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DISCONTENT AT CEYLON'S PRESENT POLITICAL SUBJECTION

SPIRIT OF LIBERTY TAUGHT BY THE ENGLISH

MR. C. SUNTHERALINGAM'S PLEA FOR UNITY AND AMITY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT YOUTH CONGRESS SESSIONS

"IT is that spirit of liberty which England has inculcated in us which is causing us grave discontent at our present political subjection", said Mr. C. Suntheralingam, M. A (Oxon), B. Sc. (Lond), Bar-at-Law in the course of his presidential address at the Seventeenth Annual Sessions of the Youth Congress, Jaffna, held at Tholpuram on the 25th and 26th instant.

THE following is the text of Mr. Suntheralingam's Presidential address:—

Friends,—We are holding the Seventeenth Annual Sessions of the Youth Congress, Jaffna, during a year fateful for the future of mankind. You are aware, from the pronouncements of responsible British Ministers, that Britain has still to turn the corner and that the growing might of Britain and her Empire has still to endure one more uncertain summer. What will be the end of it all? In so far as we are concerned, will the future of Ceylon be decided over her head, as was done in 1815 at Amiens? Will we be dealt with once again as a mere pawn on the international chess board? I hope not. And I am certain most, if not all, of you share that hope with me. It is not because we love England or that we are anxious to continue to live under British Colonial Office Rule, but because we are sufficiently conservative as not to wish a cataclysmic change in our country's life and government with all its attendant risks and sufferings. You cannot, for instance, contemplate with equanimity my successor addressing your successors in the language either of Japan or of Germany. In fact, if what is represented to us to be the political ideology of those countries is true in

substance, neither you nor I, it would appear, would be allowed even the liberty of meeting at all in open sessions! It is that spirit of liberty which England has inculcated in us which is causing us grave discontent at our present political subjection. We are not a free people as, for example, the people of Eire are today. We have been and still are, what they were three decades ago, a subject-people.

You know the sentence in one of Britain's National Songs, "Britons never never, never, shall be slaves." The best minds of Britain would apply the principle underlying that sentence to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of creed or colour. But, unfortunately for the world, those minds have not been in a majority in Parliament to translate their ideas into action. I venture to add that had the British Statesmen during the current century not followed a policy of greed and grab and of systematic exploitation of colonial territories for the benefit of the Mother Country, and had they instead, truly and honestly, fulfilled their professed mission of Trusteeship, the world would not today be in the throes of terrible war—a war in which the

inventive ingenuity of man is demoniacally directed to destroy man.

I well remember how, during the last Great War, a flood of international idealism was let loose over the whole of the British Empire. British Peoples were told that that war was to end wars; that the war was being waged to make the world safe for democracy; that it was no longer proper to speak of the British Empire and that one had to regard it reverently, as a Comity or as a Commonwealth of British Nations, each striving for its fullest self-realisation in its own way; that India was to be granted her freedom as a return for the great sacrifice of her sons, in the cause of world freedom itself, on the fields of Flanders and of France. What was the result? Britain and her Allies, thanks to the timely intervention of the United States of America under the guidance of a visionary Professor (as Monsieur Clemenceau is said to have described President Woodrow Wilson) achieved victory. But the victory was so unexpected, so thorough, and so far-reaching that the victors lost their heads and in their exultation they forgot all the idealism that inspired that victory and made it possible. Instead, Reactionism, Imperial Tariffism and Jingoism were let loose. Is it a matter for surprise that, as a natural consequence, just after two decades of the Treaty of Versailles, Britain should be engaged in an active war against Hitlerism on the one hand and a passive war against Gandhism on the other? Can there be World Peace with White Men fighting for Burden?

Whatever be the ultimate outcome of the present war one conclusion seems inevitable. There will and can be no place in the eastern hemisphere of the post-war world for small, independent, nations. Either they will be swallowed up by their bigger and more powerful neighbours, or they will at best be allowed to exist as autonomous units under the tutelage of strong and self-reliant

military considerations, imperial or otherwise. Of course Diplomacy will invent suitable phrases to describe a make-believe autonomy but, in real substance, small countries such as ours, can never hope to be completely free.

In such a world-system, what would we, the people of Ceylon, wish for our Motherland? This question raises some very vital practical issues. At present, as we are situated, we are completely dependent on, and at the mercy of, Britain. Britain's war is, willy-nilly, our war; Britain's peace is, willy-nilly, our peace! India is now in the same predicament as ourselves. Suppose India were free? Can India ever become free? Her Leaders entertain no doubts. It may be that in the past no subject-nation ever attained freedom except through bloodshed and assassination, by open revolt, or by terrorist tactics, or by guerilla warfare. Lokmanya Tilak could not envisage any method but the method of History. Mahatma Gandhi is quite confident of the efficacy of Satyagraha for national emancipation and international peace. It remains to be seen whether that confidence as well—or ill-placed even in regard to India's freedom. Whatever that may be, there is in India today a passionate feeling, which animates all her peoples, that she cannot rest content with anything less than *Purana Swaraj*. Her country is large, her resources are great, her industrialisation is proceeding fast apace, her people are courageous and her young men are willing to undergo supreme sacrifice. In such a state communal discord may delay her reaching her goal, but that she will reach it, is beyond question. In fact, is not Britain already feeling that a sullen and sulking India can do neither nation any good?

That India will not remain tied much longer to the apron strings of England seems certain: those strings may be broken asunder if they are not loosened. What will Ceylon's position then be? There is a certain section of the people of Ceylon who would prefer to entrust their country for all time to the benevolent care of a victorious Britain. They fear an alliance with a free India because they feel that her people would swamp the people of Ceylon. There can be no doubt that the peaceful penetration of Ceylon by India and Britain has gone on merrily since "Mala-

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Hindu Organ.

MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1941

THE YOUTH CONGRESS

THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL Session of the Jaffna Youth Congress which was held over the week-end at Tholpuram is of great significance as it reflects the ideals and aspirations of the country's youth. In Mr. C. Suntheralingam the Congress has a leader, whose vision, sterling honesty, intellectual independence, courage of conviction, and patriotism should prove an invaluable asset to the Congress. He is already one of the undoubted leaders of the youth of Ceylon and will soon forge ahead as a national leader. The president has clarified the issues before the country under the five cardinal points of the abolition of foreign exploitation, equality of opportunity, removal of social barriers, national unity, and self-determination. We believe that the Congress has acted rightly in changing its creed from complete independence to self-determination, not because we consider the former dangerous or injudicious, but because the latter is more comprehensive and more practical. We insist that the Order that emerges as a result of the war should be one determined by

the people themselves, and not one imposed from without. The president's arguments on this point are so convincing that we do not wish to go over the same field again. The one lesson we learn from the War is that small nations will have no place in the future World Order except as appendages to some great power or powers. We must be free to make any decision that will suit the circumstances in which we find ourselves in the future.

The views expressed by the president and the Congress on Indo-Ceylon relations, the need for communal harmony and on the social and economic questions are so unexceptionable that they must find acceptance with any reasonable man. The Congress has, we are glad to note, made the same line of approach to these problems as we have done from time to time in these columns. The Congress justly insists on the right of the Ceylonese nation to put a stop to all foreign exploitation, whether it be by the European or the Indian, but concedes that the rights of resident Indians should be settled by negotiation between a national Indian Government and a national Ceylon Government. On the communal question it believes that communal ill-feeling, if there is any, is an accretion of recent growth, due to job-hunters and self-seeking politicians and that the path to progress lies in the promotion of mutual understanding and harmony among the various communities. Lastly while recognising the value of socialism in principle, the Congress believes in gradual evolution rather than in violent revolution.

The Congress under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Suntheralingam has made up its mind to carry the message to the masses in the various villages. We do believe that the war that is raging over Europe should not stand in the way of any political activity. The post-war world is bound to be very different from the world of today. Social and political upheavals are bound to take place at the end of the war which will create an altogether New Order. Thinking men all over the world are trying to indicate the main outlines of what that Order should be. If we Ceylonese are to play our part worthily in that order, we should visualise now what that part is to be and prepare ourselves for that task in all seriousness. Our age-long complacency and laissez-faire will find us all unprepared for the task. We shall be merely swept away by the current of events, and not be able to find firm ground. It is up to the Congress and its leader to go into the villages, and carry the message of the Congress to the dumb millions and prepare them for the bright future that awaits them.

Self-Determination

Goal of Youth Congress

Two Day Sessions at Tholpuram

SHOULD the goal of the Jaffna Youth Congress be national self determination or National independence was the subject of a heated discussion lasting one and a half hours at the Sessions of the Jaffna Youth Congress held at Tholpuram on Friday last.

Mr. Suntheralingam M. A., B. Sc. president elect of the Congress was taken in procession to the gorgeously decorated pandal specially erected for the purpose at the grounds of the Vadakampirai Amman Temple grounds. About 1000 people attended the sessions. An address of welcome on behalf of the residents of the village was presented to the President by Mr. V. Selvadurai, Ayurvedic physician.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Secretary of the Congress delivered the reception address (a text of which appears elsewhere). The President elect next delivered his presidential address.

At the afternoon sessions Mr. S. Mahadevan moved the following resolutions—

"Inasmuch as political freedom is the birthright of every people and is a necessary condition for the full development of every aspect of a nation's life this Congress calls upon the people of this country to work unceasingly for the realisation of self determination."

Mr. A. Thirneelakandan moved to amend the resolution by substituting "national independence" for "national self-determination". He deplored the attempt to change a 16 year-old creed now and said that the resolution, if passed, would offer scope for reactionaries like Mr. S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike and Mr. Donald Obeyesekere.

Further, the passing of the resolution would be tantamount to a retreat by the Congress and would afford much rejoicing to the local Jinnahs.

Mr. V. Satchchithanathan seconding warned the Congress that in the event of the resolution being passed those who had a duously and consistently worked for the original ideals of the Congress would stick to their homes in disgust.

"Victimised"

Mr. S. H. Perinpanayagam, a former President of the Congress, and Messrs. P. Nagalingam and C. Tharmakulasingham supported the amendment.

The President Mr. C. Suntheralingam, appealed to the Congress to view the question soberly. Continuing, Mr. Suntheralingam said he accepted the Presidenship on the assurance of the Secretary and some members of the Committee that a change of creed, as stated in the resolution would be effected at that sessions.

Mr. P. Nagalingam remarked that the proposed change in the creed had not been intimated to all members of the Committee.

Mr. Suntheralingam retorted: "If that is so, I have been victimised."

Mr. Suntheralingam further said that if the creed was changed in the manner indicated in the resolution it would enable him to negotiate with the political parties in the south of Ceylon. He warned them against repeating the mistakes of the past, like passing a resolution to

SAIVA PARIPALANA SABHAI, JAFFNA

Opening of Library and Reading Room

The Library and Reading Room of the Saiva Paripalana Sabhai, Jaffna, will be opened at the auspicious hour at 12 noon on Friday, the 2nd May 1941, at the Pasunpathy Chettiar buildings, Vannarponnai, when a consecration ceremony will be performed and Religious classes started.

The formal opening of the Reading Room and Library by Dr. S. Subramaniam J. P. will take place at 5 p.m.

All Hindus are cordially invited.

Colombo Mayor Beaten At Election

Mr. M. Joseph De Silva (Labour) defeated the Congress candidate, Dr. R. Saravanamuttu, by a majority of 2,806 votes at the Colombo North (State Council) by-election held on Saturday last. The result of the polling was as follows:—

Mr. M. Joseph De Silva ... 9,540
Dr. R. Saravanamuttu ... 6,734

boycott the State Council and an anti-war resolution.

"One More Resignation"

On a member of the audience inquiring what he would do in the event of the amendment succeeding Mr. Suntheralingam said—"I shall then seriously consider the problem of one more resignation."

Mr. M. Balasundaram last year's President, supporting Mr. Suntheralingam's view said that self-determination did not negative national independence but extended the choice. It was not possible for a tiny island like Ceylon to be independent under the world conditions which existed now, nor could they visualise the possibility of such independence in the future.

After further discussion the amendment was defeated by a small majority and the original motion carried.

Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe of the United Socialist Party of Ceylon and Vidwan T. Thangarajan addressed the meeting.

Second Day

The second day's proceedings began at 9 a. m. with music by Miss K. Satyapama. Then the Congress formally passed resolutions Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

Mrs. N.M. Pereira then addressed the gathering. In the course of her speech she said that she was specially asked to confine herself to Ceylon affairs and not to speak about the war. She said she had brought a message from the Lanka Sama Samaj Party. That party was no stranger to Jaffna. Five years ago, when the party was launched, Jaffna gave her support. The L. S. S. P. was in the forefront of the war for freedom. They of the L. S. S. P. were carrying on an anti-imperial war. Today the Youth of Ceylon was very seriously affected by the problems of unemployment and hunger. They wanted a radical remedy for these. The economic condition of Ceylon could rightly be understood in the background of world conditions. These economic ills could not be solved by temporary reforms. They could only be solved on an international basis.

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WHAT THE YOUTH CONGRESS STANDS FOR

Social Economic and Political
Regeneration

RECEPTION ADDRESS

"WE of the Youth Congress do not court easy popularity by playing upon racial or religious prejudices," declared Mr. C. Subramaniam, B. A., Secretary of the Youth Congress, Jaffna, in his Reception address at the Tholpuram Session.

THE following is the text of his address:—

Friends,—I extend to you on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Youth Congress a hearty welcome to our sessions this year. We welcome particularly the visitors who have come here from distant parts of the Island to witness and to express their sympathy with our proceedings.

We welcome also our President. In order to describe him, to pay emphatic honour to him, to praise the firmness of his nature, the squareness of his person or his conduct and the strength of his character I can do no better than call him, in the felicitous language of an ordinary Londoner, a 'brick'. We have chosen this 'brick' to make it a corner stone to a further extension of the Youth Congress. Our President is no stranger to us. The retiring President and the majority of the members of the Committee were either his students or mere residents of the Union Hostel when he was the Warden there. He knew, and, I am not wrong in saying, that he assisted in the birth of this Congress. He has been more than a midwife and in order to describe his anxious care over the Youth Congress I can say that he has been its foster mother. The Congress, being a living organisation, has had prosperity and adversity, triumphs and failures, but it is no exaggeration to say that our president has always had something good to speak of the Congress when critics loudly condemned its actions. We do not claim infallibility; we might have done foolish things as any other human association or body of men might have done. But we claim that even in our folly we have never been untrue to our ideals.

Creating Citizens

This Congress, as most of you are aware, was brought into being in 1924 by a few young men who had just then passed out of the University College. At that time the "Aborigines" of Jaffna had not come into existence, nor have the Jaffna Association shown signs of senile decay. Those young men were imbued with the spirit of liberty and energetic effort that is found in European Society. They wondered whether the calm immemorial life of reli-

gion and social tradition, of temple and palm tree could be infused with the spirit of the West. G. K. Chesterton in one of his delightful essays says that 'the greatest thing our Europe had made is a Citizen, the idea of the average man free and full of honour voluntarily invoking on his own sin the just vengeance of his city. The first organisers of the Congress felt that the creation of a 'Citizen free and full of honour' was the task before their country and that they should in their own humble way make the beginning. They felt that all else was mere machinery for that purpose. Hence they admitted to their ranks men and women of any age, caste or creed provided they felt the need for the creation of the Citizen, in other words, the establishment of democracy social and political. It would not therefore be a matter for surprise if you find among our past presidents a Christian Clergyman—the late Rev. Dr. Isaac Tambiah, an orthodox Saivait Mr. S. Shivapathasundaram, a Tamil Scholar—Mr. Kaliyana Sundara Mudaliyar, Veteran School Masters—Mr. J. V. Chelliah and Mr. P. De S. Kularatne, Politicians both Indian and Ceylonese—Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya and Messrs. K. Balasingam, C. E. Corea, and Dr. R. Saravanamuttu, young teachers and lawyers Messrs. S. H. Perampalayagam and M. Balasundaram. This bewildering variety of characters and quality in the past holders of the office of the President shows the range and extent of the influence of the Congress.

Period of Inactivity

The Congress rose to the height of its power in 1927 when Mahatma Gandhi visited the Island on the invitation of the Congress. Its power and prestige waned after the Boycott of the State Council Elections from 1931 to 1938. In 1938 it came to life again and it has grown from strength to strength ever since then.

During its period of inactivity after the Boycott, forces of reaction and racial intolerance reigned supreme in Jaffna. It seemed as if all the efforts of the past nationalists and patriots of Ceylon had been in

vain. Self-seeking politicians in search of easy election tactics or jobs for their friends and supporters made the full use of all reactionary elements in Jaffna; so that when the Congress was resuscitated in 1938 it found itself opposed by these reactionary politicians who felt that they had made Jaffna safe for them. But the Congress stood valiantly against their opposition and now it feels that their opposition is only a foil to bring out its best.

Opposition Welcome

We welcome opposition because only in the clash and conflict of opinions can one arrive at truth. In fact no democracy can function properly without opposition. The virtues of the British Parliament are largely due to there being always an opposition. Democracy with opposition degenerates into dictatorship. Besides, opposition lends variety and charm to an otherwise dull life. If for example the Jaffna Association thinks that the duty on Malayalam Tobacco was raised as a protest against the Homogeneous Board of Ministers one can laugh at the priceless joke. It again for example they say that there should be 50 per cent of the seats for the minorities and 50 per cent for the majority community and yet say in the same breath that government appointments should not be made in that rates one can wonder at the amazing illogicality of the human mind when it is not governed by any principle. We welcome opposition and wish long life to our opponents so that the principles and ideals of the Congress might shine all the better by contrast.

Not Only Political

It is foolish to think that the Congress is only a political body. It is true that it takes interest in politics because its purpose, as stated before, is to see that democracy is established. But it is not its only purpose. Among its objects are Artistic and Cultural revival and social and economic regeneration of the country. One of its chief concerns is how to stem the tide of growing poverty of the peasants and the ever increasing unemployment among the labourers both intellectual and physical in this country. When our pious worthies talk of crime and the means of getting rid of it I wonder whether they realise the true cause of it. They seem to think that wicked men could be made good if they were made to listen to platitudes. As long as the wickedest men one knows are far too rich and powerful to such platitudes, this process seems futile. When one speaks of crime one does not, of course refer to the real criminals namely the bribe-takers and givers and their kin who corrupt the public and social life, deny merit its right recognition and in general thwart the progress of the country. One talks of men who stole because they were hungry or killed because they were in a rage. The real cause of crime is not the lack of platitudes and of men to utter them but the existence of grinding poverty and illiteracy.

Insane Distribution of Revenue

There is a class of Politicians here who attribute the poverty of the peasants and unemployment among the labourers to Indian immigration. The cry has gone up that the Indians have taken the bread out of the mouths of the Ceylonese. It is true that Immigration has caused hardship and unemployment among the people of

this country. But to regard immigration as the sole cause or even the prime cause shows an utter lack of understanding of the economic conditions of the people here. The flat fact is that there was not much bread to be taken out of good many of the Ceylonese. Even if all the Indians in Ceylon were packed away by the next steamer or the Talaimannar train the poverty of the peasants and the unemployment among the labourers would not be affected very much. Mr. Senanayake on his visit to Mysore was able to see how, although the revenue of Mysore was less than that of Ceylon, that country was much more prosperous than our Island which is certainly not less fertile than Mysore. He said that there a peasant was able to have a radio by his cottage. How was he able to do this? The reason is not far to seek. Only a fraction of the revenue of the country is spent on unproductive parasitic Government employments. While a good part of the revenue is spent in helping the peasants by improving agriculture and in subsidising Industries which are necessary for the improvement of agriculture. Unfortunately in Ceylon the major portion of the revenue is spent on salaries of the Government servants, and what is left is not sufficient to develop the economic resources of the country. If a man who earns Rs. 100 were to spend Rs. 60 in paying his domestic servants and Rs. 40 in food and clothing for his wife and children such a man would be certified as fit for the Lunatic Asylum. Political economy is no different from domestic economy. When about 60 per cent of the revenue of Ceylon is spent on salaries to Government servants and the rest only for the welfare of the people nobody seems to think that there is something insane in the distribution of the revenue.

The colossal salaries of the highly paid Government servants are entirely out of proportion to the average income or earning capacity of a Ceylonese. We suggest that the example of Mysore in this respect be followed in Ceylon.

Apathy of Legislators

The Congress has undertaken the study of economic questions and would present its views on various economic problems in the form of resolutions for our Legislators to take notice of. But we feel that there is a good deal of apathy among our Legislators for the welfare of the peasants and the ordinary people of our land. True, they pay lip service to their welfare at election meetings or whenever they wish to fan racial hatred in order to strengthen their party or position in Council. But very few concrete proposals have been put forward. When Mr. Bandaranaike suggests that to usher in the millennium in Ceylon one has only to drive all the Indians out of the Island, we know what the lip service of Mr. Bandaranaike means. It means nothing more than that he is playing on the racial feeling of his people in order that he might be regarded as their hero or leader. When Mr. Ponnambalam in Jaffna shouts himself hoarse that the Tamils are being oppressed like the Jews in Germany he does no better than Mr. Bandaranaike.

We of the Youth Congress do not court easy popularity by playing upon racial or religious prejudices. Not one of us desire that he should

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Discontent at Ceylon's Present Political Subjection

(Continued from page 1)

bar coolies", as they were then known, were first brought over for the coffee plantations. You will remember the circumstances in which they were brought over. After the unsuccessful revolts of the Kandyans, sometime after British occupation, the inhabitants were dispossessed of their properties, large tracts of fertile lands (though in jungle) were declared crown property, and then made over for a few shillings per acre to English adventures and planters. They felt that it would be dangerous and unsafe to employ the dispossessed villagers on their plantations. In the result, waves and waves of Indian labourers came over. You then had the picture of rich Ceylon land, expropriated from the Ceylon villager, cultivated by Indian indentured labour, with English capital, under English supervision and management, earning fabulous profits to be drained away to England. The middlemen those days—the clerk, the conductor, the kanakupulle, and later, the tea-maker—were either Jaffna Tamils or Ceylon Malays. They too have in more recent times been displaced largely by Indians. In the wake of the Indian labourers, came the Nattukottai Chettians, and then the Borahs and other Indian traders. These latter came of their own accord, while the labourers were specially recruited as indentured labourers under a system evolved under the aegis of the Colonial Government. The abuses of the *tundu* system (not only in Ceylon but also elsewhere) which involved the labourers in grave hardships made the Government of India to interfere. They interfered in the first instance to protect the labourers, who were their Nationals, from exploitation by Capitalists who were mainly the Nationals of England. The Government of India thus came to impose terms and conditions under which Indian nationals could be recruited as labourers for Ceylon plantations. The Europeans rather than give up the supply of cheap, efficient and above all, docile labour had no alternative but to negotiate and bargain about the terms and conditions of recruitment. Hence it was that undertakings were given to the Government of India by the Colonial Government of Ceylon in regard to certain so called rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the Indians who came over as assisted immigrant labour. An Agent of the Government of India was also appointed in Ceylon to protect those labourers, to see that the undertakings were carried out and to secure a steady improvement in their economic, social, medical, and educational conditions. In the result, the assisted Indian labourers in upcountry estates came to be looked after, mainly at the expense of the people of Ceylon, in a better manner than the Ceylonese villagers in their own Ceylonese homes. Side by side with the assisted immigrant labourers, came the unassisted immigrant labourers, money lenders and traders. They too

placed themselves under the protection of the Agent of the Government of India. It would afford very interesting and even very amusing reading if the Memoranda and Memorials submitted to him by the Nattukottai Chettians Association were published. The people of Ceylon had thus to face competition from European capitalists and managers on the one hand and from Indian capitalists and labourers on the other. I cannot forget an occasion, about six years back, when in the course of an argument about the exploitation of Ceylon by non-Ceylonese a Ceylon domiciled Indian, then occupying a high position, admitted that in Ceylon the interests of the Indians and Europeans were almost identical. He referred to the plantations in upcountry, to the banks and insurance companies functioning in the land, to the import and export trade of the Island, to the work in the harbour, and to the business houses in the Fort and in the Pettah. If one surveys the whole economic field of Ceylon today, one cannot fail to be struck at one and the same time by the position of domination occupied by non-Ceylonese on the one hand and by the helpless and abject condition in which the Ceylonese find themselves on the other. The people of Ceylon have been and are being squeezed out of their land and out of their living by Europeans from above and by Indians from below. It is true that since the introduction of the Donoughmore Constitution some action has been taken to check this process, but that has neither been far reaching enough nor deep enough. One can now well understand how it is that for his attitude on the Indian question the Governor of Ceylon who is the custodian of British exploiting interests came recently to be commended by the Indian Legislative Assembly which, let us not forget, is functioning with the Congress Leaders behind prison bars.

Fortunately, I have reason to believe that the Indian National Congress will not view this question in the light or with the outlook in which the Hon. Sir Girja Sankar Bajpai of the Indian Civil Service and H. E. Sir Andrew Caldecott of the Colonial Civil Service seem to view it. You will remember that in July, 1939, when Congress Governments were in power in a large number of Indian Provinces, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Ceylon to deal with the question on the spot. After two conferences which he had with the Board of Ministers, it appeared that some difficulties were being experienced in reaching a settlement. Thereupon I had occasion to discuss the matter with Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake. With his consent and on certain fundamental terms which were acceptable to him, and which he thought would be acceptable to his colleagues on the Board of Ministers, I conferred with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in the presence of Mr. Vittal Pai, I. C. S., the then Agent of the Government of India. The results of the con-

ference were embodied in a Note made by me and corrected by Mr. Pai. The Note was handed to Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake who for his part accepted the contents of the Note as conforming to the terms outlined by him. How eminently reasonable Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake were then could be seen from a study of the Note. I would invite a publication of that Note which was before the Pundit and the Board of Ministers at their third conference. The Public both of Ceylon and of India, will then be able to judge for themselves how very near the two countries were of a solution of this vexed question and how very far apart they have since gone. The real Leaders of India who would not tolerate the exploitation of their country by Britain can consistent with their oft-repeated principles, hardly acquiesce in the joint exploitation of Ceylon by Britain and by India.

What India does not want is discrimination in practice against her nationals. She feels her self-respect hurt by such action. This aspect of the problem has unfortunately not been properly appreciated by us in Ceylon. We have for example, the Leader of the Sinhala Maha Sabha reviling at the domination of Ceylon by the Indians, but he is not quite so vehement about the Europeans. It has been estimated that there are nearly four thousand Europeans employed in Ceylon whose average emoluments a month are about Rs. 500/-. Their monthly salary bill is thus Rs. 2,000,000/-. If one takes Rs. 18/- to be the average monthly wages of an Indian labourer the employment of four thousand Europeans is equivalent to that of over one Lakh of Indians. I avoid statistical reference to the large annual drain by England of the resources of this Country in respect of invincible service and on account of profits of English Companies. Yet, the Leader of the Sinhala Maha Sabha wants only protection from domination by Indians. And how did he present the problem during the Delhi talks? I must cite to you a significant question and an equally significant answer which are on record:

"Hon. Sir G. S. Bajpai: Is it seriously suggested that the Indian population, of 1 million would totally dominate a population of 5 million?"

"Hon. Mr. Bandaranaike: This 5 million is divided into a number of minorities. One-sixth of the population, with the economic predominance which they have now, can very easily and quickly convert that position into one of political dominance."

You will thus see that Mr. Bandaranaike has confessed that Ceylon is a house divided against itself and that he went to Delhi to secure, if possible, such a balance of political power in Ceylon as would prevent the Indian vote from being cast to affect adversely the Sinhala Maha Sabha and its Leader. Such parochial political opportunism, I need hardly add, should not be allowed to influence the good relations which should subsist between two neighbouring countries.

What Ceylonese want today is effective protection from exploitation by non-Ceylonese. Ceylonese

have been turned out of Malaya. In that policy our present Governor once told me that he played no small part. The Ceylonese have no other country but their own to look to for their employment. If jobs which they should hold are held by non-Ceylonese, and if occupations and industries in which they should be engaged are monopolised by outsiders, what are they to do for their living? The sons of the soil must have the first right to its fruits. Will India, aided by Imperial Britain, deny us that right? We know what answer men like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose would give to that question.

One does not know what the fate would be of the two Bills which have recently been passed by the State Council and which now await the signature of His Majesty's pleasure. There are already threats in the air of passive resistance being offered by Members of the Ceylon Indian Congress. Is it even now too late in the day for some amicable settlement between National India and National Ceylon without the interested intervention of Whitehall?

If one takes a long view of the relations between India and Ceylon one cannot help but feel that the destinies of these two countries are cast together. A free India cannot afford to allow Trincomalee to be under a Foreign Power, nor can she tolerate Ceylon to be used as a jumping-off ground against her. On her part, whose protection should Ceylon prefer; that of her next door neighbour or that of a country thousands of miles away? If States like Mysore can exist under the Indian System without being swamped, will it not be possible to negotiate an arrangement, a mode of living, to the mutual advantage and well-being of both Ceylon and India?

* * *

Such an Ideal postulates for its realisation the existence of a United Ceylon. Unfortunately, as the Leader of the Sinhala Maha Sabha has already confessed, Ceylon is divided against itself. Towards that division he appears to have made his own contribution, perhaps unwittingly. Rather than condemn, one cannot but commend his great desire to bring together into one fold the several sects and castes of the Sinhalese. But whether the ideology of the Sinhala Maha Sabha affords a proper fold seems problematic: it is a question for which Mr. Dahanayake of Galle has an unequivocal answer. However that may be, when Mr. Bandaranaike goes further and uses language that seeks to make out that Ceylon is only for the Sinhalese then he is doing himself, and our common country grave wrong.

(To be Continued)

WANTED

Wanted a Shop Manager with knowledge of accounts and business correspondence should be able to furnish Cash security for Rs. 1000/-. Salary Rs. 40/- per mensem. Apply stating qualifications and previous experience to the Managing Director, North Ceylon, Industrial Co. Ltd., Point Pedro. 10-4-41. (Mia. 8, 10, 24 & 29-4-41)

SIDE LIGHTS AND LIGHT SIDES

(By Squint Eye)

A special general meeting of the Sinhala Maha Sabha has decided that if the immigration ordinances were not allowed to pass into law "Ceylonese should patronise Ceylonese shops and goods as far as possible."

Probably Mr. Bandaranaike did not see the joke in the threat to "Buy Ceylonese" if his way was not allowed.

If the ordinances became law then Sena-Banda Co. (limited ability) will give the go-by to Ceylonese shops and goods.

An agitation by Ceylonese shops and producers of goods is here indicated.

Now what did the President of the European Association mean exactly when he spoke recently that the reason for the determination of the Ceylon Ministers to carry the immigration bills through was to be found in their feeling that they had been slighted in New Delhi during the negotiations?

Mahatma Gandhi wants women to take up the difficult work of moving stony hearts, in regard to opening temples to Harijans.

Considering the great influx of women into films some men think he should ask other women to take up the work of stoning movie hearts.

Just before poor Yugo was attacked the people of that country were reported to have declared, "we Serbs are going to war as others go to a wedding".

Quite a few people, especially bridegrooms, go to their wedding as the Serbs go to war.

Five Years for Alleged Attempt to Murder, reads a headline in the daily press.

Must be a novice at the task!

When Yugoslavia signed the Axis pact President Roosevelt ordered all Yugoslav funds in the U. S. A. to be frozen. In the same week when King Peter chucked out the Axis-pact crowd U. S. A. promptly re-liquified Yugoslav funds.

Quick changes in the weather.

A landslide occurred in Ruzan district in Rumania, the centre of a disastrous earthquake a few weeks ago, states a Bucharest dispatch. Masses of earth are moving forward over twenty feet daily in Ruzan area. As a result of this and previous landslides the contours of the country have been changed and new hills have been formed while many streams have altered their courses.

This Berlin message probably "prepared" the ground for the coming British attack!

Raw Rubber to be Hit Hard, says a news paper headline in regard to the situation created by synthetic rubber selling at a stilling a pound.

Must be hot hard if it is to rise.

Did you notice the names of the moving figures in Yugoslavia during the Axis manoeuvres, Stoyadinovitch, Mikitovitch, Iko.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

The Moolai Co-op Hospital

Sir, -The Co-operative hospital which had been rendering invaluable medical aid during the regime of the benevolent Dr. Kanagarayar is now, I regret, at sixes and sevens. On the untimely passing away of Dr. Kanagarayar, Dr. Cathiravelu was appointed as physician in charge. It was over this appointment that the hitherto smoothly working executive committee first experienced the tug-of-war. With Dr. Cathiravelu severing his professional connections with the hospital some of the committee members relinquished their seats.

Under clause 20 of the Bye-Laws, a meeting of the house was called on 20-4-41 and the president occupied the chair. Painful necessity compels me to disclose what took place at the meeting. A good number of the members besides being refractory displayed mob mentality that not a single item on the agenda was gone through. Repeated efforts by the secretary to bring the house to order proved futile. Further the secretary earnestly entreated the members to bottle their fury on the assurance that he would afford them opportunities of placing their petty differences and personal grievances before the whole house for consideration. This too was without success.

The bone of contention so far as I can discern is the appointment of a doctor. One party is making all endeavour to have Dr. Cathiravelu reinstated or in the event of failure to bring the hospital to a stand-still. It after having expended so much money a frivolous question of appointing a doctor should cause so much friction it is highly doubtful that the members would hence forth not experience perpetual discord. As the breach is every day becoming wider it is expedient that the Registrar of Co-operative Societies should take immediate steps to bridge the gap.

That the Jaffna men cannot work harmoniously towards achieving a common goal is again proved. It would be a disgrace to the Tamils in general and members in particular to have the pages of the history of this society stained with ugly stories. As the fate of the hospital is hanging on a thread I appeal to the members to rectify material discrepancies and make every effort towards running the hospital as they had been doing hitherto.

S. K. VADIVALE.

Tholpalam,
Chuliparam,
21-4-41.

nitch, &c?

We ought to have known they were all itching for trouble.

Some days ago Mussolini was reported in some quarters as being unable to sleep and striding round his bedroom raging like a mad man.

It was because the old firm had been changed into Nuttall-Hissolini & Co. One of these days we may read it is Hitler-Missolini & Co.

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Mr. W. S. Shaw	1,000

Self-Determination

(Continued from page 2)

The world Society was rotting; the present world's decaying social system bred war, and barred all progress.

Mr. Reggie Pereira of the L. S. S. P. addressed the gathering.

The President in the course of his concluding remarks said that he sympathised with the ideals of the L. S. S. P. but speaking for the whole of Jaffna he said that Jaffna was against a revolution but was for evolution.

Mrs. N. M. Pereira:—Shame, President Mrs. Pereira says "shame" but I am sure that the audience could bear out my statement (cries of no from a section of the house)

The President: I am glad that Mrs Pereira has got some recruits to her camp. However I am convinced, as a man of experience, of the perilous path of revolution the L. S. S. P. is following.

In the evening session Resolutions No 5 and 6 were discussed and passed. Then Mr. W. Dahanayaka, Mayor of Galle, addressed the sessions. In the course of his speech he said that he was grieved to find that the Youth Congress had changed its creed, but he hoped that before long the Congress would rally itself to its former ideals, and work for the complete independence of this country.

Mr. S. K. Govindasampillai M. A., of the Annamalai University, next gave an instructive address on the politics of the ancient Tamils.

The President in his concluding address appealed for unity and co-operation.

What the Youth Congress Stands For

(Continued from page 3)

be called the local Il Duce or the Fuehrer. Our purpose is to study the various political and economic questions dispassionately and scientifically and suggest ways and means by which the economic and political regeneration of our country might be achieved. We hope that the reasonableness and good sense of our suggestions would find favour with those in whom the direction of the affairs of this Island has been entrusted. I do not wish to take up your time any longer and I feel that you are anxious to listen to the Presidential address. His views on many subjects and particularly on Indian Immigration are those of the majority of the Congress. He has taken part in some sort of negotiation between the Board of Ministers and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on this question. His views therefore would be based on the reasonable agreement arrived at between Pandit Nehru and the Board of Ministers. Whatever may be the individual differences of opinion I feel certain that you would agree with him in the main on this question.

I welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, to our sessions and I venture to hope that you would return home after our deliberations with a due sense of what this Congress stands for.

Messrs. W. G. Hills and H. C. Clarks who do not wish their amounts published and 9 others who do not wish their names published

87,500

Total Rs. 1,055,870

Order NisiIN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 1000

In the matter of the estate and effects of the late Sanmugam Kandiah of Karaitive East Deceased.
Sivahamy widow of Sanmugam Kandiah of Karaitive East.

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Sinnammah daughter of Sanmugam Kandiah
 2. Kandiah Nadarajah
 3. Sunthary daughter of Sanmugam Kandiah
 4. Kandiah Velupillai all of Karaitive East
- The 1st, 2nd and 3rd respondents being minors by their proposed Guardian - ad - litem the 4th Respondent

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the petitioner abovenamed praying that the abovenamed 4th respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors 1st, 2nd and 3rd respondents for the purpose of representing them in these testamentary proceedings and that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be granted to the petitioner coming on for disposal before C. V. D. S. Corea, Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on the 18th day of March 1941 in the presence of Mr. S. Candiah, Proctor on the part of the petitioner and the petition and affidavit of the petitioner having been read.

It is ordered that the abovenamed 4th Respondent be appointed Guardian-ad-litem over the minors the abovenamed 1st, 2nd and 3rd respondents for the purpose as aforesaid and that the Letters of Administration to the estate of the said deceased be granted to the petitioner as his widow unless the respondents or persons interested shall appear before this court on the 21st day of May 1941 and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this court to the contrary.

This 26th day of March 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.

Drawn by

Sgd. S. Candiah,
Proctor for Petitioner.
(O. 3. 24 & 28-4-41.)**Order Nisi**IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 982

In the matter of the intestate estate of the late Mailvaganam Vaithilingam of Sandilipay Deceased.

1. M. Thiruvilangam and wife
2. Kamadehisundram of Sandilipay, presently of Dematagoda

Vs. Petitioners.

J. M. Somasundram of Jaffna

Respondent.

This matter of the petition of the petitioners praying that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to the 2nd named petitioner coming on for disposal before C. Coomaraswamy Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna, on the 4th day of February 1941, in the presence of Mr. S. T. Nalarajah, Proctor on the part of the petitioners, and the affidavit of the Petitioners dated the 29th day of January 1941, having been read, it is declared that the 2nd petitioner abovenamed be and is hereby entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate and the same be issued to her unless the Respondent or any other person shall on or before the 21st day of March 1941 appear before this Court and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

This 25th day of February 1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.

Extended and reissued for 2-5-1941.

Sgd. C. Coomaraswamy,
District Judge.
(O. 1. 28 & 1-5-41.)**Order Nisi**IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF VAVUNIYA

Testy. No. 335.

In the matter of the Intestate estate and effects of the late Velupillai Subramaniam of Mamaduwa in Vavuniya South Deceased.

Sinnapillai widow of Velupillai of Mamaduwa in Vavuniya South

Vs. Petitioner.

1. Thangaratnam daughter of Subramaniam
2. Paruwathy widow of Manicam both of Kantheroddai, Chunnakari.

Respondents.

This matter of the petition of the abovenamed petitioner praying that the abovenamed 2nd respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the minor the 1st respondent and the letters of administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased be issued to the petitioner coming on for disposal before C. V. D. S. Corea, Esquire District Judge of Vavuniya on the 7th day of March 1941 on the presence of Mr. K. Aiyathurai proctor for the petitioner and the affidavit of the petitioner dated 25th day of September 1940 and the petition of the petitioner dated 7th day of March 1941 having been read.

It is ordered that the 2nd respondent be appointed guardian-ad-litem over the 1st respondent for the purpose of representing her in this case and that the petitioner be declared entitled to letters of administration to the estate of the said deceased Velupillai Subramaniam be issued to her accordingly unless the respondents or any other person or persons interested shall on or before the 28th day of March 1941 show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

The 7th day of March 1941.

Sgd. C. V. D. S. Corea,
District Judge.

The date for showing cause extended till 30-4-41.

Sgd. H. S. A.

D. J.

(O. 2, 24 & 28-4-41)

X. 19. 2-5-40 to 1-5-41.)

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2. The conditions of sale and any other particulars can be obtained on application at the Mannar Kachcheri.

A. C. M. HINGLEY,
Assistant Government Agent.The Kachcheri,
Mannar, 23rd April, 1941.

(O. 2. 24-4-41.)

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