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Mr. Senanayake Wants Tamil Help

Public Services Commission

AS I stated earlier appointments, dismissals of Public Officers and disciplinary action against them were left in the hands of the Governor to be exercised through an independent Public Services Commission. Instead of creating an independent Public Services Commission to administer the Public Services, the Governor delegated his functions from the beginning to the three Officers of State who form the Public Services Commission. As these three Officers of State were themselves under the Constitution in the position of Ministers administering important departments of Government the elected Ministers were naturally placed in a most unfavourable and difficult position in relation to the large body of officers working under them whose prospects, promotion and transfer were dependent on the goodwill of the three Officers of State. Their conception of what a Public Officer ought to do under the Constitution naturally differed from that of the elected Ministers. The Officers of State would certainly not be enamoured with officers working in the national interests as opposed to Imperial interests. It is no doubt essential to protect the Public Service as far as possible from political or personal influences and to give it that position of stability and security so vital to its successful working as the impartial and efficient instrument by which Governments may give effect to their policies. There are, therefore, undoubted advantages in having a Public Services Commission to deal with the recruitment and control of the Public Services. Its composition, however, should be entirely different. There is no justification in having as its members Officers of State who themselves, being in charge of departments, cannot be expected to take that independent and detached view in dealing with the many complex problems that arise for disposal by a Public Services Commission. It should be composed of men of the highest integrity neither connected with the Public Service nor

To Get More Reforms

The following is the concluding portion of Mr. D. S. Senanayake's address at the Town Hall, Jaffna:-

Politics. The Public Service should be an instrument for carrying out loyally national policies without being subservient to imperial interests as represented by the Officers of State.

The Governor's Powers

WHEN the Donoughmore Commission was offered for acceptance, pledges were given that only in matters strictly of "paramount importance", and those of us who supported the acceptance of the Constitution interpreted it to mean, that it is only in matters affecting Imperial interests that the Governor would use the special reserve powers vested in his person. Sir Graeme Thomson himself, who was the Governor of Ceylon at the early stages of the working of the Constitution, emphasised the same point. In actual fact, however, under his regime these powers were exercised even on the most trivial occasions. You will remember the case of a Government Printer who was holding the post of Official Compositor at the Government Printing Office. On the expiry of his term of office, which was, I believe, 3 years, the Council decided not to re-engage him and recommended the appointment of a Ceylonese who under-studied him to replace him, but the Governor considered the retention of Mr. Horne as a matter of paramount importance and used his reserve powers to override the decision of the Council. Pension Minutes were altered, amended and added to on the advice of the Officers of State without any reference to the Council or the Board of Ministers. Passages and Holiday Warrant votes for Public Officers were certified over the heads of the Council. There were many other instances of a trivial nature in which the reserve powers of the Governor were misapplied and a wrong interpretation given to the

term "paramount importance". Naturally the abuse of the reserve power was a direct inducement to public agitation both inside and outside the Council for a curtailment of the Governor's powers.

Working of the Constitution

IN spite of all the safeguards with which the Constitution was hedged, the obstruction placed by the Officers of State and the use by the Governor of his reserve powers on the most trivial occasions, it is a matter for congratulation that the Council, the Board of Ministers and the Executive Committees had been able to accomplish during the last 10 years much more than during a 100 years of Bureaucratic rule before the introduction of this Constitution. We have been able to make our voice felt in carrying out development schemes for the furtherance of Agricultural, Irrigation, Education, Health and other social services. We have secured the appointment of Ceylonese to the highest administrative positions. Although we are still in the initial stages of development of Commerce and Industries of the Island still we have been able to lay the foundations for such developments. In spite of opposition from vested interests and from non-Ceylonese, we have been able to bring about measures which will in some way remove the fetters under which our people have been labouring under the exploitation of foreign interests, but still we have only made the beginnings and much more remains to be done. The vested interests have not failed to realise that with every advance in the constitutional development of this country their power for exploitation exercised in the past is getting considerably reduced. Accordingly there has been an attempt on their part to join hands with misguided patriots who have been clamouring for restoration of communal re-

presentation to put the clock back and retard the progress of this country. After all it is not difficult for us who are born in Ceylon, be they Sinhalese or Tamils, who live in Ceylon and must die in Ceylon, to consider ourselves as brothers. Once we evolve that feeling of identity of interest and brotherhood nothing can prevent us from realising the freedom that we long for. It is by presenting an united front and not by emphasising our differences that we can remove completely exploitation by foreign interests and restore the happiness and contentment of the people of this country.

Conclusion

THE experience of the Constitution which has been in operation for more than 10 years has shown that in its present form it is quite inadequate to the needs of this country. It has been long creaking and showing that its component parts are ill-designed and badly fitted. If we work unitedly and present an united front the British Government cannot resist much longer our claim for full responsible government. I know that among you members of the Youth League of Jaffna there is the burning desire to put our house in order. It is intolerable for a spirited people like the people of Ceylon—Sinhalese, Tamils and others—with ancient culture and traditions, to live perpetually in a state of inferiority exploited by foreign interests at every turn. Under our Island's ancient regime, self-government extended even to the villages, where the village elders managed their own fields and pasture lands, organised their people and settled their disputes without let or hindrance, living a communal life after their own fashion. Although this state of affairs has disappeared its spirit has endured till this day, being now manifested by the demand for full responsible government. If we all work together in a spirit of "give and take" the realisation of that is within a reasonable measure of attainment in the immediate future. The future of this country

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Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1941

THE TAMIL POSITION

MR. D. S. SENANAYAKE'S ADDRESS last week at the Town Hall, Jaffna, dealt very fully with the defects of the Donoughmore Constitution. He spoke with first-hand knowledge of the working of the constitution, and his views deserve careful consideration. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the many shortcomings enumerated by him, Mr. Senanayake's final conclusion is that the Donoughmore Constitution has enabled the State Council and the Ministers to accomplish during the last ten years a good deal more than what had been done during one hundred years of bureaucratic government. "We have been able", he said, "to make our voice felt in carrying out development schemes for the furtherance of agricultural, Irrigation, Education, Health and other social services." This is an achievement of which any Minister or elected representative ought to be proud, though the Tamils have been denied by the Ministers and their colleagues the opportunity of making their own contribution to this achievement.

When, however, Mr. Senanayake proceeds, from this heartening review of splendid achievements to the credit of the present regime, to appeal to the Tamils to join their Sinhalese fellow-citizens in presenting an united front in connection with the demand for further reforms, he treads controversial and dangerous ground, blandly ignoring the grim realities of the Tamil position during the last ten years and more. Nothing is to be gained by recounting the dominant facts of that position, or by quietly ignoring them as Mr. Senanayake attempted to do. It is sufficient for our present purpose to point out that the Tamils, who were denied, for reasons which have long been obvious, their proper share of the fruits of political victory against the bureaucracy, tried to enlist the sympathy of the Governor in their attempts to secure some measure of recognition for their rights. An influential and representative deputation waited on His Excellency and placed before him the Tamil view of the scheme of further reforms put forward by the Ministers. We are not concerned here with the right and wrong of the point of view that was pressed on His Excellency's attention, but we do wish to emphasise the fact that this appeal to Caesar was made long after the Tamils had

failed to get any redress at the hands of Mr. Senanayake and his colleagues. His Excellency, however, ignored the Tamil representations and recommended the scheme of reforms sponsored by the Ministers.

It was at this juncture that the Tamils turned to the Secretary of State and appealed to him to prevent the political extinction of the Tamils. Confronted with the hostility of the Ministers and their supporters, discouraged by the attitude of the Governor, the Tamils felt that their cause would be lost if something decisive was not done. It is very much to the credit of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, as was rightly pointed out by a correspondent in a recent article in this paper, that he went to England at his own expense and succeeded in enlisting Parliamentary support for the Tamil point of view. The result of his efforts is evident from the Secretary of State's rejection of the Governor's recommendations and his decision that there must be a complete investigation by a Parliamentary Commission of all relevant facts and points of view, including the Tamils' own particular grievances, before the question of further reforms is considered after the war.

It is against this decision of the Secretary of State, based on representations made on behalf of the Tamils after the Governor himself had refused to consider them favourably, that Mr. Senanayake appealed to the Tamils over the heads of their elected representatives. We regret that neither he nor Mr. Suntheralingam realised the futility of this method of approach. The references to alleged attempts by Tamil members to secure ministerial posts by going down on their knees before Sir D. B. Jayatilake and others are, to put it mildly, in bad taste. We wish to remind Mr. Suntheralingam that the representatives of the Tamils may have many defects, but they stand for something which the great majority of the Tamils have demanded ever since the Sinhalese leaders rejected the Tamil Pact and their attitude in this matter has been upheld by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Suntheralingam's own position with reference to the Tamil point of view was for a long time a matter for speculation. The part he played at the Town Hall meeting of the Tamil chorus in the Sinhalese play leaves no room for doubt as to his real views.

We feel confident that the Tamils will do nothing to embarrass those who persuaded the Secretary of State for the Colonies that, under present circumstances, the demand of the Sinhalese leaders for further reforms cannot be granted. If Mr. D. S. Senanayake and his colleagues are sincere, all that they have to do is to give the Tamils their share of power inside the Ministry, and reserve the consideration of their scheme of reforms for a later stage. This they do not want to do but they want the Tamils to trust them, as if the Tamils had not trusted them enough, and join in the hunt for more political power. The whole idea is absurd and we are unable to see how anyone with any claim to constructive statesmanship could imagine that the Tamils would be sufficiently lacking in political sense to cut their own throats soon after obtaining the intercession of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Are The Tamils Communal?

A Reply to Mr. Francis De Zoysa

II

The Beginning

BEGINNING with the acceptance of the Donoughmore Constitution, may I ask who was communal, the Sinhalese leaders or ourselves, when gentlemen of the position of Sir D. B. Jayatilake went about the country asking the Sinhalese people to accept the Donoughmore Constitution as it gave power into the hands of the Sinhalese people. There was no reference to the people of Ceylon at that time. Subsequent to the acceptance of the Donoughmore Constitution, let us consider further events. Were Sinhalese leaders national when they deliberately planned, schemed and formed the communal Board of Ministers? Was the Tamil gentleman, an esteemed friend both of Mr. de Zoysa and the "Hindu Organ," who successfully contested Mr. de Zoysa for the Speakership to the State Council, guilty of communalism when he entered the arena against two Sinhalese candidates? Is this also considered an act of communalism on the part of Tamils? Were the Tamil members of the State Council communal when they voted for Sinhalese candidates for Ministries? Are the Tamils communal when they ask for the restoration of the principle of balance of power in Ceylon politics and the replacement of the communal government by a form of national government? Are the Tamils communal because they seek to substitute a national democracy in place of the present communal oligarchy that rules over Ceylon? Again, were the Tamils communal when having failed to secure any just settlement with the Sinhalese leaders they sent their representative, Mr. Ponnambalam, to England to present their case before the British Public and Government even as the Congress of which Mr. de Zoysa is a shining light deputed a trio, consisting of Messrs. A. W. Amarasinghe, Geo. de Silva and E. A. P. Wijeyeratne, on a similar mission? Are the Tamils, who have been supported in the major part of their political programme by almost all the other communities in Ceylon, barring the Sinhalese community, communal?

Communal Alignment

THE important thing to bear in mind is that the demands of the Sinhalese community had the support of only their own representatives in the State Council, whereas the demands made by the Tamil representatives had generally the support of the other communities. Have the Tamils been found communal because they have been supporting the policy of friendly co-operation with the European community in Ceylon and with Britain? Are the Tamils to be dubbed communal because they have been advocating the policy of goodwill, peace and equal treatment towards the Indian community in Ceylon and the pursuit of friendly relations with India? Have the Tamils been found communal because they did not join in the *contempt* staged by the Sinhalese Board of Ministers, their hasty resignation, their attempt to paralyse the machinery of Government for no substantial reason when we are engaged in the midst of a life and death war with Hitler and their undignified return to office? Have the Tamils been found communal because their representatives are unable to join in the wild denunciation of Europeans and Indians indulged in by some prominent Sinhalese leaders? Are the Tamils to be deemed communal because some of their repre-

sentatives have been actively working in the furtherance of war efforts while some Sinhalese leaders were trying to boycott such labours? Have the Tamils been found communal because their representatives in Council were not prepared to disregard the findings of an impartial Tribunal like the Bracegirdle Commission and to condone Constitutional lapses on the part of influential leaders? It may not be out of place to refer, though I do say with reluctance, to the fact that, if Sinhalese politicians including Mr. de Zoysa had adopted a statesmanlike, fair and national attitude towards Ceylon affairs, the course of events might have been different. Mr. de Zoysa himself was in a position to have contributed greatly to the easing of the situation and still continues to be so. We all know that he was the President of the Congress about the time the pact between certain Tamil and Sinhalese leaders was made and was under consideration. It is important to remember that the pact did not create any new set of circumstances or alter the basis of representation that then obtained in the country. It was not a gift by the Sinhalese to the Tamils as people sometimes mistakenly think. The pact merely reaffirmed the spirit underlying the principle which was in vogue and was found in the constitution of the country for about 100 years. The fate of the pact is now a matter of history.

Tamil Demands Just

THE demands of the Tamils are just, now, as they were at the time of the Pact. Friends like the Rev. Bunker who presided on the festive occasion when Mr. de Zoysa spoke and who are naturally not familiar with the past constitutional history of this country might be interested to read what that doyen of Sinhalese politicians, Mr. C. E. Corea, now living in retirement to the great loss of our country, said in those days:—

"The Tamils only asked for equal treatment in that common family of equal brotherhood. They said that, though their territory was small, their members few, they should not be rated below their brothers. They were absolutely and indisputably right." "There was a lot of talk of principles. No principle was involved. To give extra members to the North no more violated any principle than did the allotting to the Parliament of the United Kingdom more Irish members than the proportion of their population to the English justified".

Country First

AT the outset I had to refer at some length to the various ties of regard and affection, if he will permit us to use such an expression, which bind us to Mr. de Zoysa, in order that we may be acquitted, if that were possible, of harbouring any feelings of disrespect towards him. Similar ties bind us towards other Sinhalese leaders as well. We, the Tamils, however, have the temerity to place the country first and its ultimate and lasting prosperity and welfare even above such ties which are after all personal and fleeting and to live in the expectation of a better state of things. We will continue to strive steadfastly but without bitterness for it till it is achieved, when all our present differences, then happily solved, will be looked upon in their proper light and perspective with under-

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The Poetry of Manickavasagar

The Poet's Theme

"POETRY", says Shelley, "is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds". In this sense, Thiruvachakam is a record of the best and happiest moments of the Saiva Saint Manickavachakar. In the chapter Thiruvandappahuthy the poet has sung of the cosmos and its relation to God by whose grace he realised bliss.

Anyone who has watched the stars and their courses in the heavens will bear testimony to the beauty of the stars, their splendour and their glory; they (the stars) are countless in numbers and their distances incredible. Light travels 186000 miles in a second and takes about 8 minutes to reach Earth from the Sun. How many of us realise that it takes light 4 years to reach us from the nearest star alpha Centauri? The brightest star of the Scorpio Group, viz, Antares, is so big that the Sun and the earth's orbit will, if superposed on it (Antares), fall within its circumference. There are stars from which light takes a hundred years to reach the earth; there are several beyond human ken; what is known as the Milky Way is considered to be the reflection of light that is being radiated from innumerable stars that have not yet been discovered and the poet sang:

அண்டப் பகுதியின் உண்டைப் பிறக்கம்
அளப்பருத் தன்மை வளப்பெருந் காட்சி
ஒன்றனுக் கொன்று நின்றெழில் பகரின்
நூற்றொரு கோடியின் மேற்பட விரிந்தன

The whole cosmos by the side of God are like the minutest particles of matter floating in a ray of light emanating from the sun and finding its way into a house.

இவ்வுழைநிலின் துண்அணுப்புரையச்
சிறியவாகப் பெரியோன்

Will the Days be Same?

H. G. Wells in his History of the World writes:—"There was a time

As Good As Any In Europe

when the day was not a half, not a third, of what it is today; when a blazing hot sun much greater than it is now must have moved visibly—had there been an eye to mark it—from its rise to its setting. There will be a time when the day will be as long as a year is now and the cooling sun shorn of its beams will hang motionless in the heavens." I referred to the above passage from Wells just to remind readers that the Sun must have had a beginning and will have an end. There must have been many a formation and disintegration of Suns and planets like ours and God is the author of all these.

வேதியன்தொகையொடு மாலவன்மிருதியு
தோற்றமுஞ்சிறப்பும் ஈற்றொடுபுணரிய [ம]
மாப்பேருழியும் நீக்கமும்கிலையும்
குக்கமொடுதலத்து குறைமாருதத்(து)
எறியது வளியிற்
கொட்கப்பெயர்க்கும் குழகன்

He is the eternal youth (குழகன்) that sets in motion the greater and the smaller forces that have resulted in the formation, existence and disintegration of the creations of several Brahmas. He it is who has given splendour to the Sun, coolness to the beautiful moon, heat to the ruthless fire, sweet taste to water that reflects images etc.

Science and Rhythm

.....நாடொழும்
அருக்கனிற்சொதியமைத்தோன் திருத்தகு
மதியில்தன்மை வைத்தோன் திண்டி நல்
தியின்வெம்மை செய்தோன் பொய்தீர்
வானிற்சுலப்பு வைத்தோன் மேதகு
காலினவகைக் கண்டோன் நிழல்திகழ்
நீரிலுஞ்சுவை நிகழ்த்தோன்வெளிப்பட
மண்ணில்தின்மை வைத்தோன் என்றெ
ளினப்பலகோடி எனப்பலபிறவும் [ன்று
அனைத்தனைத்தவயின் அடைத்தோன்.

THE words பொய் தீர் வானிற்
கலப்பு வைத்தோன் reflect the
most advanced views of the Nebu-

lar Theory regarding the origin and source of the cosmos. The whole passage is ringing with rhyme and rhythm and is full of truth and beauty. The poet next describes the various attributes of God in lines 29—65. I shall just pick a few lines here and there to show what philosophy is embodied therein:—

முன் னோன் காண்க முழுதோன் காண்க
சொற்பதம் கடந்த தொல்லோன் காண்க
சித்தமுஞ் செல்லச் செட்சியன் காண்க
பத்தி வலையில் படுவோன் காண்க [ண்க
விரி பொழில் முழுதாய் விரித்தோன் கா
மருவி யெப்பொருளும் வளர்ப்போன் கா
சிவனெனயானுந் தேறினன் காண்க [ண்க
அவனென யாட் கொண்ட டருளின்ன் [காண்க.

The substance of these lines is the substance of the Four Vedas. God is conceived of as pervading the whole universe, beyond time and space, responsible for the growth and decay of everything and can be realised only by Faith.

Great Poetry

Lines 65—95 of Thiruvandappahuthy will compare most favourably with the best passages of Homer or Virgil, Dante or Shakespeare as regards beauty of language and expression or melody; in substance they are ethereal and soar far above any poetry in Europe. Books of commentaries can be written on the contents of these lines. Take for example

"அவனுந் தானு முடனே காண்க
பரமானந்தப் பழல் கடல் அதுவே
கருமா முகிலிற் நோன்றித்
திருவார் பெருந்துறை வரையிலேறித்
திருத்தகு மின்னொளி திசை திசை விரிய
ஐம்புலப்பத்தனை வானாவு இரிய

The grace of God is represented by the words மின்னொளி (lightning) and as it spreads the serpents (ஐம்புலப்பத்தனை வானாவு இரிய) i.e.

By
T. Muttusamipillai

the five senses are overcome. The words convey a literally correct meaning and at the same time there is a much deeper spiritual meaning. Want of space prevents me from going more fully into these lines. Manind (மான்னம் literally herd of deer) in their thirst for truth drank deep of the mirage of the Six Schools of Hindu Philosophy (இருமுச்சமயத் தொருபேய்த் தேரினை தீர் கசை தாவரு கெடுவகண் மான்கணம் தவப் பெருவாயிடைப் பருகித் தனர் வொடும் அவப்பெருந்தாபம் நீங்கா தகைத் தன்) with their big mouths and went with their thirst still quenched. God could be realised by worship only.

.....நாற்றிசை
கடப்பன் கடாய்க் கிடப்பன் கிடாஅய்
கிற்பன் நிதீ இச்
சொற்பதம் கடந்த தொல்லோன் [அன்
உள்ளத்துணர்ச்சியிற் கொன்னவும் படா
சண்முதற் புலனாற் காட்சியுமில்லோன்
is how the poet again sang of God.

Personal Experience

THE concluding portion of this chapter deals with how God who could not be realised by Brahma and others through the Vedas or tantras helped the poet to attain bliss.

மரத்தக் குவால் மாமணிப் பிறக்கம் [ழத்
மின்னொளி கொண்ட பொன்னொளிதிக
திசைநுகன் சென்று தேடினார் கொளித்
தும்
முறையுளியொற்றி முயன்றவர்க் கொளித்
தும்
உற்றவர் வருத்த உறைப்பவர்க் கொளித்
தும்
மறைத்திறம் கோக்கி வருத்தினர்க்
கொளித்தும்
இத்தத்திரத்தாற் காண்டுமென் றிருத்
தோர்க்கு
அத்தத்திரத்தி னவவயின் ஒளித்தும்

How God made the poet realise
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Why The Tamils Were Left Out

Mr. D. S. Senanayake Questioned

"CAN you tell us why not even a single Tamil has been given a place on the Board of Ministers?" asked Mr. R. Ariya Pathirana, President of the North-Ceylon Sinhalese Union, after Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, had delivered his address on "Ten Years of the Donoughmore Constitution" at the Town Hall, Jaffna, Mr. C. Suntheralingam, President of the Jaffna Youth Congress, presiding.

"There has been great discontent in Jaffna at the Sinhalese monopoly of portfolios and I as well as many others here will appreciate a frank and honest answer, however unpleasant it may be," Mr. Ariya Pathirana added.

Mr. Senanayake in reply, stated: "There is not a single Tamil on the Board of Ministers and I believe the reason for that was when a demand was made for further reforms it was stated by the authorities in England that unless the Board of

Ministers could put up a united front they would not consider any suggestion for the reform of the Constitution.

"Perhaps the Sinhalese people had good reason—and there was a definite demand made—not to have on the Board Sinhalese, Tamils or any others as such, but to have men who would put up a united front. It so happened that owing to divisions and cleavages, among the Ministers chosen by the first Council were a Muslim, an Indian and a Kandyan. These three Ministers failed to take the same stand on the Reforms question as the other Ministers.

"So, when it came to forming the present Board of Ministers it was thought that unless there was a united stand made by the Ministers they would not be able to get further reforms. There was no deliberate attempt to keep out non-Sinhalese."

The Chairman, in supplementing

the answer by the Minister, spoke of his own contributions to the election of a Homogenous Board of Ministers. It was, he said, done by a simple mathematical calculation.

Loaves and Fishes

MR C. Tharmakulasingham asked: "Was the reaction of the Board of Ministers to the use of the special powers by the Governor consistent with the self-respect of the Ministers, if they had any?"

Mr. Senanayake, after reproving Mr. Tharmakulasingham for the way he had worded the question, said that he was one of those who felt he should stick to his place and fight the cause of the country, even if he were called by some a shameless man.

Mr. C. C. Tambi, a retired advocate of the Rangoon Bar, asked what guarantees the Tamils would get from the Sinhalese in the event of their joining forces with them.

Mr. Senanayake replied that there should be mutual trust. The Sinhalese and the Tamils should always remember that Ceylon was their motherland, and that they should unite to free themselves from exploitation by non-Ceylonese

The Chairman said that the main cause of distrust was the loaves and fishes of office. He hoped that Mr. Senanayake would promise that in future all appointments would be made without distinction of caste or creed, and only on the impartial recognition of merit.

Mr. C. N. Deva Rajan wished to know what contribution the Board of Ministers had made towards the economic prosperity of the Northern Province.

Mr. Senanayake spoke of the contribution his Ministry had made towards the promotion of agricultural and co-operative enterprises and revealed that only the day previous he had requested the Director of Irrigation to send a special officer to Jaffna with regard to the conversion of the Jaffna Lagoon into a fresh water lake.

On one of the members of the audience asking Mr. Senanayake why he had not taken into consideration the several points adduced by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam who had spoken for nine hours in the State Council, Mr. Senanayake said Mr. Ponnambalam and himself held contrary views and so it was useless to expect him to reply to that question.

What is This Balance of Power?

What Is It?

"Where the premises are hollow
The conclusion does not follow"

As I return to the discussion of this question I should explain that I could not have done earlier for a tragic domestic event. "A Correspondent" has meanwhile served up several piquant dishes of ideas, opinions and theories. One finds it difficult to stomach all this for the incongruity that characterises the fare. But credit must certainly be given to him for the deft dressing up of such ill-assorted fare. What is this balance of power he has been at so much pains to explain and uphold? He has not so far made it clear on what fundamental principles of constitution-making or on what canons of justice as accepted by what is called the civilised world, his highly conceived theory of balance is broad-based. If it is contended that self-interest alone should be the test of Principle, then anybody may produce and propagate any idea or theory. But if on the other hand it is conceded that a principle should be the outcome of the distilled wisdom of great jurists who have by collection and collation of facts of life and work of various groups of people forming the body-politic, drawn up workable formulae, then the principle of balance of power as defined and defended by the correspondent does not conform to, and tally with, that propounded by the great masters. The contention that the majority community leaders are irrational and irritating is no argument for a strange theory of balance.

Dicey's Views

Prof. Dicey has a pointed observation on this question. He says that proportion is the very essence of balance. Any democratic constitution to be true to its genus should be balanced on the principle of proportion. But like all other great thinkers on the subject he provides for exception-

Political Science and Self-Interest

al conditions, in that he would vest safeguards in the hands of over-riding authority or would empower the aggrieved minority by statutory provision to challenge any legislative act of the majority block before a Tribunal of Supreme Court Judges. But he is not much in favour of weightage for such weightage would not convert the minority into a majority. On the accepted conditions and premises of constitution-making the correspondent's contention and conclusion cannot be founded. But I agree with him that the major community leaders have forfeited the confidence of minorities, not all of them, perhaps for reasons I pointed out in my first article on the subject and we should also note their position as stated by one of them, Mr. Francis de Soysa, that, if the Sinhalese leaders have developed a communal outlook, it has been forced on them by the Tamils. There is no solvent for mutual fault-finding except the prescription that leaders and communities should cultivate purity of motives and honour and candour in pursuit of them. This want of confidence on either side can never be a ground for any impractical and fanciful theories and principles.

The Fifty-Fifty Ratio

The balance of power the correspondent has passionately canvassed and elevated into a principle is the arbitrary assumption that the minorities should have fifty percent of representation if life in Ceylon is not to lapse back into the bloody strife of the jungle. He is by no means the first person to swear by this formula. It has been handed down by more sophisticated leaders of the Tamils. At one time they spoke only for the Tamils and demanded 2:3 ratio of representation as between the Tamils and

the Sinhalese. To bolster it up they delved deep into the files of the Colonial Office and marshalled up the ex-cathedra pronouncements of the Duke of Devonshire and other dignitaries. Governor Manning's opinions were trotted out. The arrays of authorities have all been British imperialists who would not brook even a fly in the imperial ointment. By all devices possible and potential they have tried to see that the various races in Ceylon did not coalesce. Unimaginative Singalese leadership aided and abetted by the Tamils' love of the *status quo* which was anything but rational and just, has helped the imperialist to keep the fetters on. Under authoritarian form of government popular representation was a mere shadow. Any ratio of representation between racial groups did not matter and alter the balance. The major community did not mind, or were not awake to, the unevenness of representation. It is the Tamils who started the hare of representative and democratic government and having done so, want to disown and deny the fruit of their labours. The highly sophisticated Tamil leaders whom the Correspondent falls back upon to barricade his untenable theory were "aristocrats" and "autocrats", to whom democracy was a vile thing but which they wanted to exploit to yet raise their self-importance to a point of uniqueness. The democracy which they helped to rear jettisoned them for their aristocratic methods. The aristocrats that they were, turned round to break the back of it and were broken by it. The Correspondent does no wise thing in quoting their death-bed (politically) jeremiad in support of his theory of democratic government. I would challenge him and others of like opinion to quote chapter and verse of a constitution in any part of the British Empire or outside it

By

S. A. Nathan

wherein the minorities have been granted equal representation with the majority—where the minorities all put together do not equal in population the majority.

No Precedent

Stephen Leacock, the noted writer on constitutions of the world, does not give one example of such minorities getting fifty-fifty ratio representation. All the shrewd manipulation of population statistics in Ceylon does not produce the magic of the required show. The accident of a (dis) proportion in the bygone days under authoritarian form of government and the pronouncements of Governors and Colonial Secretaries fastened thereon cannot cut across principles governing another form of government. Any accident of preferential treatment to be perpetuated under quite a different set of circumstances will be like acting in pickles which is a negation of all scientific growth. Instead of putting forth communal issues in the guise of popular democratic government, it will be good to be frank and oppose all broadening of powers to the people. I am writing the criticism on the basis of accepted principles. But I have a lively sense of the grievance of the minorities if "a perpetual, communal majority could be so irresponsible and uncompromising" as to shut them out from ministerial positions. What is the solution? Not the pseudo-democracy of the Correspondent's conception. The only solution is the reversion to the Crown Colony administration until such times as Ceylon has produced leaders of the type of Nehru, the other alternative of Party Politics being an impossibility in Ceylon.

Adam's Peak Hindu Ambalam Society

Request for Lease of Land

Pursuant to the notice published in the "Ceylon Daily News" and "Veerakesari" of 1st October, 1941 a representative Public Meeting of the Hindus of Ceylon was held at Sri Siva Subramania Swamy Temple at Silversmith Street, Colombo on the 11th October 1941 at 7-30 p.m. to consider the question of the up-keep and management of the Hindu Ambalam on the way to Adam's Peak. A large gathering was present. Proceedings commenced with the singing of Thevaram.

Dr. T. Nallainathan of Colombo took the Chair on being proposed by Mr. M. Muthukumar and seconded by Mr. S. Velautha Pillai.

After the Chairman's address, speeches were made by the following:—Mr. V. S. Samynathan, founder of the Ambalam, Mr. S. Saravanamuttu, Mr. S. Velupillai,

Mr. Mathiapparanam and Mr. C. Sinnathamby.

The Chairman then moved the following resolution:—"That this all-Ceylon Meeting of the Hindus assembled today resolve that they do organise themselves into a Society called Adam's Peak Hindu Ambalam Society and that this Society so formed do request the Government Agent, Central Province, to grant to the said Society a lease of the land in which the Hindu Ambalam at present stands for a period of 99 years."

The constitution and Rules of the Society were read by Mr. S. Saravanamuttu and passed unanimously.

The following Office bearers were elected:—

Patron: Sir Waitilingam Duraiswamy.

President: Dr. T. Nallainathan
Vice President: Messrs. V. S. Samynathan, S. Saravanamuttu and K. Namasivayam.

Secretary: Mr. S. Velauthapillai
Vice Secretary: S. Panjalingam

Treasurer: Mr. A. Vaitilingam

Committee
Messrs. S. Velupillai, Mathia-

Auction Sale

13720 D. C. J.

Porter David Chinniah Kopay South Vs. Plaintiff. Kanagasabai Vallipuram of Nunavil East as representative of the estate of Vallipuram Kanagasabai and wife Kunthammah of Chavakachcheri Defendants.

All that piece of land called Kom-maddiaddai, and Chempavallavu, in extent 28 1/2 lms. V. C. situated at Chavakachcheri and bounded on the East and North by lane, West by the property of Murugasu Kandiah, South by the property of Chellammah wife of Kumarasamy together with palmyrahs, coconut trees, and other plantations, house and well.

In terms of the Commission issued to me by the District Court of Jaffna, in Case No. 13720, D. C. J., I shall sell the above property by public auction on Saturday the 22nd November 1941, at about 4 p.m. at the spot.

N. KANDIAH
Commissioner.

paranam, S. Chelliah, A. Arunasalam and S. K. Theivagnanasegaram.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair and the singing of Thevaram by Mr. S. Subramaniam. (Cor)

JAFFNA HINDU COLLEGE OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION

NOTICE

The Annual General Meeting of the above Association and the Old Boys' Day Celebrations will be held on Saturday, the 1st November, 1941, at the College Hall at 2 p.m.

All Old Boys are cordially invited.

8.00 a. m. Pooja.

9.00 a. m. Cricket Match (Old Boys vs. College)

12.00 Noon Lunch by the College.

2.00 p. m. Annual General Meeting.

3.00 p. m. Volley Ball Match (Old Boys vs. College)

4.00 p. m. Group Photograph.

5.00 p. m. Football Match and Tennis (Old Boys vs. College.)

8.00 p. m. Dinner*

* The Dinner fee is Rs. 2/- per head. Members will be permitted to bring guests on an additional payment of Rs. 1/50 for each lady guest and Rs. 2/- for each gentleman guest.

Jaffna,
12-10-41.

C. Vanniasingam,
Hony. Secretary.

THE ELEMENTS OF SAIVA SIDDHANTAM

SIDDHIYAR—AN INTRODUCTION

(By a Science Graduate)

VI. 'Sadanas' or Religious Practices

புறச் சமய நெறிகளும் அசச்சமயப் புத்தும்
புகல் மிகுதி வழி உழன்றும் புதலும் ஆச்சிரம
அறத் துறைகள் அவை அடைந்தும் அரும்தவங்கள் புரிந்தும்
அரும் கலைகள் பல தெரிந்தும் ஆரணங்கள் படித்தும்
சிறப்பு உடைய புராணங்கள் உணர்ந்தும் வேத
சிரப் பொருளை மிகத் தெளிந்தும் சென்றால் சைவத்
நிறத்த அடைவர் இதில் சரியை கிரியா யோகம்
செலுத்தியபின் ஞானத்தால் சிவன் அடியைச் சேர்வர்.

By following the teachings of alien (heterodox) religions, by entering the orthodox faiths, by practising the 'dharma' laid down in the Smritis, by acting up to the tenets prescribed for the different Asramas (Brahmachariyam, etc), performing Tapas (religious austerities), learning the various Kalas (arts & sciences), the Puranas and the Vedas and understanding well the teachings of the Vedantas (Upanishads), if one passes through and completes all these stages successfully (in his innumerable births), he will reach the heights of the Saiva Religion and, after practising the paths of Saria, Kriya and Yogam, he will get to Gnana-Margam and through it reach the Feet of Siva Peruman.

Having described some of the most essential characteristics of Pati, Pasu and Pasam, we now proceed to the discussion of some of the Sadanas (or religious practices or exercises) prescribed for the attainment of Moksham or Veedu (liberation). Now, what is the way to escape from the ocean of Samsara in which we find that we are being tossed about hither and thither? How are we to break through the bonds of Anava Malam? What is the best means of attaining Moksham or Veedu? All evolution is a means to this end. All suffering is a means to this end. All enjoyment is a means to this end. All religion is a means to this end. All the various religions of the world, with all their contradictions and controversies, are means to this end. In other words, all the religions are to be regarded as so many paths towards this one goal. It may be that one path is more direct and another more crooked or more circuitous than another, or again one path may lead into another as a cross road leads into a main road. But still each is a path. By constant practice of the 'Dharma' enjoined by the tenets of his particular religion, a man approaches nearer and nearer towards God, step by step. This is clearly stated in the verse from the SivaGnana Siddhi quoted at the top of this article is the same common-sense view the Siddhanti takes. In Vaidika-Saivism itself, a man is not considered to be as it were rushed into what is called Moksham. Here too there are a large number of grades and a good many paths. First of all there is the broad division into the states of the Brahmachariyam (Bachelor), the Grihastha (householder), the Vanaprastha (forest-dweller) and the Sannyasi (hermit who has totally renounced the world.) Every one of these has got his duties to perform, and they have their inter-grades. Siddhantam, again, speaks of four paths in the main whereby to attain Veedu. There are: Saria-margam, Kriya-margam, Yoga-margam and Gnana-margam. These again may be divided into a number of grades. For instance, there is the ordinary Saria, to begin with; higher than this is what is known as Siva-Saria. Then there is the sub-division into Saria in Saria, Kriya in Saria, Yogam in Saria, &c. ending with Gnana in Gnana. All these are called 'Sadanas' or religious exercises, means to an end. They are not the end itself.

One of the most elementary Sadanas or steps to attain liberation is to do good and to refrain from doing evil to our fellow creatures. If men realize that all living creatures are the temples of God (தவ்வியுளும் பரமபரன் சந்திப்பதற்கு), they will not even dream of harming, let alone killing and eating the carcasses of other beings. St. Pattnagar puts non-killing and refraining from eating the flesh of what is killed in the forefront of all virtues. Says he:

கொல்லாமல் சென்றதைத் தின்னாமல் குத்தித் தோணி கனவு
கல்லாமல் வைத்தவரோடு இணங்காமல் கனவிதும் பொம்
தொல்லாமல் சொந்தவர்களைக் கொல்லாமல் தோவகம் மனையிலே
செல்லாமல் செல்வத்தருவாய் கிதம்பாடுகின்றேன்.

Oh Preceptor of Wisdom Infinite, grant us the boon not to kill or eat (the corpse of) what is killed, not to practise trickery or carry tales or steal, not to associate with the wicked, never to tell lies or listen to what is false and not to succumb to the smiles of prostitutes.

Put in positive form, these and cognate virtues are briefly told in the following verse in Siddhiyar:

குறும்பும் அன்பும் அருள் ஆகும் உபசாரம் உறவு சேலம்
வழங்கிவந்தவம் தாழ்வுகள் வந்திதல் வணக்கம் வாய்வைய
அருகிலுள்ள அடக்கம் அறிவுறு அஞ்சித்தல் ஆதி
இழுக்கிவ அறக்கள் ஆனந்த இரத்தவான் பணி அறக்கள்.

Generosity, love, pity, purity, courtesy, friendliness, good temper, austerity, chastity, respect, reverence, truthfulness, re-

nunciation, humanity, discriminating between good and evil, worship and cognate virtues, these constitute Punniyam and they are the command of the Gracious Lord.

Punniyam (புண்ணியம்) or good Karmam may be briefly defined as the performance of acts which give pleasure to living beings (உயிர்க்கு இடம் செய்தல்) or are conducive to their welfare (உயிர்க்கு உதவி செய்தல்), while Pabam (பாவம்) or sin is its opposite, injuring living beings, performance of acts which give them pain (உயிர்க்கு அடம் செய்தல்). And these are not confined to bodily actions alone but include those done in all the three ways of thought, word and deed (மனம், வாக்கு, காயம்).

The worship of God with all the Tri-Karanas (திரிகரணங்கள் literally the three instruments) thought, word and bodily action is enjoined. We read in Siddhiyar:

மனம் அது கிணைய வாக்கு வழந்த மந்திரங்கள் சொல்ல
இன்மலர் சையிற் கொண்டு அங்கு இச்சித்த தெய்வம் போற்றிச்
சினம் முதல் அகற்றி வாரும் செயல் அறமானால் யார்க்கும்
முனம் ஒரு தெய்வம் வந்து செயற்கு முன்னிலையாம் அன்றே.

Contemplating intently with the mind, praising and chanting mantras with the tongue and offering flowers with the hand, if you worship your favourite Deity, shunning all anger and other vices, and continue steadfast in such worship, the One God who existed before all will appear and recompense you for your worship.

Here we may draw the attention of our readers to the words இச்சித்த தெய்வம் போற்றி (worshipping your favourite Deity), as misunderstandings die hard and hence it is never too redundant to point out and re-emphasise the catholicity and tolerance towards other creeds and the all-inclusive nature of the Saiva Siddhantam. The worship of God is never unproductive, in whatever form you worship Him and by whatever name you call Him. This aspect of our religion given expression to by our teachers long long ago cannot but be a source of pride and joy to every Tamilian whatever his present creed in these days of boasted toleration and claim of other creeds to be universal faiths. This assertion of the Saiva teachers that the worship of so-called Gods other than Siva Peruman is not without its reward should not on the other hand lead one to the conclusion that our religion is polytheistic. If there is one religion in this mundane world that is not polytheistic and that emphasises this point more than others it is the Saiva Siddhantam. Hence it is that our author who freely grants that the worship of one's favourite Deity whoever he may be is productive of its due reward hastens in the last line to add: யார்க்கும் முனம் ஒரு தெய்வம் வந்து..... (the one ancient-most God will appear.....). And the reason for the beginningless God appearing and granting boons is not far to seek. There being only one Supreme Being who is birthless and deathless (பிறப்பில் இறப்பில்) and all other so-called Gods being souls (Pasu) bound by Pasam (fetters) and subject to births and deaths and it being a truism that one fettered person (பிணிபட்டோன்) cannot possibly remove the fetters of another fettered person (—as this would be something like the blind leading the blind or the sick man in a delirious or half-conscious state prescribing medicines and attempting to cure another sick man,—) it follows that it is the Ever-Free and all-Powerful Being that has to step into the shoes of the favourite Deity and do the needful. And this is essential as every action (or cause) must have its effect (—this is Sat-Kariya—Vadam—) and the worship of the favourite Deity in all humility and pure love must have its reward.

THE POETRY OF MANICKAVASAGAR

Continued from page 3

bliss is expressed in lines 146—183

தன்னே நிலிலோன் தானே யான தன்மை
வன்னே நனைபோர் கேட்கவந் தியம்பி
அறை கூவி ஆட கொண்டருளி

காட்டவர் அருளவுக் கேட்டவர் விபப்ப

கடல் களிநு ஏற்றுத் தடய்பெருந்ததின்
ஆற்றேறாக அய்யவகு சுவைநரு
சோற்றேன் கொண்டு செய்தனன்.

செழுந்தண் பாதகடல் இரைபுண வித்து
உவாக் கடல் களிநு நீர் உன்னகற் துழம்ப
வாய்கிறந் தருதம் யாயிற்சாஸ் தொறுந்
தெக்கிடச் செய்தனன்.

என்னிற்
கருணை வான் தென் கலக்க
அருவொடு பரா அருநாகத்தின்
பிழைன் மாலுரிபாப் பெற்றி யோனே.

The words speak for themselves and need no further comment. Thiravazhakarum when sung with most hearts as hard as iron. The theme is sublime, the substance ethereal. For truth and splendour others

Are The Tamils Communal?

Continued from page 2

standing and without any taint of mutual reproach. May Mr. de Zoysa live to see that consummation and enjoy the fruits and benefits thereof.

I have tried to write fairly and frankly and trust to be excused by Mr. de Zoysa. The greater the friendship, the greater ought to be the frankness. If the Sinhalese and Tamils are good friends as they are and they ought to be, let there be a corresponding measure of frankness. Let us not indulge in the game of "make believe" which is quite unworthy of sincere friendship. Moreover, this is the first of the country where all of us purport to love that there should be frank talk on public matters without any mental reservation but without bitterness.

of imagery, for mastery of language is standardised. It is the poet has once apprehended the true and the beautiful, Manickavasakar's Swarnakal will for all time become of the world's greatest poets. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest Saiva Saints who out of the fulness of his heart sang of his experiences for the benefit of

Mr. Senanayake Wants Tamil Help

Continued from page 1

must be decided by the people themselves. We can invest no faith in commissions, however well intentioned. Besides this perpetual dependence on outsiders to decide our political future is inimical to our national growth. We are today a poverty stricken nation in a land of abundant resources and infinite possibilities. It is unnecessary to speculate on what has contributed to it. What is needed is to take stock of our present situation and work unitedly on a concerted plan to ensure a new era of national prosperity, and not to accentuate communal interests and differences and play into the hands of the exploiter.

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[Q. 115, 23-10-41-22-1-42.]

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Chundikuli, Jaffna.

[Q. 82, 7-8-5-11-41.]

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

(held at Point Pedro)

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 159 PT

In the matter of the intestate estate
of the late Sinnapodian Kanthan
Arumugam of Alvai South.

Deceased.

Sinnachy widow of Sinnapodian Kan-
than Arumugam of Alvai South

Vs.

Petitioner.

1. Mailu Sellathurai and wife
2. Meenadchiammah of Alvai South
3. Parameswary daughter of Sinna-
podian Kanthan Arumugam of do

Respondents.

This matter of the Petition of the
Petitioner praying for letters of ad-
ministration to the estate of the
abovenamed deceased Sinnapodian
Kanthan Arumugam of Alvai South
coming on for disposal before D. A.
Leanage Esquire Additional District
Judge Jaffna on the 12th day of
September 1941 in the presence of
Mr. C. Thanabalasingam Proctor on
the part of Petitioner and the Peti-
tion and affidavit of the Petitioner
having been read, it is ordered that
the 2nd respondent be appointed
Guardian-ad-litem over the minor the
3rd respondent, and that the Peti-
tioner be declared entitled to take
out letters of administration as the
widow of the said deceased and that
letters of administration be accord-
ingly issued to the Petitioner unless
the respondents or any other person
shall on or before the 2nd day of
October 1941 shew sufficient cause to
the satisfaction of this Court to the
contrary.

Sgd. D. A. Leanage

Addl. District Judge.

This 12th day of September 1941

Drawn by

Sgd. C. Thanabalasingam
Proctor.

Extended till 30-10-41.

(O. 42, 23 & 27-10-41.)

Order Nisi

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

(held at Point Pedro)

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 158/P.

In the matter of the estate of the late

S. Muthucumarasuriar of Uduppiddy

Deceased.

S. Mailvaganacumarasuriar of Udu-
piddy

Petitioner.

Vs.

1. S. Arulampalacumarasuriar
2. Kandiah Ramalingam
3. and wife Manganayagam all of
Uduppiddy

Respondents.

This matter coming on for disposal
before Simon Rodrigo Esquire, Addi-
tional District Judge, Jaffna on the
10th day of July 1941 in the presence
of Mr. P. Kanapadhipillai Proctor on
the part of the petitioner and the
petition and affidavit of the petitioner
having been read

It is ordered that the 2nd respon-
dent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem
over the minor the 1st respondent

It is further ordered that the peti-
tioner be declared to take out Letters
of Administration as brother of the
deceased and that Letters of Ad-
ministration be issued to him ac-
cordingly unless the respondents or
any other person shall appear on or
before the 10th day of October 1941
and shew sufficient cause to the satis-
faction of this Court to the contrary.

This 10th day of October 1941.

Sgd. L. W. de Silva
Additional District Judge

Extended and Re-issued for
13-11-1941

Sgd. L. W. de S.

A. D. J.

(O. 43, 23 & 27-10-41)

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