rational man. The postponement of such a meeting is sadder still in view of the existence of a number of miscreants whom my friends think they have appeased. We little realise that it is not to satisfy them but preclude them from their purposive pursuits that a public meeting should be held. Let this not be a cry in the wilderness!

Lastly I should add one line more though it is irrelevant. I condemn in sheer detestation the exhibition of the cankerous ingratitude on the part of the public of Chunnakam in not having called a public meeting till today to mourn the death of one who was everything to us and but for him the subject of this letter—the

abovesaid school—would not have been established.

Yours truly,
T. SELVADURAI,
Colombo, 11-9-1941.

Sir,—I was surprised to see three letters about Chunnakam Thirugnana Sambanda Vidyasalai in your valuable paper which deserves no answer.

The school is managed by a strong committee and the public of Chunnakam is amply satisfied with the management. I like to inform you that the letters concerned are by certain persons who unsuccessfully tried to get the proprietorship of the school. Please do not waste your valuable columns for the sake of these mischief-makers.

I am,
Yours Sincerely,
K. VELUPPILLAI.

Chunnakam, 16-9-41.

Sir,—A letter about Chunnakam Thirugnana Sambanda Vidyasalai over my name appears in your issue of 25th August 1941. I have to inform you that I am not responsible for it. It must be the work of some mischief-makers.

Yours etc.,
S. RAJAH.
Mallakam,
Chunnakam, 12-9-41.

Post of Assistant Master,
J/Kopay Training School, Jaffna

Applications will be received from Graduates, Bilingual Trained and Trained Teachers for the post of Assistant Master, J/Kopay Training School, Jaffna.

2. Applications should be addressed to the Superintendent, J/Kopay Training School and should reach him not later than 30-9-1941.

3. Candidates who are not already in the Public Service must be Ceylonese. The appointment made, which will be on a temporary basis for the present, will be subject to such salary scales and terms of service as are decided by the Select Committee of the State Council appointed by Government to report on the recommendations of the Retrenchment Commission, contained in Sessional Paper No 18 of 1939. The conditions of service will be as for new entrants to the Public Service and the selected candidate if not already in the Public Service will be required to contribute 4 per cent of his salary towards the School Teachers' Pension Scheme. The candidate selected for appointment will also be required to pass a Medical Examination before he is appointed.

4. The scale of salary will be according to the qualifications of the selected candidate.

5. Canvassing and personal applications will be considered a disqualification.

L. MC D. ROBISON,
Director of Education
Education Office,
Colombo, 17th September, 1941.
(G. 20, 22-9-41.)

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P. Nadarajah.

Consult, DR. K. T. MANGALAM
R.I.M.P., (Madras), M.S.V.S. Member
Chundikuli, Jaffna.

[G. 82, 7-8-6-11 41]

THE ELEMENTS OF SAIVA
SIDDHANTAM

SIDDHIYAR—AN INTRODUCTION

(By a Science Graduate)

V. 'Atu - Atu - Athal' (அது அது ஆதல்) or the Assimilative Character and Lack of Independence of the Soul

(Continued from our issue of 15-9-41)

The soul then, whether it be in its primitive or earthly or heavenly state, is a dependent being and partakes of the qualities of its predominant partner. ஆணவத்தோடு அத்துவிதம் ஆனது போல் மெய்குறாநாத், தானுவினோடு அத்துவிதம் ஆதும் நான் என்னோ, says St. Thayumanavar. Oh! for the day when I shall be in Adwaita union with the immutable Lord, the Embodiment of true Gnanam, even as I am now in Adwaita union with Anava Malam. The idea underlying the 12th Sutam of both Siva Gnana Bodham and Siva Gnana Siddhi is the same. This Sutam runs as follows:

செம்மலர் கோற்றுக் கோல் ஓட்டா
அம்மலம் எழீஇ அன்பொடு யரீஇ
மால் அற நேயம் மலிந்தவர் வேடரும்
ஆயம் தானும் அன் எனத்தொழுமே

Wash away the Malas which prevent you from clinging to the lotus-like Feet of the Lord, associate with His Devotees and worship them in their corporeal bodies, which abound with Love after dispelling all darkness, as well as God's Temples as God Himself.

Commenting on the second part of his verse 'associate with God's Devotees' St. Ma'kandan says: அல்லாதார் அஞ்ஞானத்தை உணர் தவர் ஆவான், because others (i. e., those who are not Siva Bhaktas) would only impart wrong knowledge. If we associate with Godly men and God, we imbibe their qualities and become Godly or Godlike while, on the other hand, if we keep company with the wicked or the impure we ourselves tend to become wicked or impure. This doctrine again is not peculiar to the Siddhanti only but is recognised the world over by almost all religionists and even by the most worldly-minded people, but it is the Siddhanti that takes it to its logical conclusion and makes a basic principle of it. Says the grand old poetess Auaiyar:

சல்லாதார் காண்பதவும் கன்றே சவும் மிக்க
சல்லார் சொந்தேட்பதவும் கன்றே—சல்லார்
குணங்கள் உரைப்பதவும் கன்றே அவரோடு
இணங்கி இருப்பதவும் கன்று

Desirable it is to see the good, desirable it is to hear their words, desirable it is to expatiate on their qualities and desirable it is to associate with them.

On the other hand:

தியரரைக் காண்பதவும் தீதே இரு கன்ற
தியர் சொந்தேட்பதவும் தீதே—தியர்
குணங்கள் உரைப்பதவும் தீதே அவரோடு
இணங்கி இருப்பதவும் தீதே

It is most undesirable to see or hear or speak of or associate with the wicked.

c. f. the proverb: பன்றி ஓடு உடைய கன்றும்...தின்னும், the cow-calf that follows the pig will also learn to eat filth. —To be continued.

Reception to
Sir Mirza M. Ismail

(From a Correspondent)

Mr. N. Nadarajah, Advocate, and Mrs. Nadarajah gave a reception at their residence "Kamalasanam", Alfred Place, Colpetty, on the 10th instant in honour of Sir Mirza Ismail, the late Dewan of Mysore and a member of the Raj Delegation to the Indo-Ceylon talks. There was a large and representative gathering present including Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai and Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, the other members of the delegation, Ministers of State, Members of the State Council, Judges of the Supreme Court, prominent members of the Bar and other distinguished public men. The spacious and beautiful lawn attached to the residence was beautifully illuminated for the occasion. Sir Mirza was received in an oriental setting of silver Nirakudam and lamps and was garlanded by Mr. Nadarajah who also presented him with a Ohendu of Jasmine flowers. He thanked Sir Mirza for the great kindness and courtesy he has always extended to visitors from Ceylon to Mysore and the opportunities given to them to see the various places of interest in the State.

He also referred to the great work done by him in Mysore towards the promotion of harmony and unity among all races and religions. Sir Mirza was deeply moved at the lavish hospitality shown by Mr. & Mrs. Nadarajah, and jocularly remarked that he felt that he had already become a Ceylonese. The large gathering present was greatly inspired by the simplicity and social freedom of this great Statesman who has guided the destinies of Mysore for 16 years as Dewan of the State. Sir Mirza is acknowledged by all in India as the father of modern Industrial Mysore, and his tolerance and sympathy towards the majority population of Hindus of the State are such that, though a Mussalman, he is accorded Temple Honours in Mysore on all important religious festivals. Mr. and Mrs. Nadarajah have placed the Ceylonese under a deep debt of gratitude for having undertaken this function on their behalf and honoured one who has created a name in the history of Mysore administration and who has always shown great interest in the people of Ceylon. The catering and other arrangements were very satisfactorily executed by the new Colombo Ice Co. Ltd. The gathering dispersed late in the evening after a most enjoyable time in the midst of the distinguished members of the Indian Delegation.

Back-To-Office Blabber THE THIRUNELVELY OTTUMAI

Viceroy Cornered By Jinnah

(By "Lanka")

Mr. Jinnah Wins

HONOURS in the controversy between the Muslim League as represented by Mr. Jinnah and the Government of Lord Linlithgow, over the expansion of the Executive Council and the creation of the National Defence Council for which the Viceroy had picked out a number of Muslim Leaguers, have definitely gone to Mr. Jinnah, and he deserves them for the pertinacity with which he tackled the affair. He has put the Government in the wrong by the disclosure of letters which showed that the Muslim Leaguers were chosen, at one time as members of "the great Muslim community", and later as Premiers in three provinces, ex officio. The government has come out very poorly in this bout. As a result war effort and constitutional progress have both been jeopardised, so much the pity.

A Bajpai Settlement?

THE Indo-Burma agreement recently made is receiving vigorous condemnation in view of the fact that Indo-Ceylon exploratory talks are afoot, and the same Sir G. S. Bajpai who completed the Burma agreement is in the Ceylon talks too. Not that Sir G. S. Bajpai will let his country down, but certain interests seem to be anxious to get this question settled somehow before this gentleman goes to Washington as Commissioner. Those who read Mahatma Gandhi's condemnation of the Burma agreement may remember that he stated that outside interests wanting to exploit Burma (and Ceylon) freely create

difficulties between that country and India. Why, even the separation was part of the scheme. Altogether India is in a miserable position.

Office for What?

AFTER every nation wide campaign in the political field in India there usually arises a feeling of exhaustion among a certain class of politicians that spells difficulty for the movement. In the civil disobedience campaigns and now in the satyagraha campaign the exponent of this feeling is that curious mixture of opportunism and fervour of faith, of obedience to orders and defiance of the High Command from behind, that has come to be known as Mr. Satyamurthi. Affecting to be staunch in following the Gandhian lead Mr. S. always seeks to reverse the General's plan by appealing to the defeatist mentality of the jail-tired followers. In one such effort Mr. S. is now engaged, as he feels that Congress should go back to office and capture power, and as usual disgruntled and tired politicians are not wanting who applaud him for his "courage". It has ever been thus; when any forward movement was gathering slow but sure strength weak and other-minded followers propose change of tactics and thereby, in some measure, weaken the movement itself. But Satyamurthi never have the lead in this country, though Mr. S. has done in his own ostentatious manner a certain amount of work for the Congress for many years. Mahatma Gandhi puts up with all of them, all the same.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Case No. 1038 T.

In the matter of the Estate of the late Kanagambigay widow of Subramaniam of Columputhurai Canthar Arumugam Canthar Columputhurai and Petitioner.

1. S. Namasivayam, 2. S. Vettivelu, 3. S. T. M. P. Nataraja Chettiar, 4. Manonmany wife of Nataraja Chettiar, 5. M. Vivekanantharaja, 6. M. Puvaneswary, 7. M. Annaledchumy, 8. M. Arumugam, 9. M. Yogambal, 10. Sivapakiam widow of Muttukumaraswamy, 11. S. Ahamparam and wife, 12. Sivakamasundary, 13. V. Yogathevi, 14. A. Vythesparan of Vannarponnai Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that 10th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 Respondents and the 14th Respondent guardian-ad-litem over 13th Respondent and that letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to the Petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy, Esquire District Judge Jaffna in the presence of Mr. C. T. Kumaraswamy Proctor it is ordered that 10th Respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 Respondents and the 14th Respondent over the 13th Respondent and that letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to the Petitioner unless the Respondents shall show sufficient cause to the contrary on the 25th day of July 1941.

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1049.

In the matter of the intestate of the late Kanapathy Sabapathy of Sillalai Deceased. Sella widow of Kanapathy Sabapathy of Sillalai, Jaffna and Va. Petitioner.

1. S. Nagaretnam
2. S. Maheswary
3. S. Thirunavukkarasu
4. S. Mankayathkarasy and
5. A. Sanmugam Chettiar all of do Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy, Esquire, District Judge Jaffna on the 14th day of July 1941 in the presence of Mr. V. S. Nadarajah Proctor on the part of the petitioner and the affidavit and petition of the petitioner having been read; it is ordered that the abovenamed 5th respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 1st to 4th respondents abovenamed for the purpose of watching the interest in the testamentary proceedings and that Letters of Administration be granted to the petitioner as the widow of the deceased unless the respondents abovenamed shall appear on the 2nd day of August 1941 and show cause if any to the contrary. This 22nd day of July 1941

(Sgd.) C. Coomaraswamy, District Judge.

Time extended to 24-9-41.

This 7th day of July 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy, District Judge.

Order Nisi extended for 1-10-41.

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