

The Hindu Organ.

"Arise! Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached."

THE ONLY NEWSPAPER IN CEYLON FOR THE HINDUS

HAS THE WIDEST CIRCULATION

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Imperial Preference

ANOTHER LINK TO THE CHAIN OF BONDAGE

DETRIMENTAL TO THE COUNTRY.

At the Low-Country Product Association Mr. J. Tyagaraja moved that 'This Association is of opinion that the acceptance of the principle of giving preference to British goods in return for Britain's preferential treatment of Ceylon produce will be detrimental to the best interests of the Island, and, therefore, this Association would request the State Council to reject the resolution relating to this question which the Financial Secretary will shortly move in Council.'

In doing so, he said:—

"Gentlemen,—Many words of mine are not really necessary to commend to you the resolution which stands in my name, because there has been a very thorough and intelligent discussion of this question of preference in the Press, and above all the illuminating lecture of Dr. Gupta has laid bare the economic foundations of preference. But unfortunately different people seem to draw different conclusions from Dr. Gupta's lecture which was not a piece of special pleading for or against Preference but an impartial survey of all the economic issues involved. Naturally the inferences which are obvious to an economist will not be so obvious to the lay mind. Besides one could not have expected Dr. Gupta to give us a decisive opinion after weighing the political as well as the economic considerations, because being a Government servant he could not discuss politics and without paying due regard to the political aspect a decisive verdict could not have been delivered. To my mind the political aspect is no less than the economic aspect of Preference, and, as the political aspect has not been adequately discussed hitherto, I would like to stress it in order that the whole problem may be viewed in the right perspective. Before doing so, I would like to make two observations. Firstly, you need not distrust your judgment in this matter, deterred by the intricacies of economic theory or by the mysteries of finance. This is a simple business proposition which no one is more competent to decide than a body of business men like yourselves. And, since the opinion of this Association is entitled to great weight, I trust that after considering all the arguments you will register your decision in the clear and unmistakable terms of the resolution before you.

No Sentiment.

'The other observation I would like to make is that there is no question of sentiment or loyalty involved here. After all we are reputed to be the most loyal of the Crown Colonies and therefore if we reject the principle of Preference we shall not be considered any less loyal than Canada or Australia, who have so often failed to come to terms with England on this issue. People of the same race as the English have been influenced rather by considerations of self-interest than by the sentiment of loyalty. Therefore, we cannot be blamed for following their example.

'Now let us look at the political background of this question. As you are aware there are four types of colonies in the Empire—the purely naval bases like the barren rock of Gibraltar, the Crown Colonies like Ceylon, Mauritius, etc. which have been described by a French writer as the

exploitation Colonies, the Dominions which have acquired an independent status since the passing of the Statute of Westminster and India with whom England finds it difficult to do any business these days. Even Sir W. Woods confirms this grouping of Colonies. For he said in the course of his speech in Council supporting preference that Ceylon has the advantage of being treated as one of the first economic groups that has been formed within the British Empire, that is to say, the group consisting of Great Britain and the Colonies as distinct from the Dominions and India. A very doubtful advantage indeed for Ceylon to be grouped amongst the exploitation Colonies! Now in order to restore her adverse balance of trade England wants her Crown Colonies to buy her manufactured goods either free of duty or at a lower rate of duty than that imposed on foreign goods in return for her preferential treatment of Colonial produce. This proposal India has not yet accepted and the independent Dominions like Canada will consider only at a special conference to be held in Ottawa in July. But the Crown Colonies are requested by the Secretary of State to accept the principle of Preference without the right to any representation at the Ottawa Conference. Here again Sir W. Woods makes the position clear. For he said in Council that 'The position of the Dominions and India is different. In their case the Preference to their products will depend on the outcome of the Ottawa Conference.' But to the Ottawa Conference we have not been invited and our interests are going to be protected by the Secretary of State and Sir W. Woods! In fact even if we were represented at the Conference, it would be a farce unless we had full powers to bargain and negotiate. Sir W. Woods wanted to know whether Ceylon would join in the new economic partnership with the rest of the Empire or whether she would remain in economic isolation plunging her lonely sorrow. The answer is there can be real partnership only between equals. Without political equality there can be no economic partnership. As some one remarked recently, reciprocity in freedom must precede reciprocity in trade. We can never offer Preference to England as a fee and voluntary gift from us unless and until we have secured self Government and we are able to negotiate in the same manner and to the same extent as the self-governing Dominions. Until then we shall be obliged to look askance at the so-called Preference England is prepared to accord us.

'I would also add that even if for the sake of formality England makes a pretence of consulting us—personally I see citation in a subtle and disguised form rather than consultation—and permit us to send a representative to the Ottawa Conference, it will be very imprudent and impolitic for us to commit ourselves to a new tariff policy. Why? Because under the new Constitution the control of finance and tariff policy is vested in the Financial Secretary, and although the Council may be consulted pro forma when a new policy is initiated in regard to tariffs it will have no voice in controlling that policy later. If we accept the principle of Preference now, the State Council will be told later when it attempts to readjust or abandon this principle in the light of subsequent developments—that this is a matter of Imperial concern and 'paramount importance' and therefore it is beyond the scope of the Council's jurisdiction. For instance, wages are not wanting that the future of our coconut industry depends a good deal upon India. Its future is assured if we are able to establish a big market there. In fact India has already lowered the duties on coconut produce. If therefore after accepting the principle of Preference to British goods we find that it prejudices our trade relations with India, and if we wish to modify it or abandon it we shall be told that we have no power to do so—that the principle has been accepted and has become a question of paramount importance. In plain language accepting preference under the present constitution is like putting our necks into a noose. So much for the political aspects.

A Business Proposition.

'Now, let us look at Preference as a business proposition. What is it that England has offered us? The admission of all Colonial produce—not merely Ceylon produce—free of duty. What is the measure of sacrifice involved in this generous gesture? There is no sacrifice whatever. Eng-

land being a manufacturing country needs raw materials like cotton and wool and, in fact, she buys the greater part of these raw materials from the Colonies. Therefore a duty on foreign produce or raw materials really involves no sacrifice, because Colonial produce is a real necessity to England. She will be only making a virtue of necessity. On the other hand, except in regard to the tea industry—and even the benefit which the tea industry is likely to derive is problematical—England's offer will be no gain to us. Why? (1) Because England buys a very small proportion of our exports. Our best customers are (a) America, who buys 70 per cent. of our rubber and 40 per cent. of our plumbago, (b) the Continental countries buy 20 per cent. of our coconut oil and 99 per cent. of our copra. On the other hand England buys only 15 per cent. of our coconuts, 12 per cent. of our plumbago, 88 per cent. of our mattress fibre, and 64 per cent. of our tea. (2) Because our rivals in the English market are not foreign countries but the Colonies, and if England gives the same measure of Preference to these Colonies as to us Ceylon will gain nothing. It is Malaya rubber which competes with Ceylon rubber. It is West African coconuts which competes with Ceylon coconuts. It is Indian tea which competes with Ceylon tea in the English market. And you will incidentally see that the whole of the argument which Sir W. Woods so painfully and laboriously built up in regard to the tea industry falls to the ground. England buys from us 139,281,000 lbs. of tea, from India 288,820,000 lbs. and from Java only 71,221,000 lbs. So that even if the whole of the Java tea is excluded from the English market we shall be in no better position than we are in today unless our tea is given preferential treatment over Indian tea. And that is not very likely. Therefore, gentlemen, it is clear that we are given an empty offer, a mere paper Preference. But by this sham offer Sir W. Woods hopes to avert the collapse of the tea industry upon which he says the solvency of this Island depends. Personally, I fail to see how the solvency of the Island depends on the tea industry any more than on the rubber and coconut industries. It is true that in 1930 the value of tea exported from Ceylon was £18 millions, of rubber about £3 millions and of copra too about £3 millions. But the relatively low returns from rubber and copra were due to the fact that the average price of the former was 12 cents per lb. and of the latter Rs 30 per catty. It is the price factor which determines the relative revenues of the three principal commodities. Merely because there is a temporary slump in two of these it cannot be argued that solvency of the Island depends for all time upon tea. Already the price of copra has improved, and if it rises further it may yield a more substantial revenue than tea, which is slumping at present. The refutation of this fallacy is of course not relevant to the point at issue, viz., the hollowness of the British offer.

Crown Agency System

'Now, in return for this ridiculous gift we are requested to give preference to British goods. Says Sir W. Woods most indignantly—'I say for the time being Ceylon has the advantage of receiving preference without giving anything in return. I don't think it will be expected by anyone that Ceylon can expect to continue indefinitely in that position.' But I sure you that it is England that is actually receiving preference from Ceylon without giving us anything in return except a mere paper preference which I have just analysed. Why? (1) Owing to the Crown Agency system which is in vogue here England enjoys a substantial measure of preference from us. All stores and machinery for the Ceylon Government are purchased through the Crown Agents who see to it that they are British goods. Apart from paying these agents their commissions and paying charges, which are heavy enough, we have to pay higher prices for the stores than if we bought them in the open market. Nor is there any guarantee that the quality is superior. At times it has proved to be inferior in spite of the high prices. In reply to a question asked in Council recently, the following information was elicited. In 1928 £1,522,608 lbs. 21. worth of stores were purchased by us through the Crown Agents; in 1929 £1,080,561 lbs. 1d. worth; and in 1930 £930,481. The Commissions paid during three years were £16,870, £37,246 and £22,844, respectively. If we bought these stores in the open market at competitive prices and not exclusively

from England we might have saved millions of pounds during the last 100 years of British rule. Preference to British goods therefore has hitherto cost us millions and is still a severe drain on our resources. But the self-governing Dominions are not penalised in this manner. They are permitted to buy their goods in the cheapest markets without the intervention of any Crown Agency. For the Dominions are reserved the cheapest markets an Ottawa Conference; for us only exploitation through the Crown Agents, and more exploitation through preferential tariffs. Let England abolish her Crown Agency system before she asks for more preference to her goods than she now enjoys.

'Another way in which England gets preference to her goods in Ceylon is by her going off the gold standard. She gains thereby a preference of about 25 per cent. for her goods over those of other countries. This, it must be admitted, is an argument which cuts both ways, because Ceylon produce gains a similar preference in the English market.

'If in addition to the substantial measures of indirect Preference we give to English goods as present we give direct Preference by differential tariffs, we are bound to raise our cost of living and also lose the best export markets for our produce like copra, rubber and plumbago. We have it on the authority of Dr. Das Gupta that 'an increased tariff, differentiated or undifferentiated for protection or for preference, is likely to impose a burden on the consumer.' And this is so because by giving preference we shall eliminate competition and place ourselves entirely at the mercy of the expensive British manufacturer. The only way in which we can give preference to English goods without raising the cost of living is by selecting those articles which we now almost exclusively buy from England like cigarettes and whisky. But that obviously is no preference. That will be as great a camouflage as the preference which England claims to be giving us now. On the other hand if we select articles like beer, tiles and piggoods in respect of which there is severe competition between England and other countries, the preference will be a genuine one but it will mean a big sacrifice on the part of the Ceylonese consumer. But what justification is there for sacrificing the Ceylonese consumer's interests to those of the British manufacturer during these days of oppressive taxation? We cannot even hope to obtain more revenue by such a step. On the contrary we are likely to get less revenue and so we shall be burdened with more taxation. Besides, remember that preference has hitherto been envisaged by manufacturing countries like Canada and Australia who have already erected high tariff walls. But we have no manufactures to protect and by adopting preference we shall be destroying what ever prospects there are for establishing local industries.

Loss of Export Markets

'I said a moment ago that one of the effects of preference would be the loss of our best export markets. This loss we shall sustain in two ways (1). The countries adversely affected by our preferential tariffs will retaliate. America may impose duties on our rubber and tea and the Continental countries on our copra and plumbago. But Sir W. Woods says that there is no such risk of retaliation from any country except America, because England has treaties containing a most favoured nation clause with all these countries except America. But these treaties were entered into when England was a Free Trade nation. It is open to doubt whether they apply today when she has declared for protection. (2). Further according to Sir Herbert Samuel, England has adopted preference as a temporary expedient. But when England returns to Free Trade what will be Ceylon's position? She will have lost her present customers and all or whatever preferential treatment she may be offered now by England.

'The only serious argument urged by the supporters of preference is the benefit which is likely to accrue to the tea industry. Sir W. Woods waxed eloquent over the prospects that Preference holds out to our tea industry and the Up-country tea-planters have really become hysterical over these supposed benefits. But what is the true position? As I already pointed out to you, England buys twice as much tea from India as from us and only half as much from Java. Therefore retaliation of

Continued on page 4

The Hindu Organ.



JAFFNA, MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1932.

THE RIGHT LEAD.

THE ADDRESS DELIVERED LAST SATURDAY before the North Ceylon National Association by Mr. K. Balasingham, we have no doubt, will be read with more than mere passing interest by people from Pedro to Dondra. It gives the right lead to people whose faith in the plighted word of the British Imperialist is steadily waning as a consequence of the series of certifications by the Governor in the teeth of almost unanimous opposition by the State Council. A feeling of helplessness is gradually settling over the people who find their leaders utterly powerless to rein in the ardour of a bureaucracy triumphantly flouting public opinion at every turn. The advocates of gradual and peaceful evolution of the country to its full stature are daily thinning in numbers and a divine discontent is swaying the minds of very moderate thinkers. How long, it is felt, could a country be kept away from its heritage by soft words and promises which are never translated into action? The history of the past hundred years and more of British rule in this country shows that boons and blessings were never showered on us when we slept over our rights or shirked our duty to stand up for them. Indeed, the history of every subject nation which has come into its own teaches us that self-government is never had as a gift from some benign power outside the people themselves. The achievement involves service, sacrifice and self-reliance and evokes the dormant capacities and virtues indispensable for the exercise of self-government. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that people of this country should besite themselves and address their energies to the task of winning their freedom which no power on earth can deny them, if they are honest in their endeavour, firm in their resolve and wise in their methods.

We have pinned our faith too long on memorials and resolutions, and ignored the lesson of history that the kingdom of the earth is only for heroes who resist the tempting shadows and strain towards substance. In the story of Jesus we read: "And the devil taketh him unto an exceeding high mountain and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said unto him: All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then said Jesus unto him: Get thee hence, Satan". When some of the leaders of the people were taken to the high mountains and promised the glories of Ministerships held out by the Donoughmore Scheme of Reforms and when the devil said unto them: "These will I give you if you fall down and worship me." We know they did not give the answer of Jesus or of Buddha who spurned the power and panoply of a prince to serve humanity. Even a temporary surrender to the blandishments of the devil brings in its train a multitude of sins which years of penance cannot wash away. Faint-heartedness, mutual distrust, diffidence, sense of inferiority, self-complacency are not the least of the obstacles which stand in the way of realising our own soul.

Mr. Balasingham's call to duty will be heard throughout the length and breadth of this land and dispel poltroonish fears which have till now paralysed action. It will now galvanise into purposeful action the distracted energies of a people who have groped in the dark in quest of a gleam of hope. The method of self-realisation proposed for the country by Mr. Balasingham is unexceptional from any point of

view: if at all, its harmless simplicity might cause doubt as to its efficacy in the minds of people who associate political struggle with noisy bickerings of factions and bloody feuds between the armed forces and frothy agitators. The example of India with regard to her Khadder ought to satisfy the possible misgivings, if any, on this score. God helps those who help themselves is a maxim of truth and experience and if God be willing to lead us into our own paradise who can say nay? Let us deserve the blessing of the Lord and for this purpose, Mr. Balasingham calls upon the classes and the masses in the Island to join hands in the economic reconstruction of the country. He gives ample scope for choice to each individual according to his capacity but he insists, as he ought, on each one contributing his own mite in the way of self-denial towards the great purpose in view. The sacrifice called for is not great, in fact it is surprisingly trifling, but the sacrifice is needed and should be made with understanding by the bulk of the people in order that the volume of opinion in favour of self-government may grow and, surging forth in ever-increasing intensity, overflow the bounds of communalism and nourish to strength the peoples of this ancient land.

Jaffna Hindu College.

We are glad to note that this popular institution has again this year produced excellent results. In the Cambridge Examinations of December last, this college got the largest number of passes in the Senior and also excellent results in the Junior. We congratulate the Management, the Principal and Staff on their well-deserved success.

The Boycott of Council.

KEEP TO YOUR RESOLVE TO BOYCOTT.

STAND BY THE MAJOR COMMUNITY

MUDLR. C. RASANAYAKAM, (C. C. S. RETIRED)

I do not see the purpose in discussing the advisability of continuing the boycott of the State Council by the people of Jaffna or of terminating it. The boycott was decided upon once for all, after full consideration of all the drawbacks of the Order-in-Council and was intended to operate until such time that reforms are made acceptable to the people. The grounds against it, if any, which existed at the time the boycott was declared, have since disappeared altogether. The members in Council have already discovered the utter futility of their further continuance in the present Council. What are the circumstances which have induced a certain section of our people to question the wisdom of the act, at this very late stage? Is it the loss Jaffna has sustained in the sum of Rs. 19,200 per annum, the remuneration of the four members, and the chance of a Ministership? In the interests of Jaffna and for the maintenance of its good name, I would desire that the minority community should stand by the majority in the decision of all political questions, and display their readiness to unite and co-operate in every situation of emergency. I consider all those who attempt to bring about disunion and disruption as enemies to the national cause. The people of Jaffna will be acting wisely in abiding by the resolve they have already made, and concentrate their overflowing energy in doing constructive work to improve the material condition of their county. The re-valuation of the standard of life, intense co-operative work in agriculture and trade, the popularization of spinning and weaving, the destruction of the trammels of caste, the dissemination of knowledge regarding public health, the colonization of the Wannie, anti-malarial campaign and many other matters necessary to make the people economically self-contained, demand the attention of the Jaffna Youth, who seem to be resting now on the laurels gained by accomplishing a negative act.

This is the time for those who are eager to enter the portals of the Council Chamber, to show their mettle by doing some constructive work in the direction of improving the condition of their mother land, so that when the time comes for Jaffna to send representatives to Council, election might be a voluntary offer to deserving men by a grateful people,

How Self-Government Can Be Won.

Mr. Balasingham's Masterly Analysis of the Problem.

Economic Salvage.

Country Urged to Give No Quarter to Foreign Exploiters.

"If you give England no room to entertain the hope that she can keep you down as a mere producer of raw materials to be exchanged for her manufactures, you will remove one of the great obstacles in the way of your attaining Dominion Status.....It is only when there is a disturbance in the market that Britain's attention will be drawn to Ceylon and her grievances. Your trade figures are studied daily in London. Your most indignant speeches are not read by your rulers even in Ceylon", said Mr. K. Balasingham, former member of the Legislative Council and the Executive Council, in the course of a powerful plea for a "Buy Ceylon" campaign as a potent weapon to win back Ceylon's long-lost right of self-rule.

Trade the Breath of Imperialism.

Mr. Balasingham said:—

"This has now become a meeting of all parties in Jaffna to secure the economic independence of Ceylon, for we all realise that by gaining economic independence we remove a great obstacle to the grant of self-government. There has been a suspicion that there were recently two opposing parties forming in Jaffna on the question of Council boycott. But this is entirely a misunderstanding. I am glad that misunderstanding has now disappeared. Jaffna will now work unitedly. The presence of Mr. Swaminathan and his supporters here proves it. Nations today look upon Colonies, mainly as markets for their manufactures. If the trade with a Colony becomes profitless the desire to keep it in subjection becomes proportionately weak. If therefore you give England no room to entertain the hope that she can keep you down as a mere producer of raw materials to be exchanged for her manufactures, you will remove one of the great obstacles in the way of your attaining Dominion Status. Consider the methods adopted to suppress on the one hand the "Buy Indian" movement in India and to popularize the "Buy British" movement in England and even in India with all the resources of the Government.

Wanted Resolute Action.

Resolutions in Council demanding Self-Government are useful as formalities, but even if unanimously passed they will not bring us Self-Government.

Even the most violent agitation in every town and village will not help us. They will not attract the attention of the British Public. You have now come to a point when something more than resolutions are necessary to attain your object, you must attract the attention of the British Public.

You do not count as anything in Britain's eyes though Ceylon has a larger population than Scotland or Ireland or the whole of Australia. She attaches more importance to her trade than to anything else as the number of unemployed in Britain has never been less than one million since 1921. The number has occasionally increased to 2½ millions. It is only when there is a disturbance in the market that Britain's attention will be drawn to Ceylon and her grievances. Your trade figures are studied daily in London. Your most indignant speeches are not read by your rulers even in Ceylon. You must not blame Britain. The most important thing for any country is to keep the wolf out of the door. But it is our duty to see that the wolf is not driven in here, Britain is justified in attempting to keep the colonial markets open. The grant of Self-Government is not conducive to it. The Self-Governing Colonies without a single exception have built a high tariff wall to protect their home industries and the preference given to England is not of substantial benefit to her,

In the Imperial Conference of 1930 Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, offered the Mother Country and all other parts of the Empire a ten per-cent preference in the Canadian market in exchange for a like preference in theirs. But he took care to say that with all eagerness for Empire Co-operation he stood for the policy of "Canada First." On the 27th November 1930, in the House of Commons Mr. Thomas Secretary for the Dominions characterized this offer as "humbbug" and said "Our Policy is Great Britain First."

The Way of Imperialists.

Other nations treat their colonies similarly. When the question of independence of the Dutch East Indies was being actively agitated both in Holland and in Java in 1930, the Labour Party in Holland objected to immediate independence on the ground that the Dutch working classes had a great interest in the existing ties between the Mother Country and the Dutch East Indies. A member of the Volksraad calculated that the separation would bring unemployment to a tenth part of the Dutch workmen.

It was estimated that about 5 millions British workmen were engaged in manufacturing for the Indian market and if the Indian market is closed the British collapse will be serious.

It is clear that Imperialistic Nations will not in these days of severe industrial and trade competition release their hold on Tropical Colonies without a struggle. We cannot blame England. Her first duty is to find employment for her starving millions. But we ourselves are unfortunately in a worse position than England and we must ourselves by every means in our power find work for our unemployed and develop our resources. When the vital interests of two countries are thus opposed, are resolutions whether in Council or out of it likely to be of the slightest use? As well might the animals assembled in meeting petition His Majesty the Lion to spare them. On what else is the Lion to live? This is the order of nature and resolutions, and petitions cannot bring any more relief to the animals, than the State Councillors' petition to the King against certification can give.

There is no use asserting our rights in eloquent speeches in these meetings. The days of orators are gone. The need today is for noble young men who can act; who can bend their entire energies to the economic reconstruction of Our Motherland.

The Political Boycott.

The cry has been raised by some parents that Tamil young men are losing their chances of getting jobs or promotions under Government owing to the Jaffna boycott. If there are any young men who whine like that, you do not want them in your camp. They are not worthy of taking even a humble part in your great mission. Appointments under Government should be

given purely on considerations of merit and not for favours. If Government owing to political reasons is denying you justice, you must suffer in silence without squealing.

It is to Jaffna's lasting glory that she has done what no part of the Empire has yet been able to do, when she rejected with contempt the proffered constitution as a sham and as unworthy of this country. Today all agree it has failed completely. Britain is putting a severe strain on us by refusing to Ceylon even what they have offered to India.

I do not blame parents who want office for young men. This is your country and qualified young men have a right to expect office here. But what stands in their way is not the Jaffna boycott but the preference shown to British youths. You young men do not want preferential treatment in Ceylon. You will be content with fairplay and with the withdrawal of the preference shown to British youths in this country. You only ask for fairfield and no favour, though you are entitled to protection for the youths born in Ceylon.

We are prepared to give preference to British goods if they will remove preference given to British youths.

Expect High.

My message then to those who want jobs is to put all your energies for one year into the work of attaining economic independence. Then you will cease to be merely a Head Clerk, you will rise to be a Government Agent, you will cease to be merely a Head Overseer, but rise to be Director of Public Works. You will not be merely an Income Tax Assessor but rise to be an Income Tax Commissioner. If Government Servants want promotion according to merit let them without whining maintain their nationalist brothers and sisters who are doing the country's work. Let others who are unable to work personally for this cause contribute something daily to this fund to enable others to go about the country preaching the need for economic independence. It is not possible for us to get on without imported goods. No country can do that. But we depend today on imported goods a good deal more than most other countries. We do not want to boycott British goods as such. But we do not want to depend so largely on imported goods from any country. We do not want to spend so much money as before in purchasing imported goods, whether it be from India or England or Japan or any other country. Let us learn to be thrifty.

Lives of Economy.

It is for each individual to decide what economy he can effect. One may manage with less imported cotton goods, another may manage with less imported Wines or Spirits, a third may manage with less imported Soap, yet another with less Samba Rice and so forth. There are local substitutes for some imported articles. Even when you have no substitutes you can consume less of the imported article. These are matters of detail which must be settled by each individual or group of individuals. Let not one presume to lay down the rule for another.

By these methods we can go through the depression with less suffering; we can help local producers to start new industries; we will make our markets less an attraction to the foreign importer. This is exactly what England is doing today.

The Prime Minister has appealed to the people not to spend their money in foreign health resorts and to spend it in the health resorts in England. It is estimated that about £30 millions are spent annually by Britishers in Continental Health Resorts. The King and Queen and the Prince of Wales are exhorting the people to buy more British goods and less foreign goods. Act similarly yourself.

Stop by all means in your power every preventible exploitation by other Nations. Start new industries as far as your capital will permit. Organize Banking and Insurance Companies. I will be able to announce the details of an Insurance Scheme in a short time. The funds are to be invested in State Mortgage Bank debentures which are safe because they are guaranteed by Government.

Assertion of Rights.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, General Hertzog, said in 1930 before leaving for the Imperial Conference.

"The people of South Africa will be prepared to an ever-increasing extent heartily to maintain co-operation with Great Britain and the other Dominions, but co-operation will depend on national independence. Every nation worthy of the name will prefer isolation rather than sub-servient inferiority. In no circumstances may the right to secede from the British Commonwealth be taken from South Africa."

Similar declarations have been made by other Self governing Colonies. Australia has even nominated an Australian as Governor-General. But in Ceylon there

(Continued on column 7)

That Secret Conference.

Look on this Picture

MR. V. MUTTUKUMARU M. A. writes:—

Significantly enough the "tale told" in your issue of 14th March, 1932, purporting to describe a conference of "Anti-Boycotters" held at Kantarodai, Jaffna, is full of "sound and fury." The facts stated in it are a gross misrepresentation characteristic of the questionable tactics employed by the boycotters to keep alive a dying movement.

I was present at the conference and can speak with authority on what took place there. A Village Committee Chairman and myself were responsible for arranging at my residence an informal meeting of the Chairmen of the four Village Committees of Valigamam North to discuss the situation that had arisen in the country by the boycott of the State Council. At our invitation, there were also present a few gentlemen who favour Council entry and co-operation with the Singhalese, as against the separatist movement initiated by the boycotters. All the four Chairmen attended. But Mr. Sangarapillai, Chairman of the Village Committee of Tellipalai, came a little late accompanied by a teacher of Parameshwara College and Mr. S. Rajaratnam, an ex-member of the Legislative Council. Mr. Rajaratnam was not one of those invited to attend the conference; but as he was waiting in the car with his friend, those present asked him and his friend to step in, as a matter of courtesy. They came in, and eventually Mr. Rajaratnam, at the request of those present, took part in the conversation.

Mr. Rajaratnam stated that he was neither a boycotter nor an anti-boycotter, but that he was always of a boycotting temperament. In the course of the talk one of the V. C. Chairmen asked Mr. Rajaratnam whether it was possible for the Jaffna Tamils to regain the position they had lost by the action of the boycotters. He said it was doubtful under the present conditions, as the Sinhalese party now in power headed by Sir Baron. D. Jayatilaka and Mr. D. S. Senanayaka was not over anxious to help them. At this point the Gravetz Muldr. who had come in uninvited, in the company of Mr. C. K. Swaminathan, like Mr. Rajaratnam, said that the Congress Party was ready to receive the Tamils with open arms and work in friendly fraternity for the good of the country, as was evidenced by the recent speeches of Messrs. S. W. R. Dias Bandaranayaka and George E. de. Silva at the Village Committee Conference held at the Parameshwara College, Jaffna. He mentioned nothing about anybody's "inner secrets."

Mr. Rajaratnam also advised the members that they should hold public meetings to explain to the people why the Jaffna Tamils should have representatives in the Council. I said in reply that if such a thing was necessary, I should be the first to go and speak.

Only a maliciously garbled version of the views expressed by me appears in the account. I never made the remotest reference to tyranny by the "Majority Community" I was a candidate for the Kankasanturai seat and was against the boycott from its very inception. It is surprising that the fabricator of the account has so indiscreetly strayed from facts as to say that all the speakers harped but on the same string, namely, tyranny by the Sinhalese majority. The intention of this insidious insinuation is obvious.

It is further stated in the account that I declared myself to be Anti-British. This is a misleading half-truth. What I said was if the boycotters tried to gain the ear of the country by saying that they were Anti-British agitators for Poorana Swaraj, I was second to none in my dislike of the British for their policy in regard to the drink traffic in Ceylon. I further said that I advocated Council entry as nothing was to be gained by non-co-operating with the Government.

The reporting boycotter has couched his story in the usual Reporters' phrases like "Frantic Efforts," "Wire-Pulling," and "Cajoling." It is the boycotters who in their despair, are making frantic efforts to wire pull and cajole. They falsely assume that the country is on their side. Finding now that "Poorana Swaraj" cannot be had on such easy terms as passing resolutions and talking cant, they are only waiting to join hands with us till Mr. E. W. Perera's motion is accepted by the Council. But the passing of the motion is not going to bring "Swaraj" any nearer. Their only thought now is to get out honourably, if they can, from a situation into which they have placed themselves by their thoughtless action.

And on this.

Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Advocate who was present at the "secret conference" at Kantarodai, was interviewed on Mr. V. Muttukumar's letter (which appears elsewhere).

Asked what view he expressed with regard to the boycott of Council at the Kanterodai Conference, Mr. Rajaratnam said that he made it clear that the boycott was not inaugurated by the Youth Congress but was decided upon by leaders like Messrs Duraiswamy, Balasingham and Mahadeva. He said till these leaders expressed their views against the step they had advised and taken, it was not open to him to say one way or the other, but to follow their lead. It was not fair to call them leaders and break away from the line of action advised by them. The better course was to disown their leadership, throw them overboard and install others in their stead. Personally he felt it was safer to follow the leaders. He never decided on the boycott and was not prepared to consider the question of lifting it.

Q. It is said that you were asked your opinion whether the Tamils had lost by the boycott.

A. I was asked about the effect of the boycott on the Tamils and I told them that we might have lost a few jobs under Government and our educational matters might have been better attended to if we had our representatives in Council. But I also pointed out that these little sacrifices do not count when we consider the advantages which we as Ceylonese stand to gain. We shall gain tremendously as Ceylonese whatever we as Tamils, may lose for the present.

When I was pressed to give my opinion on the wisdom or otherwise of lifting the boycott, I said I had not given thought to the question and was willing to follow our leaders loyally. I also stated I was a boycotter by temperament and urged the members not to be swayed by my views.

Q. Did you say "it was doubtful under the present conditions, as the Sinhalese party now in power headed by Sir D. Baron Jayatilaka and Mr. D. S. Senanayake was not over anxious to help" the Tamils?

A. I only made it clear that by entry into Council the reform of the Constitution could not be advanced even by a month, in as much as the Sinhalese leaders who had a following in the Council did seem to me to be in a mood to give the scheme a good trial, defects or no defects, before demanding further reforms. As you are aware the situation is materially changed now.

When I was asked whether the opportunities for securing service under Government for the Tamils will improve if the boycott were lifted, I said it was unlikely. If as was made out, the Tamils had incurred the displeasure of Government Officials and are not able to get Government posts for their educated young men, what would be the position if we entered Council at this juncture? If we joined hands with the officials, we would be weakening the cause of reform; on the other hand if we joined the unofficial bloc, we have to oppose the British officials. This certainly will not conduce to better the prospects of our young men. Moreover, Sinhalese young men who had hitherto looked askance at Government Service have been compelled by the depression to seek the security of Government Service.

Q. It is a fact that while you were engaged in conversation with Mr. V. Muttukumar and the Village Committee Chairmen, the Gravetz Mudaliyar and Mr. Swaminathan stepped in casually? We put this question to you because it was represented to us that the meeting was arranged for by the Gravetz Mudaliyar, Mr. C. K. Swaminathan and ex-postmaster Muttiab.

A. I do not know who arranged the meeting, but when I went to see Mr. Kandiah who is a V. C. Chairman, I was informed that he was engaged at a conference in Mr. Muttukumar's. I halted my car away from

(Continued up.)

(Continued from Column 5.)

are those who hesitate to ask for even what was freely offered to India in January 1931.—an offer which India has contemptuously rejected.

Unless you act as the Self Governing Dominions and assert your right for immediate Self Government you will not be respected either by England or any other part of the Empire.

For want of self assertion Ceylon has forfeited all right to be treated with respect even by the Governor and his advisers. Let us see to it that our trade returns show that the despised worm has returned.

Jaffna Speaks Out.

BOYCOTT AFFIRMED.

"BUY CEYLON" CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED.

A largely attended mass meeting presided over by Mr. K. Balasingham, Advocate, was held on Saturday, the 26th instant at 6:30 p.m. at the Venkatesa Perumal Temple courtyard. The meeting was convened by the North Ceylon National Association to devise ways and means of combating the anti-boycott move and also to inaugurate a movement for a "Buy Ceylon" campaign in the country.

The meeting began with the gratifying assurance of the Chairman that all differences had been made up and that it was a meeting of all parties in Jaffna to secure the economic independence of Ceylon. "There has been a suspicion" he said "that there were recently two opposing parties forming in Jaffna on the question of Council boycott. But this is entirely a misunderstanding. I am glad that misunderstanding has now disappeared. Jaffna will now work unitedly. The presence of Mr. Swaminathan and his supporters here proves it."

(Mr. Balasingham's presidential address appears elsewhere.)

Mr. Balasingham submitted the first resolution regarding steps to be taken to prevent the drain of wealth from this country by foreign imports, and by that means to invite the attention of the Britisher to the demand for self-government.

Messrs V. S. Karthigesu and S. Sivapathasundaram spoke in support of the resolution.

Mr. M. S. Eliatamby moved a resolution confirming the boycott. Mr. T. N. Subbiah seconded it and the resolution was passed unanimously.

A representatives committee with Mr. K. Balasingham as Chairman was appointed to carry on the "Buy Ceylon" campaign.

Mr. T. C. Rajaratnam proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

A detailed account of the proceedings is held over.

Continued

the house and awaited the return of Mr. Kandiah. Mr. Kandiah sent word to me to join the conference. But I was not willing. When, however, three V. C. Chairmen persisted I could not refuse to go, and I did go. I found there the gentlemen referred to by you.

Q. Is it your view that public meetings should be held to persuade the people of Jaffna to send representatives to Council?

A. When the anti-boycotters were pressing the four Chairmen to co-operate with them, one of them said that it was not a matter in which they alone were concerned. One of them pointed out that the public should be educated and taken into confidence. I agreed with him and pointed out that as the boycotters are carrying on propaganda in the press and at public meetings, the anti-boycotters too should follow their methods and create public opinion. Then the people will be in a position to weigh carefully the merits and demerits of the boycott. This was not my suggestion but I endorsed it as the best that was before them. I notice that your special correspondent's account does me injustice by saying that I challenged the anti-boycotters to go out and hold public meetings. I made no such challenge.

Q. Sir, did Mr. Muttukumar offer to address public meetings against the boycott?

A. The idea of holding public meetings was mooted, but no one present was prepared to bell the cat. Mr. Muttukumar was willing to address a meeting or two, but was not willing to take a prominent part, as he had not given up his "political ambition of getting into Council".

C. Is our correspondent correct in stating that anti-boycott propagandists are exploiting communal differences to secure support for their movement?

A. To a certain extent, yes. The only substantial ground urged for lifting the boycott was to have a few members of the North in Council to checkmate the Sinhalese in exploiting service under Government for their own advantage, and also to get more votes for Jaffna.

Q. Was any reference made to any act of "tyranny" on the part of the majority community?

A. I cannot recollect if the word "tyranny" was used. The impression left on my mind was that the campaigners were out to prevent or tone down the efforts of the Sinhalese community to advance the interests of one community to the detriment of the other.

Q. May I know, Sir, if Mr. Muttukumar put up his mane against the British, only on the question of the drink policy? Was he satisfied with the other features of the administration?

A. He was certainly very bitter in his reference to the British administration in general and characterised the British officials in Ceylon as unsympathetic tin-gods who will not do anything to advance the interests of the Ceylonese. He did not base his observation on the drink policy alone.

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Imperial Preference

Continued from page 1

Java tea will not help us much. It may possibly help India more. Exclusion of Indian tea will be the right solution, but that is clearly an impossibility. Furthermore, remember that although England is supposed to buy 64 per cent. of our tea exports she in reality buys only 44 per cent. Why? Owing to her declaration of free ports a portion of the tea we ship is re-exported to France, Germany and the U. S. A. Take the customs returns for 1929. Our total export of tea amounted to 240 million lbs. of this 153 millions (64 per cent.) were shipped to England. But 30 millions of these 153 millions, i. e., about 20 per cent. were re-exported to U. S. A. and the Continent. Thus, in addition to being the best customers for our rubber and coconuts, the foreign countries buy at least half our tea exports. But even assuming that the tea industry stands to gain by preference is that a reason for sacrificing our other staple industries and increasing our cost of living? Clearly not.

"Having considered Preference as a business proposition, I would now like to end on the note I began. Sir W. Woods commended to us a policy of solidarity with Great Britain. But have we not already pursued that policy far enough? And what have been the consequences of that policy to us? One of the consequences, at any rate, is the introduction of the Crown Agency system, whereby, as I pointed out to you before, England has wrested from us a substantial measure of indirect Preference to her goods. The policy of solidarity, I maintain, has resulted in England gaining complete control over our Banking, Currency, and Exchange and in England dictating to us the manner of raising our public loans and investing our public funds. You will thus see that solidarity with Great Britain is an euphemism for economic bondage. Are we going to allow England to fasten yet another link to the chain which binds us in economic bondage to her? In return for the shadowy preference offered by her are we going to barter away our freedom of trade? Should we not first seek release from the fetters which bind us down and hamper our economic progress? Let Great Britain abolish her Crown Agency system, let her cease to manipulate our currency and exchange to our detriment, let her permit us to invest our public funds in our own country and raise our loans at terms most advantageous to us in any part of the world and after releasing her stranglehold let her give us a constitution which confers upon us power to manage our own affairs without let or hindrance. If she does all this, then indeed it will be time for us to consider the merits of reciprocal preference. Let reciprocity in economic and political freedom precede reciprocity in trade."

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Manager.

ORDER NISI.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA.

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8035.

In the Matter of the estate of the late Parupathippillai wife of Nagalingam Kandiah of Nainativu

Nagalingam Kandiah of Nainativu Deceased,
Vs. Petitioner.

- Minor: (1. Kammany daughter of Kandiah
2. Kandiah Thirunavakarasa
3. Annapooranam daughter of Kandiah &
4. Suppar Vaithilingam all of do

This matter of the Petition of the abovenamed Petitioner coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on January 19, 1932 in the presence of Mr. K. Alayadurai, Proctor on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated December 30, 1931, having been read. It is ordered and declared that the 4th Respondent will be appointed Guardian-ad-Item over the minors the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Respondents for the purpose of representing them and protecting their interests in the action and that Letters of Administration to the estate of the abovenamed deceased will be granted to the Petitioner unless the abovenamed Respondents shall on or before February 25, 1932, appear before this Court at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

February 15, 1932. Egd. D. H. Balfour, District Judge.

This Order Nisi is extended to 11th April 1932. Intld. D. H. Balfour, District Judge.

Order Nisi.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF JAFFNA

Testamentary Jurisdiction No. 8057.

In the matter of the estate of the late Ponnupillai widow of Mathukkumarasamy of Tellippalai East

Deceased,
Ponnampalam Chinniah of Tellippalai East presently of Negombo

- Vs. Petitioner.
1. Ponnampalam Saravananmottu of Tellippalai East presently of Negombo
2. Ponnampalam Kandiah of Tellippalai Respondent.

This matter of the Petition of the Petitioner praying for letters of Administration to the Estate of the abovenamed deceased coming on for disposal before D. H. Balfour, Esquire, District Judge, Jaffna on March 7, 1932 in the presence of Mr. V. Coomarasamy, Proctor, on the part of the Petitioner and the affidavit of the Petitioner dated February 28, 1932, having been read. It is declared that the Petitioner is one of the heirs of the said intestate and is entitled to have Letters of Administration to the estate of the said intestate issued to him unless the Respondents or any other person shall, on or before April 15, 1932, show sufficient cause to the satisfaction of this Court to the contrary.

March 12, 1932. Ed. D. H. Balfour, District Judge.

Drawn by V. Coomarasamy, Proctor.

O. 345. 24 & 28.

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