

Table with 3 columns: Town Delivery, Inland India etc., Foreign F.M.S. and 3 rows for yearly, 6 months, and 3 months rates.

THE Hindu Organ.

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INDIA'S PROBLEMS

GANDHI—JAWAHARLAL CORRESPONDENCE

The following is the full text of the correspondence that passed between Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently on India's Problems.

The following is the text of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to Mahatma Gandhi.

My dear Bapu, in our recent conversations you will remember that I laid stress on the reiteration and clearer definition of our national objective. The objective of political independence has been finally laid down by the Congress and there is nothing to add to it or take away from it.

In regard to economic matters the Karachi Congress, by passing the important resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes' gave a lead and pointed out the direction in which we should move.

It seems to me that if we are to improve the condition of the masses, to raise them economically and give them freedom, it is inevitable that vested interests in India will have to give up their special position and many of their privileges.

Round Table Conference Utterly Useless

We are all agreed that the Round Table Conference and its various productions are utterly useless to solve even one of India's many problems.

methods were adopted in India to suppress the national movement. And because the mere preservation of all these vested interests in India cannot possibly solve our economic ills, whether those of the masses or even of the middle classes the effort is foredoomed to inevitable failure.

Another aspect has to be borne in mind. The problem of Indian freedom cannot be separated from the vital international problems of the world. The present crisis in the world's affairs is having its repercussions in India.

These are some of the larger issues that fill my mind and I am convinced, not only that we ignore them at our peril but that a true appreciation of them will vitalize and give new meaning to our struggle for freedom.

These wider issues are of great importance, but at present, as you know, the minds of large numbers of our countrymen are greatly exercised over immediate national problems, and especially the question of carrying on the struggle.

A necessary consequence from this was to avoid the possibility of a few new comers who formed committees, when the old members and other reliable workers went to prison, or even individuals, committing the Congress to an undesirable course of action.

(Continued on page 3)

STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS FROM TAMIL

OF PLEASANT THINGS

(By T. B. Krishnasamy Mudaliyar, M. A., B. L.)

சென்ற நகையாண்டுள்ள கோதல் கருவியினிதே தொழுவாண்டுமாயினிதே தோழவின் [சே]

It is very pleasant to attain to the feet of the three-eyed God (Siva); it is pleasant to worship Vishnu who wears the old-time sacred Tulsi garland; it is pleasant to go forth and propitiate the four-faced god (Brahma.)

சீவபுத்திரர் காலியன் கற்றல் மிகவினிதே சந்தகையிற் கைகொடுத்தல் சாஷி முன்னி [சே]

It is pleasant to be educated even if one has to beg for it; it is very pleasant if the learning is helpful to one in an assembly of the learned; it is pleasant to hear the soft words of those who smiling display teeth like pearls; it is also pleasant to befriend the great.

உடையார் வழுதியிற் கொப்ப முடிந்தார் மனைவாழ்க்கை முன்னிதி மானுநர் மாயி [சே]

The gift of a rich man is pleasant; if both parties get on agreeably, domestic life is very pleasant; otherwise think of the instability of fortune and without delay turn ascetic; that alone is pleasant.

ஏவது மானு விளங்கினமை முன்னிதிதே தானு கவையோகை கற்றல் மிகவினிதே யேருடையார் வேளாண்மைதானினி தாக்கினி [சே]

It is pleasant to have children that do one's bidding without demur; it is pleasant to study daily and refrain from evil; pleasant the husbandry of a peasant who owns his own bulls; and if one thinks of it, it is very pleasant to have friends in the direction in which one proceeds.

யானே யுடைய பகடகாண்டன் முன்னிதிதே யுனை தினைநான்பெருக்காமமுன்னிதிதே சான்யாற் தடைகரை யூரினி தாக்கினிதே மானு முடையார் மறிப்பு [சே]

It is very pleasant to see a troop of elephants; it is very pleasant not to lead one's flesh with other flesh; it is pleasant to live in a town on the bank of a forest river; it is pleasant too to be respected by men of honour.

கொள்ளாமமுன்னிதி தகோகோமம் [சே]

Not to kill is pleasant; not to avenge from justice is pleasant to the King; to be a just king is pleasant indeed; not to speak harm or bear false witness against anyone is good also.

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Do not Overlook Your Duty —M. S. Eliatamby

A Harijan Story In Buddhist Times

By Rabindranath Tagore

THE problem of untouchability is not new to our country; we come across references to the custom even in some of our oldest literature. In Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal,' there is a very interesting discussion on the subject of Untouchability and 'Vara' between a Chaudala and a Brahmin.

'In a forest on the banks of the Ganges there dwelt Trisanku, a Chaudala, who was chief of ten thousands of his caste men. He had, in a former term of existence, studied the Vedas, the Itihāsas, the Sastras and other branches of knowledge and remembered them in his present life. He had a son named Sardulakarna, and to him he taught all that he remembered of his previous learning.

Trisanku said: 'There is a marked distinction between ashes and gold, but there is nothing of the kind between a Brahmin and a person of another caste. A Brahmin is not produced like fire by the friction of dry wood; he descends not from the sky, nor from the wind, nor does he arise, piercing the earth.

The Brahmin is brought forth from the womb exactly in the same way as a Chaudala. When he dies, he causes impurity exactly as other castes do; there is not the least difference in the case. Brahmins, longing for flesh-meat, commit most cruel sacrifices. They say that goats and the like, by being sanctified by 'mantras,' go to heaven after slaughter.

Not to kill is pleasant; not to avenge from justice is pleasant to the King; to be a just king is pleasant indeed; not to speak harm or bear false witness against anyone is good also.

other ghee, and so on, but the dust does not thereby become any of those articles, so Brahmin &c., are mere names, and do not imply four distinct species. In animals, like the cow, the horse, etc. there are marked differences in shape, and thereby the cow, the horse and the rest constitute distinct species. In the same way mangoes, hog plums, rose-apples, dates and the rest belong to different species; but there being no difference of shape in Brahmin, Kshatriya, etc., there can be no difference of species. Brahmins become Devas, Kshatriyas Yakshas, Vaisyas Nagas, Sudras Asuras. Had there been any truth in the doctrine of the Sruti that Brahmins produce Brahmins, and Vaisyas Vaisyas, there would certainly have been some specific marks. Moreover, every member of the four castes can attain heaven by the merits of his own actions, and there is no let or hindrance with reference to particular castes; surely, therefore, there are no specific distinctions of castes. Among men, those who plough paddy-fields, sow seeds and raise crops are called Kshatriyas. Those who, giving up marriage, retire to the wilderness, build huts of leaves and there pass their days in contemplation are called Brahmins. Among Brahmins, those who go to the village and teach 'mantras' are called Adhyapakas. Those men who, calculating upon profit, undertake livelihood by petty works are called Sudras. Those who feel disposed to conduct the work of chariots and of elephants get the name of Mantangas. Those who plough are called Krishakas. Those who trade are named Vanikas. Those who retire from home and accept asceticism are named Pravrajitas. Those who by their good conduct gratify people are called kings (Rajas). In none of these is there any specific organic distinction.' — 'Harijan'.

Registration of Ayurvedic Physicians

AYURVEDIC CONGRESS RESOLUTION

A meeting of the All Parties Ayurvedic Congress was held at the Moratuwa Town Hall on the 16th instant. Mr. Susantha de Fonseka M. S. C. presided. The following resolution regarding the registration of Ayurvedic Physicians was passed:

That the Minister of Health be requested to make early arrangements to register (a) all ayurvedic physicians to whom licences are issued to use opium for drugs, (b) ayurvedic practitioners, who are descendants of eminent ayurvedic physicians, possessing over ten years' experience, (c) those educated as physicians in 'pīvanas' and had practised under ayurvedic physicians for over five years, (d) specialists in eye diseases, boils, fractures, and various other diseases, (e) physicians holding certificates from ayurvedic institutions and colleges.

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CEYLON GOVERNMENT
RAILWAY
NOTICE.

On Sunday October 1, 1933 the following alterations and cancellations will be made in train and Rail Car Services:—

1.15 p. m. train from Anuradhapura which is the continuation of the 6-20 a.m. from Kankesanurai, 6.50 a. m. from Batticaloa and 9.20 a. m. from Trincomalee will be held back at Anuradhapura on arrival and leave at 5.45 p. m., Maho dep. 7.45, Polgahwela dep. 10 p. m. and arrive Maradana at 12.8 a. m. calling at all stations between Anuradhapura and Maradana.

The 6.10 a.m. train from Badulla will call at all stations Polgahwela to Maradana arriving Colombo Fort at 7.15 p. m.

The 4.20 p.m. train from Chlaw will precede the 6-10 a. m. Badulla train, Ragama to Maradana.

The Rail Cars leaving Maho at 6.15 a. m. and Kurugala at 12.0 noon are cancelled between Maho and Kurugala.

Colombo, E. W. HEAD.
Sept. 23, 1933. General Manager.
(G. 26, 25-9-33)Auction Sale of Timber & Firewood,
Jaffna Depot

The undermentioned Government Timber and firewood lying at the Jaffna Depot will be sold by public auction on the spot by the Divisional Forest Officer, Northern Division, Jaffna, on Monday October 2, 1933, at 10-30 a. m.

Lot 1. Approximately 300 tons sea-borne firewood.
Lot 2. Miscellaneous lot of sea-borne firewood approximately 300 tons, including 12 tons rail-borne and 5 tons Palm pieces.

Details of this lot can be had from the Depot-keeper on the 30th September 1933.

Lot 3. One lot common poles 12' X 15'
Lot 4. —do— 12' X 13'
Lot 5. —do— 9' X 15'
Lot 6. —do— 9' X 15'
Lot 7. —do— 9' X 12'
Lot 8. —do— 9' X 9'
Lot 9. —do— 9' X 6'
Lot 10. One lot Teak poles 12' X 12'
Lot 11. One lot Vinnanku Poles 12' X 10'

For further particulars and conditions regarding the sale may be obtained at the Divisional Forest Office, Northern Division, Jaffna.

J. D. SARGENT,
Conservator of Forests,
Office of the Conservator of Forests,
P. O. Box, 500,
Colombo, 15th September 1933,
(G 24 25-9-33)

Manager's Notice

VIJAYA DASAMI

The Saiva Prakasa Press and office will be closed on Thursday, September 28, for the "Vijaya Dasami" festival.

There will be no issue of the "Hindu Organ" and the "Inth-Sathanam" on that day.

25-9-33. MANAGER.

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(H 75, 10-8-33—9-2-34.)



Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1933.

THE DAY HAS COME.

THE PROUDEST DAY IN THE HISTORY of Ceylon has come. The people with one voice are asking for self-rule. A new vision has seized their soul and a new inspiration is urging the people to seek larger freedom for self-expression. That secret impulsion deep down in the heart of an ancient and cultured people cowed down by fear and external violence cannot fail to assert itself in the demand for economic and political freedom. This urge for freedom is essentially divine in its nature, inspiration and movement. The voice of freedom may be heard only imperfectly and intermittently at first but its steady and compelling call comes to every individual and nation alike stimulated and assisted may be, by external events but certainly sustained and fed by an inward longing which attests to the divinity in man. Many a time and oft in the past, have the people of this Island appealed to their political masters for boons, concessions and privileges. But, it was not possible for their most stalwart leader to ask for freedom on behalf of the people. The mentality of the people, sunk in subjection to alien domination for centuries, could but ill appreciate the value of freedom. They had all but lost the zest for life, for freedom. Whenever they bethought themselves of the glorious achievements of their ancestors or turned their eyes to the stirring examples of countries in the East striving to regain their lost soul, the people sighed in impotence. The selfishness and indifference of the educated classes chilled the spirit of the peasantry whose simple heart is warm and whose blood throbs with the echo of a great past. The spirit of freedom cannot, however, be long repressed. It

cannot be stifled without destroying the people out-right. After each banishment, it returns with redoubled force to seek expression.

The people of this country have awakened from their lethargy and are addressing themselves to the inevitable and ultimate task of breaking away the fetters that have kept them down. In one mighty sweep the surge of freedom has swept away all differences of caste, race, and religion. The people of this country as a whole demand self-Government. The Ministers' Memorandum is the symbol and seal of the country's earnestness. Never before in the history of Ceylon have the people expressed their views with greater unanimity and never before did leaders speak with the assurance of the solid support of the people behind them.

We recognise that in the past a separatist tendency found favour with the leaders of the different communities in the Island. Such tendency in the past, like all things in Nature, had its justifying and even imperative utility. The communities have now discovered the one common principle and one common power from which all derive their strength and towards which all sub-consciously move and in which, therefore, it is possible for all consciously to unite. They realise that their own safety and happiness and freedom are linked up with the safety, happiness and freedom of the whole nation. The honest communalist, however, may feel a slight difficulty to reconcile the interests of his community with the necessities of the nation. His problem, if indeed, it were a problem, is essentially one of harmony. It arises from the perception of an unsolved discord and the instinct of an undiscovered agreement or unity. This constitutes the spur to drive him to seek a harmony and a reconciliation of the higher, and larger interests of his own community with those of the nation. Indeed, the man who does not strive to discover and discipline himself to an adjustment of the cravings of his body to the higher demands of his spirit is reckoned a brute and a barbarian and his company is shunned by civilised men and women. Even so is the man in public affairs who cannot harmonise the interests of his own community with those of the nation. These discords are the conditions of man's existence and the pursuit of accordance and unity is the fundamental law of man's evolution and the very sense of Nature's universal strivings. The communalist mischief-maker who objects to self-Government does not realise the dignity of his very being or if he does, he has not shaken himself free of prejudices and obsessions and other accretions of his unregenerate days.

This is our proudest day because all Ceylonese have realised the truth of the words of Balfour who said, "We are convinced that there is only one form of Government, whatever it may be called, namely where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people." The people of Ceylon ask for self-rule. But will the Secretary of State regard this as the "proudest day in English history"—as Macaulay claimed for his countrymen so far back as 1833 or will imperial considerations incline him to look upon this as a day of great calamity?

THE MINISTERS'
MEMORANDUM

By J. Tyagaraja, M. A., L. L. B., (Cantab)

THE Ministers' Memorandum which was shrouded in mystery and withheld from the Council and the public all these months has at last seen the light of day. It certainly does not contain the reactionary proposals with which it was associated in the public mind owing to the secret methods adopted by its authors. It is not merely in keeping with the spirit of Mr. E. W. Perera's resolutions but it seeks to go even further and fills up some gaps untouched by them—like the method of electing Ministers and the Constitution of the Public Service Commission. Its chief merit is that within the restricted scope imposed by Mr. E. W. Perera's motions it has sought to effect a complete transfer of power from the Governor's government to the people's representatives. And whilst endeavouring to achieve this object the Ministers have displayed a degree of independence and outspokenness—particularly in regard to their account of the relations between the Governor and themselves—for which they must be congratulated.

A strong case has been made out for the severe curtailment of the Governor's powers. The frequent and arbitrary acts of certification which stand to the discredit of the Governor justify a clearer definition of the term "paramount importance" and the amendment, if not the abolition, of Article 22 of the Order-in-Council. But the Ministers are right in urging the retention of some of the emergency powers. For instance the power of vetoing discriminatory legislation should be retained in order that the apprehensions of the minority communities might be allayed. Besides, in the absence of a second chamber which is an integral part of every democratic constitution in the world, the functions usually discharged by such a chamber like the suspension of hasty legislation until public opinion has expressed itself—should be assigned to the Governor. Apart from these reservations there is no necessity for the drastic powers at present vested in the Governor.

The removal of the Officers of State and their substitution by Ministers and committees is a measure to which persons of all schools of thought would readily subscribe. It is anomalous to permit three officials who are responsible only to the Governor to play the role of Ministers in the State Council. They are responsible for the emergence of a system of dyarchy which has impeded the smooth working of constitution. They constitute what has come to be known as the Governor's government which actually wields all power whilst the Ministers and their committees present an ornamental facade. They are also largely responsible for that policy of splendid isolation which the Governor has consistently pursued via a vis the Ministers whom it was his duty to have taken into his confidence and consulted frequently and freely.

There seems to be a divergence of opinion amongst the Ministers as to the best method of electing the Chairman of Executive Committees. The majority are of opinion that the Chief Minister should be elected by the Council and that he should be given the right to nominate his colleagues. The majority favours the retention of the present system on the ground that it affords the best chance to the members of minority communities of being elected Ministers. I think that neither view is correct. On the one hand, the selection of Ministers by the Leader of the House according to Cabinet conventions is incompatible with the retention of the Committee system. These conventions apply only if the Cabinet system is adopted in its entirety. The convention that the Prime Minister should be empowered to nominate his colleagues was established for this purpose of creating collective responsibility which is the vital characteristic of the Cabinet system. But such a convention cannot be applied to a fundamentally different system whose main characteristic is the absence of

collective responsibility. The Ministers should have unequivocally adopted one of these two types of Executive. By attempting to effect a compromise between the two they have violated recognised constitutional principles and evolved an unworkable proposal. On the other hand, the minority view in favour of the retention of the status quo is more logical. But unfortunately that view is not due to an appreciation of the merits of the committee system but is the outcome of communal misgivings. If the request for the continuance of the present method of electing Ministers was made on the ground that it was an essential feature of the committee-system itself, the argument, though not sound, can be appreciated as it relates to a strictly constitutional issue. But to urge the continuance on purely communal grounds settles neither the communal nor the constitutional issue. The best way of allaying communal misgivings is not by perpetuating a method of electing Ministers which is in the nature of a gamble and results at times in the return of unsuitable men but by solving the problem of representation to the satisfaction of discontented minorities. This, however, is not a matter which should be allowed to obscure the main issue of wresting power from the unwilling hands of the Governor and his Cabal and of vesting that power in an Executive wholly responsible to the Council.

Accordingly a slight variation in the present method of electing Ministers would have met all difficulties. Assuming that the committee-system is to be continued, the Ministers should be elected by an absolute majority of the votes of committee members. There should be a proposer and seconder for each candidate, and if no candidate gets an absolute majority there should be a second ballot. I fail to see why the Ministers cannot recommend a variation on these lines.

No exception can be taken to the recommendation regarding the Constitution of the Public Service Commission by even confirmed communalists. It is only fair that this Commission should be composed of men who have no connection whatever either with the Public Service or with politics. The Governor's contention that three such men possessed of integrity and capacity cannot be found in Ceylon is preposterous and is a libel on the Ceylonese.

Taken as a whole the Memorandum reflects credit on the courage and statesmanship of the Ministers. It represents the minimum demands which will satisfy public opinion. The Governor has made it clear in his reply to the Ministers that he is totally opposed to the changes recommended by them for reasons which do not bear scrutiny. In fact it is possible that His Excellency who has just left our shores may even attempt to influence Downing Street to curtail some of the powers already possessed by the State Council. Therefore a deputation of five councillors will, it would appear, proceed to England immediately to counteract any retrograde action which His Excellency may contemplate and to support the proposals embodied in the Memorandum. In these circumstances it is obvious that the present is not the right moment for raising minor issues. It is inexpedient, for instance, to press the demand for more seats for the minority communities at this juncture as suggested by the Jaffna Free Press, a scurrilous news-sheet which on the pretence of protecting Tamil interests has really created dissensions amongst the Tamils themselves and has estranged them from the majority community—and to make the satisfaction of that demand a condition precedent to supporting the Ministerial proposals. Allocation of seats to areas which are inadequately represented in Council today is a matter of detail which can be amicably settled amongst ourselves. There is no need to make that a major issue when the political destiny of the country is in jeopardy. The only question that matters at the moment is how much power we are able to wrest from the British Government. Some narrow-minded politicians think that the minority communities should not countenance such a transfer of

Continued on page 3 Col. 1.)

India's Problem

(Continued from page 3.)

Mr. Aney's Instructions

In the main, I agree with your interpretation of Sjt. Aney's instructions and my note upon them. I am quite clear in my mind that had those instructions not been issued, the whole movement of civil resistance would have collapsed through growing internal weakness; for Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance, when, as a matter of fact, under the organised terrorism which the Ordinance rule means, organised functioning of Congress Committees had become impossible. A false belief in the functioning of organisations rendered illegal and largely impotent, was fast producing a demoralisation which had to be arrested. There is no such thing as demoralisation in civil resistance, properly applied. You have said rightly that after all "civil disobedience is essentially an individual affair." I go a step further, and say that so long as there is one civil resister offering resistance, the movement cannot die and must succeed in the end. Individual civil resisters do not need the aid of an organisation. After all, an organisation is nothing without the individuals composing it.

Sjt. Aney's instructions were, therefore, I hold, an effective answer to the Ordinances; and if only men and women belonging to the Congress will appreciate the necessity of those instructions with all their implications, the Ordinances will be rendered nugatory, at least so far as the resisters are concerned. They can form a nucleus around which an army of invincible civil resisters can be built up. Nothing in Sjt. Aney's instructions or in my note would warrant the supposition that they preclude organised action by Congressmen in any shape or form.

I would like to warn you against thinking that there is no fundamental difference between individual civil resistance and mass civil resistance. I think that the fundamental difference is implied in your own admission that "it is essentially an individual affair." The chief distinction between mass civil resistance and individual civil resistance is that in the latter everyone is a complete independent unit, and his fall does not affect the others; in mass civil resistance, the fall of one generally adversely affects the rest. Again, in mass civil resistance, leadership is essential, while in individual civil resistance every resister is his own leader. Then again, in mass civil resistance, there is a possibility of failure; in individual civil resistance, failure is an impossibility. Finally a State may cope with mass civil resistance, but no State has yet been found able to cope with individual civil resistance.

Nor may much be made of my statement that an organisation which feels its own strength can at its own risk adopt mass civil resistance. While, as an opinion, it is unexceptionable, I know that at the present moment there is no organisation that can shoulder the burden. I do not want to rise false hopes.

Now about secret methods. I am as firm as ever that they must be tabooed. I am myself unable to make any exceptions. Secrecy has caused much mischief and if it is not put down with a firm hand, it may ruin the movement. There may be exceptional circumstances that may warrant secret methods. I would forego that advantage, for the sake of the masses whom we want to educate in fearlessness. I will not confuse their minds by leading them to think that under certain circumstances, they may resort to secret methods. Secrecy is inimical to the growth of the spirit of civil resistance. If Congressmen will realise that all property is liable to be confiscated at any moment, they will learn to be utterly independent of it.

I quite agree with you that it is ludicrous for individuals to send notices to the local authorities of their intention to offer a particular form of civil disobedience. We do not want to make a great movement ridiculous. Therefore when civil resistance is offered, it should be offered seriously and in an effective manner, in so far as this is possible in furtherance of the Congress programme.

I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress.

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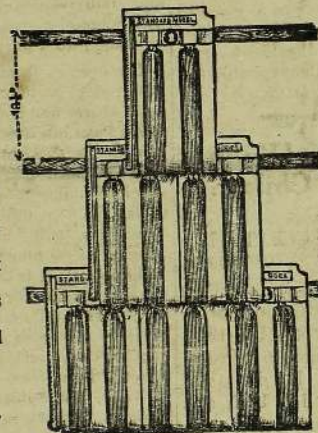
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They became an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. With civil resistance as the background, we cannot possibly do without the constructive activities such as communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never amounted to more than one lakh at the outside. I feel that there is something radically wrong if paralysis has overtaken the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in an open confession by those who, for any reason whatsoever, are unable to join the civil resisters' ranks. They are also serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer to the goal who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named and several other kindred activities I can add to the list. Ordinance or no Ordinance, if individual Congressmen and Congresswomen will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of

building up the house of independence and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment.

Finally if I can say so without incurring the risk of your accusing to me of egotism, I would like to say that I have no sense of defeat in me and the hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920; for I have an undying faith in the efficacy of civil resistance. But as you are aware, after full and prayerful consideration I have decided not to take the offensive during the unexpired period of the sentence of imprisonment that was pronounced against me on the 4th of August last by the court that met in Yeravada Jail. I need not go into the reasons as I have already issued a separate statement about it. This personal suspension, although it may be misunderstood for a while, will show how and when it may become a duty. And if it is a duty, it cannot possibly injure the cause.

Yours,
(Sd.) Bapu.

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