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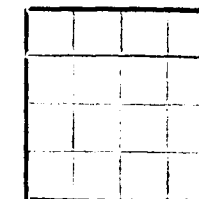
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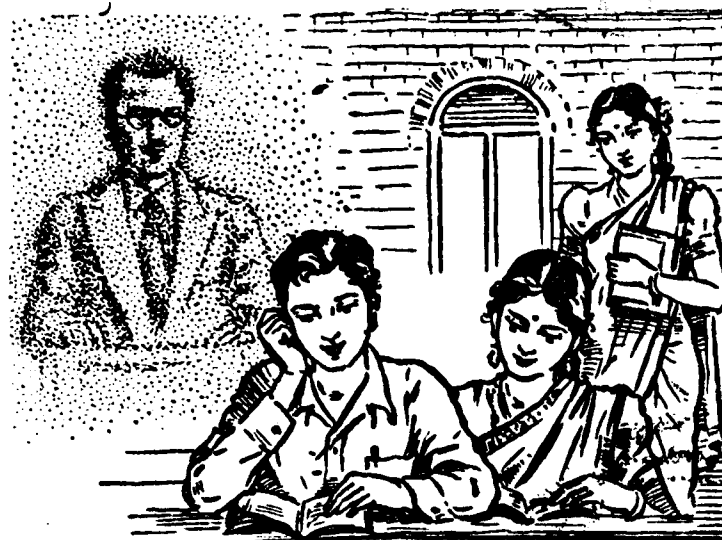
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—By Ram Gopal.
RUSTIC ENERGY

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 17

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

THE British Government's plan for the transference of power to India conforms in the main to the principles laid down in the famous C. R. formula. Yet there is nowhere any sign of appreciation of the foresight of the author of the formula in having provided so long in advance the basis of the eventual settlement now about to be given effect to. C. R. himself shows no indication of claiming this acceptance of his formula as a vindication of his own political sagacity. The why and wherefore of this odd phenomenon provide the true key to the value and worthwhileness of the British plan brought by Lord Mountbatten. When C. R. evolved his proposals, there was a deadlock that looked obdurate, and all his energies were bent on but one task, that of finding "the way out" of the deadlock. In the context of the seemingly permanent deadlock of those days any price seemed to him worth paying in the effort to compel the British Government to end the deadlock. He thought that only through a compromise with the League in order to get the League to join the Congress in the demand for freedom could the British be made to release the Congress leaders and set up a National Government. The C. R. formula did not take into account the later rapid unexpected success that the Mahatma's "Quit India" demand achieved. It was conceived as an escape during a period of depression and frustration. It was not conceived to fit into any expectation of Congress victory

The British plan now adumbrated does not fit properly into the set-up of the victorious fulfilment of the Congress as a result of the Quit India movement. It reserves for the Congress, in the wake of victory, a treatment appropriate to a defeated party. The wonderful astuteness of the British power is revealed in the manner in which it has managed to turn the tables on the Congress in the very act of its withdrawal, forcing the Congress to yield to the League what it had all along held to be its most sacred article of political faith. It has of course to be conceded that international events have played no small part in influencing the British decision to quit India so precipitately. But the distinction belongs to Gandhi of having been the first to plan a movement in accord with later developments as though he had foreseen them with prophetic vision. Whatever be the reason or explanation, the fact remains that the final phase of the Gandhian leadership of the Congress, with its slogan of "Quit India" which some of the acute intellects like C. R. took at the time to be a fantastically overdone aberration of extremism, has been justified by the sequel beyond the wildest dreams of the most sanguine of the followers of the Mahatma. This is success indeed. In the world's record of anti-imperial struggles, there is no parallel to the Gandhian feat of having turned from the path of tyranny to the path of freedom so mighty a power with such little

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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 17.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1947.

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bloodshed to influence the destiny of so many millions of the world's population.

The phenomenal success of the Congress against the ruling imperial power was entitled to be registered in a practical form by means of fruition for the cherished Congress objective of a free united India. But of this crowning glory the British have deprived the Congress through a series of measures which could not have been more effective had they been deliberately planned. At every stage they have, with a deliberate manoeuvre of their own, contrived to so arrange matters that it was the Muslim League that reaped the political harvest of all the strenuous sacrifices of the Congress in the cause of freedom. Had not Lord Wavell introduced the Muslim League into the Interim Government with direct negotiations of his own with Mr. Jinnah over the head of Pandit Nehru, the Vice-President, the subsequent sabotage of the work of the Constituent Assembly that the Muslim League so successfully accomplished, would most probably never have occurred. In that event, all the horrors of the communal riotings and murders that have disgraced in recent times the administration of the League-governed provinces of India, might have been saved. If the Congress had been installed in power with sufficient authority and without the harassments of a hostile force planted right in the centre of the seat of responsibility in which it had been placed as a Government, it would have, in all probability, mustered sufficient strength to maintain the peace of the country undisturbed to this day. Outbursts of organised violence urgently requiring to be put an end to for the sake of the sufferers that had to be saved, would not then have entered into the situation at all as a factor of overwhelming political importance. The British in authority created the myth of an invincible Jinnah by manoeuvring

his men into administrative positions from which they could fire pistols at point blank range to kill everyone of the moves of the Congress to maintain intact the unity of India. It was just what was wanted to rouse to fiery fanaticism the tempers of the followers of Mr. Jinnah in his character of arch-priest at the shrine of Pakistan. The British have thus taken their revenge for the success of the Quit India move of the Congress by manipulating its assets substantially into the keeping of the Muslim League, and before the fury of the orgies of disruption let loose on the country through planned disruption of the Centre, Congress leadership would seem to have lost its head, elevating Mr. Jinnah into virtually the position of a dictator. It is now the spirit of separatism of which he is the apostle that rules in the hearts of the topmost of Congress leaders, with the sole exception, too late, of the Mahatma. Mr. Jinnah has succeeded in converting to his purposes most if not the whole of the political success of the Congress as against the British, and the British have helped him with diabolical guile, while Pandit Nehru, with his innocent patriotic heart throbbing to the thrills of the new freedom, showers encomiums on Lord Mountbatten for his splendid sincerity!

One remarkable fact of the present situation calls for notice. Pandit Nehru has accepted the Mountbatten plan on behalf of the Congress and Sardar Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs. But Mr. Jinnah has not committed himself. Careful non-committalness is the clear impression left on listeners' minds by his radio talk on Tuesday night. It will not be surprising if presently from Mr. Jinnah's non-committalness there should spring at carefully chosen moments further demands for the conversion of the Pakistan which he already has in his grasp into the more 'viable' Pakistan of his

dreams. And so will go on the nightmare of further subjection to Mr. Jinnah's perennial demands of the whole of India not comprised within the Muslim theocratic State of his conception. The boundaries of such a State, deriving sanction from pan-Islamic sentiment, will not admit of terrestrial demarcations, and we have no hope that the partition now planned will see the end of Hindu-Muslim conflicts. Miniature Hindustans in Pakistan and Pakistans in Hindustan are sure to spring up multiplying the incidence of conflict, and there will be no lack of Jinnahs in disguise in the Congress fold to fan the fires of communal strife across the borders of the two States. A medieval theocratic outlook; consolidation of political power and influence through feudatory allies and the economic pressures that go with capitalist plutocracy; the accumulation of the unintelligent force of large multitudes crudely glamourised by spell-binding sectarian slogans—these are the main constituents of a triumphant Jinnahism that would seem now to have taken the Congress itself captive, in much the same manner familiar to South India in which Justices in disguise have come to rule in Congress roosts. The Congress has been communalised while fighting the League and the League and the Congress have attained a remarkable resemblance to each other as orthodox and respectable custodians of the existing social order and political and economic systems of power-distribution. Political liberty has no meaning except in the context of equality, and through socialisation the Congress could have changed the social order into one of equality and invested the coming freedom with vitality enough to overcome all obstacles to peace including the worst that sectarian organisations like the League might throw up. Only in socialisation lies, even now, the remedy to the evils exemplified in the present gravely disquieting situation.

Sowing Ill-Will

THE MINISTERS of a composite province have equal responsibility for the welfare of the people of all the linguistic areas comprised in their jurisdiction. The controversy that some of the Ministers are indulging in over the prospective disposal of Madras City as between the combatants for its possession seems to us wholly uncalled for at the present moment. Even more deplorable is the reported campaign of the Education Minister for the exclusion of Telugu from schools in localities imagined by him to be a Tamil preserve. Love of Tamil does not in the least require a policy of giving trouble to others desirous of cultivating their own mother-tongues. On the other hand, love of the mother-tongue is in spirit not exclusive but integral. Its choicest form consists in encouraging all people to honour their own native tongues. Apart from the constitutional impropriety of a Tamil Minister taking advantage of his administrative position to place obstacles in the way of non-Tamil children learning their own languages in the customary way in schools, such a course is apt to create ill-will, irrationally no doubt, between sections of the population that ought to live in cordial amity. Even without this further aggravation, the plight of the Andhra Ministers has been, according to all accounts, a miserable one indeed. North of Madras they seem to have no free platform available to them. They are unable to conduct their tours without police assistance. Never in our memory do we recollect the prestige of Ministers having sunk so low in the public estimation as now. The Ministry came to birth through mazes of intrigue which cost it the respect of decent-minded citizens. As if that were not enough, they have been specialising in measures and policies expressly calculated to drive to exasperation even the most moderate.

Within a week of their advent, they evinced capitalist bias by favouring mill-owners as against co-operative societies in the ordering of procurement. The encouragement of co-operative societies is an established method of promoting social welfare all the world over, and if there are initial defects in the working of the societies, they should not be treated as an excuse for backsliding into retrograde arrangements, they should serve rather as an impetus for determined effort to educate the people concerned into greater efficiency. But our Ministry takes delight in speaking of benefiting the poor while reserving actual financial advantage for the rich. A remarkable example of their characteristic bias was furnished by their feat of proposing an enhancement of bus-fares to still further enrich the already well-remunerated pockets of the owners, a feat which elicited a public rebuke even from Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari whose services were of an incomparable description in organising all mobilisable forces for bringing the present Ministry into office. Every day betrays the illusory character of the title of "popular" claimed by the Ministry, and already disillusionment at a rapid pace would seem to have begun even among the ranks of its own allies and supporters.

Work And Pay

REACTIONS to the recommendations of the Pay Commission have not been so unfavourable as they might have been. Compared with existing emoluments the Commission's suggestions bring relief to many employees in sore straits, and for this they are duly thankful. But the standards now set are not likely to withstand the urges of the revolutionary times on which we are now entering. Accustomed to long penury people might accept any little relief tending to make life less hard but such acquiescence will not

last long. Very soon the revolt of the exploited masses in every field of employment will become more firm and determined, and they will require as wages much more than what the Pay Commission have now conceded them. Nothing more than a very temporary significance can attach to the report of the Commission, especially as it betrays the work of minds, as some critics have bluntly stated, not willing to accept modern principles of socio-economics for implementation, at the same time not courageous enough to avow faith in their own *status quo* economics. The innovation of a reduced top-limit of pay appears progressive, but real quality is not a thing to be dogmatised about. Payment should be taken in relation to service. It would be foolish to set limits, for example, to the financial value of the work of a scientist with genius enough to revolutionise the whole economic and physical basis of the life of his time. Such a one could not be paid too much. The entire system of payment for work will have to be reorganised with reference to the social value of the work done, and when such a reorganisation is taken on hand, the Pay Commission's report will lapse into the position of a curiosity, an antiquated relic of a dead past beyond recall.

The Palestine Problem

IN ANSWER to a question by a press correspondent as to what he felt to be the most acceptable solution of the Palestine problem, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have answered, "The abandonment wholly by the Jews of terrorism and other forms of violence." Undoubtedly an excellent solution this, but the Mahatma's words should not be construed to imply that violence in Palestine is a one-sided affair limited to Jews alone. Arab terrorism is of a no less ruthless variety. But as between the two forces ranged against each other, Jewish violence

may be described as defensive, while Arab violence is plainly expropriatory in its character. It is noteworthy that of the entire area of Palestine which is no more than 10,000 square miles, only 6 per cent. is occupied by Jews, and of that 6 per cent., a considerable part is land reclaimed from utter marsh and waste. Jewish industry has enormously raised the level of prosperity of the Arabs. Jealousy rather than gratitude has been evoked by the very benefits traceable to the superior economic and industrial resourcefulness and organisational skill of the Jews and the feuds between the two races have been further aggravated by the systematic bunglings of British imperial diplomacy. Americans of whom many are friendly to the Jews resent the British handling of the Palestine question. Palestine is now a source of deepening discord between the U.S.A. and Britain. To the sentimental attachment that many Americans feel towards the Jews on account of their war services and

the terrible persecution suffered by them at Hitler's hands, must also be added their realisation of the uniqueness of the strategic position of Palestine in the power struggle developing on the Eastern Mediterranean. The drift of American policy is for large-scale industrialisation of a dazzling sort to be financed substantially with U.S. funds. In Greece and Turkey American policy took an anti-Soviet turn. If it avoids that pitfall in Palestine, it may eventually succeed in overcoming Arab resistance to U.N. intervention for settlement of the Palestine problem. In Palestine as elsewhere, the power and potentiality of the U.N.O. as an instrument for the promotion of peace are largely dependent on the capacity of Russia and the western powers to hammer out their differences into a workable understanding for peaceful economic aims. Henry Wallace is the most energetic exponent of the need for such an understanding among the statesmen of the world to-day.

Sotto Voce

Cowboy Justice



IN the South Carolina lynching trial defence counsel in his peroration shouted, "There is no cure for it except a verdict by a jury of this kind—to acquit these boys and show them that it is no use meddling in Greenville County". "It", I should perhaps explain, refers to the interest shown in the case by the U.S. Federal Investigation Bureau which had collected evidence, including admissions by most of the 28 accused whites, which would have sufficed to hang them twenty times over if

their victim had not been a coloured man. One would think from the proud boast of Mr. Pettifog that Greenville was Ayodhya, "the impregnable city of the Gods," of which *Sruti* speaks, instead of being an outpost of barbarism. The impregnability of Greenville is that of the slime-covered pond.

The verdict has created a furore, the bulk of the American press denouncing it as vehemently as critics abroad. But the indignation is not

so much due to an outraged sense of righteousness as to an uncomfortable feeling that it has exposed America's weak spots to unfriendly gaze. There is dread in particular lest Soviet Russia should try to make political capital at a time when things seemed to be shaping nicely for the world-wide propagation of the American way of life. British commentators take particular pleasure in rubbing this in. Full page advertisements published in high-brow American periodicals calling for monetary help to Jewish terrorists in Palestine are grimly recalled, with the suggestion that retribution has been swift.

But Greenville's conscience is clear. Said the local newspaper, "However it may appear to the world, the verdict was just according to law and evidence"—so just in fact that it left the fairly hardened Southern judge perfectly dumbfounded; it is recorded that on hearing the jury's pronouncement he rose up, turned his back upon the twelve good men and true and walked out without a word. But Greenville's soul goes marching on. "In the light of history it appears like a triumph," said a North Carolina journal struggling between admiration and envy. What a triumph—for the law of the jungle and the morals of the hyena!

Lynch law and gangsterism represent a civilisation gone to seed. The right of private judgement, which the theologians of the Reformation affirmed with such vehemence, was availed of ironically enough, by uxorious tyrants like Henry VIII. In the popular imagination it has the swashbuckling of such heroes of fiction as "The Four Just Men". And in our own time there has been triumphantly proclaimed the sacred duty of revolt for revolt's sake. "Killing no murder," if it could justify regicide, could equally justify—as succeeding generations brought up in the tradition of violence have tended to argue,—a Chicago hold-up or the blowing out of the brains of a coloured taxi-driver by 28 white ruffians.

If you are determined to find a provocation for indulging your base instincts it is not difficult to discover one. But, curiously enough, the ostensible excuse in almost every case of lynching has been that violence was sought to be done to a white woman by a Negro. A visitor from another planet might be led to conclude from this that regard for chastity was highly, even abnormally, developed in the Southern States of the Union. But the divorce courts tell a very different tale. Could it be that this delight in inflicting cruelty on a helpless creature whom you must hate because he is different stems from the same perverted eroticism as bred the mediaeval flagellants and the modern masochists?

In any case the hatred of the white for the coloured is but an extreme and specialised form of that mutual antipathy—the basic cat and mouse relationship—on which modern society is organised. Freudian analysis is right in its picture of the contemporary European mind turned in on itself. "The civilisation of the West, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," says Nicolas Berdyaev, "is characterised by the extreme socialisation of man (both in his thoughts and his habits he is determined more and more by external social pressures) and at the same time by his isolation as an individual, by the loss of the communal spirit—for socialisation and communisation are very different things." An atomised society is like a menagerie which the keeper has forgotten to lock up.

Man is estranged from his fellow-man because he has forgotten the Friend who is seated in the heart. Hatred is begotten of penury of Spirit. In the Indian tradition justice goes with mercy, because it is sure of itself. With Sri Ramachandra of Ayodhya and Manu Chola of Tamil legend, the act of punishment was itself a benediction. Their steel was forged in the fire of love and annealed in the waters of compassion.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

Men and organizations, who have opposed the State and declared its way wrong, gain moral prestige when the State gets into grave difficulties and begins to lose its constituents' loyalty. The State is very likely, then, to ask such men and such bodies to loan their moral reputation, as backing against general social bankruptcy.

—GERALD HEARD.

I have received from a reader of *Swatantra*, Mr. S. Venkataraman, this letter:

We notice with considerable pain how of late you have been drifting away from the broad aims and principles with which you started your weekly a year ago. We have a right to expect you to offer constructive criticisms of Government policies and actions and thus enable the present Ministry to carry on the administration of the province with the greatest possible care and also to rectify their mistakes, if any. Unfortunately you have now taken a totally wrong stand and have been wasting your energy, your precious time and your 'paper quota' in criticising personally A, Y and Z, which will bring no good to anybody.

Will you please put a stop to your present anti-Omandur campaign and use the strength of your mighty pen for more important purposes?

We have still not lost hope in your wisdom.

From several friends, well-wishers and indignant critics, remonstrances, advice, messages and threats have come in much the same strain.

There is nothing like an *anti-Omandur campaign* in any of the criticisms of *Swatantra* on the present Ministry. The prefix *anti* indicates a mentality of opposition for the sake of opposition, a constitutional unfriendliness that delights in inflicting discredit and refuses to be just and unbiassed or to perceive what is good and worthy, as a matter of deliberate policy for the propagation of ill-will. Two years ago in an address at an editors' conference I prescribed two golden rules for all journalists who aspire to secure for themselves and the

causes they wish to serve generous consideration from the hearts of their readers:

One: Never adversely criticise a man against whom you feel in yourself any awareness of dislike, malice or hatred. Try to see the best in him. The right of criticism is not won until all vestiges of prejudice and animosity are first got rid of.

Secondly: Never praise anyone for whom you are conscious of blind personal affection. Exercise the critical faculty. Bring sentiment within the orbit of discriminating judgment. Then only will praise be well balanced and carry value.

An English friend who read a report of the speech in the papers took strong exception to the two rules cited above. We had a not dispute that ended in disagreement from which neither of us has budged since then. He was a staunch party man. He held that one's faith in a party was like religious faith. It crystallised one's conception of what was good for all and had to be propagated in a crusading spirit. In such an endeavour, points had to be stretched, ends adjusted to means, ethics subdued to politics, and the nicer proprieties of individual judgment surrendered to the call of the evangelical. I held that the ardour of the crusader was not enough in a world full of special pleading for any number of creeds. The gift of influencing public opinion, which is the secret of the power of journalism, is not evoked at its best through any effort merely to whip up subscribers to any one set of articles of political or religious or other forms of faith. Far more potent is the method of appeal to the fundamental unity that exists between all honest intellects that are found everywhere in the world putting themselves forth eagerly upon worthy objects of effort.

The highest power of journalism belongs therefore not to the party press, but to exponents of views and opinions unattached to any party,

capable of making an appeal to the sense of right that lies latent in members of all parties. Only through detachment can this sort of power be cultivated. Detachment is no easy thing. It entails hard exercises in the discipline of integrity. Fundamental journalistic integrity calls for merciless extirpation of every thought of self, the renunciation of the favours that come by courting the powerful, even the rejection of the natural human pleasures of serving friends and showing gratitude to benefactors.

The present Ministry is packed with friends. *Swatantra* has no ill-will for the Prime Minister. It is waiting to shower appreciation on the Ministry should ever any measure or action of theirs come to merit it. Its objection to the Ministry is based on the demonstrable fact that its members lack public support. Several of them in their tours are greeted with stones and chappals. It was never like this before. The Ministry is a product of the self-interest of party professionals—and

the self-interest of the party professional is not synonymous with the public interest. The citizens want more citizenship than the party bosses have given them. We have reached a stage when the will of the people is unable to use the institutions of democracy for democratic purposes because of the influence of property on politics and public life, and a central attack on the whole structure of capitalism is being provoked in consequence. "A system which lives by profit must make profit," says Laski. "If its power to do so is challenged, the owners of the system will seek to destroy the men and the movements which challenge that power." Because the Prakasam Ministry challenged such a power it was destroyed. And the present Ministry will need all the strength of the vast machinery of the State to withstand the force of the movement on whose temporary suppression it rose to office. It will have no energy left for anything else. Constructive good to people is impossible under the present dispensation.—SAKA.

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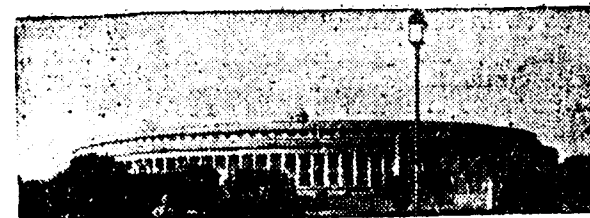
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NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

MAHATMA GANDHI'S insistence on the Cabinet Mission Plan is as a fresh breath of air in an atmosphere where foul deeds smell above the earth with carrion men groaning—not for burial, as in Shakespeare, but—for revenge. The Congress Working Committee which three weeks ago failed, more or less, to appreciate the force of this wisdom has now veered round to his view.

Sometimes it is the nearness to things that results in clearer understanding and better judgment. At other times reasoning is possible only long after or long before events have taken place. In the present case light has come to us through Gandhiji only a few days before June 2. Now alone are we fully aware of the possibility of foreign powers dabbling freely in military politics with the many Indias as their happy hunting ground. A member of the Interim Government is reported to have expressed the fear that Pakistan may fall a prey to American Imperialism. He is also reported to have stated that he did not think there would be any question of Soviet Russia interfering in Indian affairs. There is no doubt that Pakistan will have to seek a political loan from the U.S.A. I understand that Pakistan was anxious that it should remain within the British Commonwealth but that the British Government was none too enthusiastic about the idea.

The temptation at this stage will be too great to blame it all on C.R. for his formula which clothed the ghost of Pakistan with flesh and blood. Original thinkers are liable to be excessively praised or blamed, or praised and blamed alternately,

for no fault of theirs. The Mahatma himself had approved of the C.R. formula and made it the basis of his talks with Jinnah in Bombay. As he himself put it, he could hug Pakistan which was until then only a ghost.

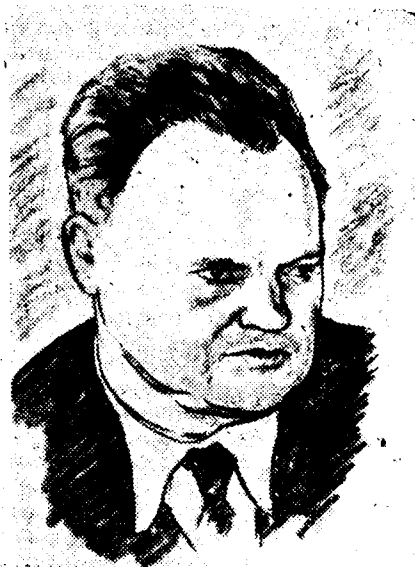
The charge against C.R. is that he had put the case for division so ably that it has become convincing, and that Mr. Jinnah would not have been able to put the case quite so well. That the case for Pakistan has got six times six months' lead over the case for united India, and the latter is therefore unable to catch up with the former.

Whatever the strength of this argument, it should be remembered that C.R. was not a lawyer putting forward arguments as legal adviser to the Muslim League in return for his fee. What he did was to clarify the issue and put it in concrete shape. He separated the chaff from the grain. Unless we hold that general confusion adds to the strength of the argument in favour of an undivided India, C.R.'s was an admirable piece of service to the nation. He tried to reduce to logical terms what otherwise would have been a confounded mass of emotion. Mr. Jinnah's strength lay in maintaining Pakistan in as nebulous a state as possible. C.R. defeated him in this. It will be remembered Pandit Nehru had said at the last session of the Congress at Meerut that a close friend of Mr. Jinnah's had suggested to Mr. Jinnah that the League should set forth in their election manifesto the economic programme which the League proposes to stand for. Mr. Jinnah replied to his friend: "No. That will be dangerous. Once we set down such

MAURICE THOREZ AND HIS PARTY

POLITICS IN FRANCE

Until a few weeks ago Maurice Thorez was Vice-Premier of France. His parents and their neighbours in the colliery village of



Maurice Thorez

Noyelles-Goudault would hardly have dared to expect such a distinction for the boy who was born, almost with the century, in July 1900. Nor was there any political ambition in the mind of the young Thorez who entered the service of the mine owners at the age of twelve, a year earlier than ordinarily—this being a privilege conferred on the boy for having come out on top in his school examinations. The progress of this young miner into leadership of the Communist Party, the largest single party in France now, was parallel to the growth of the working class movement in the country.

Thorez's boyhood was spent in an environment of workers' organization, strikes and police repression. One of the earliest influences in his life was that of his grandfather, "a man who when he died in 1931, at the age of 71, was still at work and

still had his union card paid up to date. I salute him," said Thorez, "as the embodiment of modest, courageous, irreproachable militancy, and above all for his loyalty." It was with his grandfather that young Thorez wandered all over France during the years of the first world war, driven by the ebb and flow of the armies. "In this way I learned what war really meant. Not the war of the picture-books, of bemedalled veterans, of trumpets and cavalry; but war as it really is in all its horror—the endless stream of refugees, women, children and old men, with their countless bundles filled with pathetic odds and ends. For us war meant the destruction of our home, a tramp's life with no roof over our heads, without food or money or work, chivvied hither and thither by police and Prussian machine-guns." All this made an abiding impression on Thorez's mind, which eagerly turned to a study of the Russian Revolution when that event opened up new horizons. After the war ended, politics more and more became the dominating interest of his life; soon after joining the Communist Party he gave up his house-painting job to become a professional revolutionary and was elected to the Central Committee of the party in 1924. The French war against Morocco broke out the next year. Thorez was at the head of the movement of protest against that imperialist adventure. Thorez and his party were again to be the champions of colonial freedom after the second world war, when the people of Indo-China resisted reimposition of French rule.

The most outstanding feature of Thorez's political leadership has been his realisation of the need for the broadest possible alliance of democratic forces. He saw the futility and danger of the isolation of the working class movement from the rest of the population. Free from sectarian narrow-mindedness, he

appealed to the peasants and to members of the professions to join with the workers in a common effort to ensure and extend the working of democracy in France. He made a special appeal to Catholics to shed their prejudice against the materialist philosophy of the Communists, saying: "It is better for the workers to unite in the cause of happiness on earth than to quarrel over the existence of a paradise in heaven. Unity can and must be achieved on the basis of mutual respect for the feelings and beliefs of others." Many Catholics, even their priests, responded to this call. Thorez told his followers, on their part, to give up exclusiveness. He argued that it was unnecessary for Communists to make the clenched fist salute: "First because it is not indispensable—I myself have never used it—and secondly because the gesture which I consider expresses our policy most fully, is that of a hand outstretched in friendship to the people of France." It was because of such an earnest desire for a broadbased unity that the Communists were able to forge the Popular Front, in spite of the reactionary theorists who tried to frighten the Radicals and the Socialists away from it. The victory of the Popular Front in the 1936 elections opened up a prospect of peaceful advance towards Socialism. But the poisoned atmosphere of anti-Soviet intrigues and appeasement of Hitler which then prevailed over Europe was not conducive to such an advance.

Then came the war. It remained a 'phony' war for quite some time, Daladier and Laval concentrating more on the internal war against the Communists than on the war against Hitler. It was then that Thorez left for Moscow. He returned to France in 1944. Anti-Communist propagandists tried to make capital out of this fact by painting it as a "desertion and betrayal of the country." Actually, as everybody could see later, French Communists loved their country as passionately as any other group and it has been acknowledged on all hands that they were foremost in

the Resistance movement and ready to face imprisonment and death during the course of the war of liberation.

In the municipal elections held after liberation, and in subsequent elections to the National Assembly, the Communists have been steadily increasing their vote. The Third Republic of France came to an end with Vichy. The constitution of the Fourth Republic, which was adopted on October 15, 1946, embodies many new democratic features. Women have been given the right to vote, and the principle of nationalisation for monopolies and public utilities has been inscribed in the text. General de Gaulle and his right-wing friends are alarmed at the new constitution and would like to curtail the powers of the elected Assembly. The General entertains hopes of staging a Conservative come-back with American aid. It is in this dangerous situation that French Socialists have chosen to destroy the democratic unity that was built up during the days of the Popular Front and strengthened during the resistance movement. French Socialists like their British counterparts—and, indeed, like middle-of-the-road Socialists all over the world—have been following a policy of indecision and vacillation, of collapse before Conservative pressure and of favouring the continuance of an imperialist policy. Just as the British Labour Government sent military aid to reactionaries in Greece and Indonesia, French Socialist Ministers have been pursuing outmoded policies of colonial domination with regard to the nationalist uprising in Indo-China. The French Communists are opposed to this. The crisis in Socialist-Communist relations on this issue was averted through a curious process of compromise in the Assembly. But it merely delayed a split that was inevitable, present Socialist policy being what it is. Reversing their declared policy of not entering any Government without the Communists, French Socialists have now forced the Communists out of the Government. This has been done on the alleged ground that

things, there will be trouble and division in the ranks."

But for the publication of the C.R.-formula long ago, we would still be trying to interpret the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League. Such axioms as "if there is no partition, there will be no division" would have been extremely hard to understand. The public, not having had training in Euclid, would have displayed a terrible amount of feeling and emotion. If ideas like "cutting the cow" were circulated now when communal madness is terrific, things would have been much worse. It is as well that all this controversy is past. A much greater amount of reasoning has now been possible on the question of partition, division and union. Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to reason and to shed violence—which would have been made in any case—has, on account of all the earlier discussion engendered by publication of the C.R.-formula, even greater likelihood of being heeded. A background was prepared in the course of which most Congressmen and other opponents of Pakistan turned their fury against Rajagopalachari in times when there was hardly any communal tension. This fury would otherwise have been turned now against Mr. Jinnah and

his followers. It is thus on Mr. Rajagopalachari's part a genuine service to Truth, which he undertook at considerable risk of achieving unpopularity.

Mr. Jinnah did not like Mr. Rajagopalachari's description of the demand of Pakistan as the young child's insistence that he should sit in the front seat of the motor car. Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We are on our way to the railway station. If you do not let the child sit in the front seat he will create a scene, we will be delayed and we may miss the train. The best thing is to let the child sit in the front seat." Someone said that if he was the owner of the car, he would box the child's ear and make him take a back-seat. But to box the child's ear is to take advantage of your strength. The best thing is to convince the child through reason, or let him sit in the front seat.

The fact that such thoughts of boxing a child's ear did not cross the mind of Rajaji speaks well of him as an educationist. It is accepted even by those who are not out-and-out believers in non-violence that violence is no good in the treatment of children. It does positive harm.

Current jokes in Paris are mostly of this sort:

A lunatic recovers after 20 years. He is delighted, on visiting his once favourite restaurant, to eat exactly a 1927 meal. But the bill comes to 2,000 francs. He only has 20, the old price. The proprietor says he will call the police. The customer insists: "Sorry, but this is all I have!" He puts down 20 francs—in gold. The proprietor embraces him, gives him 2,000 change, bows him out. The ex-lunatic, deciding everybody else can't be mad, sadly returns to his asylum.

Or the man trying to decide if he should register his son's birth four years late or early. He elaborately considers the balance of advantages and disadvantages when the boy's call-up will become due. Eventually a friend, distressed by his anxiety, suggests he might register the boy's real age. Says father: "Oh, I never thought of that."—Tom Harrison, in the New Statesman.

The doctor told the film actress that she was run down and needed a change.

"A change," said she. "Do you know that during the last eighteen months I've had three husbands, four cars, three jewel robberies, eleven cooks, two divorces, and seven landlords? What other change can you suggest?"—Vox, U.S.A.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



IT will be a long time before we can forget the ideas of May. For a full week—and more—the City smouldered and burned without let or hindrance. For a full week the narrow, tortuous streets of this ancient town were the scene of the foulest murders. Pitched battles took place, too. There were ambushes, and surprise attacks in the middle of the night, and plain downright butchery in broad day-light. And there was stabbing and sniping, and organised raids in jeeps and cars, and there were hand grenades and tommy guns into the bargain.

The police failed to control the situation, partly because it wasn't expected to, and partly because it is no longer above brazenly communal behaviour itself. There is no hiding the brutal fact that the Punjab police is no more a dependable force and useless from the point of view of the people who need protection. The army came in, but it was used half-heartedly, and then merely for patrol duties, and not on one occasion with the severity that evokes respect. The disturbances, which started slowly enough, could have been smothered in a day by vigorous and determined action. Instead, things were allowed to drift, no really drastic measures were taken to put the fear of the Lord into the hearts of miscreants, and little notice was taken of the very serious accusations that were being made by responsible minority leaders about the handling of the situation. It was only when things threatened to get entirely out of hand that the authorities bestirred themselves and restored a semblance of order.

The loss to property by arson has been almost entirely Hindu—was

there a conspiracy to smoke the Hindus out of the town that is the pride of the Punjab and is likely to be disputed territory in the event of a partition? The loss to life has been more equal, though the exact figures will never be known. But the greatest damage has been done to the morale of the people, and human suffering has been enormous. I glance furtively over my shoulder every few seconds whenever I am out-of-doors, and so does everybody else. The dignity of life has vanished completely. All roads lead to the railway station these days. All day, an unbroken stream of people, cramped and burdened with chattels and personal effects, flows down to the waiting sheds of the station. Another pitiable sight is the internal movement of people from one part of the town to another (and safer) area. Mixed localities are being evacuated in record time—men have paid fabulous sums to tongas to transport them and their bedding rolls and tin trunks to their new lodgings with relatives and friends in "pure" localities.

But out of all this trouble and this pain and suffering has emerged a determination to refuse to be bullied that leaders of the terrorists would do well to take note of. Even a worm turns and today the Hindus are no longer the Hindus of a year or even six months ago. The conviction that force must be met with force is universal, and no sentiment is being wasted on pious expressions of a non-violent faith.

In the heat and the dust of the battle it is a little difficult for the average man to see that a foreign hand is working behind the scenes. Success has come to the League leadership through Hitlerite tactics.



Communists have been hampering production. The truth, however, is that Communist policy has been one of increasing production, reducing prices, and raising wages in proportion to the increase in production. This was recognised by the *New York Herald Tribune* (March 23, 1947): "Since the liberation, the Trade Union Confederation and the Communist policy of increased production has resulted in tremendous labour feats of the French workers."

It is noteworthy that it was by a very close vote that the National Council of the French Socialist Party decided on the reversal of its policy; there were 2,529 votes in favour of the split as against 2,124 for the maintenance of unity. This creates a basis for the hope that the Socialists will realize the folly of creating disruption in the ranks of democrats at a critical phase of the fortunes of the young Fourth Republic.

SAROJINI DEVI'S TRIBUTE TO M. S. SUBBULAKSHMI

"SHE MOVES THE HEARTS OF MILLIONS"

High praise was given by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to Srimati M. S. Subbulakshmi at a reception held in Lala Sri Ram's house, New Delhi, on 15th May. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said:

I THINK there are very few people in India who do not know Subbulakshmi whose voice of gold and heart of gold have made her very famous. I heard her sing in Madras a few years ago. Usually people are very fond of magnifying facts, but when I heard her sing, the great traits of artistry made me feel that her claim for many people's admiration was legitimate. Therefore I need not tell you more about her talent, sweetness, her charm and personality.

I had the privilege of seeing the Hindi version of her Tamil film MEERA. I very seldom go to see Indian films. My life is such that I am unable to spend much time for these. But yesterday I could snatch the whole day to hear Subbulakshmi sing in her film MEERA. The little daughter of hers, who acts as child MEERA, is the perfection of dancing and everyone admired her performance. Then came up the grown-up MEERA and the grown-up MEERA was Subbulakshmi. It was pure enchantment against the background of Rajput grandeur, Rajput chivalry and the music of MEERA touched my heart and the hearts of the audience. It was a pure true representation of MEERA, nay, it was MEERA herself singing songs of devotion, of prayerful appeal. The rapture of communion which she expresses before the image of Sri Krishna, whether in Rajputana or in the deserts of that country, forms the basis of the representation of MEERA centuries after she became one with the Lord. It was MEERA herself come to life.

There is no greater charm to an artiste than to find the great characteristics of MEERA depicted in this film. The magic of MEERA was one of utter devotion, divine abandonment, utter ecstasy of oneness with Sri Krishna, and this could only spring from India. There had been great saints in the past, great worshippers like Santa Theresa, Saint Cecilia whose rapture transported them into communion with Christ. But in the quality of Indian MEERA as depicted in the picture we have the MEERA of our past come to life before the world.

I am introducing Subbulakshmi to the people of North India—Subbulakshmi of the South. I am speaking in English because I want my living words to go to the uttermost corners of the world so that people may realise how one great woman artiste of India has been able to move the hearts of millions and millions of men and women by her songs. This is one of the most beloved in the whole of Indian history.

I expect, I believe the feelings roused in me will be roused in everyone who hears this enchanting singer, who is abundantly gifted. It may not be known to many that that golden voice is an instrument of great causes.

It is a great privilege for us to have a younger generation who can imbibe the spirit of the Indian culture, Indian spirituality and courage as is elaborately depicted in the MEERA where Subbulakshmi gives us her sweetness and genius in her songs.

ONE OF THE MOST EMINENT MEN OF HIS TIME

Anniversary Tributes To S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Glowing tributes to the memory of the late S. Srinivasa Iyengar were paid at a public meeting held at the South India Club, New Delhi, last week when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others addressed the gathering.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in the course of his speech, said: "To many of you it may be a surprise that I came to know of S. Srinivasa Iyengar first as a lawyer because both of us belonged to the same profession. It was more than 27 years ago when he and I appeared on opposite sides in one case. Later when I received the C.I.E. he was at the height of his glory in his profession and then he was the Advocate-General at Madras.

"He was a lawyer of great eminence endowed with great forensic ability. He was a lawyer who could speak so fast that it was difficult for lawyers no less than judges to follow his arguments. The first impression he created in me was when both of us worked on opposite sides in the same case and I came to know him as one of the most brilliant lawyers in the country. Even though he was a lawyer he was not altogether away from politics. I know this because we began to discuss Congress politics even then. The non-co-operation movement came a few months later.

"When I came to work with him in politics, it was a matter of great privilege for me to enjoy his confidence and even his affection. You know differences arose between my Congress colleagues and Srinivasa Iyengar and others. But in spite of all such differences he had regard, and affection for me and it continued uninterrupted to the very end of his life. Even when sharp differences arose, he used to speak to me as he used to speak to me before and he always used to tell me that if I can exert my influence then those differences would be somehow or other squared up and

a sort of unity in the Congress ranks could be realised. Probably he over-estimated my influence with my colleagues.



"He was one of the few Congressmen who first raised the cry of independence for India. Till then the Congress was not committed to independence outside the British Empire. And it was in Madras for the first time in the Congress session in 1927, that this question was raised and accepted. Till then the question was in a discussion stage and often it was shelved. Then a resolution was passed in 1927 and Srinivasa Iyengar was one of the men

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



ONE EXCITING DAY at the close of the eighteenth century, the House of Commons was informed by George Canning that he had called in the new world to redress the balance in the old. The noble epigram was, however, not entirely new: for William Pitt had promised to the same body to conquer America in the fields of Europe. That happy century was the proper element for statesmen with a flair for the epigram and the rhodomontade. But when General de Gaulle attempts in these miserable and shrunken days to emulate Canning and Pitt, coincidence itself engages to frustrate him. He told his new party, the Rally of the French People, last week at Paris, that a Europe, "restored in the western form and spirit," would "place a third weight on the world's scales." Except for a slight confusion of metaphor, the aspiration is unimpeachable. He would call in, like a latter-day Canning, a third force, the Western Bloc of his favourite dream, to hold the balance between the two mighty contending opposites, the United States and Russia.

But, unfortunately for the gallant General, on the very day he enunciated this principle, there occurred at Budapest an event which, far from maintaining an amicable balance, cannot fail to widen the breach between the United States and Russia. Last Saturday night, a new Hungarian Cabinet was sworn in. The old Premier, M. Ferenc Nagy, who was on a holiday in Switzerland, submitted his resignation on being informed that Russia had delivered a note accusing him of complicity in the late attempts to subvert the Republic.

It will be remembered that one of the most sanguinary engagements

of the war was fought in and around Budapest, and that, even after the conquest, the spirit of opposition was maintained indomitably by Szalasy. Budapest wears the Russian yoke with impatience. It was, therefore, necessary for the Kremlin to instal there a Government as Communist in temper and principles as can possibly be obtained.

TRUMAN'S "FRONTIER"

Gen. de Gaulle will therefore, find that one of his "Weights" is alarmingly aggrandising itself. He will also discover with dismay that the other one, the United States, is not behindhand in war-like preparations. The President has signed the bill for what is euphemistically called a "loan" to Greece and Turkey. Earl Baldwin once said the Rhine was Britain's frontier. But President Truman observes his borders a far longer way off. It appears likely that the classical combat of this century will be fought in devoted Greece and Turkey. But for the confidence induced by the astonishing sight of American gold being distributed to his country as largesse, it was most unlikely that M. Perec, the Turkish Premier, would have rejected so contemptuously as he did last week the demands for bases made by "a certain power," most obviously Russia.

The quarrel, consequently, gathers apace. It will not soothe the ruffled tempers in Russia to hear that a committee appointed by President Truman has recommended compulsory military training for all U.S. citizens at an annual cost of 1,750 million dollars. That body anticipates from four to 10 years "sneak attacks" with atom bombs; obviously, a challenge to Russia. With this naked appeal to the passions of a

whole country, Mr. Henry Wallace's reasoned and eloquent plea for conciliation has no prospect of being listened to; much less, his recent proposal that international planning is necessary to obviate the depression.

The other great power, Britain, is finding it increasingly difficult to continue to mediate between these two opponents. Mr. Bevin's foreign policy was, indeed, overwhelmingly endorsed at the recent annual conference of the Labour Party at Margate, where the annihilation of his opponents was astonishingly complete. But the objections to it remain unimpaired. Whether it be just or no, it is complained that he has come to subordinate Britain's interests most obsequiously to those of the United States, notably in the Mediterranean, where he has agreed to relinquish Britain's interests in Greece. The "rebel" M.P.s. have not been disapproved when they declared he was acting in a manner hostile to Russia's interests, and that thereby he was provoking a war.

Yet, the central figures in the British Cabinet today are not so much Mr. Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones as Mr. Bevan and Sir Stafford Cripps. Mr. Morrison coined at the Margate Conference the epigram, "Less today for more tomorrow" in goods for the nation. Still exporting as she is most desperately and frantically, the difference in the volume of imports continues to be menacing. The shadow of the sterling balances continues to weigh on Britain heavily. The Egyptian delegation to hold talks on this subject arrived in Britain last week, and hopes are expressed that an equitable arrangement will be entered into, as was the case with Brazil.

THE ASTONISHING FRANCO

The latest exploit of the astonishing Gen. Franco has been to discover an opponent of his regime in possibly the most unlikely figure possible. The Duchess of Valencia, an affluent racehorse-owner, was arrested last week on a charge of making propaganda in favour of

monarchy. The Falangist system must be in very grave danger indeed if it could anticipate menace from such a quarter.

Gen. Franco has greater reason to be annoyed at the escape of Abdel Krim, the redoubtable Riff leader of Morocco, who nearly brought down the Spanish nation in 1924, from French custody. The explanation of the Moroccan leader on how he contrived to escape from the French ship carrying him to France from Madagascar where he had been imprisoned for the last 21 years, is delightfully naive. But the affair naturally could not have presented itself in that light to the Spanish Government who have protested to France. The incident is indeed of sinister import to Gen. Franco, who has need to be apprehensive of an upheaval in Spanish Morocco at a time when he is ostracised by the entire world. Here may be the opportunity for which his enemies have been longing.

GREATEST PARADOX

The greatest paradox of the world is Field-Marshal Jan Smuts. Unless one is to condemn him as a latter-day Pecksniff, which is manifestly unfair, there is continual surprise that while giving expression to maxims and dicta of high moral purity he should be sanctioning in his own country a persecution of fellow-beings, solely because of a difference in colour. In a statement last week, the Field Marshal declared that the abandonment of Asia by Europe would be the cardinal fact of this century. But only in Burma is this process being conducted with amiability. There is no need to dilate on the difficulties attending the transfer of power in India.

But the events in Indonesia have not attracted the interest that properly appertains to them. Here also the ruling power has reconciled itself to grant freedom to the hitherto ruled, though the extent of this concession is manifestly smaller than elsewhere. But Holland does not find it in its heart to set about the discharge of legally-contracted obligations gracefully.

THESE MEN RULE BENGAL

MUSLIM LEAGUE MINISTERS

MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY (Chief Minister):

An important figure in the explosive communal politics of India today, Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy can trace his ancestry to the sufi mystics of the thirteenth century. One of his forbears was a saint whose shrine near Delhi is still a place of pilgrimage.



The Bengal Premier hails from Midnapore. He owes a great deal both to his mother who made a deep study of Islamic culture and to his father Sir Zahid Suhrawardy, a well-known legal luminary of his time. Like many of the present leaders of the Muslim League, H. S. Suhrawardy entered public life as a non-communal nationalist. He was a colleague of the late C. R. Das in the Calcutta Corporation and was intimately associated with the Calcutta Khilafat Committee as one of the trusted lieutenants of the Ali Brothers. Later he broke from the Swarajya Party over a communal incident. Suhrawardy held ministerial portfolios in both the Huq and Nazimuddin Cabinets. It is said that his present efforts to play off his own bat in Bengal have landed him into some differences with Mr.

Jinnah. A very shrewd man and a good mixer, Suhrawardy has the knack of softening the hostility of Hindu pressmen and others by bringing in All-Bengal questions of common interest to Hindus and Muslims, and by throwing in phrases like "We Bengalis" in plenty as occasion demands. Even close associates find it difficult to fathom his mind's workings.

MR. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED (Commerce, Labour and Industry):

A new entrant into the Muslim League which he joined only in December 1945. He was sentenced on a charge of sedition during the first non-co-operation movement and was elected Secretary of the Bengal Khilafat Committee in 1922. He was jailed again for taking part in the civil disobedience movement. Shamsuddin Ahmed became Secretary of the Krishak Proja Samiti in 1936 and led the party in the Legislature. He has already served twice as Minister. An honest administrator and a very good speaker, the Labour Minister co-operated with Gandhiji during the latter's tour of East Bengal.



MR. AHMED HOSSAIN (Agriculture):

Has a long record of legislative activity and a very long beard. After many years in the Congress, he has become Minister for the first time in the Suhrawardy Cabinet. Served on the select committees set up to deal with the Money-lenders Bill, the Rent Reduction Bill, and the Village Self-Govern-



KHAN BAHADUR SYED MOAZZE-MUDDIN HOSSAIN (Education):

Is himself a zamindar in Mymensingh district, but is considered to be a friend of the poor cultivators. He was a member of the Flood Commission on land revenue in Bengal, and was Minister for Agriculture in the Nazimuddin Cabinet. The Khan Bahadur is a religious man and travels about with a bag full of Quoran volumes and prayer equipment. His habits are simple and unostentatious, showing no influence of Western fashions.

MR. FAZLUR RAHAMAN (Revenue):

Associated with the administration of the University of Dacca since 1933, he represents that university in the Legislature. Mr. Rahaman is regarded as an authority on constitutional law and is an absentee member of the Constituent Assembly. He has played an important part in Bengal's educational life.



KHAN BAHADUR ABDUL GOFRAN (Civil Supplies):

Not very brilliant, but has a reputation for honesty and clean hands. He is not popular with the extremist type of Pakistani Muslims. He joined the Bar at Noakhali 30 years ago and was responsible for the inception of many Muslim educational institutions.



KHAN BAHADUR A. F. M. ABDUR RAHMAN (Irrigation, etc.):

Has an unbroken parliamentary record of twenty years in the provincial Legislature. He is an active leader in the co-operative movement in Bengal and was one of the parliamentary secretaries in the Nazimuddin Cabinet.



KHAN BAHADUR MOHAMMED ALI (Finance):

Keen sportsman, good speaker and a modernist in his ways, the Khan Bahadur is only 36 and is the youngest Minister in the present Cabinet. He was twice chairman of the district board in his home town Bogra, and was vice-president of the Bengal Municipal Association. The portfolio of Local Self-Government was also therefore entrusted to him. Good run of luck in his career.



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GOBIND RAM, **YODH RAJ,**
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who had been working for it even before that. And when the Congress met in 1928 at Calcutta, Srinivasa Iyengar was one of the leaders who took a very active and prominent part in the group which was standing out. I remember the long discussions which we used to have. Subsequently he cut away from the Congress on account of differences. But I know he never gave up his interest in the politics of the country till the end of his life. He dedicated the best part of himself to the problems that faced the country."

SAROJINI DEVI

Srimati Sarojini Naidu Said: "He was a very funny man indeed. But the consensus of opinion showed that he was a wonderful person as a person. We are not in a critical mood today to assess the man. Not being a lawyer myself, I can't presume to talk on Srinivasa Iyengar's legal attainments or the technique of his politics. I care more for the humanity of the person. Talking of Srinivasa Iyengar as a person, I can say that he was one of the most distinguished men of his generation. His talent was very confusing. Not only I was confused, but battalions of lawyers and politicians were confused by his manner of thinking and speaking. He was so impatient that he could not wait for the completion of a sentence and words used to flow so unceasingly that he often found it very difficult to form a proper sequence of words. Sometimes I had a serious nervous breakdown after a long session with Srinivasa Iyengar.

I was surprised at the great generosity of his heart. The older I grow the less snobbish I become intellectually. I have spent a fabulously long life in the world and I have known some of the best intellectuals both men and women. I find that there is something that is final for men and women other than mere intellectual eminence, which they should aspire for—and that is greatness of heart. Srinivasa Iyengar possessed this greatness of heart and kindness of heart too. And so I have

come to realise that men and women should be judged by how much one's heart responded to the call of humanity. Whenever he lost his temper you can find sulphur-fires, splinters and all the deadly fires in his words, especially if it were a discussion with Pandit Motilal Nehru. There will be thunder and terror in his speeches then.

"Srinivasa Iyengar devastated his opponents in the Legislative Assembly and in the Congress Working Committee and in other places. His tongue was sharper than an army of sharp swords. If sharpness of the tongue and kindness of the heart, both resided in one man, it was in Srinivasa Iyengar.

"His tickling humour used to delight me. He was a pleasant companion. We laughed together. One can laugh at a man or woman, you can laugh at one another, but it would be amusing if two people laughed together.

"I can give this testimony, he was one of the very few men who was absolutely without communal prejudices. But he had racial prejudice against the Britisher. He used to say, 'I am a racial man, I question the international non-sense of colour prejudice. He had no communal bias.

"He was one of the sweetest men in public life. He was a man of strong calibre, courage, learning, foresight, vision; and all these things could be seen combined with sweetness in the pickling of Srinivasa Iyengar.

"He was really great, he was one of the most eminent men of his generation and I say this with due responsibility to myself."

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Recalling his association with Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that in 1920 when the non-co-operation movement was started, Srinivasa Iyengar opposed certain items of the programme like boycotting legislative assemblies and councils.

Men like the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Sivaswami Iyer and Sir

C. P. Ramaswami Iyer opposed the non-co-operation movement. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer practised all things which the Congress did not want people to do. He advocated entry into councils and assemblies. Now he refuses to come into the Constituent Assembly and we are inviting him to join the Assembly. This fate has ordained us to experience.

"Srinivasa Iyengar worked with Pandit Motilal Nehru and started the Swarajist movement. He was the moving spirit behind the movement. Srinivasa Iyengar's intellect was sharper than most of theirs. One can call it, 'the intelligence of intelligence.' It is a very great pri-

vilage for South India to have given birth to such a person as Srinivasa Iyengar. His contribution to law was very great. He was a lawyer of transcendental legal acumen. People should not assess the dead on all that they had done. Weaknesses and faults for men and women are common and human and when we think of the dead we should forget the dark side. We should assemble all their good contributions and judge them. Just as one who travels in an aeroplane finds the whole earth to be straight and level in spite of the highlands and lowlands and plateaus and depths, they should think that what every leader did or is doing was alright."



If I have learned anything, it is that pity is more intelligent than hatred, that mercy is better even than justice, that if one walks around the world with friendly eyes, one makes good friends.—Sir Philip Gibbs.

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Letters

by **DHARMATEJA**



POSTMAN Appalaswami from his corner at the table gazed blandly at the heap of letters being sorted out into different beats. "Not many" he thought, looking at a plump envelope, curiously blue and mottled red—"a fancy one, must cost quite a lot per hundred" he ruminated, and looked at the address without ever taking it in. A pair of greasy spectacles, a score or more years old, wrapped, waxed and bound with thread, hung on the middle of his nose. Fine time he was having these days, his wife with the three children away at her old father's for another lying in—that makes it four—he lazily counted, and he was forty-seven, and stouter in the limb than any full-back in a football team—it was quite twenty years since he ever toekicked a ball into the nets, he recollected, for he was an amateur footballer and now a confirmed football fan—Lakshmayya's sister, from the village, is a fine plump woman, he remembered with a degree of longing and satisfaction; she had plump cheeks and a gay laugh—he was messing in Lakshmayya's house, a fellow-postman's, since his wife went away, paying fifteen rupees per month—Sitamma, the sister, was a very good cook too, and still had no children, her husband being a carpenter in the village, and Lakshmayya's wife, a congenital lazy slut, let her do all the house work,—yes, a fine plump woman, is Sitamma," he concluded, and remembered his paunch, his three children, born within the last five years,—why so late, God alone Knows,—his hardworking, frugal wife, and wondered at his loose thoughts and longing for Sitamma.

"Hey! Lakshmayya, have you some snuff there," he asked, took from him a pinch and looked at the heap of letters

before him. "Not many today, but quite enough for a brisk hour of delivery, he had a busy beat, there is no doubt of it," he thought and arranged the letters. Towards the very end, just when he was getting actively engaged, he sighed, sat back and began dozing in his seat. Five minutes later, a stray wind, blowing strongly through the window, blew away some of his letters. He got up, waddled about collecting them and the last one, he noted, was a very soiled postcard from some village, name unpronounceable, in his present state of mind. Unusually for him, he cleaned a central spot in each of his spectacle lenses and began reading that letter.

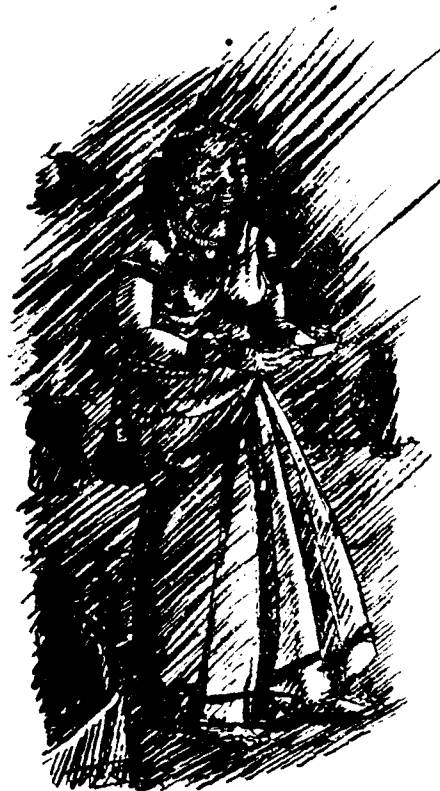
"Dear Narasayya"—ran the card—"my dear benefactor Pankajamma Garu, the new daughter-in-law of our Brahmin neighbour, has agreed to write this letter for me. She is a very nice, beautiful lady and such a fine way of laughing she has. Her teeth are brighter than mine though you always say no one can ever laugh with such a set of teeth as mine. Since you promised under the tamarind tree, that day, to come back from the city after getting employment and marry me, I have been waiting though you never wrote to me. Now father, since he broke his leg and became lame has lost his job, since his Patandu died and his lady does not want old and useless servants. So he wants to marry me to a friend's son from the next village, you know who. So you must do something and marry me. I am very anxious and cannot say more. Yours lovingly, Lakshmi."

It was addressed to a house he remembered well in his beat. Quite a mess for the young fellow, sympathised Appalaswami. What sort of job was he seeking in the city, and poor chance he

had if he wanted a particular job and nobody to help. So the chap must be starving or something. Evidently, the girl must be a clever hussy, wants him to assure her father that he could maintain him as well as her with the job he had. Perhaps the old fellow wanted money. Appalaswami could picture the village road and the tamarind tree, Narasayya half timid and overbold at times, making promises to Lakshmi. He must have stood at quite a little distance from her, thinking all the time that perhaps

he was standing too near, Lakshmi standing still and motionless, perhaps gazing too steadfastly at him, or with a head downcast, and taking in his promises. Fine pair they must be, if her teeth were so bright—And he let the matter pass.

A week later he noticed a similar soiled postcard, and read it with greater interest—"Dear Narasayya, no reply from you yet. Father is pressing me hard to agree to marry Rangayya. He and his people came yesterday. If you don't do something I will lose all hope. Please reply. Lakshmi." He delivered it at the address this time asking whether one Narasayya stayed there. Somebody said sullenly, 'yes,' and took the letter. Noticing the sullenness, Appalaswami delivered the letter hesitatingly, as if he was handing over something precious, his own, to these people. But he delivered it and walked away. Four days later another letter came—he seemed to be nowadays waiting for these letters—"Dear Narasayya, I am fasting since two days, after quarrelling with father. Today he agreed to my writing to you, if only your reply is a money order for ten



"He gazed with relish at Seetamma; and her bright teeth shining in the dull light moved him strangely."

rupees, monthly, to maintain us. Afterwards he asked me to eat but I refused. Don't worry, I will take food tomorrow. This is only to show my determination. Pankajamma Garu says you must be a stupid man not to answer my letters and I cried. But even then, she agreed to write this letter. Please reply.—Lakshmi."

That day the postman arranged his letters in double quick time, and took the letter direct to that house. After his knocking the door was opened and when he asked for Narasayya and delivered that letter, the old fellow who opened the door, as villainous a fellow as he could wish to meet on a rainy day, told him that Narasayya left his house some-time back, 'God knew where the rotter was' and so 'send back the letter or throw it away,' he said and banged the door. Appalaswami grew red under the sun tan of his pockmarked brown face, and marched away.

In the evening, lying down on his back in the house chewing betel and smoking his favourite cigar, he again read that letter. Yes, he did not leave it at the post office, he had brought it home. He somehow felt that the letter belonged to him and cast a responsibility on him. That night, eating a thick soup made of brinjals and dhall, in Lakshmayya's house, he gazed with relish at Seethamma; and her bright teeth shining in the dull light of the old lamp in Lakshmayya's house, moved him strangely. Yes, his wife chewed a lot of pan and her teeth were always tinted black and rusty. For the hundredth time, he registered the fact that Seetamma was a plump lovely woman. So when he lay down to sleep on the pial outside his tiny house, after locking the front door, Seetamma's laughing shiny teeth brought back to him the memory of Lakshmi's letters. "Yes," Narasayya said, "nobody could ever laugh with such teeth as hers. Must be a fine girl like Seetamma," he thought and felt a great deal of satisfaction for thinking so. A subtle subconsciousness that he was honouring Lakshmi, to compensate for his unfulfilled longing for Seetamma, awoke in him and pervaded his ego.

He must look at that letter again, he thought, and unlocking the front door, went in. There on a tiny almirah that he had bought quite some years back, dirt cheap, he found that letter and read it again. Yes, if that fellow Narasayya sent ten rupees in a money order, Lakshmi can be his. How easy and how beautiful, but blast the fellow, where was he? Worrying over this, he came out relocking the door, and sinking back on his bed, soon fell asleep.

The next day, the first thing he did, the previous day being his pay day, at the post office, was to draw up a money order in Lakshmi's name, and sign it Narasayya in his own hand, writing in the coupon—'your letters. I have a good job here. Sending this money. Ask your father to depend upon me. I will come and marry you as soon as I get leave and save some money. I am anxious to come. Yours, Narasayya.' He had taken the money from out of his strong box at home, and he remembered promising to his wife that there would be hundred rupees in that box when she came back after a four months' stay in her father's house. Now it would be ten rupees short of hundred. "But damn it, I shall make it up to her somehow," he thought a little worriedly. When a letter from Lakshmi came a little later along with the M.O. receipt saying she was overjoyed at what Narasayya had done, and that Pankajamma Garu now agrees that he must be a very good man indeed—then only Appalaswami realised that he had landed himself in trouble, yes, trouble he did not realise how grave, when he calmly sent away that M.O.

He would never get back those ten rupees; let alone that, what about the next month—when Narasayya would be expected either to go over to Lakshmi's place or send her ten rupees again? Appalaswami gazed stupidly at the large heap of letters before him, with his spectacles away and his lower jaw hanging loose. What could he do? and how will this end? If nothing happens and Lakshmi is forced to marry Rangayya, his ten rupees would become an investment wasted. He grew vexed and angry at the prospect, and for the next week or two was so worried, he forgot to ask for tips when he delivered M.Os. and valuable articles to people on his beat.

Was he conscious of the fact that he was making an investment whose profits would be happiness? That happiness has no exchange in even truckloads of currency, that it is a commodity which cannot be bartered even for a bushelful of stars, he perhaps never knew! But one thing he was certain about—his original ten rupees would be an investment wasted if not backed up by further instalments of money till the two young people somehow got cemented together in wedlock. Would this happen within the four-month period in which he was a free man?, he never questioned himself. If not, afterwards what?, never occurred to him.

But sure and steady the letters came, loving innocent, interesting letters—Pankajamma Garu was teasing her for

looking so young and happy, the cow had given birth to a calf, a heifer not a bull calf, and she made father buy a string of bells for its neck and so on. Right on the due date next month, Appalaswami sent her another ten rupees and for the next two months another and another ten. Back in his mind was the idea that he should not allow his original ten go waste and besides, there was nothing else he could do. He never wrote back to Lakshmi in Narasayya's name even when she upbraided him for not writing to her, though he sent her father money and even when she anxiously asked him when he was coming to marry her. He kept the letters locked up in the same strong box along with his savings, and every time he opened the box, glanced away from the letters. He almost knew each letter at sight and what it contained.

Then just before Deepavali, his wife returned bringing with her the baby boy, and the other three children. When she showed him the presents her people gave her, he did not evince the usual greedy interest, but looked at her betel tanned teeth, with no pangs but a sense of realism. Even when he opened the strong box and showed her the sixty rupees and she asked him where the other forty were, he kept on a grim look and said that he had taken to eating tiffin in hotels, because food in Lakshmayya's house was not as good as the food she cooked. She felt disappointed but did not quarrel with him because he had spent the money only on himself. Innocent thing! If only she knew how he had spent the money!

And the letters continued—but he grew listless and wore a hangdog look and diligently asked everyone of his customers for tips and took a sullen pleasure in dragging money out of them. The day before he got his pay, another letter came from Lakshmi, complaining of Narasayya's prolonged delay in coming to marry her. Though her father wanted the ten rupees each month, what she wanted was to be with Narasayya, married and happy, and Pankajamma Garu agreed with her. That day Appalaswami woke to the fact that as usual he had to send the ten rupees next day, or do what? That question worried him and when he went home, he kept away from food and to all his wife's questions turned a deaf ear. But the next day soon after he received his pay, like an automaton with no volition of its own, he sat and filled a M.O. form and sent it. On his beat, he shut his mind to the prospect of his wife demanding an explanation for the amount. Should he say he owed it, lent it, spent

it playing cards, sent it to his brother who badly wanted money? He knew none of these explanations would satisfy his wife. Why, why should they not satisfy her? he asked himself. Because he never did such a thing in all the twenty-five and odd years of his married life. That was why. He could not get away with it by saying he owed it to the hotel-keeper for tiffin consumed during the month. And why did he send the money again? There seemed to be no point in sending it.

What had seemed real to him, all the last four or five months, in the chain of associations starting with Seetamma's plump good looks and her teeth shining in the light of the old lantern in Lakshmayya's house, was now so unreal, so detached and far away from him. And no more puzzled and irritable Appalaswami ever returned home from his beat as he did that day.

To his wife's queries, first puzzled, then angry, then remonstrant and finally violently indignant, he kept resolutely silent. Only when she lapsed into silence exhausted after an hour or more of thundering at him, he said, "I had to pay back an old debt. I will see it shall not occur again" and he turned his back on the look of doubting wonder on her face. Yes, he resolved he would wash his hands of the whole affair. Anyway, why was he sending money on another man's behalf—a man he never knew and would perhaps never know. That is it—the only thing to do is to forget the whole affair, and Appalaswami returned to his daily beat with a heart that seemed somehow to hang loose inside him.

But the letters, that month three of them came, and he duly read them and deposited them in his strong box. And deep within him anxiety grew day by day. It grew to such proportions, that he actually grew thinner and looked wan and old. Without anybody asking him, he used to tell everyone about the peculiar trouble in his stomach that made him lose appetite. 'Why don't you take medicine,' someone would say. 'Yes, yes, I should, but I will wait, it will pass,' was his answer. But on the day previous to his receiving pay for the next month, he walked with a firm step, his spectacles in his hand, to the postmaster and asked him to change his beat at once without delay. 'Why at once, I will consider it,' said the postmaster, but Appalaswami did not budge and he repeated his request in a firm low voice. He gave no reason and would accept no refusal. His persistence won him a transfer to a new beat—all beats were old ones to him, considering his long service, and with a heart which beat,

he knew not where, he changed places at the sorting table that day. Was he triumphant, was he glad, or relieved, which? He himself did not know—but when he returned home that day, he dined unusually well and took the youngest boy on his stomach, after lying down, and danced him up and down.

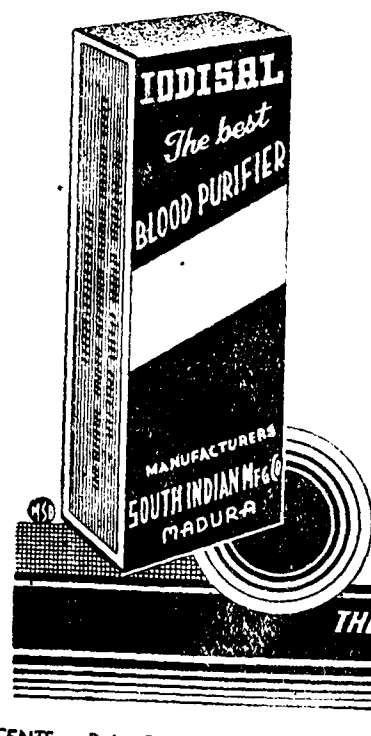
In the next few years of his service he never took on that beat and never walked down that street of Narasayya's address, without turning his head to the other side, though he very well knew that Narasayya would never come there and even if he did, he and Narasayya would never know each other.

He would never have recognised in the years after he died and was buried, Narasayya's name on the signboard over the gate of a part business and part family house, designated 'Narasayya and Co.,—architects, monument sculptors, temple decorators and tombstone fashioners.' Perhaps the golden coloured, spotted, roller bird, perched on the edge of the signboard, and echoing, in its sweet notes, the shrill laughter of a child—who else but Lakshmi? looking through a window of the house, might have understood the sweet mystery of the episode. Perhaps it had also perched for worms and grass seed on Appala-swami's tomb, lying beyond the city, in the graveyard.



The grateful father was thanking the young man for his bravery in rescuing his daughter from the river. He finished up: "Do you realize, my boy, the great danger you were placing yourself in?"

To this the rescuer replied briefly: "There wasn't any. I am a champion swimmer and I am already married."—*Montreal Daily Star.*



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EIGHT YEAR PLAN FOR BROADCASTING

by P. V. PERRAJU

IN connection with the Eight Year Plan for the development of broadcasting in India the Member for Information and Broadcasting is reported to have stated that the Government of India is proceeding on the basis of one Centre irrespective of the future constitutional changes.

In dividing the country into five zones it is argued that the linguistic, cultural and musical affinities of the people and administrative convenience are taken into consideration. But this argument is not quite convincing; for language or musical affinities exist in the case of one or two zones only and not in all the five. What is the musical or language affinity between the Gujaratis and the Konkinis or Maharattas of the Bombay zone? Where is the affinity between Orissa and Assam except that the Calcutta Station is broadcasting for both at present? Each one of these groups of people has its own distinctive lore, tastes and interests, and to huddle them together into one zone serves no useful purpose except propping up the status of the zonal centres.

It is stated that each of these zonal centres will have one high power medium wave transmitter and two 20 K.W. medium wave transmitters. What is the purpose of a fifty or hundred K.W. medium wave transmitter? Is it for overseas broadcasts? If so, perhaps a short wave transmitter is what is needed and not a medium wave one. The 20 K.W. transmitters, it is said, are to radiate rural programmes. Perhaps the Government is not aware that the rural programmes as broadcast now are not worth the mike and that they are nothing but a parody of rural life which could interest only the urban listeners, as good fun at the expense of the poor villagers. If anyone cares to study the reports

of the rural radio supervisors, the great discontent prevalent among the villagers about these programmes can very well be understood. Why then perpetuate this sorry state of affairs by projecting on more powerful transmitters programmes prepared by those that cannot comprehend rural life and rural interests? If these programmes are meant for those in and around the zonal centre alone, then perhaps a five kilowatt transmitter is more than enough.

Sooner or later the country is bound to be divided into linguistic provinces and places like Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Bezwada, Trichinopoly, Calicut, Decca, etc., are bound to grow in importance. It is these linguistic centres that require high power transmitters so as to cater to the new provinces and to nationals abroad. The zonal centres under contemplation, namely, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and perhaps Delhi too, are bound to lose their importance and any amount spent on the development of the radio stations at these places will be a waste.

The Government will be doing a great service if these high powered transmitters are installed in the various language areas forthwith, keeping the present 10 K.W. transmitters as they are, so that a greater area in extent as well as population might be served in a much shorter time. If the three new transmitters intended for the Bombay Station, are distributed, one each, to Ahmedabad, Karachi and Nagpur, the entire Bombay Presidency and Sind could be covered in a short span of time, and unnecessary expenditure cut down. So also in the South, the new transmitters can be installed at Bezwada, Calicut and Trichy, utilising the present Trichy transmitter to serve the needs of the Karnatakas. By this arrangement none of these

areas need wait for an unduly long time to get a station.

If the development of broadcasting were to proceed as at present envisaged by the Government—first the highly urbanised areas, then the less urban and then the villages—it may probably require at least fifty years before the 125 transmitters to cater to the needs of the 7 lakhs of villages are installed.

The Eight Year Plan, as reported, smacks too much of urbanism in these days of villagism. Perhaps the licenses are taken into main consideration in drawing up the plan. If so, unless more attention is paid to develop the radio-mindedness of the town and village folk by giving them a radio station which they can call their own, the licences cannot increase to the target of five lakhs within the next five years.

It is stated by the Information Member that during the first five years, in addition to the five zonal centres, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Cuttack, and Shillong will have new stations. That is to say, the Hindustani-speaking north zone will have three new transmitters in addition to Lucknow's, regardless of the area that can be covered by Delhi and Patna. In the West, Bombay will have three transmitters, Nagpur and Ahmedabad two each. In the East, Orissa and Assam are given preference. On what basis this priority system is followed is beyond one's comprehension, since two lakhs of Assamis, eleven lakhs of Gujaratis and Oriyas, and sixteen lakhs of Mahrattas are given priority over forty lakhs of Sindhis and twenty-six lakhs of Telugus. It may be argued that areas down in the list will for the present be attended to by the zonal centres. But that argument holds good for any area and if the number of existing radios is to be the only consideration for giving priority, these areas will never improve unless there is a station which can exclusively look to their needs. Experience during the past nine years has shown that neither Bombay nor Madras could sufficiently interest any language section.

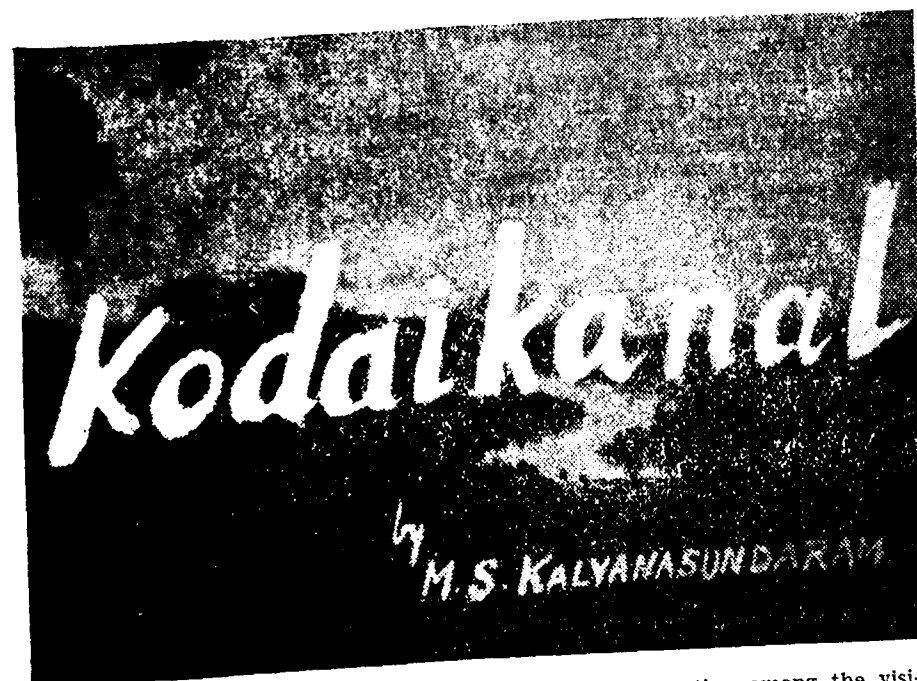
In this connection it will be worth while to refer to the Report of Mr. H.

L. R. Kirkee, published by the Government in 1936. Among other aspects of the question of development of broadcasting he has clearly expressed the futility of installing high power transmitters at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, for their power is wasted to a large extent on the sea and on thinly populated areas.

In the present Plan no reference is made about two very important aspects—the programme side and the availability of cheap sets. Probably the Honourable Member is not unaware of the great dissatisfaction that has come over the listeners since the war. All sorts of hackneyed arrangements are made in the name of war emergency and in peace time these evils have come to stay. The primary requisite for any future development is to improve the quality of programmes and not to say 'Take it as we give it.' The fact that the A.I.R. is a Governmental institution and not a private organisation as the B.B.C. or the N.B.C. has greatly contributed to the lethargy and lack of responsibility to listeners' interests on the part of the A.I.R. staff. Until the major question of converting the A.I.R. into a corporation could be settled, to broadcast more satisfactory programmes, it is essential to have advisory committees consisting of listeners as members and the programme planning officers must be in very frequent touch with them.

Although the need for cheap radio receivers was recognised long ago no definite efforts are made as yet in that direction. Instead of leaving this question to private enterprise it is necessary that the Government, or at least the Provincial Governments, take up this matter in right earnest.

Unless all questions like providing each language area with transmitters, improvement in the quality of programmes, availability of cheap sets, etc., are tackled simultaneously, broadcasting in India cannot develop on sound lines. It is not increase in the signal strength of a station and the creation of more posts that count, but the popularity of the programmes and a feeling of oneness of the people with a particular station.



AS the hot months are approaching, those who can afford to go to hill-stations must be busy making plans for this year's move. People in Madras Province will naturally not think of places like Simla, Naini Tal and Darjeeling, because they are far away. It is their luck that those places are far away, that the place which has been acclaimed generally by persons who have seen all important Indian and many foreign hill-stations to be the most attractive of them all, namely, Kodaikanal, also happens to be within their reach. Ootacamund, it is true, has been famous for a long time; but social height perhaps counts more than geographical height there. Has not someone described Ooty as 'aristocratic Madras, 7,000 feet high'? For comfort and beauty and dry agreeable cold and, more than all, for reposefulness, Kodaikanal is hard to beat. So say regular visitors to that place who have experience of other hill-stations as well. And their number is large, and increasing every year.

The place is not difficult of approach, either, as it was 30 or 40 years ago. It is true there is no railway leading to it; but it can be reached within four hours from the railway station nearest to it, namely, Kodaikanal Road. And the greater part of that four hours' journey passes through beautiful sylvan areas, plantain groves, and orange, coffee and cardamum plantations.

The younger section among the visitors is generally not aware of the fact that this quick, easy and entertaining travel has become possible only in recent times as the following conversation will show. The talk began about the nature of the journey now and in the past, but extended gradually, as dialogues have a habit of doing, to Kodaikanal of the old days. It was of a chatty nature, and I am reporting it in the belief that the chattiness of it may appeal to such of your readers as have visited or wish to visit the place, and take an interest in how the good old—or bad old—days felt.

New Visitor: I wish Kodaikanal were not so far away from the Railway Station.

Old Resident: Why? Don't you like the verdure you are passing through?

N.V.: Not that. It is delightful. Especially as contrasted with the parched up plains down there. What I meant is, . . .

O.R.: I understand. Since reaching Kodaikanal is your present idea, . . .

Another passenger, with a smile— The pleasure should not be merely in kicking the ball into the goal, but in the plans, emotions and actions involved in it.

All eyes turned to that talking text-book.

O.R.: That attitude is helpful in all branches of our life. Apart from that, extend the contrast from space to time, and picture what travel to Kodaikanal was like in the old days. Your appreciation of the present will be greater and you won't be bored by the four-hour journey from the Railway Station.

N.V.: Was the journey very difficult in those days?

O.R.: It was strenuous and tedious and a source of anxiety. It was generally spread over 30 hours instead of the present 4. Periakulam was usually reached in the evening after a tiresome bullock-cart journey, . . .

N.V.: But why Periakulam? It is not on the way.

O.R.: Not now. This motor road branches off some ten miles this side of Periakulam. In those days, we had to go to Periakulam, contact transport agents, haggle with them, arrange for a cart—an unsprung bone-breaker—for the foot of the hills (called the Tope) and also for riding ponies or conveyances carried by four men, . . .

N.V.: Oh, Lord!

O.R.: And pack-ponies or men or women for carrying luggage and children. The journey started at 3 a.m. from Periakulam. The Tope was reached in two hours, the coolies were hustled up from their real or pretended sleep—this vexatious process alone took 20 minutes or more, and strained our stock of swear-words— . . .

N.V.: That's well pictured.

O.R.: The journey uphill—naturally up-hill work and slow—began with the unmusical but pleasing *ha ho ango-ko* music of the carriers; and Kodaikanal was reached before noon, God willing.

N.V.: Tiresome!

O.R.: It was. Men and boys—and sometimes ladies—with grit in them generally did the up-hill portion walking.

N.V.: What did the conveyance carried by men look like?



O.R.: There were several kinds, but the most common one looked like a camel lying on its back—if that is possible. It was a sort of cross between a stretcher and a canvas chair. It was slung by two long bamboos, and four men placed the protruding ends on their padded shoulders and jogged on.

N.V.: Oh, my goodness!

O.R.: And the passenger would stretch himself on the slack canvas sheet in a horizontal position.

N.V.: So, the Kodaikanal visitors of those days would have had plenty of rehearsal for their final journey from this world!

O.R.: That is what a friend of mine said. He had written to me that he would foot the distance, but got off a *kachchai*, as those contrivances were called. He explained, "I did start on foot, but after I walked some distance, a *kachchai* was offered to me cheap, and I used it. There was another reason beside the cheapness. An astrologer has told me that there is some danger to my life about this time. So I thought, why not get rid of the evil influence by being carried on a bier-like structure even when alive."

N.V.: That is humour in action.

O.R.: So it was. But there were occasions when the predominant feeling was far different from humour. When a certain family was going up, a *kachchai* had been engaged for the mistress of the house; and to carry her three-year

old daughter, a woman coolly had been engaged. The canvas and the lady were lifted up on the shoulders of the four men, when the child stoutly refused to be carried by an evil-looking, evil-smelling, veritable Lankini of a woman, and be separated from her mother on a dark and cold journey, fell on the ground and rolled about, crying, "Ayyo Amma, Ayyo Amma."

N.V.: The parallel to the final journey is quite complete.

The sententious gentleman—Was it a Friday?

O.R.: Yes. Why?

S.G.: And was the family returning from a marriage?

O.R.: Yes. How do you know?

S.G.: These things happen like that. Another passenger—And what was the charge for a *kachchai*?

O.R.:—Four to five rupees, usually, and a lot of haggling over the final *inam*.

S.G.: The best thing is to pay a little more and be done.

O.R.: You are an optimist. If you pay less, you are a miser, and you are squeezed. If you are generous, you are a fool, and you are fleeced. That is how the bearers used to judge you.

N.V.: How was the road?

O.R.: Narrow and rugged, and dangerous during the rains.

Another Passenger—The Lake-side is very crowded in the evenings. Was it always so?

Yet another passenger—How old is Kodaikanal, Sir?

And another—What is the meaning of the word 'Kodaikanal'? Some say it is a mistake for Kodai Kanal—with a long 'Ko'—meaning a forest where people go in the summer months.

O.R.: Splendid! I think your enthusiasm will make me also enthusiastic in my replies.—As for the name, highly educated people have made this suggestion of 'summer forest', light-heartedly ignoring the obvious consideration that the summer-resort idea began comparatively recently whereas the name 'Kodaikanal'—with a short 'o' is an old, old

one. 'Kodai' in Hill Tamil (which contains many archaic Tamil words—and is worth the attention of a University Researcher) means a level piece of ground on a hill-top, or a formation known as a saddle. 'Kanal' is a forest. (To N. V.) You are thinking of something and smiling?

N.V.: The 'summer-forest' interpretation reminded me of a class-fellow of mine called Motaru Venkatarangayya. I speculated on a Research Scholar trying to establish that a remote ancestor of my friend was the proprietor of a motor service!

O.R.: Not bad! As for the age of the place, an English surveyor reached there over a century ago and started the idea of a settlement. Some Europeans carried it out, and the place developed into a European Settlement.

A passenger—And the present Municipality and other offices?

O.R.: The municipal administration began on the first of April, 1899. And by a coincidence, the most important public institution of the place, the Solar Physics Observatory—popularly known as Nakshatra Office, though star-work is not the main work there—also started on the same day.

N.V.: Both the Municipality and the Observatory have a good name, I believe.

O.R.: That is true. But why . . .

N.V.: Just a childish fancy. Because of the joke about April First.

O.R.: That's true. The joke is British; and the convention about starting the official year on the first of April is also British. Worth thinking about!

The questions and answers about the Observatory are interesting, but they have been left out, as all the relevant information has appeared in the SWATANTRA of the 18th of January.—Ed. S.)

N.V.: You spoke of the beauty of the place. Are there many picnic spots?

O.R.: You have asked a question which I love to answer. There are many conventional spots

which new-comers are advised to go to; and they do go. But the truth is, there is hardly a place outside the built-in areas which cannot be called a picnic spot. Wherever you go, you find a shady brook within a furlong or two.

N.V.: Of course, being hilly,

O.R.: Oh, no. It is not like that. I have been in Simla; and we have had to carry water with us for making tea during picnics

N.V.: Indeed! Such a much-vaunted hill-station!

A.P.: Water too is much wanted there, I suppose!

O.R.: Himalayan hill-stations have been over-advertised. Naini Tal is different with its big lakes; but Simla, Mussooree etc. can't compare with Kodaikanal. The lake here is in the centre of the Town and is an enchanting spot. With every change of weather, it shows up new charms. The enchantment of it will appeal to you particularly if you walk round it on a rainless, cloudy day.

A.P.: Some people say it is not a natural lake.

N.V.: I don't know how you can say that. You can't say that even of a cinema Star's face. Deep, deep down is a bit of her natural face!

O.R.: That's fine! But I see our friend's meaning. It was developed into its present shape about 80 years ago by Sir Vere Levinge. Before that, the place was a swamp with a few thin streams sleepily tracing a way down except, of course, when it rained. There is a story told in that connection, but, perhaps, I am boring you

Several—No, no. Please—

O.R.: You see, it shows the fineness of nature of that gentleman. When he formed the idea of damming up the water, the farmers of Vilpatti, that is a hill village. . . .

Several—Don't we know Vilpatti?

O.R.: Quite so. They objected that the reservoir would deprive their rice fields of water. They expected a rude reply from the Collector. But Sir Levinge told them, "For putting up

this dam, I will require plenty of labour. You all shall do that work and get well paid. Come to me after some time and tell me if your fields have suffered on account of the formation of the lake. If your complaint is proved, I will pay you amply again for pulling down the dam. Sir Vere Levinge later went to Vilpatti and asked the people there if they still objected to the dam. "No" they said firmly, and expressed their gratitude for his gentle behaviour. They were slightly better off because of the regulation of the flow.

A passenger—Yes, I have heard this from my grandfather. He used to show me the chair-like stone seat on which the Collector used to sit.

N.V.: Are these hill-people aborigines?

O.R.: Oh, no. There are aborigines; but they don't live in villages. The inhabitants of villages are descendents of men who migrated from the plains perhaps some centuries ago during times of trouble.



"Some ladies wear high-heeled shoes."

N.V.: They say monsoon months are bad at Kodaikanal and that I should leave the place in June.

O.R.: That is one of the superstition that die hard. Monsoon months are particularly healthy months. Some say that this is due to the ozone that accompanies the mist that forms frequently in those months. It is true that in July, August and November, there is much rain (rain occurs more or less during nine months in the year) and one can't get out for a walk in rainy weather. But that is inconvenient only to clerks, shop-ass'tants and others in regular employment there. Visitors can remain in the house when it is raining and go out for walks when it is clear.

N.V.: But if they are caught in the rain,

O.R.: Curiously enough, you can get soaking wet in the hills and not catch cold, most of the times Walking is delightful at Kodaikanal and need not be restricted to mornings and evenings as in the plains. It is curious that vakils, who don't do any walking at all in the plains except inside their houses or clubs or along court verandahs, walk like mad when they go to the hills.

N.V.: And ladies?

O.R.: They too walk. And some husbands are quite cruel, the way they drag their women-folk about. But the more cruel thing is that some ladies wear shoes—and high-heeled ones at that—for the first time; and they suffer much and at the same time cut comic figures.

N.V.: I suppose that is what they mean by Tragi-comedy!

O.R.: Perhaps! . . . Ten miles a day is quite common for these people; and it does them good. They say that during their two months' stay at Kodaikanal, they store up enough energy to last them for the remaining ten months, and very likely, they are right.

The hill-station habit has been copied from Westerners by the small section of Indians who can afford it, and it is one of the few habits by copying which they have benefited.

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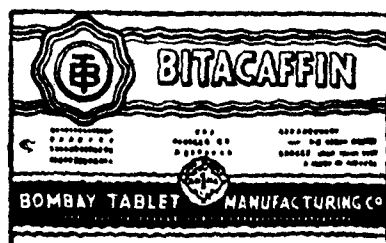
by **K. RADHAKRISHNA MENON**

THE unity supposed to have been built by the British in India, and constantly praised as one of the lasting benefits of the British administration, is today showing its weakness and crashing to the ground. This unity was based on a rigid and irresponsible bureaucracy and not the firmer foundation of decentralised Indian village panchayats.

Gandhiji has been demanding, of late, that the British should withdraw unconditionally and leave the people of the country to settle its problems. But it is clear that the British do not intend leaving this country alone. Their justification is that they cannot leave it in chaos and that they have obligations to minorities and the princes. But what they do not admit is that division and disintegration are the very results of their stay here. For one thing the princes derive their right to rule from the people who live in their States and unless the people like to have them the princes have no right to continue as despots. Therefore the British Government have no right to hand over the States to the independent charge of the princes. The minority question is a purely internal problem which has to solve itself when the external influence is removed. Mohamed Ali Jinnah has taken this country towards widespread civil strife and the logical consequences of Jinnah's undefined claims are now showing themselves in their naked ferocity and their political and economic bankruptcy. His latest claim to a corridor through the heart of India as a connecting link between the north eastern and northern regions of Pakistan has been rightly condemned as fantastic and silly. The corridor question is bound to be a

bone of contention and the cause of eternal trouble. Europe plunged into a disastrous war in 1939 on Hitler's demand for the Polish corridor. Perhaps a major disaster in Indian history may also be the result of Feuhrer Jinnah's corridor demand.

Never can the affairs of any country be settled without toleration, mutual understanding and compromise. The need for these finer virtues is the greater in India which is the home of many different peoples and communities with differences in religion and culture. All the same there is a fundamental unity among our people, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, or Christians, which is distinctly visible to a foreigner. Moreover once we realise that the basic problems of our people are economic it would be easy to see that only real economic freedom based on political unity and freedom can solve our problems. Already the Congress is reorganising itself with a swing to the left and towards the Socialist ideology. The minority problem in India is a problem of Jinnah alone, and the problem of the princes ceases to be a problem once the sovereignty of the people is recognised and admitted. The essential and fundamental unity of the people of India cannot be broken by the temporary awards and pronouncements of a foreign power. But they may create a great deal of harm by dividing India. The unification of India on a permanent basis may take place after years of suffering and strife as happened in Italy during Mazzini's time and in America. Let us hope that the tragedy of division that is looming ahead may be of short duration and that India will rise again as a great and mighty nation to lead the rest of the world.

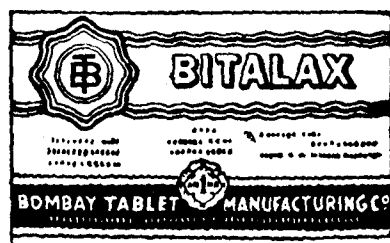


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BOOKS

Gandhism In The Atomic Age. By Y. G. Krishnamurti (Shakti Karyalayam, Royapettah, Madras 14. Price, Rs. 2).

Reading Mr. Krishnamurti's book, one wonders whether violent invective against the West and contemptuous generalizations on the nature of 'western man' are either appropriate or necessary in a presentation of the Gandhian view of life and its values. The forbearance, humility and love which are of the essence of the Gandhian spirit are absent from this exposition of Gandhism. "Living in a world of slogans and mental feebleness the western man offered himself as a heroic scapegoat," says Mr. Krishnamurti. Are the slogans and mental attitude of our frenzied communalists any better? "In the land of Goethe the frau is tempted to part with her virginity for a loaf of bread," is another lump of mud which the author flings—surely he has not forgotten what happened in the land of Tagore not so long ago! In the midst of such exhibitions of lofty disdain towards the West, it is gratifying to note that Mr. Krishnamurti is not entirely without hope for the soul of western man: "the voices of millions in concentration camps and the courage of millions underground, have given a civilization in collapse a soul and a shield."

The solution for the world's problems, according to the author, lies, not in Socialism or similar 'materialist' plans, but in the spiritual regeneration of men based on truth, love and non-violence. "The extension of State direction, manipulation of investments, wage-fixing machinery, schemes of full employment and social service are discouragingly negative," says Mr. Krishnamurti; and he offers, in their place, such positive advice as the following (which is one of the many quotations which the author has culled from the writings of European thinkers of the mystical school): "Both philosophy and theology should start neither with God nor with man but with the God-man. The basic and original phenomenon of life is the meeting and interaction of God and man, the movement of God towards men and of men

towards God." With luck the reader might discover a meaning in these quotations and the purport of some of the author's own phrases as, for instance, when he describes Kierkegaard's mysticism as "a living relation for a living life," or when he says about the new forces released by the War that "these forces have a fluid grace. This fluid is corrosive and its grace etches." We wish Mr. Krishnamurti had employed a less startling style. The book carries appreciative forewords by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer.

Books That Have Influenced Me. A Symposium. (Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Price, Rs. 1-8.)

This is a collection of some broadcast talks and essays written for the *Indian Review*. Twelve leading Indians—among them the late Srinivasa Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, and others—give an account of the main books which have shaped their intellectual outlook, character and personality. The volume is of interest for many reasons. For one thing, it gives a vivid sense of the relationship between literature and life as that relationship has been experienced by eminent individuals. For another, it shows the deep influence on these thinkers of the English liberalism of the last century, an influence that has been displaced, as far as the present younger generation is concerned, by other schools of thought. The intermingling of the ancient traditional Indian culture with that of the West is another theme that is naturally touched by many of the contributors. The quality of the essays varies considerably—ranging from simple lists of "what books I will carry with me if I had to live on a desert island," to the deeply felt and penetrating essay of Dilip Kumar Roy which is the *piece de resistance* of the whole collection.

Tempo. (Edited and published by K. R. Rao at 82, T. A. Mudali Street, Mylapore, Madras 4. Price per single copy, Re. 1; Annual subscription, Rs. 10.)

We have received the first number of *Tempo*, a new monthly magazine initiated by Mr. K. R. Rao. The articles which cover a wide range of subjects—from Premier Omandur to dancer Tara Chaudhri—are by writers with close knowledge of their theme. Thus Mr. K. V. Subba Rao offers suggestions towards preparing the country for industry, while the Asian Relations Conference is discussed by a research associate in the Indian Council of World Affairs. The regular features are in novel style. "Eve Speaks Out" is certainly outspoken and offers a striking and deliberately intended contrast to the usual Women's Page found in journals. "Mumtaz Shanti might shout *Dekho Jee*, but the right-minded citizens of Madras should cry back *Hum nahee dekhenge!*" says the Film Section, which makes pungent though somewhat sweeping remarks on Indian films and their producers. These, together with some fiction, make *Tempo* very interesting reading.

Asian Horizon. (Published by the New India Publishing Co., London. Available through Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price, Re. 1.)

To make Asian culture better known in the western world and to appraise the progressive political and social movements in Asia—this is what 'Asian Horizon' seeks to do. It is a fine ideal for any journal to set before itself today. But it must be said that the first number of this journal is not of the standard that one would expect from an editorial board presided over by Nagendra Nath Gangulee and including Mulkraj Anand and Iqbal Singh from India, besides others drawn from other Asian countries. The magazine, however, is quite interesting and useful, containing brief sketches of the nationalist movements in Burma, Malaya and Viet Nam by local representatives. There are reproductions of some modern Indian paintings, as well as extracts from Tagore's writings.

The Engineering and Industrial Exhibition Souvenir. (Designed by P. S. Mani & Co., 2/4, Mount Road, Madras. Price, Rs. 2.)

The organisers of this exhibition at Madras have brought out a souvenir volume which contains wide information on the industrial problems of the country. Besides various articles by men experienced in the respective fields of industry, the volume reproduces speeches stressing the need for industrial advancement by Pandit Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, and Sir M. Visweswaraya.



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LETTERS

TO
THE EDITOR

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Reader's Praise

In the Letters Section of *Swatantra* some have expressed their dissent over the stand of the journal as regards the Madras Ministerial affairs.

I greatly admire your frank editorials and enlightening 'Sidelights.' The emergence of *Swatantra* is indeed a landmark in journalism. It should pain the heart of every patriot to see the hasty remarks made by some against a weekly so unique.

P. M. D.

Bangalore Cantt.

Our Legislators

A flat disbelief in the bona fides of the Congress High Command has crept into the mind of everybody in the province following the ministerial crisis. Is not removing Sri Prakasam just at the time when the total implementation of Congress policy was in its full swing, a blow to the Congress itself, as to the people of this province? We cannot allow such hasty steps taken by the High Command to cause detriment to the interests of the people.

If the High Command opines that the legislators who had elected Prakasam as leader have got the right to depose him, then surely has not the general electorate the right to call back the legislators in whom they cease to have confidence any more? If the legislators cannot co-operate with those that can organise and lead, and if conspiracy is the only way of work they know, I submit that they have no place in the legislature.

Bh. KRISHNAMURTHY.

Waltair.

Enemies In Disguise

Your leader "Sabotage from within" is one of the best you have written. As a student of rural economics I had always the feeling that the worst enemies

of land reform and the co-operative movement are its supposed friends of Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar's type. Such progress as this movement has made is entirely due to energetic officials of the type of Darling. The reason is obvious. The official has no axes to grind as have these village boss-cum-trader-cum-money-lender-cum co-operator!

T. S. R. NARASIMHAM

Good Work Wrongly Malignd

As the Vice-President of the Mopidevi P. C. C. Society in Kistna district, I can illustrate the efficient way in which that society was working from its infancy. We, the Congress workers in the locality, worked day and night for raising the required share capital. Our society started its work on 17th March, 1947. During the five weeks of its existence it procured 19,000 bags of paddy (38,000 maunds). The civilian officer who was appointed to enquire into the working of the societies never cared to find out the statistics of any of the societies. He sat at Bezvada and reported against them. Procurement has been entrusted to the millers. The millers to-day procure paddy at an excess of Rs. 2 per maund over the rate fixed by the Government. I wonder how they will recover this unless they do blackmarketing.

It is most surprising to find out that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member of the Central Government, should have announced to the delegation of the societies that he was unable to say anything as his mind was perplexed. If he cannot solve this simple thing, while pronouncing in conferences that co-operation is to be welcomed, I do not know how he is going to lead us and fulfil his duties.

Y. KRISHNAMURTHY, B.A.,
Member, East Kistna Congress
Committee.

Dr. Pattabhi And Prakasam

It is gratifying that your reply to the statement of Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya has been published in the week's issue, as expected. There is only one point towards which all the arguments in the long statement of the great Doctor are drawn—the acceptance of purses by public men. If acceptance of a purse is an offence in Sri Prakasam's case, it is equally so in other cases also and it is pertinent to ask what became of the purses presented to the various leaders. Great men's comforts are looked after by a few wealthy people but it is otherwise in the case of Sri Prakasam who is cared for by the poor. Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya wants to use the name of the Mahatma to pull down Sri Prakasam in public esteem. The people will not be carried away by the words of such maligners—to use your own word—and the Doctor will be very much disappointed if he thinks that he can bring discredit on Sri Prakasam in this way.

Tirupati.

K. ANANTACHARI.

(ii)

Dr. Pattabhi has laboured in vain in his long statement to convince people that he is entirely above board. By his own showing he was the first person to convey to Gandhiji that Sri Prakasam was trying to become Premier. Gandhiji as a man who can make and unmake people began his job well by asking Kala Venkat Rao irrelevantly about the wherewithal on which Sri Prakasam lived and Sri Kala Venkata Rao replied in an irresponsible way bordering on mischief. Thus the sishya of Dr. Pattabhi continued the game started by the master. It is well known that the public voluntarily and spontaneously presented purses to Sri Prakasam to be used by himself at his discretion. Political work would be quite impossible if such help was not forthcoming from the people, especially in the case of a person of Prakasam's type constantly touring the entire province to look after the needs of the people.

K. KRISHNAMURTHY.

Unedifying

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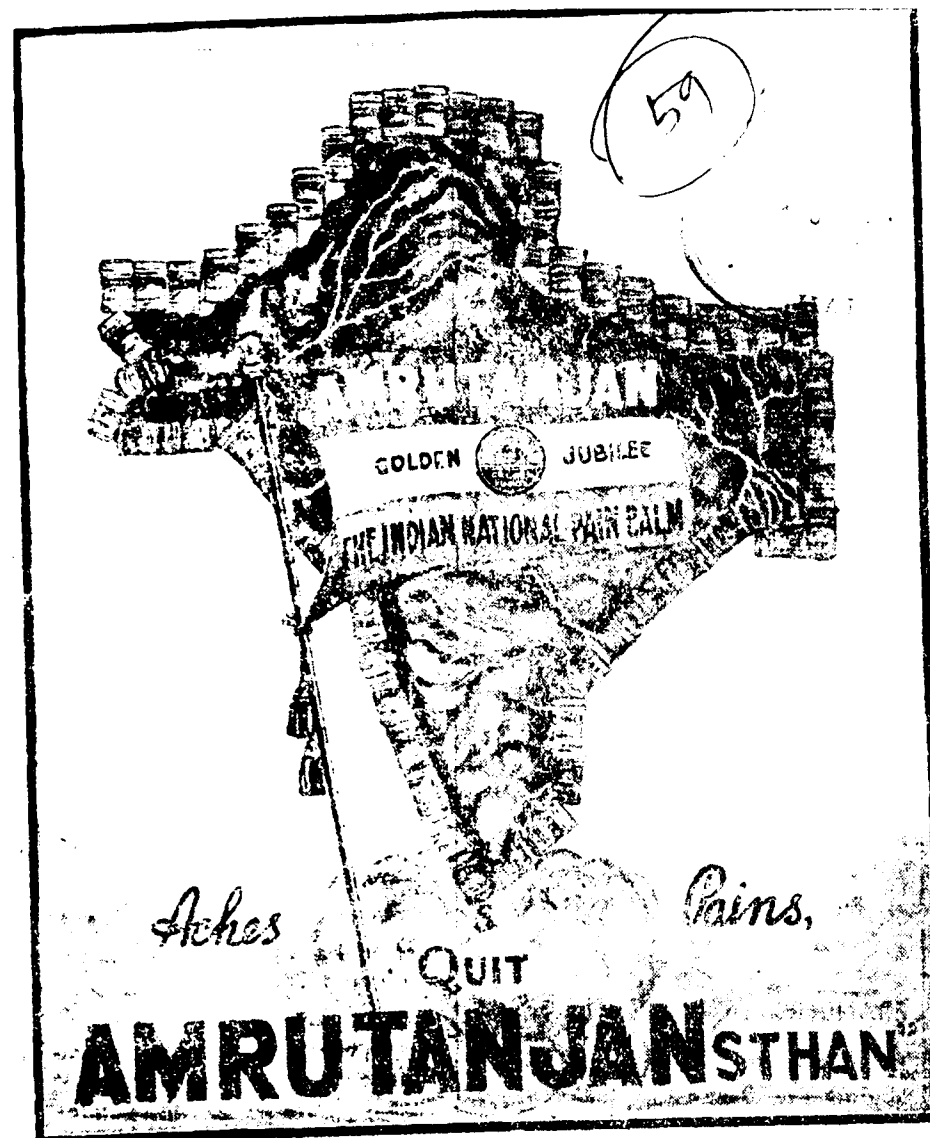
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May I request the Congress High Command and Gandhiji to clarify the position as early as possible, in the interest of the Congress?

Y. K. MURTI, B.A.

Mopidevi.



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D. J. I

Ministry to Explain

No matter whether it be Prakasam's or Reddiar's Ministry, after having repeatedly assured the public that there would be no enhancement in the price of paddy and that no bonus would be paid, the Government did not hesitate to reward the hoarders of foodgrains with two rupees a bag which was again raised to Rs. 4. The question of poor people who parted with their surplus in response to the call of the Government immediately after harvesting did not somehow get into the minds of the "poor man's friends." Not a single leader is agitating for retrospective effect of the present or future enhancement in prices being given from November last.

In the near future the millers may be able to procure a lot but the credit cannot go to them. Now that the second crop is ready for thrashing and harvesting, any agent, whether an infant co-operative society or an adult agency, can procure paddy.

Immediately on assuming charge, the new Ministry instructed the societies to stop taking up retail ration shop business by express telegram. They have to explain the reasons behind such action.

Huge amounts of public money are now kept idle and Government should see that this capital is not frittered away. They should devise ways and means of utilising these funds for the best advantage of the shareholders. It has already been planned by the Government to nationalise inland motor transport, and as an experimental measure these societies may be given licences for running motor buses and lorries in case the procuring licences are not restored.

R. G. K. RAO.

Chebrole.

Press Black-out?

Is it too much to say that the Madras Press is not presenting factual news—favourable to Sri Prakasam and unfavourable to the present Ministers in the province? Is it due to any fiat of the Government?

K. KRISHNAMURTHY, B.A. (Hons.)
Madras.

Police Guard For Minister

Sri Kala Venkata Rao, Revenue Minister, found it impossible to hold a meeting at Rajahmundry and avoided going to Cocanada. On the evening of 23rd May, he addressed a public meeting at Tanuku after the D.S.P. and other

police officials took an assurance from the public not to create any disturbance. Three hundred policemen together with a large number of sub and circle inspectors and three bus-loads of goondas supplied from Razole, Tadepaligudem and Tanuku by the Motor Fleet Owners, guarded the town and the meeting place. These goondas held Congress flags as 'volunteers' and large sticks to boot. But for some stray people, the public of Tanuku did not attend the meeting.

"DEMOCRAT."

Minister Chandramouli At Guntur

The incidents during Minister Chandramouli's visit to Guntur are in the nature of an eye-opener to the public.

The first provocative act was the arrest of Mr. Ramachandrarao and three other Guntur Town Congress leaders even before the Minister arrived, lest they should voice the grievances of the people. This exasperated the entire town.

The next thing the M.L.A.'s. did was to hire goondas from Yetukur, the village of Mr. Nageswara Rao, M.L.A., and send them round the city in three lorries with flags and big sticks as though they were ready to fight the people.

By the time I went to the public meeting on May 24 in the Municipal Park at about 7 p.m. there was already hubbub, and talk that the people had been insulted by these hired agents. I managed to elbow my way to the rostrum and was shocked to find there about 150 goondas standing with long sticks. This seems to have intensified the tension.

I drew the attention of the Hon'ble Minister himself to the goondas and appealed to him to prevent the crisis that was fast developing by cancelling the meeting if necessary. Remarking irresponsibly that I myself had a share in this crisis, the Hon'ble Minister wanted me to go away. Mr. M. Nageswararao, M.L.A. also asked me with passion not to interfere with their programme.

Then the Hon'ble Minister himself came forward and said defiantly that he was not afraid of the people. At this the goondas began to attack the people with their sticks, throwing the meeting into a state of pandemonium. I was myself driven out of the meeting and 20 men were injured, four of them seriously. Thus the meeting ended.

B. SUBBA RAO,
Secretary, Guntur District
Congress Committee.

Dr. Pattabhi And Prakasam

It is gratifying that your reply to the statement of Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya has been published in the week's issue, as expected. There is only one point towards which all the arguments in the long statement of the great Doctor are drawn—the acceptance of purses by public men. If acceptance of a purse is an offence in Sri Prakasam's case, it is equally so in other cases also and it is pertinent to ask what became of the purses presented to the various leaders. Great men's comforts are looked after by a few wealthy people but it is otherwise in the case of Sri Prakasam who is cared for by the poor. Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya wants to use the name of the Mahatma to pull down Sri Prakasam in public esteem. The people will not be carried away by the words of such maligners—to use your own word—and the Doctor will be very much disappointed if he thinks that he can bring discredit on Sri Prakasam in this way.

Tirupati.

K. ANANTACHARI.

(II)

Dr. Pattabhi has laboured in vain in his long statement to convince people that he is entirely above board. By his own showing he was the first person to convey to Gandhiji that Sri Prakasam was trying to become Premier. Gandhiji as a man who can make and unmake people began his job well by asking Kala Venkat Rao irrelevantly about the wherewithal on which Sri Prakasam lived and Sri Kala Venkata Rao replied in an irresponsible way bordering on mischief. Thus the sishya of Dr. Pattabhi continued the game started by the master. It is well known that the public voluntarily and spontaneously presented purses to Sri Prakasam to be used by himself at his discretion. Political work would be quite impossible if such help was not forthcoming from the people, especially in the case of a person of Prakasam's type constantly touring the entire province to look after the needs of the people.

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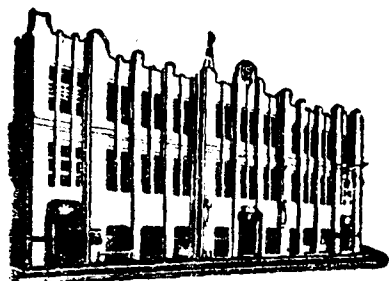
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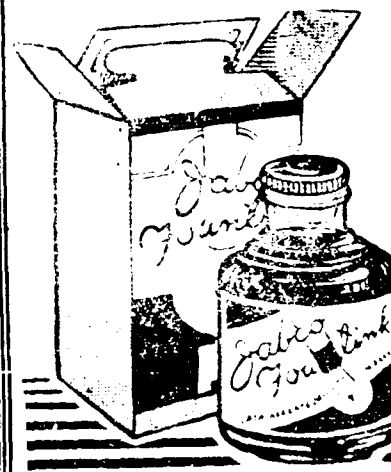
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 18.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1947

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SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 18

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

. FASCIST TRENDS

MAHATMA GANDHI has said that the Congress was obliged to accept the Mountbatten plan for the division of India on account of the force of circumstances. What he called the "force of circumstances" was intended to indicate something quite different from the force of violence. What are the circumstances, apart from the compulsive operation of violence, that have led the Congress Working Committee to abandon the cherished principle of united India associated with the Congress since its very birth and accept the creed of the Muslim League for the partition of the country on a communal basis? For the Mountbatten plan amounts to nothing short of this. Any postulate as to the existence of such circumstances belies the very claims made on behalf of the Congress leaders responsible for acceptance of the British plan in illustration of the merit of that step. These claims boil down to just one contention—that by acceptance of the division plan the Congress leaders have saved the country from further continuance of bloodshed. Why could they not have done this saving five years earlier and prevented all the bloodshed that has since taken place? They surely cannot say, if the idea did not occur to them, that it was not put before them by someone to whom it did occur? The "C.R. formula" with its pivotal conception of district-war plebiscite was nothing if not an anticipation of just the solu-

tion which Lord Mountbatten has now set forth in other words. For his pains the whole organisational might of Congress leadership took cudgels against C. R., invoked the terrible name of discipline and forced him (for a while) out of any sort of responsible association with the Congress. Now just what was punished in C.R. as an outrageous surrender of a supreme Congress principle, is honoured and sits enthroned as the main tenet of Congress policy.

How is this miraculous feat to be explained? If it is to be explained at all, one striking difference between the position of the Congress when political virtue itself was identified with denouncing the C. R. formula and its present position now, has to be taken into proper account. Then the Congress had not embarked on its career of office-acceptance. Now it is a partner with the Muslim League in running the Central Government. The harrowing experiences of association with the League in the task of Central administration have wrung from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru occasional confessions of the folly of the change-over of the Congress to official status. If time could go back and the chance were to be given to him again, the Vice-President of the Interim Government would have been far from ready to adopt the course that the Congress has adopted of late. He would not have gone in for the adventure of office under the conditions that have been ruling. On the other hand, another voice of



Autographed sketch of
Sir C. R. REDDI
(Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University)

—By Ram Gopal

to believe that M. Nagy's refusal is dictated by any fear for the safety of his person, now that American and other foreign friends are only too ready to challenge any violation of the proprieties on the part of the new Hungarian authorities. The indications are that M. Nagy would prefer to seek 'asylum' in the U.S.A.—where his usefulness as a "victim of Communist persecution" would be highly appreciated—rather than face trial in his own country.

It will be noted, in this connection, that the Hungarian crisis was more in the nature of a major Cabinet reshuffle than of any attempt by the Communists to 'liquidate' their opponents. The Secretary of State, the Minister for Agriculture and the Minister for Supply in the new Cabinet are all 'Smallholders' and former colleagues of M. Nagy in the previous Government. The charges made by Socialists and Communists are, therefore, directed against specific individuals and not against M. Nagy's party as a whole. And these events have not resulted in any civil strife; not a shot has been fired. That President Truman and Mr. Vandenberg should nevertheless have been thrown into a fit of tearful dejection at a supposed set-back suffered by Hungarian democracy leads one to suspect that they are moved by an inveterate hatred for Left-wing political forces rather than by disinterested love of democracy. This is only confirmed by the habit which American administrators and publicists have got into of late, of underwriting democracy with dollars. They would appear to think that world democracy can be sustained on no other or better foundation than that of American loans. It was quite in keeping with Truman's policy of extending political loans to 'safe' customers (subservient to America and hostile to Russia), that he should have cancelled the unused part of the dollar credit which Hungary had been enjoying until she became less 'safe'.

The whole trouble with the voluble American protestations in support of democracy is that the term Democracy is being subjected to interpretations which might make sense to the State Department officials, but which baffle the average citizen. The latter will have to revise all his notions about the meaning of democracy before he can accept the suggestion that America is strengthening peace and democracy by propping up one party (and the reactionary party at that) in the civil war that is going on in China and Greece. This apart, people in Asia cannot be expected to treat very seriously the indignation of Americans against alleged totalitarian regimes in Europe since they find that these same vocal friends of democracy have been unable, during all these months, to spare some of their solicitude for those Asian peoples whose struggle for freedom and democracy has been a clear, long-standing and test case for proving the sincerity of American professions. What is and has been happening in Indonesia and Viet-Nam is not the arrest of some men but a total war against whole peoples fighting for freedom against foreign rule. Will Truman send dollars, technicians and military experts to aid the people of these countries? Will he take their case to the United Nations?

Abuse Of Religious Funds

FROM a resolution passed at the 13th Tamilian Provincial Conference it appears that the Hindu Religious Endowments Board has issued a circular recommending that the temples in Tamilnad should contribute funds to "the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangam for its work for the advancement of Tamil language and literature." This Sangam has been working hard for many years past for preserving the purity of the Tamil language and for replacing from Tamil every one of the

hundreds of words of Sanskrit, Hindustani and English origin that have firmly established themselves in Tamil speech and writing. By no stretch of critical imagination could it be said that this forlorn attempt at a deliberate impoverishment of a living language is "work for the advancement" of that language.

On the question of linguistic purity, the following sentence of David Masson, the great biographer of Milton and DeQuincey, will interest our readers: "To write always in good old Saxon English and eschew Latin and Greek words means to abstain from traffic with all objects and notions that have come into the cognisance of the English intellect

since the time of King Harold, or else to make yourself a scare-crow and laughing-stock, and forswear some of the noblest glories of your composite nationality by rigging yourself up in imagined equivalents from the vocabulary of Cedric and Gurth, the swineheard."

But apart from the relative merits of the two sides of this controversy, it is clear that this is a controversial matter and one not even remotely connected with the aims of our religious foundations. Will the Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments please see to it that temple funds are not spent on subsidising one side of a controversy or on other purposes which are repugnant both to progress and true religion?

Sotto Voce

Cut And Stay Put



BY one of those odd twists of circumstance that the Divine Comedian delights in, June 2, which brought freedom to the 400 million humans of India, brought also emancipation to the 33 crores (reckoning by the rather ancient Puranic census) of India's *devatas*. So true it is still—that community of fate crystallised in the saying "As are men so are gods," which Homer knew so well. What the immortals think of the Temple Entry Act which has conferred on them the blessings of Democracy I can't pretend to tell. But judging from what is happening here below, one can hardly imagine joy bells ringing in Amara-vati.

to swear at the umpire "if such profanity is used casually and is not heard in the stands and does not cause the umpire to lose his self-respect". Indians, who are to be compulsorily separated into Pakistani sheep and Hindustani goats, may now relieve their feelings discreetly, without ceasing to be gentlemen. There is little danger of their mutterings under the breath against British imperialism, the umpire, being overheard in the stands which still echo with the reverberations of Pandit Nehru's panegyric. And John Bull is an old hand at doing good by stealth and blushing to find it fame.

I read the other day of a momentous decision in the world of baseball and found much comfort in it. The baseball player has been permitted

"The British Empire is dead. Long live the British Empire," roar the wearers of the Old School Tie, clinking their glasses to the strain of "For he is a jolly good fellow". And

the Congress High Command, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, has been speaking in a different strain. The Sardar has made no bones about his resolve to cling tenaciously to office under any circumstances, and allowing nothing to dislodge him and his Congress colleagues from the hold they had come to have on administrative power. While Jawaharlal has voiced the revolt of the Congress idealist against the compromises inseparable from administration under present conditions, the Sardar represents the conquest of idealism, in the name of realism and administrative sagacity, by the lover of power, in other words, the ascendancy of power politics in the counsels of the supreme executive of the Congress. Had the Congress continued in the wilderness of its pre-office days, it would not have been frightened by riots and disturbances into abandoning the objective of a united independent India which ranked till the other day as a primordial article of faith in the Congress creed, the very basis of the appeal and inspiration of the Congress to the vast masses accepting its leadership. The "force of the circumstances" referred to by the Mahatma might therefore well mean the force of the change in the status of the Congress from a fighting organisation pledged to freedom and national unity into a party wielding administrative power, anxious for the retention of that power. The division of India is the price that people hitherto inspired by Congress leadership to make every sacrifice for the goal of a free united India, are now called upon to pay in order that those who have come into power on the strength of the Congress movement may continue to retain that power in their own hands, undisturbed.

The fact is that the advent of power, combined with the near prospect of freedom, has forced a cleavage between the dissimilar and conflicting interests that had been held together heretofore in the zest

of the common struggle against the foreign ruling imperialist power; and grand and magnificent as Congress leadership has been in the days of the struggle against the British, it would seem to have exhausted itself in the course of that struggle, and now that the British are ready to depart, it seems to have thrown in its lot with the capitalists in its fold as against the have-nots of India. Democratisation has gone by the board and opportunist power politics has taken its place. The whole character of the Congress organisation is insidiously changing in consequence. Recent ministerial changes in Madras are important as affording an eloquent illustration of that change. In ex-Premier Prakasam the Congress had a faithful exemplar of all its pledges of pre-office days, but just because of his faithfulness, of his intrepid disregard of the consequences of complete implementation of Congress policies in practical administration, there was a shifting of opinion against him in the Assembly, a loss of voting strength, with the Congress High Command backing the rebels in their attempt to unseat him, though as testified to by the Congress President himself, no definite charges of any kind were ever made either against him personally or his administration or any opinion expressed against his work or his worth as a Premier. The dethronement of Prakasam is the advance signal of prospective dissolution of Congress leadership as a force backed by spontaneous mass support, and we have an unforgettable foretaste of it in the clashes between the people and the present Ministers drawn from the ring-leaders of the anti-Prakasam campaign. The elaborate police precautions that have become necessary when some of the Ministers of Madras venture on tours are a sign of the divorce that has already taken place between popular support and Congress leadership. A local daily pro-

minently features this week details of the plight of two of the Ministers on tour as they were confronted by "crowds shouting anti-ministerial slogans," and describes how the route they travelled by was "lined by hostile villagers, and at every wayside village they were greeted with black-flag demonstrations." The following day, it would appear, the visit of one of them to the capital town of the district "had to be kept secret and also his programme." Fear of the people, disinclination to trust the people, rushing to moneyed interests as to a sanctuary, reliance on police aid for protection from hostile popular demonstrations, all these so markedly in evidence in the present ordering of ministerial affairs in Madras, exemplify deplorable trends towards capitalist bias, fascism and worse, on the part of Congress leadership all along the line from top to bottom, and unless prompt measures are taken to stem the rot, hopeless disintegration of Congress influence is sure to set in, leaving the country without proper guidance at a time of supreme importance in its history.

The need for consolidation of all beneficial constructive effort so laboriously promoted by the Congress for two decades and more is very urgent now, since division will only mean more discord. With the advent of Pakistan, is Mr. Jinnah likely to devote himself to administrative responsibilities designed to develop its resources on constructive lines? It is far more likely that his destructive genius will find pleasure in the pursuit of disruptive incentives to rouse the fanatic communal passions of Muslims in Hindustan, disturbing its peace. The success of the violence of the League so far in impelling Congress leaders to concede Pakistan will egg him on to further trials of aggression, and he may even take his residence in Hindustan to supervise the organisation of Sudan Muslim activities for the harassment of Congress authority. Unless the

Congress overcomes the temptation of power-grabbing on partisan lines and reverts to its position of leadership with the masses with the aid of a radical plan for widespread economic welfare, it will be able neither to cope successfully with the efforts of communalists to sow civil war in its territory, nor will it be able to provide any object lesson of value to neighbouring States for the establishment of democratic regimes. Unless the States are democratised, they will become harbours for the intrigues and influence of the dislodged imperial power and imperil the growth of freedom in both Hindustan and Pakistan alike. We regard the peace and prosperity of India as inseparably bound up with the fostering of a non-communal spirit of fraternal citizenship and the elimination of every form of exploitation, but the division now planned negatives the first and does not ensure the second. The struggle of the Congress has therefore to go on, despite the Mountbatten plan, under a more dynamic leadership less susceptible to the lures of power politics.

America Protests Too Much

RECENT developments in the Balkan countries have been dramatized and sensationalized by the American administration and press with an anti-Russian twist which is likely to cloud the actual situation. Consequent on charges made against him of plotting to overthrow the young Hungarian Republic and to re-establish Fascists in power, M. Ferenc Nagy resigned the premiership, and a new Government has been formed. Some other members of M. Nagy's Smallholders' Party in Hungary, and a few Opposition leaders in Bulgaria and Rumania, have been arrested on similar charges. It is curious that M. Nagy should refuse to cut short his 'holiday' in Switzerland and return to Hungary to face proper trial, especially in view of his declaration that he is entirely innocent. It is difficult

all the *johukums* in India avidly respond under their multifarious head-gears covering uniformly empty pates. The Congressman, who prides himself on being a good partyman, is confused and looks expectantly at the High Command for a sign. But the oracles are dumb. And the Mahatma seems to feel much as Indrajit did when, having bound Hanuman with the *Brahmastra*, he found his valiant lieutenants making sure of the prize by tying him up with hempen cord.

Gandhi said, "Quit India". Jinnah said, "Cut India". C. R. said, "Cut and Quit India". And the famous British genius for snatching victory from the jaws of defeat piped in, "Yes, we will cut India and stay put"; and the Mountbatten orchestra rent the welkin with the refrain "A Daniel come to judgment!" The Congress Genro, their faces black as thunder, raise their grating scrannel pipes to high Heaven in what might be praise but looks very much like a malediction. They must be suffering the tortures of the damned in the hell reserved for unsuccessful phrase-makers.

"I rail against God," wrote Llewelyn Powys the essayist, "but I don't want him to hear it". It is in this spirit of shamefaced and secret defiance that Congress leaders have always gesticulated at Jinnah's ever-lengthening shadow. What scared them was not the man himself—a strait-laced mid-Victorian, assuredly not cast for a hero by Nature—but the spectre of their own insufficiency. Having been brought up to ask for freedom without bestowing much thought on its content they are as

impercipient as the man who, seeking his lost child for years, unconcernedly passes him by when at last he finds him.

Power politics is something which the world understands; on the short view it works. Gandhism may or may not work; but the world understands it little, vastly respect it as it may. The policy that the Congress has sought to follow is a queer and rather explosive mixture of the two. Thus Britain was to be subjected to the irresistible moral pressure of a Congress-League alliance on the basis of freedom. To this proposition Jinnah retorted, "Freedom is all right, but whose freedom? I consider your freedom will be my slavery". And the Congress was struck all of a heap. After much cerebation it produced the precious formula, "We will neither coerce nor allow coercion".

But now it is being coerced with a vengeance and helping to coerce others against their will. Under the proposed division of Bengal and the Punjab twice as many Hindus will be left to the tender mercies of the Pakistanis as those who will be rescued. And every little Muslim pocket in the rest of India is being taught to regard itself as a castaway in a shark-infested sea. The India of yore, with its traditional "fifty-six countries," was a spiritual unity, the power-house that worked to make humanity heart-whole. The *Dhruva Pada* round which the galaxies whirl might have been our high destiny. It looks as if, cut up into a hundred fragments, we shall huddle about British imperialism like listless oxen moving round and round the pole on the threshing floor.

VIGNESWARA.



TAKING THE LARGER VIEW

The latest atom bomb story suggests a degree of scientific detachment not all scientists feel.

"Is it really possible for the atom bomb to be developed so that it would destroy the earth?" an anxious inquirer asked an astronomer.

"What if it does?" retorted the astronomer. "It is not as if the earth were a major planet."

SIDELIGHTS :

If a book come from the heart it will continue to reach other hearts.—CARLYLE.

I'VE shed my tears by D. F. Karaka is a book well worth reading. It purports to be "a candid view of resurgent India." Actually it is nothing so impersonal. The art and charm of it lies in the impression of swift change in the ideas and atmosphere of our times that it conveys through a few seemingly casual domestic scenes. Here is an example:

Gandhi! The first time I heard his name it was shouted by a thousand voices.

"Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!" That was the shout. I rushed on to the veranda to hear it It was a Sunday. My father was at home. "Go inside," father said to me. "It's dangerous."

"There is nothing to be afraid of," Tukaram, our chauffeur said. "They won't hurt us".

"No one can tell," father said. "There may be rioting."

"Even if there is rioting, they won't hurt us. We are Indians," Tukaram replied with calm. "Come on," he said to me, "I will take you into the garden and we'll see the procession pass".

My father did not like the idea. He was annoyed.

Tukaram was very sure of himself.

"All you've got to do is put on a Gandhi cap," he said.

"Don't talk such nonsense." My father raised his voice. "I'll dismiss you if you do anything silly like that."

Fourteen pages further on occurs this passage:

A change of heart was clearly noticeable.

My father accepted the idea that, for the poor, the Gandhi cap was good to wear. It was cheap. It was, he said with reserve, easy to wash and clean to wear.

The story of a further change of heart is narrated on the very next page:

Gradually into our house which had hitherto been partial to foreign goods, there came cloth of the Indian mills. There was a family scene one day when

mother bought a dozen pieces of Indian shirting for my father.

"For goodness' sake, let me at least buy my own shirts," he complained. "These just don't look the same. They don't feel the same."

"Now what's wrong with them? They can be made up the same way. Besides, they are much cheaper," mother observed.

"I shall not wear them. Give them away."

Mother had the shirts made. Weeks later father wore one in the house on a Sunday, almost under protest. He wore one more on another day till he got used to the idea and then he wore them all the time.

"They are quite all right once they are washed," he said at breakfast one morning.

"I know," my mother replied coldly.

Nothing could have more effectively dramatised the battles-royal between old and new in Indian homes, or the all-pervasive power of the movement let loose on the country by the Mahatma.

The Mahatma himself does not escape the candid objectivity of the author as he proceeds to unveil his view of resurgent India. Two pictures of the great man are given. The first is that of the author's first meeting with him:

This was my first meeting with the man. His presence radiated an unbelievable feeling of peace. The first thing I noticed about him was that his body had a strange pink glow about it, the sort of colour one found in a new-born babe

In the months that followed I forgot many of the details of that interview but the vision I had seen in that rich evening glow remained, for it had made me feel at peace with the world.

This vision of Gandhi was smeared with disillusionment, sad and bitter, as the years went by, and from adoration, the author's mood changes to revolt. He says he felt himself a bit of a "sucker" after a visit to the house of a Congress leader who had supported prohibition on every political and public platform, "because during the whole evening we

had sipped the best blended Scotch." After experiences like this, the ground is well prepared for an outburst of wrath like the following:

The most striking spectacle of all, was the exploitation of Congress ideals for purposes different from what the Congress had intended. . . . Some Congress-supporting people, pious to the nth degree, often khaddar-clad and Gandhi-capped, appeared to have no political scruples about availing themselves of opportunities for gain which the war provided. A number of Congressmen, who basked in the shadow of the Mahatma, were running some of the largest war orders in the country.

The House of Birla, which staunchly supported Gandhi, was executing Government orders to the tune of crores of rupees. Yet the Mahatma gave and continued to give the House of Birla his benediction by staying in it during his visits to Bombay. The man in the street asked himself, "Isn't there some discrepancy about this whole affair?"

The evolution of the author into an understanding of the common man (as against the Mahatma himself) is an emblem of the changed content of freedom in the wake of the now assured departure of the British. "In the past, on the broad canvass on which the Congress operated, the have's and the have-nots of India could be seen together. The fact that they were both unfree formed a bond between them which linked them closely. But with freedom almost won . . . it became difficult for a millionaire capitalist, like Birla, to remain in the same party as the underground Socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan. . . . Leadership in India, great as it was in the days of our struggle against the British, has exhausted itself in that struggle. As with Churchill at the end of the war, Gandhi has played his part and with all the reverence that one still owes him, it appears as if the people have gone beyond him, beyond his ideology, beyond his non-violence."

Karaka's estimates of our leaders are tinged with a sense of historical perspective, and with a few deft strokes of description he has the gift of dramatising them against the backgrounds where they played their

parts. Read what he has to say of Jawaharlal:

Jawaharlal was not born of the masses. He was well read, cultured and facile, a Fabian at heart, an aristocrat by birth. Circumstances had compelled him to mix with the large crowds of dumb, driven people because the struggle for freedom was mixed up with the masses

His belief in non-violence only came to him because of his implicit faith in Gandhi, but by instinct he would have preferred to have picked up a gun to fight his battle for freedom. Often, because of his obedience to Gandhi's wishes, he found himself confused by conflicting loyalties

Jawahar had a sense of humour which was quick and subtle. The years of struggle, however, had burned the smile off his face. Jawahar was often sad and serious. He seemed to want to get somewhere in a great hurry, though no one, perhaps not even he, knew where exactly he wanted to go. Freedom was not the limit of his ambitions

He should never have been in the Congress, for its orthodox element cramped his style. But, born an Indian in the hour of his country's greatest struggle, and sensitive to the humiliation of being unfree, there seemed no other role for him.

Of C. R. he writes:

He had a clear mind and uncanny grasp over every problem he tackled. His approach was analytical, systematic and positive. His mind moved from premise to premise. He was always well armed with facts and figures, never badly informed and never vague or hesitant in his arguments.

As a speaker he did not come within the orator class, for there was no flamboyance in his utterances, no purple patches in his perorations. His similes were few but to the point. He was easy to understand, simple to follow. He spoke down to the smallest brain in his audience, so that no one felt left out. He did not pause for effect in the middle of a speech as did Churchill and Lloyd George. When he found he had nothing more to say he abruptly sat down.

He had a very dry sense of humour. The story is told how in New Delhi he, whose full name was Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, said to Marsland Gander, a British war correspondent, "What funny names you English have!"

Some of the Congress high command did not like him because he picked too many holes in their defective reasoning and pointed out some of their contradictions. He paid the price of being too logical in politics.

And of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:

He possessed an amazing ability for organization. It was difficult to say what Vallabhbhai Patel stood for, because he seldom struck a positive note. He was at his best delivering a vicious, bitter and abusive attack on the British. He was forceful and succeeded in making a point but not without a certain amount of coarseness.

His presence was not impressive for he had neither the chaste dignity of Azad nor the attractive personality of Nehru. He was a cross between a drill sergeant and a party whip

The years spent fighting the British had made him bitter. There was no grace left in him, or charity. He was ruthless in his use of the party machine. Outside the party he was not loved so much as he was feared.

Karaka was born in 1911 in a Parsi family that resided in Bombay's fashionable quarter, Malabar Hill, and was proud of its loyalist traditions and blue blood. Educated at Oxford, where he became the first Indian President of the Union, he was intended for law or the civil service. When he chose journalism instead his father was disappointed. "Don't you owe some obligation to us?" he asked.

"Even at the risk of being called ungrateful this is one thing I must decide for myself," Karaka replied. He wanted to be in journalism because there he thought he would be able "to feel the pulse of the country." He found, by actual experience, that "an Indian nationalist news-

paper was like a third class waiting room at a railway station into which came not only genuine passengers waiting for the next train but also the vagrants of the town who had no other shelter."

The story of how through tears he fought his way to faith, faith that the land of his fathers will find again its rightful place in this world, is recounted in this new book. It is not without a flaw here and there, as when the author indulges in a little repetition or the exhortative style of the leader-writer. But these are the results of intensity of conviction and are inseparable from the passion of the patriot and the missionary habits of mind natural to crusading professions like journalism. Karaka is a master craftsman in dramatising the drift of a vast experience into the compact compass of a few telling episodes packed with relevancy. His is a fresh, robust modern mind hammered by sensitiveness into the humanitarianism of a caste-free colour-free socialist outlook on life. He has a delightful gift of delicate humour. Exquisite is the aptness of his phrasing. The result of it all is a book that satisfies to the full Chamber's exacting definition of a *good* book—a book which, "in the language of the booksellers, is a saleable one; in that of the curious a scarce one; in that of men of sense, a useful and instructive one."—SAKA.

I've Shed My Tears. By D. F. Karaka (Price Rs. 12). Published by D. Appleton Century Company, London and New York. Sole distribution rights for India, Burma and Ceylon with Messrs. Higginbothams, Mount Road, Madras.



Once an Englishman on a study tour of Russia complained to a Soviet leader about the restrictions on freedom of expression in that country. "Do you want absolute freedom to abuse others?" retorted the Russian.—**National Herald.**

INTERIM DOMINION STATUS

by R. RAMANUJAM

WHAT purports to be but a plan for the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands is really a full-fledged blue-print outlining the features of the prospective structure of India, and designed to take the place of the 1946 plan. The recently announced scheme differs radically from last year's proposals in all respects. The 1946 blue-print prescribed a united India, a single Constituent Assembly, three groups and a weak centre. The new charter provides for the setting up of two Constituent Assemblies and the vivisection of the country into three Sthans. Consequently the old and the new proposals cannot co-exist. Though not formally withdrawn by the British Government, last year's scheme has become archaic with the announcement of the new proposals. With the lapse of the 1946 plan, the Constituent Assembly now in session automatically attains sovereign status and is free to pursue its own way, unfettered by any of its restrictive clauses. Recent that it entails a loss of territory, the present plan is in other respects a big advance over the former one and represents a distinct gain for nationalist India.

The plan is not as one desires it ought to be. The procedure prescribed for obtaining the verdict of two of the affected provinces, namely Bengal and the Punjab, on the question of partition, is more farcical than real. While a referendum to the electors direct is the method contemplated for the Pathan province, decision by the legislators is to be accepted as the verdict of the people in Bengal and the Punjab. No reasons have so far been adduced for the differential treatment and any explanation that is likely to be offered can hardly be convincing.

Vivisection of the country was hitherto the concern of politicians. So far as the masses are concerned it becomes a live issue only just now. A plebiscite is the only democratic way for ascertaining the real wish of the people. The sitting legislators are bound to carry out the mandate of the political parties to which they owe allegiance. Hence the verdict can but be the reflection of the pre-conceived opinion of the party hierarchy, about which there is hardly any doubt. Under the contemplated procedure, direct approach to the masses in regard to a vital problem is rendered impossible. Whatever chances there are for averting the catastrophe of partition under a plebiscite, have been denied to

us and still the British Government claim to be sincere when they express anxiety to preserve the unity of the country!

The conferment of Dominion Status for the interim period, though advantageous in several respects, has roused the suspicion in the minds of nationalists, that it is only a ruse to set at naught the British Government's former declaration to quit India and to get enthroned at least in portions of the country. The theory prevalent that the *quid pro quo* for the British Government to change its mind in favour of division, is the assurance given by Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League to rest content with Dominion Status for Muslim India, cannot be ruled out as mere gossip. Recent utterances by Mr. Jinnah and the answers given by the Viceroy at the recent press conference amply justify a belief in that direction. Muslim India continuing for ever as a member of the British Commonwealth and some of the Indian States becoming British spheres of influence are two possible contingencies, which ought to have been anticipated by the leaders even while the outline of the present plan was being discussed by them.

But none need feel despondent about the future of Hindusthan. It is sure to command the respect and confidence of the entire civilized world. There is nothing that the country lacks. In point of extent Hindusthan is vast as a continent; its resources are abundant; man-power and brain capacity are available in plenty. Thus Hindusthan will be more than a match for the British-aided Pakistan and Rajasthan. Ere long Hindusthan will become the leader of Asia.

The nation will be failing in its duty if it does not express unreservedly its sense of gratitude to the prophet-politician Rastali at least now on the eve of the realisation of the nation's ambition. The stand so wisely taken by him in 1942 has at last been vindicated, though after a lapse of five long years of agony and suffering. Had his lead been accepted even at the inception, the 1942 catastrophe, the Bengal tragedy, the Noakhali massacres and a host of other miseries could have been avoided. The first five years' plan of an all-round reconstruction would have been almost completed. But there is no use in walling over spilt milk. Better late than never is the apt and wise saying to be remembered now.

PERILS OF THE NEW PLAN

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

WHEN I witnessed in March at Delhi the grandeur of the Asian Conference and felt the potential power of India to federate the nations of the world on a higher basis, I prayed for the early settlement of our problem on the unified basis of one India showing the way to one world. Now June 2 brings the thunderclap with Pakistan as a reality with the inevitable Balkanisation of India and the perils it means to the peace of India and the world.

Pakistan is the greatest single blow to India and the Congress. The ideal of a unified India taking her rightful share in world's work is no more for a long time to come. Pakistan virtually cancels the "Quit India" declaration of Prime Minister Attlee and proof of this is in the significant acquiescence of Mr. Winston Churchill to the new plan, who should have been convinced of the grand strategy behind it.

What was considered a fantastic dream of an egoist has now become a reality. Congress which stood for sixty years for a unified India has quietly accepted it with a complacency and surrender that a taste of power alone makes possible. We still wish that all may yet turn out to be happy even as we wished very much after Lord Minto's separate electorates. Is Pakistan after all so very inevitable? Is it after all so very inimical to the unity and progress of India? Even a fractured arm reunites. Let us see.

The answer to these questions will take us to the basic principles of British strategy and struggle for existence. Europe is the most militant peninsula of the vast land mass of Asia and England the most militant and well-organised country of Europe. For, well-peopled islands breed empires from the days of Ravana in Lanka to the days of Churchill in England or the Mikado in Japan. So Europe is the most disturbed spot on earth for the last 300 years and England the accepted

leader of Europe. A free and united India will acquire in a decade the moral and material power to impose the unification of Europe into one sovereign State in the interests of world peace.

In any such arrangement and unification of India and Europe, Britain would lose the high standard of living which she has so easily and successfully maintained all these 300 years. At any rate the politicians and the Big Business which controls the politicians think so. Hence British strategy and statesmanship is of the most complicated character and it is maintained at its highest level by the British people and their ruling clan because they are gifted and virile with stamina for real work, discipline, sacrifice and team spirit, just the qualities that mark an imperial race. Congress has always been faced with leaders *cum* rulers of this type in its freedom fight and Congress met them always with sentimental idealism, humanity and eloquence. The result was not gunpowder but face powder.

The complexities have only increased since Labour's ascension to power in Britain, after World War II. The British Labour Cabinet is moved by two contradictory sincerities in the formulation of its policies and ideals. It is indeed sincere in its desire to quit India, especially as World War II has completely broken up every item of Indian economy like a blitzed factory, and made India a liability and not an asset. It is also equally sincere in its desire to continue to enjoy at least for a short period all the profits that accrued on the old basis of political domination till at least her domestic reconstruction is completed and the Russian puzzle solved. It is an understandable but a contradictory desire. To implement this difficult deed Sir Stafford Cripps, the eminent lawyer-politician, was selected. He ingeniously devised the "three-decker" constitution for India, unknown to the world of political experience, and tried to reconcile the

contradictory double sincerity of the British Cabinet. Thanks to Mr. Jinnah's astuteness, audacity and political vision, this did not and could not work. Major Attlee in an agonised but idealised mood adopted the commando strategy of "Quit India" and rightly selected Lord Louis Mountbatten for the job. The Supreme Commander of Earth, Air and Water was disgusted with the burrowing strategy of lawyer Cripps and boldly declared for Pakistan come what may, without East Punjab and West Bengal to appease the Congress, especially Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru, and gave also the customary rose garland (made of Khaddar) of deferential praise to Mahatma Gandhi. So Congress has accepted Pakistan with regrets hoping that the future would heal the wounds of compound fracture. I doubt very much whether Mr. Jinnah would accept anything less than the whole of the Punjab and Bengal. As for the corridor, he knows he will not get it *now* from anybody but will take it from Hindustan later on as a necessary easement right. The British Cabinet after Truman's offer of aid to Greece and Turkey (and soon Persia) knew that time was precious. It also really came to the conclusion that Pakistan is more honest and would serve Britain's purpose better in spite of the apparent loss of unified defence. For, after all, did not the Cabinet Mission Plan also concede the essentials of Pakistan? Britain carefully balanced the benefits to her between a divided and united India and the short range view has prevailed. It is also the short-sighted view. I am sure history will show. Pakistan can never benefit in the long run either

Britain or the Hindus, and least of all the Muslims. Pakistan will prove to be the greatest disturbing factor in Indian and world politics.

There is no inevitability in Pakistan as a sovereign State. No solution of the Indian problem is simpler than on the basis of a united India with fully autonomous provinces on any principle you like. Then why should Britain be concerned with so completely a domestic issue as Pakistan? If "Quit India" be sincere, the only honest and straight course is to create a fully representative Interim National Government and declare it a sovereign body. It will do all the jobs, including Pakistan if inevitable and necessary.

I repeat there is no inevitability in Pakistan as a sovereign State. Pakistan is the result of a selfish and panicky view of the British Labour Cabinet, the audacious and skilled but short-sighted and egoistic leadership of the Muslims and the total inability and lack of political vision of the Congress to understand in a non-sentimental and statesman-like way the communal problems of India from the days of Lord Minto.

Congress is a freedom movement of 400 millions headed by one of the world's greatest good men. All strategy and action-device so necessary to politics and economics must be headache to him. Congress should therefore reorganise itself on pure party lines to bring together once again Pakistan and Hindustan for the glory of India. A new leadership is the sovereign cry of the hour before explosives explode and blitz the peace and prosperity of one-fifth of the human race.

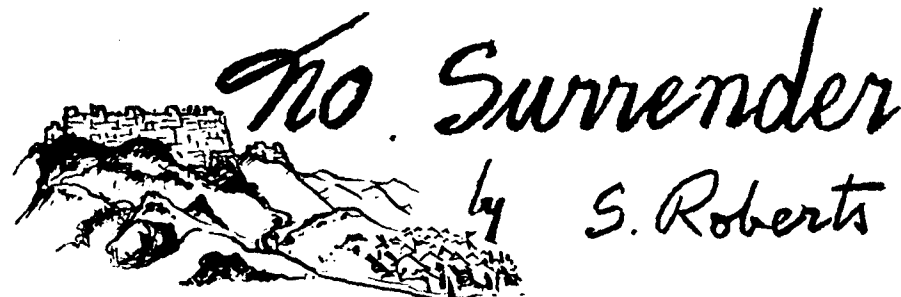


A farmer with a fine stand of hazelnut trees was bedevilled by trespassers during the nutting season. He consulted a scientific friend, and upon his advice placed at conspicuous points the following notice:

"Trespassers, take warning! All persons entering this wood do so at their own risk, for, although common snakes are not often found, the *Corylus Avellana* abounds everywhere about here, and never gives warning of its presence."

He was troubled no more with trespassers.

(*Corylus Avellana* is the botanical term for hazelnut.)



IN the mountain fortress of Rashtraghada, Balaji and the Mahrattas lay entrapped, while outside the besieging army waited patiently, like a hungry cat at a mouse-hole, for hunger and inaction to sap the morale of the enemy and thereby enable them to earn a bloodless victory over the formidable, little Mahrattas who, with their "cowardly" guerrilla tactics, had been the source of the deepest harassment to the emperor Aurangzeb.

Rashtraghada, perched securely on the top of a hill in the midst of a mountainous country, was reputed to be an impregnable fortress. Invading armies had to scale a mountain wall before they could win access to the walls of the fort, behind which lines of invincible Mahrattas with their deceptive figures formed a bulwark of defence. On the other hand, the Mahratta look-outs, by virtue of their position of vantage, could take leisurely aim at soldiers who were foolhardy enough to venture on the offensive. And these indomitable people of the Deccan, awoken to a consciousness of their power by Sivaji, their uncrowned king whom once Aurangzeb had contemptuously described by the appellation of "mountain rat", knew not the word "surrender" in application to themselves.

But the emperor's army was neither so callow nor so adventurous as to attempt the impossible and the very reasons which rendered the fort so unassailable became the source of its greatest weakness. On one side, a wall of massive rock backed the fortress while on two other sides, the rocks sloped steeply in what was practically a sheer precipice, and consequently, the rough western slope offered the only sane and practicable access to and exit from the fort. And outside this solitary pathway, stretched the vast camp of the Moghul army, measuring about a mile in length and packed with soldiers who, by their numbers, could have adequately populated a deserted town.

Ajmal Khan, the general of the Moghul contingent, discussing the situation with his captains, described the Mahrattas as being caught like rats in a trap and his remark was not far from the truth. The Mahrattas, taken unawares by the unexpected advance of the emperor's punitive expedition, had not an adequate stock of food to withstand a long siege. Even their stock of ammunition was not large enough to resist a determined attack though the Moghuls, who could hardly have been aware of the fact, had too high an opinion of Mahratta valour to dare an onslaught against a foe so advantageously placed.

The besiegers and the besieged played a game of patience, each waiting for the opposing force to tire and give up the battle. The imperial army which, with the unlimited luxury that had become a characteristic of Moghul arms, was amply provided with the amenities of good living, indulged in nightly revels and riotous gaiety and bore the strain of waiting admirably well.

The Mahrattas, for their part, were buoyed up by their sturdy optimism and vast powers of endurance. They were born in the hilly country and hard living had kept them in perfect condition. They knew too the ruthlessness which would follow surrender, in violation of the spirit of truce, and every man among them was determined to die the excruciating and protracted death by starvation rather than yield to the merciless invaders. They knew also that sooner or later, the news of the siege would travel to sympathetic ears and hordes of gallant Mahrattas would rally to the rescue of Rashtraghada and harass the rear of the Moghul army. Mahrattas were trained to regard their fort as their mother and would gladly sacrifice the last drop of blood in their veins in its defence.

But despite their eternal resilience of spirit and their unchallengeable courage, their optimism began to wear away as the weeks dragged on. Their scanty stocks of food were rapidly being consumed, in spite of strict rationing, and the hardy hill ponies which could, in the final extremity, be converted into edible flesh, could not keep them alive for many more days. The hoped-for rescue might never materialise or might come too late.

In a bare room of the fort, Balaji sat with the cream of his followers, debating various courses of action. The Moghul army by far outnumbered them, were better-fed and better-armed. To risk an open attack against them would amount to suicide which could be justifiable only when all other possibilities had been explored and not an iota of hope remained of retrieving the situation and saving the fort.

Kanoji, a veteran who was more nimble with his brawn than with his brain, hotly championed the offensive course.

"Shades of cowardice", he swore. "Would we sit within this fort like so many trussed-up chicken waiting to be killed to furnish the *piece-de-resistance* at a Moghul banquet? To arms, I say, and death to the enemies. In what do we lack? One Mahratta is game for a score of those strutting peacocks, so what can their numbers avail them? And as for other difficulties, why, we are the children of this soil, living chunks of granite each one of us, familiar with the land. They dare not attack us for fear. Let us launch a sudden offensive and have the advantage of surprise on our side. Victory will surely be ours."

One or two of the officers seconded his proposal but the majority were against this act of rash impetuosity.

"A counsel of despair that", condemned Bhonsle, a wiry, short man whose one eye was missing in testimony to his valour while the other sparkled with weird intelligence.

"Despair, do you say?" queried Kanoji. "Perhaps. And isn't it preferable to a cowardly acceptance of defeat?"

"Do you venture to imply that I am a coward?" asked Bhonsle with misleading calm. All nerves were on edge and tempers were easily aroused. A sort of latent animosity had sprung up and the peace of the conference seemed threatened in the ominous silence which followed the interrogation.

It was Balaji who, with his stolid practicality, dispersed the gathering thunder-clouds.

"Enough of this bickering," he said. "There are no cowards among the Mahrattas. Let us not aid the besiegers by falling at each other."

His unimpassioned toneless voice sobered the others. A more practical conversation followed, suggestions were quietly made and as quietly discarded on grounds of unworkability. Some of the proposals were hare-brained, some impossible, some puerile, some apparently tenable but unsound on close examination.

For close on two hours they sat in conference and hope sank in their hearts as they picked holes in each other's schemes. It seemed as though the conference would achieve nothing but demonstrate their utter impotence when Balaji who had convened the conclave, himself put forward the solution. It seemed as worthless as those that had preceded it but as he expatiated on it, building up minute details with ingenious forethought, their doubts dissolved and elation warmed them up, filling them with renewed confidence and hope till the murmurs of approval increased into a volley of applause.

It was a master stratagem, of which the enemy did not have the faintest glimmerings, till after its successful implementation whereby the Mahrattas attained their victory and reduced the ponderous Moghul force into a laughing stock.

Ajmal Khan sat on a high cushioned divan in a posture of relaxation in his magnificent pavilion in the imperial camp, sipping wine out of an ornamented brass goblet, playing a crude game of chess. The tent was luxuriously furnished, with silk drapings everywhere and nothing to suggest that it was a military camp. Ajmal Khan was resentful of the interruption when two soldiers came in dragging a reluctant captive after them. One of the soldiers released his hold of the prisoner and saluted.

"This man was caught while attempting to steal through the lines", he informed the general.

The recumbent general sat up and looked at the captive with a wicked gleam in his deep-set eyes. The man was clad in the dress of a Mahratta peasant but the scars on his face and the fact that his one eye was missing testified that the sword was more familiar to him than the peasant's staff.

The pseudo-peasant was volubly protesting that he was innocent and had wandered within that area in his ignorance.

"Quiet", commanded Ajmal Khan and he rapped out an order to his men to search the captive. He was pleased to note the look of fleeting agitation that passed over the dark Mahratta countenance. Ignoring continued remonstrances, the soldiers stripped the victim to the skin without disclosing any incriminatory evidence. It was only as they were on the point of pulling off his turban that the man began to struggle most frenziedly. But nothing came to light and Ajmal Khan, who did not miss the man's obvious relief, was not slow to base deductions on it.

"Search in his hair, you nitwits", he commanded, and the man's renewed agitation did not deter the searchers. A folded parchment tumbled out of his locks and the general let out an exclamation of interest. He opened out the roll and scanned the Mahratti script with hesitation but with understanding. A look of baffled incredulity suffused his face. After a few moments of silence, he hissed with sinister sibilance.

"So!" He turned to his soldiers. "Take him away and hold him."

He did not resume his interrupted game but summoned his captains and addressed them.

"We are in danger and to turn the tables, we must act immediately. Those Deccan dogs have almost outwitted us. A Mahratta was captured under suspicious circumstances now and a search revealed that he is a bearer. He had a letter from Sivaji himself, assuring the besieged that he had received their message of distress and was marching to the rescue with a large contingent. He writes he would be on the scene within twenty-four hours of the messenger himself and gives minute instructions of how they should act when his cavalry charges into our army. Evidently, the Mahrattas have managed to send out an appeal and this is the response. We must act without delay and have the element of speed and surprise with us."

A council of war followed and the complacent warriors, shaken out of their stupor by this midnight call to arms, strove to dispel the vulgar clouds of their night's debauch from their brains and to evolve a successful plan of action. Before Sivaji's mobile units charged into their rear, the fort had

to be captured, else they would be trapped between two belligerent forces, between Sivaji's rescue expedition and the fortress.

Ajmal Khan observed that it was not late to snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat. The slumbering fortress could hardly be aware of the disaster that had overtaken their messenger and since the message would never reach them, they would remain in the dark about Sivaji's army of deliverance. The imperial army had only to strike under cover of the darkness and the fort would be theirs before the first streaks of sunlight shot over the horizon and the rescue squad, when it came, would meet with a very warm reception. Even Sivaji could be captured with a little luck on their side and they thrilled at the prospect of the rewards that would be theirs if they could make a present of Sivaji to the emperor.

The outcome of the conference was that within a couple of hours, an advance guard of some few hundred picked soldiers headed by the valiant Ajmal Khan himself, advanced stealthily up the narrow incline that led to the fortress. Long weeks of somnolence must have rendered the Mahrattas smug for no guards seemed to be posted or if they were, they had evidently fallen asleep at their posts. Elatedly, the Moghul army stumbled over the unfamiliar track.

They were within easy firing range of the embattlements of the fort when a burst of cannon fire suddenly broke from the fortress and the silent country reverberated to its volleys. The Moghul advance guard fell back, their formation broken up, half their hand-picked numbers lost in the unexpected assault. But goaded by the leadership of Ajmal Khan, they advanced in waves against the fort and as lines collapsed, fresh batches of soldiers sprang up to take their place. They had a vast stock of ammunition, they had the weight of numbers and lastly, they had the desperate courage of men who realised that speed was essential in this action, for at any moment Sivaji would be on their rear guard. They rolled nearer and nearer to the fort and only an occasional battery opposed their progress. Probably, thought Ajmal Khan, the Mahrattas were nearing the end of their ammunition.

But even as he rode the tide of victory, another hubbub told him that Sivaji and his horsemen had arrived upon the scene ahead of schedule. The

clatter of hooves on hard rock, a roar of Mahratta war-cries and the noise of an advancing cavalcade of men carried to their ears, betokened vast numbers, and hope ebbed out of the heart of Aurangazeb's expeditionary force.

The clamour became even louder as the cavalry neared them, and shortly guns began to bark on their rear as a trained guerrilla unit came into deadly action. From the fortress, the cannons began to roar again like thunderclaps, with an intensified energy. Trapped between two unyielding forces, unprepared for this sudden awakening from their revels, the Moghul army lost spirit despite the undeniable heroism of its general, and the vast numbers only served to heighten the confusion. A stampede began and before dawn broke over the scene, the emperor's army was shaken off and Rash-traghad was free.

And only later did Balaji's artifice become common knowledge. And the news travelled to the enraged ears of the fugitive Ajmal Khan. For Sivaji was even then a prisoner in Aurangazeb's court, hundreds of miles away and had been nowhere near the scene of hostilities.

At night, under the conspiring skies, a band of sturdy Mahrattas, numbering barely a score had dropped over the eastern precipice with the help of a rope and stolen beyond the rollicksome Moghul lines to a village where ponies had easily been procured. A little later, Bhonsle had slipped out of the fort in the same manner and deliberately allowed himself to be captured. The note purporting to come from Sivaji was part of the scheme, having been written by Balaji himself. Ajmal Khan had found the note as it was intended that he should, and braced by the histrionics of Bhonsle, the forged message had lured him to make that foredoomed attack against the invulnerable fort.

And at the critical moment, to complete the deception and to effect a psychological rout of the Moghuls, the score or so of mounted Mahrattas had rushed on the rear of the attackers with the clatter and the fanfare of a thousand soldiers and the alarmed Moghuls had drawn the natural conclusion.

And the Deccan had a good laugh at the expense of the discomfited Moghuls.

TWO NEW DANCERS FROM THE DANCING SOUTH

by MARCELLA HARDY

IT is always pleasant to see fresh talent in the arts—fresh not merely in the sense of being new, but fresh with the freshness of a young shoot or a bud opening in the sun. The enthusiasm of this freshness is communicative, especially when it is backed by and founded on genuine talent and technique. That was the impression left on the spectators at a dance recital given by the sisters, Lalita and Padmini.

Lalita and Padmini are already accomplished dancers. Theirs is a talent that will blossom in a wider field than the strictly classical; their mime is charming and reminds one of little folk dolls that are at once so vivid in their unsophistication and so still in their traditional designs. They have a sense of 'story' which should take them far when they have mastered the intricacies of technique.

Lalita and Padmini form a truly delightful pair to watch. In their dancing is strongly noticeable the thorough classical training they underwent from childhood at the hands of the justly famous and accomplished artist and master Gopinath. The gestures of the sisters have that finish and vigour which is characteristic of the best Bharatanatyam technique, while their mime and story-telling is enriched by a knowledge of that silent yet eloquent drama, Kathakali. A noticeable trait, too, of the sisters' performance—perhaps derived from the Gopinath school of dance—is the more restrained performance of Bharatanatyam, as compared with the exuberance of the Pandanallur school. This was a different impression of Bharatanatyam, which one is tempted to compare to the juxtaposition of an early piece of Pallava sculpture with a piece of the Vijayanagar period.

But there is more to the performance of Lalita and Padmini than the background of classical dance and tradition: the sisters spent

several years in the creative atmosphere of the Uday Shankar milieu, and the effects are seen in the fine polish of gesture and mime, in a stage sense and a presentation intended for a different public—possibly a wider public—than the small gathering of technical connoisseurs that belong more especially to the strict classical mode. In simplifying the dance, Lalita and Padmini make their art more accessible to the less initiated while maintaining it at its highest level. They have imbibed from both their masters characteristic features which lend a definite charm to their performance—the virile skill and directness of the classical with the polish and refinement of the renaissance movement in dance.

Lalita, the elder, has great facility of mime; her face is mobile and expressive and her gestures telling and eloquent. Padmini's talent leans towards greater sobriety which is seen particularly in her masculine roles—she made an excellently chaste and austere Mahadeva—where she complements the more feminine 'chattiness' of her elder sister. Together, they form a harmonious team; singly, Lalita creates the more lasting impression of fullness while Padmini's is, as it were, a little too chaste.

One of the lessons they have carried away from Uday Shankar is to extend their dance material to creative original story-telling, to inventiveness that relieves the purely traditional themes with a breath of everyday life. The blend is pleasing, as also their choice of costumes and colours which, they say, are entirely their own.

If these sisters from Travancore pursue their art and never feel that they have finished learning it, India will have just reason to be proud of her young talent, and all lovers of art to be carried beyond themselves to those aesthetic regions where, at the dawn of time, the art of dance was born.

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SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA, M.A.

THE announcement by the British of a new plan for India is undoubtedly the most outstanding event of the week. What does the world think of it?

World opinion considers that the essential feature of the plan is the Balkanisation of the country, its division not merely into a Hindustan and a Pakistan but into a number of other States among which are to be included Hyderabad, Travancore and Bhopal. The same prominence is not given to the transfer of power from British into Indian hands as in several quarters there is a feeling that the partition of the country will result in British control continuing in a new form. The division of the country is universally regretted while some exponents of world opinion have gone to the extent of severely condemning the British for having created through a policy deliberately pursued by them for more than a generation a situation in which political disruption of the country has become inevitable. This condemnation comes not merely from countries like Ireland and Soviet Russia which are unfriendly to Britain but from the United States and some other countries friendly towards her. The *New York Herald Tribune* is of this view.

As regards the effects of partition the large majority of those that expressed themselves on the subject think that it will produce disastrous consequences. The *Irish Press* observes: "In going, Britain will leave India weakened by dismemberment as she left Ireland. Governments may change but the imperial policy seems to go on for ever". Soviet opinion accuses Britain of having exploited national, religious, caste and other kinds of strife to maintain

their rule in India one way or the other and argues that division will only help the British to hold the scales in the balance and retain control over the country. In America opinion is expressed that partition is likely to facilitate the growth of Communist and Soviet influence especially in the Pakistan zones. Whether such a danger is real or not division is sure to make each of the small Indian States of the future a scene of intense rivalry among the big powers for getting control over the country. The *Sydney Morning Herald* of Australia thinks that in the long run partition will not serve the best interests of either Britain or India. The *Star* of Johannesburg says that the mighty edifice which had taken two centuries to build is in danger of destruction and adds that "Only because of that unity was India a power in the world and its disintegration as an act of deliberate policy could not but seem sinister, foreboding of worse." In the opinion of General Aung San of Burma "A divided India augurs ill not only for the Indian people but also for all Asia and world peace." That a partitioned India will not only be weak but will also be compelled to continue to be dependent on the British is the reason why Mr. Churchill and the Conservative Party in Britain welcomed the new plan, a welcome which caused a good deal of surprise in all political circles. The plan clearly refers to an interim period when transfer of power is made on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities. It is this prospect of partitioned States in India being satisfied with Dominion Status that has made the plan attractive to Australia and to the other members of the British Commonwealth. Opinion in the Domi-

nions as expressed by the political leaders in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa sees in this the triumph of British statesmanship and diplomacy. But it is in this very feature that the tragedy of the whole situation lies. There was a time when the Indian National Congress could think of nothing else except independence for a united India. Its present reconciliation to Dominion Status for a divided India is the measure of the extent to which it has lost power as a political organisation and also the extent of the triumph which the Muslim League was able to secure through the use of physical force in which it received the aid of the British. The British Empire is not disappearing. It is assuming a new form.

U. S. A. AND LATIN AMERICA

The policy of expansionism on which the United States has embarked in recent months requires for its success the consolidation of the authority and influence she already possesses. The world is aware of the enormous economic hold she has over the eighteen republics of South America. In two directions this hold is now being strengthened. A few days ago President Truman sent a message to the Congress asking it to put on the statute book "The Inter-American Military Co-operation Act" authorising a programme of military co-operation with other American States, including the training, organization and equipment of the armed forces of these countries. This is to give permanence to the policy of military co-operation that has been in existence for some years in the past and that received a special stimulus during the period of the Second World War. What is called "the Act of Chapultepec" has already provided for this kind of collaboration to some extent. This Act is an agreement concluded in February 1945 at a conference in Mexico City under which provision was made for all the American States apart from Canada and the European Colonies to take steps to prevent aggression against any of them, no matter from what source. Under the legislation proposed by Truman the United States Army and Navy would

give a larger amount of help to the Latin republics and the President would be authorized to transfer military and other equipment to the Governments of the other American States.

ARGENTINA

The second direction in which Truman proposes to strengthen the United States' hold over South America is by reopening negotiations with Argentina which is one of the bigger and stronger Latin republics. Argentina has been occupying a peculiar position for the last five or six years. Her sympathies were with the Fascist powers during the Second World War. The country was used as a centre of German espionage to the disadvantage of the Allied powers and it was only under pressure from Great Britain that in 1944 she broke off relations with Germany and Japan. But owing to a number of internal complications the Nazis and Nazi influences continued to hold their sway and the United States refused to enter into close relations with the Argentine Government so long as these influences continued. Last week however it was announced that President Truman was satisfied that Argentina was free from all Nazis and that a policy of active co-operation between the two countries could be pursued. The significance of this departure lies in the prospect of the United States completely consolidating her influence over Latin America—the logical outcome of the Monroe Doctrine enunciated in 1823.

UNITED STATES MILITARISM

Alongside of this policy is the other policy under which President Truman is determined to make his country the greatest military, naval and air power in the world. Compulsory military service in peace time was provided for in Britain in spite of the opposition of the Labour back-benchers and the Liberal Party. And a special advisory committee on universal military training set up by Truman last December has now recommended the adoption of universal military training for the American youth. The philosophy underlying this and similar schemes was

given expression to by Truman in a speech he delivered the other day at Kansas City where he said that disintegration of U.S. military forces since the surrender of Germany and Japan was an encouragement to nations to regard weakness on the part of peace-loving nations as an invitation to aggression and that "if this happens countries whose peoples share our ideals and who look to us for leadership but who are weak in resources or man-power will lose faith in our ability to support the principles for which we stand." From this he drew the conclusion that the United States must maintain an army, navy and air force in effective readiness for any emergency and that they should be organised in an efficient single military establishment and supported by reserves of well-trained civilians. It is this huge expenditure on armaments and on the extension of American aid to countries like Greece and Turkey that has naturally frightened Soviet Russia and compels her to adopt a similar policy of consolidation and expansionism.

AID ON A CONTINENTAL BASIS

This week Secretary of State General Marshall has defined the nature of the aid that the United States proposes to extend to the countries of Europe. Hitherto it was done on a piecemeal basis, giving aid to each country as and when the need for it was felt. But this policy now appears to be wasteful. Moreover, Congress is advocating economy in these matters. It is felt that somehow the economic collapse that is overtaking Europe should be averted and that this could only be achieved through American help. But the help must be on a planned basis which will take into consideration the requirements of the continent as a whole. What General Marshall demands therefore is that the countries of Europe should unite

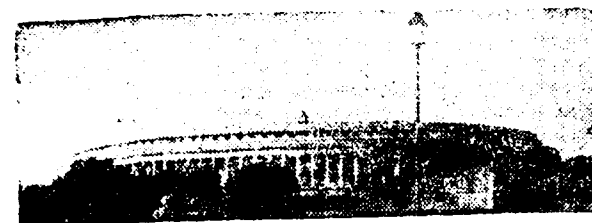
in planning their economic salvation and offer to America a joint programme agreed on by a number of European nations if not by all of them. This call for a united Europe as a condition for the extension of American aid is interpreted as the most important pronouncement on creative policy since the proclamation of the Truman doctrine. Of course it is clear to every one that all the European countries cannot unite for a purpose like this as there are fundamental differences between Soviet Russia and the countries dominated by it on the one side and the rest of Europe on the other. Marshall's call therefore is for a union for economic purposes of countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence. It is an important step in implementing the Truman doctrine of carrying on a war against Communism and in widening the cleavage between Russia and the Western democracies.

RUSSIAN REACTION

It is in the light of all this that we should try to understand the moves of Russia in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Every step taken by America to extend her influence is answered by Russia taking a similar step. This is the reason why she is strengthening her hold over Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other countries in South-Eastern Europe by getting rid of all leaders of parties opposed to Communism. The question is not who is right and who is wrong. Each is bent on increasing its power and influence. There is no mutual trust. There is no confidence in the ability of the United Nations to come to the rescue of any power or State against which a policy of aggression is pursued. The result is the repetition of the old old story of race in armaments, of alliances and counter-alliances culminating ultimately in another world war. Freedom from fear is becoming a more and more remote prospect.

The B.B.C. is now so highly organized that if everybody in Broadcasting House fell dead overnight I swear the programmes would go on by themselves for at least a month.—Victor Thompson, in the Daily Herald.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

WHAT prompted the Congress Working Committee to accept division of the country together with the partition of the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal—which was their condition—was the desire to avoid bloodshed. Many of us felt that division with partition would not satisfy the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah and his lieutenants had been declaring that they would fight for every inch of what some of them referred to as "Akhand Pakistan". This threat they have fortunately not carried out. The immediate effect of partition has been that there is a sudden easing in the tension that prevailed hitherto both in Delhi and elsewhere. Mahatma Gandhi reported to his prayer meeting on Wednesday that the Working Committee had told him "that they had not yielded to the force of arms but to the force of circumstances." The Working Committee would have done well to frankly state that they were not callous to human lives as Mr. Jinnah obviously is. There is nothing wrong in having a genuine love of humanity. Until logic and sanity are enthroned in this world, the only way of avoiding conflict and bloodshed is to arrive at a settlement by the conference method which in any case would have resulted after the civil war has been gone through. The difference between the two results would be the civil war. Perhaps in the process one of the two sides would suffer more terribly than the other, and the bitterness on both sides would be enormous. Those who had been accustomed to easy success in the achievement of their objectives would be severely disillusioned about their leader when defeat first becomes inevitable and then overtakes them. But this is too high a price to pay for removing the leadership of

one particular community. It is for the people concerned to overthrow its leader. It is both the weakness and the strength of Democracy that it is Government by consent. If a community chooses a Feuhrer to tyrannise over them, there is nothing much we can do except educate them (literally, not figuratively) in such a way that they will not elect power-mad dictators to rule over them. It is essentially a long-term plan.

The immediate result of the Viceroy's award—despite his protestations that it is the leaders' own plan, it is an award—has been wholly salutary. Whether there would have been turmoil in the country if the British had announced their determination to stick to the Cabinet Mission Plan is a legitimate question, the answer for which cannot be categorically given one way or the other. But Congress leadership had prepared the ground for partition, and they have succeeded in averting what otherwise had been threatened to lead to civil war—although I am definitely told that one Congress leader at least had recommended the acceptance of the Viceroy's plan because he thought that Mr. Jinnah would fight partition inch by inch. He counted on Mr. Jinnah's assurance that any attempt to mutilate Pakistan would be resisted by force. The idea seemed to be that with the help of the British unity of the country could be maintained.

That would have perhaps happened if the Congress stuck to its guns and insisted on quit first, and split afterwards if necessary. But at the request of the Sikhs the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution suggesting the partition of the Punjab—although, as the Viceroy pointed out at his Press Conference

—this resulted in the Sikh community being divided almost exactly into two halves between Hindusthan and Pakistan. This, I know, upset the Viceroy's House. When we talked to someone in close touch with the Viceroy over a month and odd ago he would not believe that the Congress would be prepared to pass a resolution urging partition of Bengal. "Once you begin that kind of thing, there would be no end to it", he said. And he also argued as regards the Working Committee resolution that it was not the same thing as a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. About the declaration of Congress leaders like Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, he said it was not the same thing as a resolution of the Working Committee. He seemed to be desperate to get the Congress stick to unity, but they did not. The Viceroy too said as much at his Press Conference.

The whole trouble lies in the fact that division has been secured at the instance of the British. The psychology would have been entirely different if it was obtained by an agreement between the Congress and the League. Someone said if Congress gave this same thing to Jinnah, it would not have been Pakistan. He would have been said to have got for Muslims only those areas where Muslims are in a majority." That has been described as self-determination in Congress resolutions.

A genuine difficulty of those who are in favour of Village Republics appears to be that they find themselves at the same time plumping for a strong Central Government and an Indian Republic. Provincial Autonomy is certainly a step in decentralisation which ultimately leads to Village Republics. It has not been made clear whether *panchayat raj* means merely local municipal government or whether it is to be understood to mean republican government on the model of the Greek City States. If the latter it is a fairly impossible proposition.

The best thing for the Congress would have been long ago to demand the immediate division of the coun-

try into linguistic provinces and transference of power to those units. But Congress leadership had been always lukewarm with regard to the question of redistribution of provinces on a rational basis. They were not quite sure that once the provinces were divided into linguistic units they would all care to subject themselves to hegemony from an overbearing Centre. It is a lack of democratic quality that is responsible for the insistence on the one-India idea, whether all are willing or unwilling. The provinces have not been credited with the wisdom of choosing for themselves whether they want to be in the Centre or not. There seems to be little effort to build up from the bottom instead of imposition from above. To this extent it is a vestige of the old imperialist tradition.

The Viceroy also has found it convenient to come to certain understandings with the High Commands of the Congress and the Muslim League. It fell to my lot to ask him whether the people of the Frontier Province are not to choose for themselves the issue on which they would vote at the referendum. The Viceroy only stated that there should be agreement between the two High Commands. I asked whether this was not inconsistent with Provincial Autonomy. He said that would result in Balkanisation. Then the question of the States being free to remain outside the two Indias arose. Was this not Balkanisation? The Viceroy then said: "I take back what I had said about the Frontier."

In any Party or Governmental Machine, much of the interests of the people are likely to be sacrificed for the sake of the convenience of those who find themselves in positions of power. That is a strong argument in favour of decentralisation.

Last week, it will be remembered, I made a passing reference to the advantages of maintaining the integrity of India, especially from the point of view of Defence and Foreign Affairs. One wonders whether an agreed policy on Defence and Foreign Affairs among all the provinces will not be better than any steam-roller Union.

NEW LIFE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

by Dr. M. S. ADISESHIAH

Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, formerly Professor of Economics at the Madras Christian College, is now Assistant General Secretary of International Student Service (I.S.S.) which is a cultural and relief organisation working in the universities the world over, with its headquarters at Geneva. He is now in India for a fortnight, after one year's work in various countries of Eastern Europe and a two months' tour of South-East Asia undertaken with a view to assessing the needs of universities and students in this area. Dr. Adiseshiah gives here his impressions of national life in the countries which he visited, and an account of the relief which I.S.S. has been extending to the students whose personal and academic life was disrupted during the war.

THE first fact which strikes the visitor to Eastern Europe is the tremendous programme of activity in which every person—peasant, worker, student and professor; man, woman and child—is engaged. With the exception of Yugoslavia, no country of Eastern Europe has received any aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Unlike Western Europe, therefore, Eastern Europe faces a much greater area of damage and devastation while, at the same time, it gets no help from outside. This accounts for the almost feverish reconstruction activity that is going on there. Students and intellectuals are engaging cheerfully in manual labour. In Yugoslavia they are building a long stretch of railroad now famous as the Youth Railway; in Bulgaria they construct roads; in Hungary they are building dams and clearing irrigation canals; and in Poland, students and youth are rebuilding whole cities this summer. As a consequence, the people of Eastern Europe have been able to raise their standard of living considerably, despite all the plundering and damage which they suffered under Fascist rule.

The second striking fact is that behind all this fever of constructive activity, there is a spirit of liberation in the countries of Eastern Europe which renders such activity possible. Having suffered under local Fascist tyranny and foreign occupation for twenty years, the people now feel free and it is this feeling of liberation which inspires their collective effort.

Important democratic developments are taking place on the initiative of people's organisations like women's committees, trade unions, etc. For instance, in Hungary, voluntary organisations of students and youth known

as NEKOS, have started a number of peasants' colleges. One student is brought from each village and he is put through one or other of the university courses (medicine, engineering, etc.). In this way they are changing the milieu of the university, creating for the first time an atmosphere of democracy. The builders' and painters' unions send their men to erect the hostel, the peasants send food, while women volunteers furnish the rooms. History, languages, technology and art are among the subjects which the students from the villages are taught in these colleges, apart from the normal course. In Bulgaria, students have raised a large relief fund and are running one of the biggest T. B. Sanatoria for students (the disease—one of the legacies of Hitler's concentration camps—is very widespread). Polish students run their own hostels, making or purchasing their own beds, shoes and food, all of which are in short supply in the country. All these reconstruction efforts are conducted in co-operation with the State so that they fit into an over-all national plan. Thus in Czechoslovakia, the Government has drawn up a two-year plan for increasing industrial and agricultural production by 50 per cent. Students and youth have rendered great service in working this plan by voluntary work, and by abstention from entertainments and fetes which might affect the production targets. Students and youth, therefore, occupy a pre-eminent position in these countries to-day. The leaders are all young; they are drawn from the common people and are accessible to everybody.

All landed estates have been abolished so that agriculture in these countries is now peasant agriculture. All the major industries have been nationalised and are controlled by workers'



Delegates to the All-Burma Youth League. Dr. Adiseshiah is seen standing in the centre.

councils. Opposition to the Government therefore comes mainly from the former landlords and factory owners, who are now receiving money and encouragement from abroad to fight the Government. The people have to pay a price for their programmes of reconstruction and democracy. This price is the absence of certain kinds of freedom which exist in other parts of the world. With regard to 'free elections,' for instance, should Fascists be given the freedom to vote? Again, should there be free entry and exit for everybody? Should there be freedom to engage in vicious criticism of the Government? Apart from these questions, Marxism at present involves a denial of faith in God as creator and preserver, and this results in a lack of respect for the individual human person. This does not mean, however, that all opposition is ruthlessly eliminated. There are opposition papers run by Right-wing parties not represented in the Government. Non-party intellectuals are found in the Government and Legislature, while most technicians, educationists and professional men are non-party people.

Turning to South-East Asia, it must first be noted that the revolution in this area is a democratic revolution. The people have come on top, and are

fully behind the nationalist movements and Governments. This is particularly true of Indonesia and Viet-Nam, whatever colonial propaganda might say. Secondly, these movements have, as a result of Jap occupation, caught up with the political level of India. They have achieved in five years what we did in fifty. This was due, on the one hand, to the Jap slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" and, on the other, to the lessons learnt and qualities developed during the anti-Japanese resistance movements. The nationalism of South-East Asia is therefore a democratic nationalism. Another significant development is the emergence of South-East Asia as a political reality, inspiring a common consciousness. The people of Malaya, Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Indonesia do not want any form of exploitation—including exploitation by Indian and Chinese merchants. The unfortunate effects of the participation of Indian troops in the suppression of the freedom movements in some of these countries can only be removed through future co-operation on a basis of equality. There is considerable bitterness, even to-day, among the people of Viet-Nam at the absence of action by the Indian people to stop the movement of French imperial troops and equipment on Indian soil. India and China are no longer the only forces in Asia; the leadership of the region as

a whole is being shared by these smaller countries. As in Eastern Europe, the leaders of these nationalist movements are mostly young, and what may be of interest to us in India, no one man is regarded as indispensable for the leadership of any of these countries. There is a constant stream of young leaders being trained for the future.

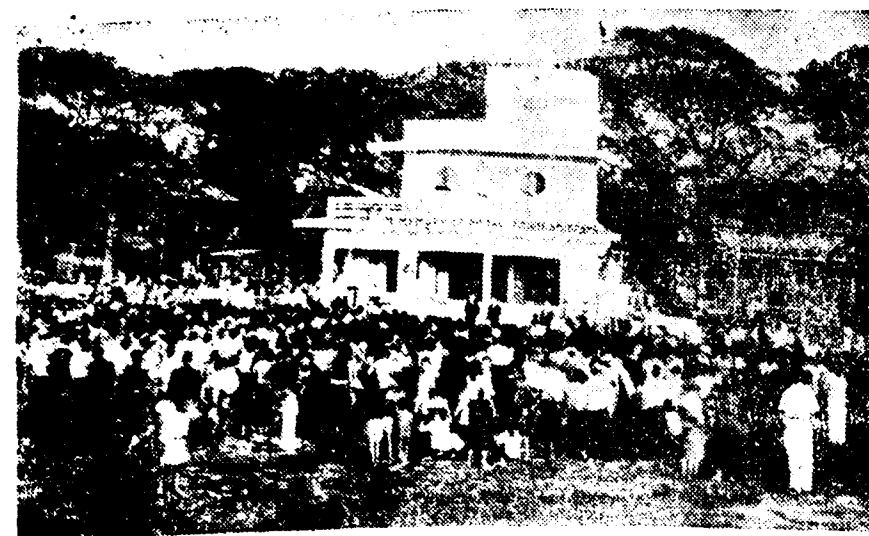
The progress achieved under the free governments of South-East Asia can be judged from the recent history of education in Indonesia. The first university was founded by the Dutch in 1927. Before the war the number of students was only 600. Now, after one year of the Republic, there are 3000 students. What has yet to be done will be realized if we remember that the population is 70 millions. Like Eastern Europe, Indonesia is humming with reconstruction activity based on people's initiative. Students and professors work from 7 to 11 in the morning at the university, and after that until 6 in the evening they run the various departments of Government. They are at once civil servants and students. And they do all their hard work in a cheerful, hopeful spirit.

What I. S. S. has done—and wants to do.

This important region of South-East Asia, which is in sore need of help to rebuild and equip the universities and libraries destroyed during the war, has only recently come into the area of the operations of I. S. S. Until now I. S. S. has been sending relief only to China

in Asia. This was due to many reasons, the most important being that, until recently, the imperialist powers (Britain, Holland, France) effectively screened off Asia from Europe, keeping the average Westerner in amazing ignorance of conditions here. Now due to the revolutionary freedom movements in Asia, and due to the tremendous devastation which universities here have suffered during the war, I. S. S. has begun to take Asia seriously. This organisation, like all international bodies, has realised that no world organisation can exist to-day unless the new Asia plays its proper role in it.

It was in 1920 that I. S. S. was formed, as a result of a group of British and American students and professors going to Central Europe to help the universities which had been destroyed during World War I. In the inter-war years there was continual need for relief. I. S. S. helped the students of Abyssinia, Spain and China—all victims of Fascist aggression—and the Jewish students and professors who were driven out of Hitler's Germany. In 1940 I. S. S. became the common secretarial agency for the administration of relief funds collected by World Student Relief (W. S. R.), a joint body whose constituent units included the International Union of Students, the Jewish Students Organisation, the Catholic and Christian Students' Organisations. I. S. S. functions on a non-political and non-religious basis, sending relief wherever it is needed, without considerations of



A meeting was held at Oudon (Viet-Nam) in memory of the two Indian Students who died in Bombay in January, 1947 during the Viet-Nam Day celebrations. A sum of Rs. 420 was collected at the meeting and sent to the victims' families as a token of gratitude.

race, politics, etc. During World War II, I. S. S. went underground in countries under Fascist control and managed to send aid to the resistance movement. During 1946-47, W. S. R. was able to raise two million dollars from the students and youth of countries which did not suffer during the war, like U.S.A., Australia, Canada, etc. One million dollars was allotted to Eastern Europe and the other million dollars to China. After receiving my report on conditions in South-East Asia, I. S. S. will provide for relief to this region in its future plans. The money raised was spent to meet the most urgent needs of students. Bitter cold and lack of coal in Hungary, terrible shortage of food in Austria, destruction of laboratory equipment in Yugoslavia, lack of food and widespread disease in Greece—these were some of the problems that had to be faced and overcome to the extent possible.

Conditions in Asian universities are equally bad. Due to general blockade, Indonesian colleges cannot get books, chemicals and laboratory equipment. The magnificent hostel attached to Hanoi University has been destroyed. The public library at Rangoon, containing the largest collection of Pali literature in the world, was dynamited by the Japs. In spite of all this, self-help movements are being conducted by students for continuing their education, and they also conduct classes on language, history and politics for adults. They need plenty of help, and I. S. S. wants to extend it. The task is now easier than it was, since national committees of I. S. S. have been formed in the countries of S.-E. Asia. In India, the All-India Students' Federation, and

All-India Students' Congress and the Muslim Students' Federation have for the first time come together to form the I. S. S. Committee for India, whose chairman is Dr. Zakir Hussain.

Activities of I. S. S. are not confined to relief work. Its second function is to make universities in every country the centres of their own national culture, instead of being 'island communities' isolated from the common people. It wants to see knowledge—especially scientific knowledge—employed for the promotion of people's welfare, instead of being put to the service of social oppression (as history and biology were distorted by the Fascists in order to 'prove' their racial superiority). It is helping universities to master and use modern media of communication like the film, radio and the plastic arts in the dissemination of culture instead of leaving these to be exploited by commercial entertainers. There are already six international student cultural centres run by I. S. S. which conduct study and experiment on these problems, making their results known through its research and publications section. It wants the universities to be made accessible to peasants and workers, instead of being, as they are now, confined to the upper and middle classes. It wants to help universities of the world to learn from each other's experiences. It is for promoting these ideals that I. S. S. holds national, regional and international conferences. The South-East Asia regional conference at Madras can well become the starting point for effective participation by India in this effort to enrich national culture and to promote international understanding so essential for peace and progress.

NO UGLINESS IN NATURE

Rodin declares that there is no ugliness in Nature. He says: "I have arrived at this belief by the study of Nature. I can only grasp the beauty of the soul by the beauty of the body, but some day one will come who will explain what I only catch a glimpse of and will declare how the whole earth is beautiful and all human beings are beautiful. I have never been able to say this in sculpture so well as I wish. A Negro or a Mongol has his beauty, however remote from ours, and it must be the same with their character. There is no ugliness. When I was young I made that mistake, as others do; I could not understand a woman's bust unless I thought her pretty, according to my particular idea of beauty; today I should do the bust of any woman, and it would be just as beautiful. And however ugly a woman may look, when she is with her lover she becomes beautiful, there is beauty in her character, in her passions, and beauty exists as soon as character and passions become visible, for the body is a casting on which passions are imprinted. And even without that, there is always the blood that flows in the veins and the air that fills the lungs."—V. V. Raghavacharyulu, B.Sc.

FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS: THE SOUTH AFRICAN DICTATOR

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

LOOK at that Colossus with sad lineaments who peeps through the floating mists of Time. He is Cecil



Field-Marshal Smuts.

Rhodes. It was in his household that Jan Christian Smuts had his early political tutelage, and his policies, aspirations and ideals still obsess him. To study him is to understand the Prime Minister of the South African Union.

In the nineties of the last century, the White Man's Burden had gathered infernal weight; European colonial expansion had reached its apogee. In South Africa four western powers contended for imperial sway. England at last triumphed—England whose Queen was a sort of imperial mascot, "more than a woman of human clay"—for, Cecil Rhodes was alone actuated by a novel geographical principle, a dream of deep import, of painting the whole continent red lengthwise, from north to south. He adopted the dictum of Sir Edwin Arnold 'Cape to Cairo' and his motto was 'Home, more home' on the veld. He became the high-priest of imperialistic "philanthropy plus five percent." His programme was four-fold: to form out of the Cape, the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal a Union under the aegis of Great Britain, to spread the European civilisation on Africa from

end to end, to establish the dominion of the white over the black and to promote world peace through the European colour superiority. Smuts confesses: "My whole working life since then has been continuously occupied with the same sort of questions which governed his thought." Rhodes' goal is Smuts' goal.

What were the sinews which Rhodes used to promote his ends? Money first, money next and money last; and he was the Monte Cristo of colonial politics. Once General Gordon told him that he refused a room full of silver offered him as gift by the Chinese. Rhodes was taken aback and replied, "What is the use of having ideas if you don't have the money to carry them out?" Like Jugurtha he believed that everything had its price. Smuts, his protege, has kept before him his aims, but would not copy his sordid means. In fact he, like Robespierre, is incorruptible. He says, "Money would be a nuisance to me . . . Why should I burden myself with money? Besides, I do not find it interesting." He had, on the other hand, the alternative in the lever of political power, undisguised and untrammelled. And that power must be without responsibility. Amidst pigmies he should be the only giant, another Rhodes; and some one could be found as a scapegoat for his public disasters, a shield for his personal foibles. He succeeded, and the wonder is that he succeeded at all, for his mental and moral limitations are galling and bare to the seeing eye. He is a Sultanized Dutchman, a South African dictator. His supporters say that South Africa is "a democracy—but with apologies to Jan Smuts."

It was 1896. South Africa was torn between the two camps of Rhodes who was lubricating his plan of Anglo-Dutch collaboration and Kruger, the President of the Transvaal, who hated the English and wanted a separate Dutch Union. The Jameson raid, to which Rhodes was an accomplice, was a fiasco. "The tortoise had put out its head and Kruger cut it off." The Boers were irate at the treachery of the English, deserted Rhodes whose star set from now onwards, and joined the Prophet of the hour, Kruger. Smuts, twenty-six years of age, was one of them. A briefless lawyer of Cape Colony he had joined Rhodes

with tremendous hopes and Rhodes badly let him down. He left behind him a trail of shame and unpopularity, started practice at Johannesburg, cast weight with old Kruger and attacked Rhodes and the English. After his election, as the President for the fourth term, Kruger dismissed Chief Justice Kotze and appointed Smuts as the Attorney-General. It was the beginning of the meteoric career of the young man, the second son and the eldest to survive of the farmer of Bovenplatz, north of Cape Town, Jacobus Abraham Smuts.

"He will do much, but he must be watched also," said Kruger pointing to the Attorney-General. 'Watched' is the word. Arrogant, rude, ill-natured and ill-mannered Smuts must be held in check, restrained, by some one—now by Kruger, now by Botha. No doubt he is "dour, hardworking and resourceful" and his agile brain and abundant energy have given him marvellous self-confidence. He boasted to General French, "Because I am right." Smuts is always right—right to himself and not to others, right by craftiness and diplomacy and not by just principles. In politics his one hand washes the other. To him the end justifies the means. He is known to his countrymen as 'Slim Jannie': he must always be clever, shifty. 'Slim Jannie' is such a legend in South Africa that Mr. Gandhi, the barrister of Natal, was warned by his friends in his political dealings with him. There is the story of a farmer who attended a conference in which Smuts expatiated on the disastrous draught. He promptly got up and looked out of the window. "Why did you do that," asked another. "When Jannie Smuts says there is a draught, there will be a catch in it," replied the farmer; "I looked out for the rain."

Merriman asserts that Smuts has "a reputation for shiftiness which is perhaps undeserved." His view is not correct because in three classic instances Smuts was guilty of duplicity—the arrest of Pakeman, the Editor of the 'Transvaal Leader' and Smuts' denial which was "a demonstrable falsehood", the interview with the English representative Greene and "the garbled report", and the repudiation of the plighted word to Gandhiji in 1908. Gandhiji later wrote in his book *Satyagraha in South Africa*, "Even to-day I look upon the incident as a breach of faith . . . However I have placed a mark of interrogation after the phrase as in point of fact the General's action did not perhaps amount to an intentional breach of faith." With uncanny insight and as a good judge of men, he touches the pith of Smuts' public

life when he says, "I am however sure of two things. First, he has some principles in politics which are not quite immoral. Secondly, there is room in his politics for cunning and on occasions for perversion of truth."

Smuts was, and is, a poor administrator. He has clerks and not colleagues, and whenever he had efficient ministers he quarrelled with them, for he is a scant respecter of persons. Kruger and Botha alone knew how to handle him and he could not do without them. His record is in general one arid waste; it is a scroll of negative work—arrests, denial of freedom and bloodshed. As Attorney-General, no doubt he cleansed the Augean stables of corruption and nepotism, but that was before he was inebriated with power. In the Boer War he planned audaciously the blowing up of the gold mines, smuggled out the State cash and assets through a train, and led out a commando raid to the Cape ruthlessly shooting spies and courting personal danger, and inhumanly wasting the lives of his men by unscientific and heartless treks. He was legal adviser to Botha the Commander-in-Chief in the Conference at Vereeniging. Meanwhile Kruger died.

Returning from a temporary respite and longing for a spurt of action, Smuts was with Botha one of the leaders of the newly-formed 'Hot Volk or Peoples' Party' in 1905. As Colonies Secretary and Minister of Education he overhauled the top-heavy administrative and police departments, introduced the Education Bill making English compulsory in spite of the protests of the Dutch pastors, and repatriated the Chinese coolies from the mines to the intense chagrin of the mine-magnates.

His exploits as Minister of the Interior, Mines and Defence and later of Finance and Defence in the South African Union were also dismal. He had little genius for figures and experience did not teach him the wisdom of handling deputations. In 1913 he did "the hardest thing of his life" by yielding to strike leaders of Johannesburg mines whose workers he wounded mortally. He marked time and in the next year dealt a smashing blow at them with artillery, as he was to do with aerial bombing in 1922. He called this "a smart and good piece of work." He was looked upon as an Oriental despot and a man of blood, and his policy was characterised by his enemies as **PLATSKAT-POLITIEK**—ruthlessly shooting down all opposition. Botha the Prime Minister all the while supported him and toned down his impetuosity. He said that Smuts had "infinite capacity for getting into difficul-

ties." But Smuts knows the methods of getting out of them and mowing down his opponents, especially the unprivileged. He has a special hatred of Socialism of all types. He spurns the human qualities "which are elemental in successful handling of the multitude."

Botha died in 1919 and Smuts was the undisputed leader of South Africa. His character and policy often led him into blind alleys and his opponents, Hertzog and Tielman Ross of the Nationalist Party, exploited his private weaknesses. He has been Prime Minister leading the South African Party thrice and Deputy Prime Minister once under Hertzog. His schemes to relieve unemployment and economic distress, to electrify the railways and to stimulate the trade in fruits and maize were disastrous blunders. This proud man in one of his unguarded moments blurted out: "I have neither tact nor patience and you must take me for what I am worth." His policy towards the Boers and the coloured peoples has been a transcendent failure.

Nevertheless, in two spheres he has made signal and abiding contributions and strangely Smuts was a new man then. First, it was his mental adroitness and relentless zeal that shaped the South African Union in 1910. In the Convention at Durban he reconciled the irreconcilables and ratified the Union constitution, prepared so skilfully by Englishmen like Patrick Duncan, Philip Kerr and Lionel Curtis who is a dreamer and a man of action like him. Later he dispelled the suspicions of Campbell-Bannerman and the Union Act was a **fait accompli**. Secondly, during and after World War I he strove for a just peace and for an ordered working of the League of Nations. This was possible because he is an Anglophil and Englishmen know that there is no better friend than a former enemy. He told the Irish leaders, "The English are a queer people. If you are outside their family group, they suspect you of the worst. Inside the family you can do anything you like and you can get anything out of them." Before 1919 Lloyd George used him and afterwards quarrelled with him. Smuts was lionized. He was sent to Wales, Ireland and Rumania. He was the arbiter in the London police strike and the prop of Zionism. Lloyd George, a man of explosive action, impatient of delay and contemptuous of officials and generals, like Smuts himself, adopted Faig's plan of a massive offensive into the Flanders on the considered advice of the South African 'expert' only to make the campaign a "duck's march through the inundations

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He invented the term 'mandate,' "a check and advance on the old policy of colonial annexation," and yet his administration of German South-West Africa has been a black record, the limit of "the shocking and evil extent of racial injustice and discrimination." Churchill welcomed him as "a new and altogether extraordinary man from the outer marches of the Empire" and commended his "tact and adroitness." Lloyd George wrote in his 'War Memorials': "He is that fine blend of intellect and human sympathy which constitutes the understanding man." President Wilson found in him a companion of equal scholarship and originality. What eulogies for 'Slim Jannie'!

How to explain this contradiction between Smuts the South African Dictator and Smuts the International Democrat? In 1929 he told an English audience: "Great ideas are wonderful things. They are the real dynamics of individual and social advance. . . . It (the idea) resembles a Mendelian factor which once achieved can never be undone again." That is the clue. Smuts is a first-rate philosopher and idealist in a third-rate political position. A pocket-edition of Abbe Sieyes, he can plan on a grand scale and draft excellent minutes, but he must leave them to others to be pruned of fantasies and implemented. He exemplifies the Baconian aphorism, "it is the solecism of power to think to command the end and yet not to endure the means." He loves ideas, but not men; books, not settled policies. His mind is that of an alert philosopher and his heart that of a lawyer, almost a pettifogger. He was a raider, not a soldier or general in the Boer War, the South African Civil War and World War I. In civil life also he is a raider meeting each difficulty as it arises.

The Failure to harness theory to practice accounts for the difference between Smuts the politician and Smuts the philosopher, Smuts at home and Smuts abroad. He lacks the human touch. What Clemenceau said of Wilson is true of him: "He talked like Jesus Christ and acted like Lloyd George." "My children treat me as a

distinguished stranger," said Smuts to a friend. The irony is he has no parental regrets that he is so treated.

Mark the hobby and the philosophy of a highly analytical and speculative mind.

Smuts is interested in the collection of grasses. He does not care for their beauty or fertilisation. His approach to them is in the nature of a card-indexed mind. He dries them, separates the new species, divides them into sub-families and catalogues and classifies them according to their Latin names.

He is the Philosopher of Holism. His treatise *Holism and Evolution* drew the attention of the thinkers of the world and he has contributed an interesting article on the subject to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Holism comes from the Greek word 'Holos' or Whole. According to it "Evolution is a rising series of wholes of which man is the highest." "Human personality is the summit of perfection." In this philosophy there is no need for a God: there is a Design, but not a Designer. "Wholeness is itselfness." "There is the within which is the beyond." "Whole-making, rather than soul-making, would thus be a correct description of the world-process."

It was by the application of this principle of 'holism' that Smuts promoted the South African Union and the League of Nations, the dreams of Cecil Rhodes. Two other objectives of Rhodes, 'Cape to Cairo' and the white domination in Africa face him to-day as problems. The Prime Minister has left fluid the northern boundary of South Africa. It is the colour bar that spells ruin to his reputation of international statesmanship. He expressed his views clearly in the Rhodes Memorial Lectures, 1929. Here are a few extracts:—

"The easiest, most natural and obvious way to civilize the African native is to give him decent white employment. White employment is his best school; the gospel of labour is the most salutary gospel for him."

"The whites like to have native servants; the natives prefer to have white masters, and this double economic attraction has proved too much for any prohibitory law."

"The civilization of Africa therefore calls for a definite policy, the policy of European settlement as a steel-frame of the whole ambitious struc-

ture of African civilisation. Without a large European population as a continuous support and guarantee of that civilisation and as an ever-present practical example and stimulus for the natives, I fear that civilisation will not go far and will not endure for long."

"It will be a gradual schooling of peoples who have slumbered and stagnated since the dawn of time and only an ever-present, settled, permanent European order can achieve that end."

"The mixing up of two such alien elements as white and black leads to unhappy social results—racial miscegenation, moral deterioration of both, racial antipathy and clashes, and to many other forms of social evil."

Comment is needless, for the holism of the White Man is superior to the holism of the Black! We who begin and end every day with the prayer, "May peace and happiness attend upon all peoples," find these sentiments abominable and shocking. The world knows the pitiable status of the natives of German South-West Africa owing to the application by Smuts of Rhodes' Glen Grey Act. He will defy the UNO as he did the League of Nations and yet will pass off as the Solomon of the Age. The Africans must work out their own salvation with faith in God and belief in the justice of their cause.

Of one other episode of topical interest to-day, prediction is relatively easy. 'Slim Jannie' will re-play his old tricks against the 'Ghetto Act,' but he must come round and bow to the wishes of our countrymen in South Africa. He is astute enough to gauge India's influence in the councils of the world.

In the garden of Groote Schuur walks the Grand Old Man with his stern face set against the stars haunted by the vision of Cecil Rhodes. His moustache is clipped and his beard cut to a point. He is in a dark suit with a wing-collar, a hard-fronted shirt and a waistcoat from which dangles a gold chain. He is the very picture of racial arrogance. He is a licensed Fuehrer, for he is that terrible combination, the philosophic politician and the democratic dictator. As he walks on he is hypnotized by the doggerel,

'Jannie is for South Africa

One and great and free.

"But," he says, "if you want it so
You must leave it all to me."



of hard toil. No wonder he looks so jaded. He will be his usual self soon. Look! There comes the refreshing cup! He knows it is NARASU'S and NARASU'S never fails to refresh.

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RECENT TRENDS IN SOUTH INDIAN MUSIC

by "T. S. P." *

ONE would hardly expect a world war, bringing death and destruction in its wake, to give a fillip to fine arts. But, strangely enough, the recent war gave a remarkable stimulus to music and dancing in South India. The popularity and mass appeal gained in recent times by Carnatic music are perhaps unique in its entire history stretching over several centuries. It became the principal form of entertainment for the middle class who were able to indulge in it more than before due to their improved economic status. Sabhas came into existence in hundreds and the remuneration paid to musicians soared to unprecedented levels.

While this extraordinary interest created in 'the noblest of fine arts' should be unreservedly welcomed by all lovers of music, certain signs and portents appeared which necessitate the sounding of a note of warning against the dangers attendant on the sudden democratization of an art which was, for centuries, the valued possession of a privileged few. The reason for this warning is not far to seek. One had only to sit through a present day music performance to witness the unmistakable degeneracy of classical music. An utter lack of creative effort on the part of the musician, an appalling deterioration in public taste and a fascination on the part of both for the bizarre and the outlandish characterize the atmosphere of the average modern music performance. A number of factors have contributed to this decline in the standards of music.

(1) The present day musician comes into the profession by a short cut. Gurukulavasa, which alone can impart the accumulated musical wisdom of guru-sishya paramparas, is no longer considered necessary as a foundation for musicianship. A few varnas, a score of kritis, some

ready-made tanams and pallavis and finally the inevitable miscellany—and the vidwan is ready for the dais. A few stray into the field after completing university education and seem to feel that what is lacking in them by way of music can be made up with their degrees. Some others gate-crash into the profession through the back door. Encouraged by their (often ill-deserved) success in another field, the cinema, the new entrants feel quite confident that they can tackle the classical variety of music. Because of a certain amusement value, second rate art often commands popular patronage, and the musicians, in their hurried march from one concert to another, seldom find any time to thoroughly master what they have learnt, or make additions to their repertoire.

(2) Probably the first thing that will strike the listener at a present day performance is the omission of the usual varna at the commencement of the concert. It is well-known that tana varnas are admirably suited for enabling the singer to get quickly into form and also for producing a musical atmosphere in the hall. They are scholarly compositions into which alankaras have been melodiously woven and illustrious singers in the past always used to begin their concerts with them. Except a few veterans belonging to the old school who insist on commencing their concerts with varnas, the others appear to have no use for them and these excellent musical patterns are rapidly getting out of vogue.

(3) After the varna, it was customary to sing a few kritis in quick tempo, preferably in ragas with the antara gandhara. Compositions like "Vatapi Ganapatim" in Hamsadhvani and some kritis of Tyagaraja in ragas like Kamavardhani appear to have been chosen in the past for

rendering in the early stages of the concert. The present day concerts begin with any song the vidwan chooses and consequently the musical atmosphere necessary to establish a contact between the artist and the audience is seldom created.

(4) All true lovers of music will agree that only concert-worthy songs should be presented at a performance. The compositions now sung in concerts can hardly be brought under this category. The modern musician, presumably, finds the old classics too exacting for him and resorts to newly-created ones which are of a lighter nature. One can no more hope to hear matchless melodies like "Dorukuna" or "Na Jeevadhara" at musical concerts and it may not be long before classical gems such as the Pancharatna kirtanas of Sri Tyagaraja become merely names with Carnatic musicians.

(5) A glance through contemporary radio programme shows that we are living in the midst of composers whose number has grown to an alarming extent. Where there was a musical Trinity, there are now hundreds who, if required, can flood the world with their compositions. A close examination of the new compositions, however, reveals their extremely poor quality. They appear to be the productions of men who are completely ignorant of music but compose the sahitya alone which is later set to music by others. It is no wonder, therefore, that performances at which the compositions of these pseudo-Vaggeyakaras are sung, fall flat on the ears of the audience. There are, however, a few exceptions like Papanasam Sivan who has something new to give us on the lines of the old masters, with a verve and originality all his own.

(6) The practice of singing kalpana svaras for each and every kriti is another feature which has come to stay in our present day concerts. But what is actually indulged in are not intricate kalpanas but merely jati combinations. It is only certain places in some kritis

which definitely invite performers to sing kalpana svaras. Tradition has it that the great Tyagaraja disapproved of the singing of kalpana svaras in the middle of his kritis by a favourite disciple of his and stopped the latter's gurukulavasa forthwith.

(7) As a writer had recently pointed out in an article in this journal, the "deterioration in musical tastes and standards of the present day is nowhere more marked than in tanam and pallavi singing." Tanam singing, in which our music finds its grand culmination, has already become a lost art. What was once the cream of creative music has now been reduced to "a cheap, contemptible numbo-jumbo, superimposed on a confusion of sounds." The modern audience does not, of course, expect from the vidwan a pallavi in the Simhanandana Tala after the fashion of Patnam Subramania Iyer, but they have a right to look forward to a decent pallavi from him with some artistic sense and imaginative skill.

(8) When an account of the decline of classical Carnatic music comes to be written, the significant contribution made by a sectarian movement in hastening the process, will be recorded in bold relief. Although this movement is now happily defunct, the virus engendered by it has already done incalculable harm to a glorious art. For, as Dr. Srinivasa Raghavan pointed out in his presidential address at the last Fine Arts Society Conference, "the surest way of killing the art of music was for audiences to try to impose their own preferences on musicians". The movement, started with motives other than an interest in music, demanded that songs should be sung in Tamil irrespective of their musical value. Though the name of the movement indicated that the sponsors were clamouring for a complete change over to the ancient system of Tamil music, they appeared quite satisfied with the substitution of Tamil songs in the place of songs in other languages. The immediate effect of this ill-conceived and stultifying demand

was the pressing into service of innumerable third rate songs in Tamil which were used to replace the compositions of the immortal Trinity. What was gained was only a rapid deterioration in the quality of music, for after all, "song begins where words end" and the songs of Tyagaraja are sung not because they are in Telugu but because each of them bears the unmistakable stamp of a musical genius. They would have been just as famous had his

mother-tongue been Canarese or Malayalam.

With the passing of the veterans of an older generation, the best traditions which formed the backbone of a noble art are fading away before our very eyes. Appreciation for creative music is gradually diminishing. It may not be long before the lover of classical music will have a wistful sigh at the dying art "and cast on it one longing, lingering look".

BRUTE MAJORITY

by C. RADHAKRISHNA MOORTHY

AN example of how an ordinary majority is converted into a "brute" one is provided by the recent debacle in the Madras Ministry. We have seen how Sri Prakasam has been acclaimed by the people with great enthusiasm wherever he has gone. Not only in Andhra Desa but even in distant Malabar we find the same popular feeling acclaiming his leadership and supporting his policy. On the contrary how have his opponents in the Legislature Party been received by the public? We have seen how our new Finance Minister was treated in his own constituency a few days ago. During the same week, when Sri Prakasam passed through the same place thousands of enthusiastic people accorded a welcome to him. Again, a meeting which had to be addressed by Sri Rajagopalachari in the Madras beach could not be carried on due to the hostile demonstration of the public. A few weeks ago, our Law Minister was not allowed to speak at a meeting called to celebrate the anniversary of the late Satyammurthi. Are not these sufficient in-

dications to show that the will of the people is not really reflected by the majority of our legislators? When the people's representatives dethrone a leader who enjoys popular support, do they continue to be the representatives of the people? In such a contingency, a body like the Congress High Command owes a duty to itself as well as to the vast majority of Congress workers and followers whose real interests ought to be represented in the Ministry and in the leadership. A leader should be a person of established reputation who has led in the past and not one who has hidden his talents under a bushel. Is it not time for the High Command and all right-thinking Congressmen to wake up and see to the election of a real leader for Madras and avoid a catastrophe of which portents have already begun? The food problem, the labour problem, the cloth problem are alone enough to call for a leader of great experience, thorough knowledge and great command of real popular support.

THE RIGHT COLOUR?

Austrian President Karl Renner doesn't know whether he is himself or his twin brother. Born to his peasant parents 77 years ago, they were named Karl and Anton. To distinguish them, a red ribbon was tied around one, a blue around the other. In the excitement after the baptismal party, the ribbons were stripped off. One twin died a few weeks later. President Renner believes he is the babe with the red ribbon. But he can't be sure.—News Review.

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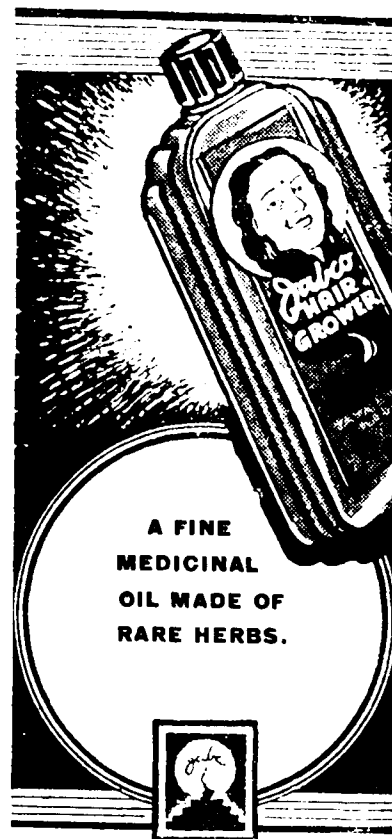
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BOOKS

Another's Harvest. By Alec Johnson
(Published by The Bookman Ltd.,
63, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta 13.
Price Rs. 4.)

It is now common knowledge that not all Englishmen think about India as Mr. Churchill does. But few of us would expect from an Englishman the knowledge of present Indian conditions, the critical appraisal of the forces at work, and, above all, the entire sympathy for our people's aspirations, which characterize the book under review. It is written by a young British architect and trade unionist who came to India as a soldier. In 1945 he trekked through many villages of Bengal and studied their economic and social life. This book is an account of what he saw (illustrated with numerous sketches drawn by himself) and of his conclusions regarding the present crucial phase of India's history.

"Bengal is a very important part of India. Within it the problems of India are perhaps most accentuated, are present in their sharpest form," says Alec Johnson and elucidates these problems with skilful selection of the significant facts. Thus he takes the Permanent Settlement which has been the chain hanging round the neck of Bengal's peasantry, and illustrates its consequences—the impoverishment and expropriation of the small peasants, neglect of the land and of irrigation works and the creation of layers of parasites who live off the labour of the actual tillers who labour not for their own, but another's harvest. The author rightly concludes that, in the ultimate analysis, "the 1943 famine was, in fact, a climax in the long process of the impoverishment of the peasants under the Permanent Settlement." During the famine the oppressors of the peasants continued to thrive by profiteering in rice and cornering the land from those starving peasants who still had it. "Water is in the life blood of Bengal . . . the control of waterways to drain away the floods, and systems of irrigation to bring water to the land after the rainy

season, have been recognised as important for centuries. But a hundred years of neglect and of terrible engineering errors in the construction of railways and roads, are turning huge areas into marsh and jungle, rivers are silting up and dying, elsewhere the sea water is creeping northwards and poisoning the land." Yet, British and Indian vested interests, involved in railway embankments and privately owned land, are preventing the execution of large-scale irrigation projects. When the peasants want to rectify these conditions, they find the local representatives of authority entirely unhelpful. Apathy, ignorance and corruption together render local administration an ossifying thing: "As for the elected bodies in India, they deal only with certain social measures for the people, but they have not the means to provide for them; they are elected only by the upper sections and they work within the framework of a law, itself designed for the retention of the foreign ruler."

In these circumstances, the only means of progress has been the self-help organized by the peasants through their kisan sabha. The kisan sabha has not only fought for and secured certain rights for the peasants it has infused a new spirit into hitherto "backward" sections and has been helping to break down the barriers between caste Hindus, untouchables and Muslims. And what about the "politics" of these peasants, their attitude to the Congress and the Muslim League? "A typical comment I heard," says Alec Johnson, "was that the only time they see these leaders is at election time when they come down making all their promises . . . yet they have rarely helped them in their daily problems. It is even worse when the candidate is a zamindar or a merchant himself, as is frequently the case." It is worth quoting the views of this British friend of India on our present-day politics: "What are the students striving for to-day? There is no single answer, they are not united. They are all for freedom.

Most are clear what they are against: against British rule, against the Communists, against Congress if they are Muslims, against Pakistan if they are Hindus. Although they are conscious enough of the poverty and oppression of the peasants they do not think how far the solution of these problems is involved in the objective of all Indians' freedom. If they are for Pakistan, somehow this will solve all oppression. If they are for Congress, these problems will all be solved after the British quit India." As for the Congress, "its stand against the peasants' movement is attracting those zamindars and other individuals who have been known previously as the worst enemies of the people and who have opposed Congress in the past." As for the League, "its leadership is dominantly composed of landed interests in the countryside and the rich of the town." While recognizing the value of the British Labour Government's move to transfer power, Alec Johnson deplores the fact that the Cabinet Plan and subsequent developments have been too much influenced by old-style colonial 'experts'. Needless to say, the author desires immediate and full assumption of power by Indian people's representatives, the total withdrawal of British troops and the honourable liquidation of sterling obligations by Britain.

Another's Harvest entirely bears out what is said by the publishers on the book jacket: "It combines the freshness of a tourist's impressions with the objectivity of a student's observations." The binding is of jute, and the cover carries a photograph of the rich harvest of Bengal which ought to become the people's own.

Constituent Assembly. By M. A. Janaki (Copies can be had of the author, 21, South Mada Street, Triplicane, Madras, pp. 104, Price, Rs. 10).

This volume brings together a series of lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Bar Council, Madras. After a preliminary discussion of the terms 'Constitution' and 'Constituent Assembly', the author proceeds to a discussion of "all the important and instructive constitutions of the world from whose success and failure we (in India) may learn a good lesson." The 'important and instructive' constitutions selected are those of U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, Australia and, of course, Switzerland. The striking omission of the constitution of the U.S.S.R. is not explained. It is true the history of the countries actually dealt with in the book



Dr. G. Gopalarao, M.Sc., D.Sc., A.R.I.C., Professor of Chemistry, Andhra University, who has been appointed as Assistant Director, National Physical Laboratories, New Delhi, to be in charge of the Analytical Chemistry Section. He has been carrying on intensive research on the mineral resources of India and several schemes of his for utilisation of minerals have already been sanctioned by the Madras and Central Governments.

brings out the movement of once separate areas towards interdependence, federation and merger; and this is undoubtedly of interest and relevance to the Indian situation. But the makers of the constitution after the Russian Revolution faced a problem which is of vital importance for India to-day, namely, the unification of various national and linguistic groups found in varying stages of development. We feel that a discussion of the Russian experiment would have added to the value of the book.

After outlining the various constitutions, the author makes a comparative estimate of them and then gives a brief resume of Indian constitutional development. The communal and other 'minority' problems are indicated as the major difficulty facing constitution-makers in India.

We must say that the price of the book is astounding.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Control Over Cloth Essential

How can the Central Government contemplate abolition of Rationing in respect of cloth? If the poor peasant and worker is able to purchase even a single yard of mill cloth, it is because of this heaven-made system of rationing. If the control over cloth is lifted, the Government would be giving room for blackmarketeers to fill their purses more easily in daylight than before. Removal of rationing will only pave the way to unfair distribution of every article.

Tirupati

V. J. WILLIAMS.

Preposterous

The decision of the Omandur Ministry to grant manure free of cost to ryots as a substitute for bonus to speed up the procurement of rice is preposterous. It does not satisfy the immediate needs of the ryots. Unless the ryots feel assured of a commensurate return on their hard labour in the fields in order at least to have their bare needs satisfied, they will not have the incentive to surrender rice to the Government, much less to grow more. If they are offered an attractive price for the rice produced with the sweat of their brow they will have the desire to increase production to augment their only source of income. It is incumbent on the Government to revise their policy and offer an encouraging price for rice.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.
Amalapuram.

Food Committees

The Kavali food committee stands suspended and the local panchayat board is directed to function in its stead. If, in the opinion of the authorities, the chairman of the committee is guilty of dereliction of duties, he should have been removed and a fresh chairman elected instead of the entire body being suspended. In the

formation of the committee, care was taken to give communal representation and each member is backed up by his community, and therefore much resentment and dissatisfaction prevail in the minds of the public of all castes and classes.

A political tinge is given to this overnight suspension and it is apprehended that Allur and Kovur committees too would not be spared.
Kavali. M. S. R. A. GUPTA.

"Saka In His True Colours"

It was with relief that I read this week's "Sidelights."

To see *Saka* champion the cause of C. R. was in fact amusing. How long it would last was a matter for speculation even then. But the course of regressive metamorphism has run quickly and we are relieved to see *Saka* in his true colours in last week's *Swatantra*.

Even the worst of C. R.'s enemies would not have doubted his faith in the Gita. Secondly, it appears that *Saka* had not been a keen student of Tamil Nad politics. C. R. went out of the political arena only once and that had nothing to do with the C.R.—Srinivasa Iyengar—Satyamurthi triangular struggle for power, as propounded by *Saka*.

"Almost all men are born with every passion to some extent," but to say that there was no aspect of C. R. which was not shadowed by his lust for power is, as *Saka* has tried to prove, only "seeing the reflection of his character."

It is unfortunate in this country that all political controversies take sooner or later a personal colour and it is regrettable that *Saka* too should have yielded to this temptation.

Whether C. R. waged a war for supremacy or not is a matter of opinion and *Saka* is entitled to have his view on the matter. But when one fails to

grant that some things are sacred and essential to a man's existence and that they are above all the transitory considerations of power, prestige and status, he has met with spiritual death. Faith is the bed-rock of existence. When Saka doubts C.R.'s faith in Gandhism and the Gita, we have to presume that he had reached the rock bottom and had lost faith in the goodness of man.

"STUDENT."

Tanjore, June 2.

Monopolies in Motor Transport

Monopolisation of motor transport, in a country like India, under the present conditions, is most undesirable. Taking the case of Nellore district, one may be surprised to note that one individual, who happens to be one of the richest in the district, now commands as many as about 130 routes and owns nearly 100 buses and 20 lorries. This bus magnate purchased the U.B.S. recently. The result is that a monopoly of buses and routes has been created in the whole district under the control of one individual and his family group. The travelling public are at the mercy of this motor monopolist. The service is very inefficient; the vehicles are in

bad condition; they do not ply regularly. "Over charges" are the rule. Passengers are inconvenienced and exploited. It is a pity that petitions and resolutions to the authorities concerned have not received the attention that they deserve. Let alone the fate of the passengers, the workers also are treated no better. Some of the Nazi tactics are being adopted to cow down the workers and their union into submission. Why not nationalisation or socialisation replace this monopolist exploitation?

P. C. REDDY,
Joint Secretary, Madras
Provincial Motor Transport
Workers' Federation, Madras.

Socialisation of Motor Transport

Most of the motor workers' unions favoured socialisation instead of nationalisation of road transport. The Madras Provincial Motor Transport and General Workers' Federation urged on the Government the urgent necessity and importance of socialisation of bus services. In Nellore district, under the auspices of the Motor Labour Union, a workers' own bus company under the name and style of "Co-operative Labour Transport" was organised and a sum of

Rs. 30,000 was deposited in the bank. Applications were made for routes nearly a year ago. But so far routes are not granted. Hence all the organisational work of the promoters became futile. Meantime, another company has been registered under the Indian Companies' Act. But even for this company no encouragement is being shown by the authorities concerned. It is really surprising that when a popular Ministry is at the helm of affairs organisations started by workers and which are the first of their kind in South India should be greeted with such a cold attitude. It is a notorious fact that motor transport in Nellore district is the monopoly of one mighty motor magnate on whose mercies not only the travelling public but also the workers are entirely dependent. Should we not expect from the popular Ministry a more sympathetic policy?

Nellore.

M. S. RAO, B.A.

Liberty Taken With History

With reference to the article "Andhras in Madras City" published in your issue dated May 31, I have to point out that the author has taken some liberty with history.

To say "Madras gained in importance only after the East India Company purchased it from the Telugu rulers of Chandragiri" is negation of truth. Mylapore which is now a suburb of Madras was an important town of ancient Tamilnad. It is connected with ancient Tamil literature as the birth place of a famous Alwar saint. Further it is connected with the lives of Sambandar and Kuralasiriyar. Both the temples of Triplicane and Mylapore were known to Tamil saints.

Tondaimandalam belonged to Tamilnad. Even now there is more cultural affinity between the people of Tondaimandalam and the Southern Tamil districts and the people who live there are Tamilians and not Andhras. Kalahasti, the famous temple near Tirupathi, is connected with the life of Kannappar, a Tamil saint. Further, a non-Tamil knowing Andhra will find it difficult to move about in Madras and in Tondaimandalam even now.

The Chalukya-Cholas ruled over Tamilnad as the grand-children (daughter's children) of the Chola king who had no sons. Further, they identified themselves with Tamilnad and became "Tamilized" and hence they were tolerated by Tamilians. Pallavas were also Tamilians and their contribution to Tamil culture can be easily traced even now. The remark that

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"Pallavas are nowhere known as of a Tamil extraction" is also negation of historical facts.

G. C. PATTABIRAM.

Greater Andhra

Some large States are secretly nourishing the idea of declaring sovereignty and imposing a reign of undiluted autocracy upon their subjects. Particularly in Hyderabad State, the people's movement is not only going unnoticed and unsupported, it is also frowned upon, since it has no god-father like Pundit Nehru. It is also a well-known fact that H. E. H. the Nizam is busy with an invasion army to annex the fertile delta of Krishna and Godavari including the seaport of Masulipatam. I would like to know from Andhra leaders what they intend doing to prevent the impending calamity. Is it not an opportune moment to give strength and support to the moment for Greater Andhra? Sri Shanker Rao Deo has called for unification of all Maharashtra-speaking people including those in the Nizam's Dominions. Will the Andhra leaders line up?

C. VANI KUMAR.

Poona.

No Good Dissecting The Past

The recent disclosures made by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya stress the universality of the human element. Dr. Pattabhi never worked up to be Premier, though if Gandhiji insisted, he would have obliged. Gandhiji insisted that Dr. C. Rajagopalachari be put in charge of Madras. He could have accomplished the result without moving from Delhi as he gave out at Madras and Bezpada at the time. But local opinion turned up in favour of Sri Prakasam. The volume of support that brought him to the top soon began to diminish. The economic idealism of his producer-societies was soon to be marred by thirsty consumer realism. Even his staunch following could not wink at the unearthly textile spindles' surrender.

A greater degree of unsettlement is to be expected shortly, whatever the means for transfer of British power into Indian hands. While communal friction is rocking the country elsewhere, it is regrettable that Madras is weakening the national position with clashes over the names of personalities. It is no good dissecting the past when unity is the supreme need of the hour. Should we cavil that the sun is deceiving us into the belief of its diurnal movement, remaining stationary all the while? Or that the earth imposes upon us a false sense of security turning at 1,000 miles an hour and roaming in space at 10,000

miles every hour? Often the lesser light near at hand throws into darkness the bigger luminaries at greater distances, even as you do not see the stars while the sun is up. Our life is closely linked with our sun. Let us live and work while yet its light is of any use.

M. V. V. K. RANGACHARI.
Cocanada.

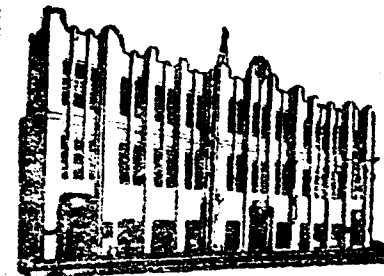
A Question For The Mahatma

It is prominently reported in newspapers that Gandhiji lost his pocket watch somewhere in his travels and on hearing this, a certain watch company in London has graciously come forward to provide him with a watch of the latest model of their company. The public are eager to know whether Gandhiji would like to accept this gift for his private use or whether he would like to credit it or its sale proceeds to the Congress exchequer. May I, as a member of the public, be permitted to point out that in the event of Gandhiji accepting it for his private use, he would be committing the same guilt which Mr. Prakasam was supposed to have committed on a former occasion about which so much fuss was made and which prompted even Gandhiji to declare that Prakasam "should not be the Premier of Madras or even a Minister" and that he "must take a back bench in the Legislature," as reported by Dr. Pattabhi in his recent statement. It is possible that Gandhiji may consider himself an exception to his own preachings as often is the case with many a preacher. Or that he may escape on the plea that he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress Party on the shaping of whose activities and affairs he is nevertheless confident of making his influence felt; to quote again from Dr. Pattabhi, Gandhiji's own confident words, "If you (Mr. Prakasam) want a resolution from the Working Committee, it will be given."

Everybody realises that due to the invaluable services and sacrifices rendered by Gandhiji to this country and to the world at large such a generous offer as the latest model pocket watch has been made to him and on this account nobody would be foolish enough to condemn him and to ask him to retire from active politics as is reported to have been done in the case of Mr. Prakasam. Standards of morality do not vary from men to men. Introspection pure and simple will not fail to convince Gandhiji that in this respect he does not find himself in a better position than the much maligned Andhra Kesari.

Poona.

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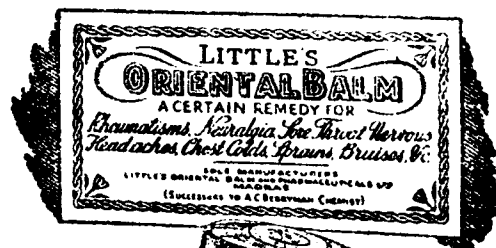
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THE NEW FREEDOM

THE declaration of Travancore's independence by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has raised a furore in the country and Mahatma Gandhi himself has come down on the Dewan for his "audacious" act with a sledge-hammer of devastating criticism. Constitutional experts have got busy to arrive at an authoritative conclusion as to whether the relevant data and declarations on Paramountcy provide any sanction for the step taken by Travancore State. We would like to consider the question from the standpoint of the effect of the new status of "independence" on the future of the people of the State themselves. Paramountcy has in practice proved to be conducive to the stability of the Princes. It linked the resources of a mighty empire with the regimes in the States. Any sort of misgovernment became possible for the reason that no local movement of revolt against tyranny had any chance of success, backed as the rulers of the States had been by the protective might of the Paramount Power. If the disappearance of Paramountcy were to result in independence, it would mean that in the State concerned the ruler and his subjects would for the first time be compelled to adjust their relations with each other without the intervention of a powerful third party. Is this by itself so undesirable a result that so much anger and panic should have been caused over it in British Indian Congress circles? An independent Travancore carries with it, in the wake of the elimination of outside influence, the assured prospect of subjugation of

the ruler by the popular will. If he cannot make himself acceptable to the people by converting himself into a symbol of popular might adorning a democratised system of responsible government, the alternative must be that the traditional method of dynastic succession to the headship of the State will itself be overthrown and a republic with an elected President set up in its place. Independence and autocracy cannot go together in any State. We have already proof of it in the gentle tenor of Sir C. P.'s appeals to the Christians of the State for whom, as the promoters of the Congress movement, he had reserved till the other day all the rigours of repression at his command. Divested of the extraneous support deducible from Paramountcy, the days of Sir C. P. himself as an autocratic Dewan are ended, and if he cannot very soon re-establish himself on public goodwill, he cannot help having to quit the State itself. "Independence" will ensure the passing of real sovereignty in the State from the ruler to the people themselves. It will be the path of wisdom for Congress leaders to await the development of people's sovereignty for the incorporation of the State in the Union of Hindustan, not forgetting the possible reactions of any hasty action on their part now on the present regime in Hyderabad, while their mind jumps in blinkers excitedly towards Travancore.

The whole basis of the division of India now accepted by the A.I.C.C. as part of the Mountbatten plan was as long ago as 1942 worked into a



—By Ram Gopal.

Autographed sketch of
Dr. ZAKIR HUSSAIN
(Chairman of the International Student
Service Indian Co-operating Committee)

VICTIM OF THE DIVORCE



principle which the Congress Working Committee incorporated in one of their resolutions. The resolution said that the Committee "cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will." If compulsion is eliminated, moral suasion is what remains, and moral suasion has failed to have any effect on the territorial units presently to be carved into Pakistan. But what of the rest of the country? Does the moral suasion of Congress leaders show any signs of filling with confidence the minds of progressive people and inspiring them with faith in the spirit of freedom actuating the rulers of the non-Muslim provinces of India? We are constrained to observe that the pattern that is being evolved is a miserable caricature of freedom. The crux of it lies in the attempts being made to convert the Constituent Assembly into the Legislature of the Hindustan Union Centre. In Madras, as is well known, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were controlled by some three or four persons. They completely bypassed public opinion. It was no better in other provinces. An *ad hoc* arrangement dominated by a handful of party bosses has usurped the status of a grand constitution-making body purporting to represent the will of the whole nation and a friendly Press cast a veil of oblivion over the monstrosities it produced. In the world's annals there was never perhaps a Constituent Assembly of this nature—so replete with misfits, incompetents, ignoramuses, blackmarketeers and other types of exploiters. But in the preoccupations of the final phase of the movement to make the British quit, it passed muster, and there was also the excuse that its terms and constitution were of British imposition and not Congress planning. But now without any excuse on the score of helplessness, we find Congress leaders wilfully and voluntarily

elevating to legislative status to play the role of supreme custodians of the power to come, a large body of men who never won any representative status at the polls. There is no longer any talk of adult suffrage. The drift is towards narrowing the basis of political power. Like the Congress Ministers in Madras, the dispensers of the constitution of free Hindustan would seem to be afraid of going to the people, nervous of elections, reluctant to extend the franchise and concerned primarily in discovering devices for concentrating the lion's share of power in their own hands.

A mass movement is being converted into a class movement. Having won freedom with the sacrifices of the masses inspired by it, the Congress has now become an instrument of power for a compact section acting in combination with wealthy industrial magnates. Progressive elements in the Congress should force a dissolution of the present outrageous Constituent Assembly and its supporting legislatures and Ministries and their replacement with properly constituted Central and Provincial legislatures of popular representatives elected on the widest possible franchise in the freeest manner, safeguarded against any sort of party or other coercive pressure. The freedom urge of the Congress has exhausted itself with the fruition of the anti-imperialist objective of the Congress. The responsibilities of Government now call for a new type of ability. Sardar Patel the admired hero of the Bardoli struggle is quite different from Sardar Patel playing the game of power politics as Home Member, and while cherishing the memory of the first, New India will cast out the second, even as the British people, while revering Churchill as war leader, found no use for him in the constructive pursuits of peace. The integration of provinces and States into a combined Union can be built only on democratic foundations by

leaders who will never be tempted to convert themselves into reactionary ruling cliques. In all the world's poverty-areas, freedom is inseparable from better living, and the true allies and friends of the people are the vigorous progressives, the apostles of democratic revolution bent on sweeping away meagre peasant economies and setting up in their place a modern civilization of widespread prosperity free from the grasping profiteering of landlords and capitalists. When such a pattern comes into shape anywhere in India, it will attract all other parts to itself as to a magnet and cut across all divisions to forge a new unity. No State will then find in "independence" a superior attraction.

Seeds Of Trouble

THE labour policy of the Omandur Ministry, if it can be called a policy, bids fair to plunge the province in economic chaos. The handling of the B. and C. Mills strike by the Labour Minister betrays deplorable lack of understanding and competence. Dr. Rajan spent the most vigorous years of his life as a doctor. Though costly to his patients he is reputed to have been a highly successful surgeon. After a long period of lucrative practice as doctor, he retired from the medical profession and set up as an agriculturist. As an agriculturist he evinced considerable skill and stubbornness in making a refractory soil yield rich wealth. Intelligence, tenacity, a firm will, great capacity for bull work, and similar other paying qualities of the work-a-day world, all belong to the Labour Minister in abundance undoubted. He has proved however that their combined output of executive perfection does not suffice for a successful handling of the Labour portfolio. It would appear that, having made up his mind that the cause of the strikers is not fair and just, he set about to use every ounce

of his authority as a member of the Government to teach the strikers a lesson, break their spirit and force them back to work. The mightiness of fairness and justice, unfortunately, cannot be demonstrated by all. Only a Christlike being can afford to chide people, when they prove recalcitrant, back to the social duty of producing goods with incentives exhibiting wrath. The world will not take chiding from anyone that does not live its life and we seem to have come on days when a labourer alone is needed to deal effectively with administrative problems connected with the working class. These have learned to ask, "What fundamental fairness or justice can there ever be, in an acquisitive Mammon-worshipper mainly concerned with his bank accounts and his gardens, setting up in the evening of his life as an expert, to dictate to persons whose lives he never had lived, what is a fair wage and what not?" The Prakasam Ministry contained at least a black-coated intellectual with a lifetime's familiarity in trade union activities and the organisation of strikes. A yawning gulf of unbridgeable division of interests separates Omandur and his colleagues from the millions that live by labour in the province.

Democratic government functions through control being vested with representatives of the people. Unrest is certain when representation of the people on the Government is defective. Our whole national movement is an object lesson in the organised disinclination of ever-increasing masses of people to accept any good, let it be divine ambrosia or a paradise on earth, from a foreign Government manned by elements not representing them in any way. That same spirit of freedom, withdrawn from attack on British power, is now surging through the blood and hearts of vast sections who find themselves unrepresented in Government. It is responsible for the

economic trouble brewing in the country. It cannot be got rid of through benefits or benevolence. What is condemned as unreason and cussed behaviour on the part of apparently well-off working men steeped in the strike spirit, by academic dispensers of economic justice, is itself provoked by the defective character of Government, and irrespective of the measures of the administration, it will continue until the composition of the Government itself is changed and a new regime is set up broadbased on the people's will ascertained through elections ordered on the widest possible franchise.

We have no desire to pick holes in the present Ministry, and critics who attribute our comment on some of its policies to ill-will insult their own intelligence. If the Prakasam Ministry had continued, the same problems now confronting its successor would have confronted it also. We would have felt bound to criticise it no less when it went wrong. Where it scored was in the advantage it had in being led by a man who commanded respect as a servant of the people that had given of his best to them through tireless years of unparalleled sacrifice and had acquired nothing for himself. Prakasam's immense stock of personal prestige and popularity acquired through his herculean exertions as a Congress worker made up for many deficiencies of his administration as also for the basic rickettiness of the lopsided and outmoded constitutional structure still in vogue. It cannot be denied that he had a ceaseless thirst for planning grand schemes to provide relief to the miseries of the poor. In contrast, the present Ministry has within a very short time shown itself to be a citadel for reaction and proved its credentials as a guardian of the vested interests of the rich against the exploited poor. Much too costly as our education had been, it has made it still more costly. While talking of nationali-

sation of buses, it has allowed the bus-owners, already making immense profits, to exact more as bus fares. It is waging a crusade on merit in educational institutions of which the limits are unpredictable—a crusade that threatens to reduce most of Government's expenditure to unprofitable waste in the pampering of incompetency. In the procurement of rice, it has thrown all considerations of public welfare to the winds and for the sake of enriching the pockets of millers with whom its affinity would appear to be irrepressible, it is digging the grave of cooperative societies universally recognised by progressive people all the world over as invaluable aids to mass economic self-help and the elimination of the rapacious profiteering of unproductive middlemen preying on society. In its handling of labour troubles we see it in its most characteristic style. The steps it has taken in dealing with the B. and C. Mills strike have landed it in a condition of resourcelessness for ever bringing it to an end except through fruition of the merciless hope of starving the strikers into submission. The Labour Minister has brought about a situation in which, if he had any insight, he would dread nothing so much as the victory of the official hopes, since it would mean a trail of ill-will blended into the illusion of normalcy. He seems to have mistaken his function as one of exhibiting power instead of winning goodwill, but notwithstanding all the power exhibited, the ban imposed on the Madras Labour Union places the Government in an impossible alignment that will only lead it into a *cul de sac* from which there can be no movement except retreat. Dispassionate minds viewing the Ministry's acts cannot but feel that in many respects it has betrayed the cause for which the Congress stands. It may be able to sit on the lid for sometime but it shows no promise of ever being able to win the friendship of the people whom it happens to rule for the moment.

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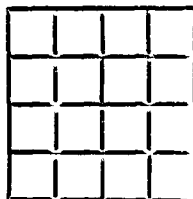
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Sotto Voce

The Great Unwanted



ONE of the saddest of human documents is the S.S.L.C register. And some twenty thousand of these are now being assiduously filled in by the Chitraguptas of the D.P.I.'s office for the greater vexation of Heads of Colleges. "So many are called, so few chosen", as the cliché—pedlar would put it—which would be true enough if we added, "and the few chosen generally chosen wrongly". The Principals have to con the Communal G.O. as if it were Holy Writ, while cocking an eye for discreet 'chits' which must be obeyed and nimbly eluding unfortunate parents who believe against all evidence that it is a question of first come first served.

The Omandur Ministry's achievements have so far been of a negative order. They have consisted mainly in reversing the decisions of its predecessor. But the cancellation of the order requiring that twenty per cent of the admissions in Government Colleges should be given solely with reference to merit was inspired by something more than the Oedipus Complex. It was done *con amore*; and it was supported by a dictum which has profoundly impressed the world by its originality and depth. It ran somewhat thus: "Of course all admissions must be made on the basis of merit; where is the need for special rules of this sort?" If a boy succeeds in gaining admission he must be deemed to have merit. Could anything be more convincing?

There are not enough places to go round; and so the Brahmin must go to the wall because in the past he had more than his fair share.

The argument, which was once used with reference to Government jobs, has now been extended, with consummate logic, to the sphere of education. At that rate it may not be long before some bright official makes the discovery that for many centuries the Brahmins were sumptuously fed on every conceivable occasion and it would therefore be perfectly proper if they were put on short commons as one way of getting out of our rationing difficulties. The suggestion will shock our humanitarian Ministers; but it is hardly more absurd than declaring colleges out of bounds for Brahmins.

It is bad enough that educational facilities are not commensurate with aptitude and are not disposed of to the best advantage. But it is a far greater tragedy that our whole attitude to education should be vitiated by the enthronement of a wrong set of values. I read a story the other day that the manager of a large New York hotel resigned his ten thousand dollar job after appointing himself headwaiter in the hotel's supper room, because the waiter got four times as much money in tips as the manager's salary. Is not something like the same craze for money responsible for thousands laying siege to the engineering and medical colleges, who would never be anything more than indifferent bricklayers and apothecaries?

By the same token new professions and vocations have sprung up which bring easy money because they satisfy some artificial want or minister to human vanity and im-

becility in umpteen ways. And places of "learning" duly spring up which invest these jobs with an academic halo. In the United States there are Universities that award Degrees in Dish-washing. The recollection might make one merry but for the fact that Indian employers solemnly advertise for Graduates in Dish-washing who must be American-trained. And so there is a big trek of M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s to the States who go there to acquire this coveted qualification only to discover when they return that in India Dish-washing means something very different and they can never hope to do it half as well as their grandmothers have been doing it.

Education that is really education can never be adequately paid for in cash; as ancient India knew very well. Like mercy it is twice blest. The most acceptable *guru dakshina* was the proven ability to live a dedicated life and to pass on the torch to worthy hands. Secular education was an alien concept to a people to whom all learning was sacred because it was an initiation into a higher way of life. The Brahmin need not be a mendicant if he will but summon to his aid the self-respect of Drona and the self-forgetfulness of Kuchela.

VIGHNESWARA.

JUSTICE INTERFERED WITH

(From A Correspondent)

Rajampet: The public of Cuddapah district are shocked to hear that all on a sudden, the case against V. R. Satyanarayana and others in the conspiracy and cheating case of the Rajampet Co-operative Loan and Sale Society, has been withdrawn by the Government. This case was investigated at the instance of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies by no less than three sub-inspectors of the district and was taken up by the C.I.D., Madras and one inspector assisted by his sub-inspector and a co-operative inspector. The investigation lasted eight months, and after due legal opinion, the charge sheet was filed in September 1946, before the Collector, under Section 120B and 420 I.P.C. Since that date the accused made various attempts to get the proceedings postponed. Their petition before the District Magistrate failed. Twice they put petitions in the High Court and failed. They even approached the previous Ministry for withdrawal of the case. Stay orders were issued by the Government to the Court but the Ministry, after consulting the police,

refused to interfere and the court was asked to proceed with the case.

Then on a point of law, they again filed an objection in the court, and failing, went up to the High Court. They failed there also as the revision petition was not even admitted. Then they filed another petition and got stay orders on it. That petition was also in due course dismissed by the court.

When the case was taken up finally, they evaded appearing in court and bailable warrants were issued, posting the case to 12th May, 1947. On that day it was learnt that stay orders were received from the Government on another petition that had been presented. It is now known that the case has been withdrawn by the present Ministry. It is curious that the present Ministry should have thought fit to withdraw the case, three months after the previous Ministry, after consulting the head of the police department, had refused to withdraw it. The people of Cuddapah want to know the reasons for this interference with the administration of justice by the law courts on the part of the Ministry.

An American newspaper correspondent wrote to a friend "I don't know if this letter will ever arrive, because the Japanese censor may open it". A week later, he received a note from the Japanese post office saying, "The statement in your letter is not correct. We do not open letters".

SIDELIGHTS : :

Beware of dissipating your powers; strive constantly to concentrate them. Genius thinks it can do whatever it sees others doing, but it is sure to repent of every ill-judged outlay.
—GOETHE.

A Correspondent writes:

Sidelights of May 31 makes painful reading. And when you observe that "in the atmosphere of political rivalry, it evidently needs the death of a man to have those weaknesses to which man is always subject, overlooked in his case," you credit C. R. with inveterate hatred by insinuating that death alone can induce C. R. to be charitable in his appreciation of his political rivals. How else are we to understand your later observation: "They (referring to Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurti) stand redeemed from that disadvantage in death, while Prakasam still suffers from it, being alive"? Perhaps you will realise that it is one thing to be silent about the merits of political rivals and another thing to decry them. C. R. has certainly not done the latter.

And then, you say that "the inconsequence of Omandur paves the way for the direct stepping in of C.R. himself into the actual saddle of power at will." I ask this question point blank: **Do you abhor this prospect?**

Refer to your own past indefatigable efforts to bring C. R. and Prakasam together though you don't say which of them proved intractable. Have you given up the belief so long held by you that both C. R. and Prakasam are indispensable for a composite province like Madras? If not, why don't you make further attempts to patch up the difference instead of widening it, now that both C. R. and Prakasam can cry quits, in respect of each other's dethronement from the political leadership of Madras?

If ever there was a believer in C. R.—Prakasam rapprochement, it was Sri Bulusu Sambamurthi, former Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly. Bulusu was the ablest of the Speakers in the Congress provinces. His sense of the dignity of the office of Speaker and of the sacredness of its duties in the matter of safeguarding the rights of "the House," amounted to a religion. And while he held the post, it supplanted

all other religion. He would never condescend to concede to any temporal authority importance equivalent to that of the Speaker, and any suggestion that any authority could exist superior in rank to the Speaker, he would regard with blank astonishment as if it were a crazy stroke of audacity. His self-importance was a cultivated reflection of the feeling of awe with which he worked himself into viewing the Assembly Chair. It gave him the drive and force to make the legislators get through a phenomenal amount of work in record time. He should have been put up for the Speakership of the Central Assembly if the top Congress bosses on whom the choice rested, had in them the pure type of patriotism concerned in securing the best man for the job.

In the Congress Ministry of which C. R. was the Premier, Sri Sambamurthi was a lynx-eyed peacemaker who moved swiftly and intuitively to promote its stability and save it from every impending risk of disintegration. No Premier ever assumed office with the universality of goodwill that greeted C. R. when he formed the first Congress Ministry in Madras. It was due to Prakasam that a conflict for the leadership was then avoided, and the prestige of a unanimous election without a single dissentient voice was conferred on C. R. Prakasam had support enough to turn out to be a formidable rival, if he had wished. But he set a magnificent example by stepping down for the sake of unity, accepting the position of deputy leader. The first note of discord (which took all by surprise) was struck by C. R. when, on his own initiative, he strove to dilute Prakasam's position in the party by proposing four deputies instead of one.

That was C. R.'s first fatal lapse from graceful comradeship, his first exhibition of guile instead of cordiality, with its technique of bolstering

up comparatively unimportant politicians as counter-weights to Prakasam. The atmosphere it created spoiled the initial glorious promise of the C. R. Ministry. It is a common failing of the great to resent the existence of other aspirants to greatness when they belong to their own camp, and so they tend to create round themselves a desert of mediocrity in order that their merits and virtues may shine the better by contrast. Tolerance of rivalry as a discipline of the soul inseparable from the proper nurturing of freedom is yet to establish itself as a tenet of decency in the standards of behaviour obtaining in our midst. Everywhere subservience is the price exacted for encouragement; and independence of spirit, especially when it is backed by influence and personal worth, is suppressed as a source of potential danger to the prevailing leadership, not to be tolerated on any account. Suppression of the able is the toll that public welfare is made to pay by the holders of power for the time being, in their dread of possible supplanters, and in the present crusade of our Ministry against merit as such, we have an example fit to be studied by the whole world of the extent to which the tenacity of incompetents pitchforked into power by forces other than their own qualifications can damage public welfare at its very root by ruining the whole structure and purpose of popular education.

Dread of rivalry is a dreadful thing. No ability can digest it. Unless power and responsibility are matched by a sportsmanly instinct, with its handshake of goodwill for the winner in the very hour of defeat, which is the true core of philosophy and not flourishes in public of intellectual assimilation of the contents of the Gita, leadership is apt to surround itself with "safe" lieutenants of little public importance while in the saddle, and indulge in conspiratorial intrigues for the unsettlement of any other regime, while out of it. C. R. is not alone in loving the method of manufacturing a lot of disparity in talent as between the leader and the next-in-rank to serve as grease for the wheels

of the machinery of power and ensure its smooth working. The most distinguished among those he could not get along with, were no less pervious to it, though they lacked his skill and deftness of touch and his mastery over its technique. If C. R. who was capable of remarkable feats of generous appreciation for political opponents of other parties like the Justice Party and the Muslim League, failed to exhibit the same liberality of attitude towards Congress leaders like Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurthi, it was not because he hated the latter, but because they too were ambitious like him, and as we approach the top reaches of party leadership, the ambitions of the aspiring tend to become more and more exclusive until success itself is converted into a process of effectively suppressing other rivals. There is no hatred involved in the process which is primarily one of self-interest. Death dissolves all harshness, perhaps because there is no chance of the remotest conflict between the dead and the living over any matter convertible into a subject for dispute. Even the Mahatma found something not "worthy" in Subhash Bose, worthy of being publicised while Subhash Bose was alive. But death wrung from him a tribute as great as any that the departed leader had ever received from his most ardent admirer.

Mediocrity, pampered at C. R.'s hands, repaid its debt by making itself all-supreme; and though it might have been planned at first that the inconsequence of Omandur should pave the way for the direct stepping in of C. R. himself into the saddle of power at will, a very short time brought about a divergence between plan and its sequel that cannot be undone now in a hurry. Sri Kamaraj Nadar's exhibitions of affection for C. R. on public platforms are inspired by C. R.'s present distance from the South Indian political scene, and will vanish when that distance vanishes. Much the same can be said of Omandur whose reputed saintliness and renunciatory disposition disappeared at the first

touch of opportunity, and who now, having tasted the sweets of office shows no sort of desire to fulfil his pre-ordained role by becoming an obsequious foot-stool for any better qualified successor to mount to the Premiership. According to all accounts Omandur has cast off the intended puppet status. Defiance of those who had hoped to twine him round their fingers has begun. They are irritated by his insistence on self-assertion but relieved to find it concentrated as yet on unimportant minor details. While he has succeeded in surprising his colleagues and inconveniencing them in their bid for ascendancy, he has not yet inspired them with respect for his grasp of affairs or qualities of leadership. The mark he has made is that of being a very obstinate man with a narrow mind and a far from modern outlook, meddling in things he knows little about, trying to the nerves and not pleasant to work with.

Whatever might have been the intentions of the planners and the plotters of the anti-Prakasam campaign, there is no place now either for C. R. or T. P. in the provincial administration, and there will be none, until the patronage of the Congress High Command now operating in favour of highly unpopular office-holders is more wisely exercised. All assumptions as to the indispensability of leaders like Prakasam or C. R. with a real hold on popular affections have been disproved by the decisive preference of the Congress High Command for men of straw, comparatively speaking. Change is the future of any arrangement on earth. Mortal men of advanced age with inevitably receding powers cannot limit the opportunities for progress of a ceaselessly changing society enriched with new blood every minute. The old order must change yielding place to new, and of not the tallest of the nation's leaders not excluding the greatest of them all, the Mahatma himself, can the impossible condition of indispensability be predicated. But age and youth are not valuations measurable with years merely. The youngest of Ministers must in a

democratic age be ranked as effete if he has need of police protection to move about among people. No propaganda can alter the tragic fact that the present Ministry does not contain a single figure commanding mass loyalty; that the head of it is cut off from contact with one whole half of his territory; that his Andhra colleagues have become targets of execration; and that undoubtedly the most idolised of South Indian leaders today is the displaced Premier, Sri Prakasam. C. R.'s responsibility is heavy for having brought into being a Ministry cut off from public goodwill, prone to fall back on the support of the rich at the expense of the poor, and forced to carry on, even as the Advisers used to do, with police aid. C. R. has enthroned in Tamil Nadu communalist elements (actually Justicite in outlook though nominally Congress by profession) whom he will find it extremely difficult to dislodge, and in Andhra Desa where they are erecting a statue to Prakasam, there is no key to public support except through his good offices. This is not, as it might look, reducing politics to a personal equation. Sri Prakasam is no longer a mere person in Andhra Desa. He has become an institutional force. He symbolises to the people all that the Congress has stood for hitherto, while in the new Ministry they see the play of power politics dragging some of the most highly prized items of the traditional Congress programme to dust. C. R.'s political alignment with the present regime is the insuperable stumbling block to his own political future in South India and his chances of leadership while Madras remains a composite province and a general election cannot be done away with indefinitely.

In the worst days of the party leadership feud, Sri Sambamurthi stuck to the view that, as between C. R. and Prakasam, whoever might win on the party voting strength, he would need the support of the other if his regime was to be saved from the trials of an exhausting struggle for bare survival, and rendered constructive and not negative.

Bulusu's vision of a workable Government for Madras comprised a sharing of real power between C. R. and Prakasam, irrespective of the content of rights and duties of the constitutional title of Premier. He stuck to the faith that no other arrangement would do, through all vicissitudes and against all odds. But when Omandur was set up as leader with C. R.'s contrivance, even Bulusu lost heart, and though he is not one to ventilate despair, I believe

he has ceased to dream any more of a harmonious composite regime for the province based on C. R.—Prakasam rapprochement. The last bastion of Andhra goodwill for C. R. fell when Bulusu lost his faith. I do not of course include in this reckoning professional politicians whose goodwill is a marketable commodity, proffered for gain or hopes of gain, and withheld otherwise.—SAKA.

SHAW AS I SEE HIM

by K. L. SARMA

RECENTLY Shaw was presented to the readers of *Swatantra* as a clever but rather unscrupulous exploiter of human weaknesses.

One great thing that Shaw accomplished is of profound importance to us here. Born with a poor heredity of health, he escaped the fate that has overtaken so many others who were subject to the same low health but went along the beaten track. These men were also in some degree wise, but shared in the common belief that doctors know quite enough about health. Shaw very early discovered the undeniable fact that health is the one thing that doctors do not know about, for the very simple reason that they were never taught about it. Medical science has nothing to do with health. It is an empirical system of remedies aimed at the symptoms of disease. This view of the science finds reluctant expression even in medical books. It was a medical writer, Dr. Llewellyn J. Llewellyn, writing about twenty years ago, who pointed out that doctors are not taught about health. He deplores the fact medical men are—for this reason—unfit to be the teachers of health to the people. Shaw knew this too because he early came to know the truth about Jennerian vaccination and the way it was being boosted by official medicine. He studied the subject for himself and discovered some of the more important laws of healthy living and by following those laws succeeded in

achieving a degree of health and longevity which is rare even in the West.

Incidentally I must point out a fact—clearly testified to by competent observers—that the greater expectancy of life in some parts of the West is just a statistical illusion. It is true that there public sanitation has been diligently pursued for about three quarters of a century with beneficial results. It has raised the expectancy of life for those under fifteen years of age. But adults are subject to a number of disabling diseases for which medicine has no cure. Hence Shaw's achievement in this respect is something unique. One great discovery he made in this field of knowledge is of profound importance. He discovered the greatest of all the natural laws of right living—vital economy, a subject that finds no place in any medical book. In *Nature Cure* this subject holds a very high place.

In *Doctors' Dilemma* he has given a picture of the inside of the medical mind. In his latest book, *Everyman's Political What's What* he has covered the main topics of the art of politics pursued as a means to the real welfare of the people.

Few people who read Shaw seem to realise the profound earnestness and love of the public welfare that inspire his writings. He should be read with earnestness for the people's welfare. Those that read him for amusement are not improved.

MODERN SYSTEM OF 'SELLING' JUSTICE

by S. RAJAGOPALAN

"To none shall we delay, deny or sell justice"—Magna Carta.

NOTHING is more obnoxious than "selling" justice, and yet this has been in vogue in this country since 1870 by reason of the enactment of the Court Fees Act, prescribing a graded system of taxation for civil litigation. The object of the Act is commonly believed to be (1) to prevent vexatious litigation, (2) to make the administration of justice pay its way and (3) to provide a source of revenue to the State. But to anyone who has closely observed the working of the Act for upwards of three quarters of a century, it should be clear that the Act has not merely failed to achieve any of the three objectives but has virtually denied justice to large sections of the people.

There are at least three types of litigation extant in this country:

(1) Absolutely necessary proceedings, the alternative to which will probably be starvation. This is typified by suits for annuities, arrears of maintenance, maintenance, insurance amounts and provident fund amounts wrongfully withheld. The litigant, in these cases, is most often a poor widow or dependent. The Act is particularly hard on these suitors, and obliges them to pay *ad valorem* fee on the amount claimed, which works out at 11-1/3% up to Rs. 1,000.

(2) Necessary litigation where the party litigated against is indigent. This comprises suits for recovery of debts lent on pronotes and mortgages, for arrears of rent due by tenants, and also suits for redemption by mortgagor. Here again the Act charges fee *ad valorem*, and though the sum so charged is paid in by the creditor initially, yet ultimately it comes from the debtor or his estate. The provision operates somewhat harshly in regard to mortgage suits, as it has been ruled that even in suits by sub-mortgagees

for recovery of their portion of the mortgage money, *ad valorem* court fee on the full amount of the mortgage money has to be paid.

(3) Litigation not essentially necessary but undertaken to satisfy personal vanity or by way of aggrandisement and otherwise vexatious. Suits for declaration of reversionership, of the 'ultra vires' nature of statutory enactments, suits for temple honours, religious rites and rights and the various types of commercial litigation such as infringement of trade marks and copyrights come under this category. The litigant in these cases need pay but a fixed fee of Rs. 15 to Rs. 50.

Litigation may further be subdivided into (a) that which occupies the time and energy of the law courts and their administrative machinery for long periods of time and (b) that which takes up the least time of the courts. Now if the aim of the Act was to make the administration of justice pay its way, then it stands to reason that the litigant who seeks to use the courts for a longer time should pay more than he who occupies less time or no time at all. Take the recent case of the right to recite *prabandhams* in Tirupati temple, which occupied the time of all the courts for a number of years and had also crossed the seas. The party would not have been charged more than Rs. 15. But consider a suit for recovery of, say, Rs. 1,000 lent, which (in cases where the defendant is more often than not *ex parte*) may not take up more than a few minutes for disposal. Yet the plaintiff has to pay Rs. 112-7-0 to the State, the amount ultimately being collected from the unfortunate debtor or his estate.

In its operation, the Act falls more heavily on the poor than on the rich and on the debtor rather than on the creditor. A few glaring examples will illustrate this. Income tax assessee who appeal to the High

Court and get their assessments running to several thousands, cancelled, are not touched by the Act. Nor are the creditors in liquidation, bankruptcy and administration proceedings, who make the fullest use of the courts and their administrative machinery for years on end, and obtain ultimately full satisfaction of their debts and claims, amounting, it may be, to several lakhs as in the recent T. N. & Q. Bank debacle. Scheming creditors who in executing a small cause decree transfer it to the original side and get at the debtor's immovable properties, and mortgagees who in execution of a money decree sell the hypotheca subject to their mortgage and thus obtain complete satisfaction of their debt, are beyond the purview of the Act.

There is discrimination even as regards the kinds of property sued for. In suits for recovery of lands, one values it on the basis of 20 times the annual assessment. But in regard to houses and gardens, the basis of assessment is the *current* market value of the property, which in these high inflated times may be even five times its normal value. The proper rule is of course to charge the fee on the basis of the rental value, as in the case of lands, but then the Act is nothing if not illogical.

This Act is quite unlike other fiscal Acts like the Income Tax Act or the Sales Tax Act. These Acts have (1) a minimum exemption limit in favour of the poor and the middle class people (2) they avoid double taxation and (3) they charge a higher rate for higher incomes and a lower rate for lower incomes. The Court Fees Act has no minimum exemption limit, except in regard to the cases covered by the Panchayat Court Acts. When it chooses to make the suitor pay full court fee over again in regard to review petitions and in regard to appeals, which, in legal theory, are but a continuation of the suits, it expressly sanctions double

taxation. The calculation of the *ad valorem* fee is in inverse proportion of the ability of the person or property liable to pay it. Thus up to Rs. 1,000 the rate works out at 11½%; upto 10,000 at 7%; Rs. 20,000 at 6%; and Rs. 40,000 at 4%. That is to say, the richer the debtor the lower the rate; and the poorer the debtor, the higher the rate.

The system of charging court fees hence rests on no just or even rational basis and the sooner it is given up the better. It is not without significance that in the recent debt relief legislation, it was provided that most of the reliefs which agriculturists could obtain previously only by paying *ad valorem* court fee can be had from now on by means of a simple application; and even under the recent House Rent Control Acts, the evicting landlord can also obtain an order for payment of arrears of rent. These deserve wider adoption, in regard, at any rate, to summary types of litigation.

The proper rule would however be to tax all litigation alike, if taxed they must be. The system of the hearing fee, which obtains in the original side of the chartered High Courts may be adopted in regard to all kinds of litigation throughout the country. Every litigant, under this system, is charged a fixed fee to be paid for each day engaged in the actual trial of the case. There will be less inducement, in consequence, for vexatious and speculative litigation or for lengthening the proceedings of the courts. At the same time there should be a minimum limit of exemption. Litigation below Rs. 2,000 may be exempted from liability to pay fee. After all, the administration of justice in this country prior to 1870 was a social amenity to which the subjects were entitled as of right and without liability to pay any charges, and the modern system of taxing justice was clearly obnoxious to the tenets of the Magna Carta or even of the Hindu Smritis or the Muslim lawgivers.



In the long run the sweets of victory taste as bitter as the ashes of defeat.—Cassandra.

WHITHER, CONGRESS?

by Bh. VENKATARATNAM, M.A., M.Litt.

AT last, in the name of complete independence, Congress does not seem to mind going back on its own fundamentals. The Congress politicians who harped time and again on the 'unity of India' which is fundamental to the Congress stand, have demanded more vociferously the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, the principle of division for which the Muslim League stood since the passing of the Lahore resolution, and now accepted the statement of June 3. The same Congress leaders were taking their stand on the statement of May 16 till the other day as their stand and in fact that statement has been described by one of the Congress leaders as the 'Bible of Congress politicians'. Even now, we are assured in the broadcast on June 3 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that 'it may be that in this way (by accepting division) we will reach united India sooner than otherwise.' But Panditji seems to forget that the Muslim League is led by Mr. Jinnah.

Mahatma Gandhi observed that 'people should not forget that the Congress has been forced into this position' and that the Congress Working Committee 'has yielded not to force of arms but to the force of circumstances'. Does Mahatma Gandhi imply that the chances of the Cabinet Mission Plan were impaired by any causes other than the outbreak of violence on a large scale in the Punjab? It is interesting to note in this connection the statements of the Viceroy and one of the Congress leaders, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Lord Mountbatten in his Press Conference on June 4, 1947, observed: "The moment riots and bloodshed started and there was a feeling of tension and strife, the prospects of making the Cabinet Mission Plan work were obviously very remote." Dr. Pattabhi, in an interview to the correspondent of *The Hindu* observed on June 1: "The only notable event that preceded such a suggestion (suggestion for

partition of the Punjab and Bengal from the Congress Working Committee) was the outbreak of lawlessness in Lahore and other parts of the Punjab . . . It is obvious today that if Pakistan has to be conceded in whatever measure or manner it is a concession to violence and force." In the context of these statements, is it not playing with words to say that the Congress Working Committee yielded to 'force of circumstances' and not to 'force of arms'? Mahatma perhaps wants us not to go to the root of the new 'force of circumstances' which is nothing but violence and largescale destruction of property and hardship to men, women and children alike. The Muslim League was able to come out triumphant by making its opponent accept the principle for which the Muslim League always stood. It is a good ideal that 'political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in the future' but if parties other than its sponsor refuse to believe in it in realising their ends, the result will be what has already happened—yield to your opponent even the fundamentals on which you base your stand; not only yield but even preach that it is the way to achieve your purpose in the long run.

The principle of non-violence worked well so long as it was applied against the ruling power because it was applied with its complement, non-cooperation. But the logical conclusion derived from this principle of non-violence in its application to internal politics, namely, non-coercion, has at once brought out the incompatibility of the Congress stand. The two principles on which the Congress took its stand, namely, the principle of unity and the principle of non-coercion are clearly opposing principles in the context of Indian conditions. Especially when the Muslim League, as an authoritative and representative body of Muslim opinion, demanded partition and the setting up

of an independent sovereign Pakistan State on the basis of the right of self-determination of Muslims in Muslim majority areas, the Congress was confronted with a dilemma. The Congress was too weak to ward off the influence of the Mahatma and his creed of non-violence, and this was taken full advantage of by the Muslim League. It was time for the Congress which stood for the unity of India and hence had the support of all the non-Muslim population of India and also of a considerable portion of the Muslims, to make it clear that the Congress will stand for that ideal of unity at whatever cost. But non-violence and its logical corollary, non-coercion, stood in its way. At last it triumphed over the more important principle of unity. Had the Congress seriously considered the basis of the overwhelming support given to it by the masses, namely, complete independence on the basis of the unity of India, it would not have allowed the principle of unity to be subordinated by the doubtful (and not invariably wise) principle of non-violence. This principle of non-violence has miserably failed in its application to the internal politics of the country and this has been proved at a terrible cost.

The Muslim League leaders are fully aware of the conflicting principles on which the Congress took its stand and are also sure that so long as Gandhiji has any influence on the Congress, they need not be afraid of the Congress turning out into a militant body and meeting them on the same plane in the field of violence. So the Muslim League, with the declaration that they will fight for Pakistan to the last drop of their blood, plunged into the battle-royal to achieve its end. This brought out the weakness of the Congress clearly and there is an atmosphere of despair all round. Only Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has approved of the use of violence in self-protection. But in violence the attacker will always have an advantage over the man who is on the defence.

Lord Mountbatten has fully exploited the weakness of the Con-

gress to make it yield and accept partition on its own principle. How this principle of non-coercion is used against the Congress will be evident from the following account said to have been given by the Viceroy at the Press Conference on June 4: "All the Muslim League leaders made it absolutely clear that they desired partition. Once that fact was inescapably established, his (Viceroy's) next point was to see whether Congress would agree to abandon the principle of unity to which they owed allegiance so long. He found that the Congress stuck by the principle of non-coercion and said that any province or area which did not wish to come into the existing Constituent Assembly could go into a separate Assembly.

We are constantly reminded that the end does not justify the means. Then is the Congress justified, for the sake of a 'big advance towards complete independence' in commending the partition and vivisection of the country? It is understandable when Pandit Nehru says that "the united India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion but a free and willing association of a free people", but not under the present conditions in India when the other party is forcing the issue even by resorting to violence. It may be magnanimity to concede Pakistan but not statesmanship. One begins to wonder what the Congress now stands for. Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U.P. Assembly, commenting on the Mountbatten plan said: "The Indian people and the Congress have been let down". Rightly has he observed: "A tragedy much greater than slaughter of the innocents which we have recently witnessed and greater than any which has disfigured the annals of British rule in India is about to be enacted. The question . . . is whether Congressmen will even at this stage prevent this betrayal. History records that the will to resist and to suffer has unsettled many settled facts." Tragedy, betrayal. Who is responsible? The British Government or Congress leaders?



THE BABY

by M. KRISHNAMOORTHY

THEY had been married about a couple of months when she fell ill. The doctor was called in. He gave it as his opinion that the fever was nothing much to worry about but he looked grave when he said, "I am afraid your heart is not what it ought to be. Have you ever been under observation before?" They said she had not been.

"Well," said the doctor, "you have what is known as mitral stenosis".

"Anything serious, doctor?" enquired the young husband anxiously.

"Oh, nothing at all. You know," said the doctor, with his best professional air, "The heart has the most remarkable power of compensating its own shortcomings. Its reserve power is simply marvellous. The present condition of your wife's heart is such that she need not be afraid of any immediate, sudden death",—he smiled—"but she must go slow on all things that require any special physical or mental effort. Indeed she must avoid all emotion. The part that the human mind plays in diseases," went on the doctor placidly, "Is very much under-rated".

The husband cut in with "Are you sure there is nothing to worry about, doctor?"

The doctor looked hurt that his lecture should have been cut short thus; but he added with a burst of confidence, "Don't worry, young man. Your wife is all right".

He took up his bag and prepared to leave. At the door he turned round, however, and said, "Oh, by the way, I am afraid you must give up all ideas of having a baby, you know," and with a parting smile at them he went.

And so for six whole years they remained without a child and day by day the young woman pined for the baby she wanted so much and which she could not have. She saw with envy all her friends fondling their own kids and there was created a void in her heart which all the solicitous love of her devoted husband could not fill. He was prepared to do anything for her but to all her passionate pleadings for a baby he turned a resolute deaf ear. She

stormed and raged at him, all to no avail. She pouted her pretty lips and sulked in the corner for hours; she told him she would feel much better with a baby; and she just would not believe anything was wrong with her, she felt all right. Their domestic peace was disturbed profoundly by this essential difference of opinion. They who had never quarrelled with each other now lost their tempers frequently. There was a sort of armed neutrality between them which all the efforts of the husband failed to remove. He tried to divert her mind from that topic of the forbidden baby, but he might as well have tried to shake the Himalayas to their roots.

After all there is a limit to a man's firmness and endurance. What could a man do who could not even command a peaceful and happy home? He yielded finally, and said, "Look here. Just one baby, mind you." The doctor had confessed that it was by no means unknown for a mother with a weak heart to have a child and live for long afterwards.

In due course the precious baby was ushered into the world.

Her heart became worse and the doctor said that she would have to lead a semi-invalid's life if she wanted to live at all. She was not to attend to the child and she was not to wake up at odd hours of the night to attend to it. A nurse must be engaged, the doctor said, firmly. She objected but the husband, now in an agony of remorse, just would not listen to all that nonsense.

The child was shown to her for a few moments every day and it was in the sole charge of a competent ayah who had been installed in a nursery upstairs while the poor mother was confined to her room downstairs. She was told positively that she should not lift weights, that she should not indulge in violent emotions—a tall order—and that she must never climb the stairs that led to the nursery. At dead of night she would hear her child crying and longed to take it in her arms and soothe it and feed it. But all that the nurse did, and how she envied the nurse! Her baby boy was growing more and more

chubby every day and he had two of the loveliest dimples she had ever seen in his cheeks. He was a prize boy and the proud nurse told her that he was a champion.

One evening the nurse was showing her the baby as usual and the infant was crowing with delight.

"How lovely he is!" said the proud mother.

"Of course he is, my pet," agreed the nurse, "But you should see him when he is given a bath in his tub. I have never seen a child enjoy its bath so much. He simply gurgles with delight; he seems to adore the touch of water."

From that moment there grew a longing in the mother's heart to watch her son while he was being bathed. She dared not ask for the tub to be brought downstairs into her room for her husband would surely object to that unusual arrangement. She dared not go up the stairs; the doctor had forbidden it, and her husband would not hear of any such thing.

One day, however, an opportunity occurred which was too good to miss! Her husband was away and the nurse went upstairs announcing that she was going to bathe the baby. In a moment Pramila's mind was made up. She crept out of her bed and went out cautiously. She looked round fearfully lest her husband should return prematurely and spoil her plans; there were no signs of Vaman, fortunately.

Panting and gasping, with a palpitating heart, she climbed the stairs one by one and arrived breathless and half-dead at the top.

The nurse was shocked to see her there.

"Oh Madam," she cried, "What foolishness is this? How dare you come up? The doctor. . ."

"Dash the doctor, nurse", raged Pramila, "Go down and get the low stool. I am going to bathe the baby today".

"But, Madam, the master. . .," began the nurse.

"Oh, damn the master. I am going to bathe the baby, do you hear? Don't stand there arguing like an ass. Go down and fetch the stool," cried Pramila. Muttering, and absolutely unwilling to go against the doctor's orders, there was yet nothing left for the poor nurse to do but to go down and obey her mistress. Still breathless with her late unwonted exertion, Pramila went to the cot where her boy was chuckling with all an infant's zest. She picked up the baby; it was rather a heavy burden for

her. She kissed it with a passionate abandon and rubbed its soft cheek against hers, and, at that tickling sensation, the child gurgled with glee and Pramila's heart was full of the delightful pride of motherhood. She called impatiently to the nurse to come up at once with the stool; from below came the nurse's complaining voice that she was still trying to get at that elusive stool.

Her patience was at an end. She was eager to bathe her baby. She went with it to the tub which had been already filled with warm water for his majesty the baby. She sat down with the baby near the tub and gently seated it in the water. Yes, the nurse was right. Her baby did seem to delight in water as if he were a merman. Her delight knew no bounds; she grew giddy with delight and leaned forward to kiss the baby—.

When she woke up again she found herself on her bed. Her husband was leaning over her anxiously and the doctor was standing gravely beside her bed. And in the far corner she could hear the nurse sobbing.

She raised herself up and asked anxiously, "What is the matter? What has happened?"

"Nothing at all to worry, my dear," said the doctor, "Absolutely nothing. You merely fainted".

She turned to her husband and the mute look of unutterable grief in his face struck her heart with a chill.

"What is it, nurse?" she asked, thoroughly alarmed now by the unusual silence of her husband.

"Oh madam, the baby!" sobbed the nurse.

"What has happened?" she asked.

"He is dead," answered Vaman, in a dull level voice.

The shriek that escaped her at this stunning news was heard even by the neighbours at the end of the street. She fainted again.

Unable to stand the unusual strain put upon it, her heart had given way and she had fainted just as soon as she had placed the baby in the tub, and the poor darling, without the sustaining arm of the mother about it, had been drowned. The nurse, when she came up with the stool, saw this shocking sight.

The mother recovered, and lived to a ripe old age; but, like the king in the poem, she never smiled again.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA, M.A.

IGNORING the protest of the United States and Britain Soviet Russia is steadily engaged in consolidating her position in the countries of South-Eastern Europe—Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary—which are in her military occupation. Everywhere her plan is the same. It consists in getting rid of the leaders of the non-Communist parties by accusing them of plotting against the State or by bringing charges against them that at one time they were fascists or Nazis and thus establishing a one-party totalitarian regime of the Communists. This is what she did recently in Bulgaria. Nikolai Petkov, the opposition party leader, was arrested. He is accused of having been in association with an underground movement whose aim is to overthrow the existing democratic regime. The Russians also say that this movement is being backed up by reactionaries in the United States which practically amounts to American interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. According to the Russians the present Government in Bulgaria is a democratic one, returned to office as a result of a free general election—a point contested by Britain and the United States—and that it has drawn up a two-year plan for reconstructing the country's economy and raising the standard of life of the people. There is nothing strange in Russia taking steps like these to consolidate her power in Bulgaria. She is now in military occupation of the country but within ninety days after the ratification of the Bulgarian peace treaty—which means within a few weeks more—she will have to withdraw her forces from that country. She does not

however want to have there any parties unfriendly to her, especially in view of the strategic importance of Bulgaria in her dealings with both Turkey and Greece which have become satellites of the United States.

HUNGARY

The developments in Hungary have also been of the same character. Although there is an Allied Control Council representative of the American, British and Soviet Governments to supervise the administration of the country, the Soviet chairman of the Council took unilateral action which resulted in the resignation of the former Prime Minister—the leader of the Smallholders Party commanding a majority in the Parliament—and the establishment of the Government of the Communist Party which commands only seventeen per cent of the seats in Parliament. In the American view this amounts to Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Hungary and the setting up there of a Communist regime by outside pressure, the very thing to prevent which Truman has enunciated his doctrine. So far the Russians have rejected the British and American demands for furnishing them with copies of the letter sent by the Soviet Chairman of the Allied Control Council to the Hungarian authorities—a letter which was the cause of this change in regime. The Americans threaten that they will bring the whole matter before the Security Council of the United Nations, a course of action which does not very much frighten the Soviet authorities. The British and the Americans make too much of interference in the internal affairs of Hungary. The real truth however

is that they are not against interference as such. They welcome a joint interference by all the three powers. They are only against unilateral interference by Russia. It is only when the whole principle of interference, whether singly or jointly, is abandoned that small countries will enjoy peace. How disturbing the presence of a third party is we know too well from the recent happenings in the Punjab and the North-West frontier.

AUSTRIA

There is a danger that similar developments may take place in Austria. It is reported that Russia would not conclude a peace treaty with Austria so long as the present Cabinet remains in office. She has set up Mr. Ernst Fischer, the Communist leader, to protest against the composition of the present Cabinet and to bring about such changes in it as would give a large amount of influence to the Communist Party. It is one of the charges brought by Russia against the present regime that it has not taken strong action to de-nazify the country, that out of 66,000 Nazis registered in the records only 2,000 were brought to trial, that even those who were tried and found guilty were let off with light punishments and that the latest instance of the pro-Nazi attitude of the present regime is the declaration by a Vienna court that Mr. Schmidt, one of the arch Nazis, is an innocent man. Under these circumstances it will not be surprising if through Soviet intervention a political crisis is brought about in Austria also leading to an attempt to set up a Communist regime there. The struggle for power among the Big Three gives no peace to the smaller countries.

TRUMAN'S VISIT TO CANADA

The three-day visit to Canada of President Truman is significant for the reason that it is one more step in the process of the consolidation of American power and influence in the Western hemisphere so that she might be free to pursue her aggressive policies in Europe and the Middle East. In his address to the Canadian Parliament, President Tru-

man took particular care to explain the aims and objectives of American foreign policy with special reference to the plan for aiding the economic recovery of Europe which was put forward recently by the Secretary of State George Marshall. He made it clear that the United States would extend help to those "who are determined to govern themselves and who honour the rights of others to do likewise." This would exclude from the scope of American aid such of the states of Europe as are within the Soviet sphere of influence. In a subsequent speech which he made after his return to Canada he was anxious to indicate that America was prepared to aid even Soviet Russia but all commentators in the United States as well as in the other parts of the world are of the view that the conditions laid down for the grant of American aid are such as would preclude Soviet Russia from taking advantage of it. Mr. Truman's visit to Canada has also resulted in the establishment of closer economic and commercial relations between the two countries. The United States can therefore rest assured that she will have the active co-operation of Canada in all the policies she is determined to pursue.

BRITISH REACTIONS

In this diplomatic duel between Soviet Russia and the United States Britain's position is becoming more and more delicate. She is anxious to maintain friendship with both the States, though in the main her sympathies are with the United States. She wants to enter into a trade pact with Russia about which talks are now going on. She is at the same time negotiating for another loan from the United States. There is however a certain section of the people in Britain who feel that she should not become completely dependent on the United States and she should not borrow from her if any onerous political conditions are attached to the loan. In the midst of this dilemma Mr. Bevin has accepted the continental plan for aiding Europe enunciated by Marshall. One of the conditions of the plan is that the initiative

must come from Europe itself and that it must be based upon the needs not of one country but of all the countries in the continent. This requires the calling of an European economic conference and the question that naturally arises is who will take the initiative in calling such a conference. It now looks as if Britain will take the lead in the matter; and it is reported that Mr. Bevin will visit Paris and have talks with the French Premier on the subject. Some kind of European conference to prepare a concerted plan for the reconstruction of Europe with the help of America seems to be a certainty.

FRANCE

Such a plan will be of great use to France among other nations. There is a large amount of industrial unrest in the country. The recent railway strike caused considerable dislocation and even threatened to bring about a complete economic paralysis, threatening as it did the distribution of food and of coal. Luckily the workers returned to work after getting some increase in their wages. But this has not seen the end of labour discontent. Municipal workers have staged a preliminary one-day strike and from the trade unions there is a demand for a general rise in wages, a demand which is considered legitimate under the existing high level of prices. The difficulty however is that with every increase in wages there is a more than proportionate increase in prices and the workers continue to find it difficult to balance their budgets. Capital is being made out of the situation by the Communists who have been forced to get out of the Cabinet even though they are the biggest single party in the legislature. They are bent on making use of the labour discontent and come to power. As in many other countries in Europe, Communist and anti-Communist parties are ranged against each other and France is in a state of political disequilibrium. The country's economy has to be set in order and this can only be done with the help of the United States. France

is therefore interested in bringing about an early implementation of Marshall's continental plan. She will therefore co-operate with Britain in convening the European conference of all really democratic States. Events are therefore tending towards the formation of a West European bloc as distinguished from the Soviet East European bloc. It will in a sense give shape to Mr. Churchill's idea of a United States of Europe.

CHINA

Internal as well as external troubles continue to face China. People are becoming more and more impatient. They want to see that the civil war soon comes to an end. Trade unions and students are taking an active part in the campaign to bring pressure on the Kuomintang for this purpose. The Kuomintang's policy is becoming more and more anti-liberal and reactionary. It has banned several liberal democratic papers. It is following a repressive policy towards the students in general. But this has resulted not in suppressing the student movement but in stirring up more resistance. It has brought about increasing solidarity between the students and professors who have publicly protested against the Government carrying on a crusade against the students. Under these circumstances an internal revolution seems to be inevitable. Externally the outstanding event of the week is the invasion of the Chinese province of Sinkiang by the forces of outer Mongolia aided, it is said, by Soviet Russia although this has been denied by the Soviet Government. Sinkiang is in the far north-west of China and is composed of Chinese Turkestan, Kulja and Kashgaria. It extends to about 550,000 square miles and has a population consisting of a number of races—all Muslims—of about 1,200,000. Outer Mongolia is a Soviet republic constituted in 1924 and is in close alliance with Soviet Russia. Its population is little more than half a million. Without Russian backing it would not be possible for outer Mongolia to invade Sinkiang. In Manchuria

also relations between the Chinese and the Russians have become strained, and the Communists have gained some victories over the Kuomintang forces there. The significance of all this lies in the possibility that it may lead to active interference in the affairs of China by the United States and in her

offering her economic and military aid to fight Russia and the Russian-sponsored Communists. China may thus become an active scene of struggle between Russia and the United States. Almost every event of world importance today has its relation to this struggle for power between these two States.



NEXT BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

by "B. S."

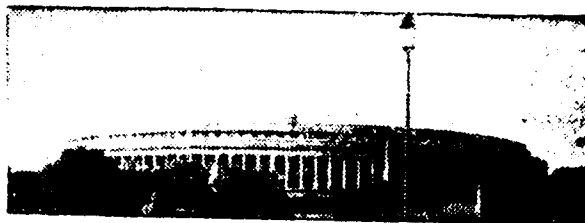
AS one great thinker wrote some time back in the *Mail*, we are moving in the blunder-land of Indian politics. The tragedy of the situation is that our leaders like Jawaharlal are moving from blunder to blunder. Jawahar said only a few days back that at the time of the formation of the Interim Government, had they foreseen the later developments, they would not have accepted the scheme. Yet he persists in committing the same mistake. That is the only construction that can be placed on his paying tributes to the sincerity of the Viceroy. Lord Mountbatten's replies at his Press Conference were an insult to our intelligence. He is mocking at us for our helplessness. In one breath he says that he cannot allow the N.W. Frontier to have the choice of Pathanland because that would be carrying the process of fragmentation too far, and at the same time he encourages areas in another corner of the country like Travancore to declare independence. Again his saying without any provocation that he is sincere and not bluffing when he says that the British are going to quit leads us only to one conclusion—that the British, far from relinquishing their control over India, are going to reassert their authority with all the force at their command. If we are really on the eve of independence the district

magistrate of Gurgaon would not have behaved in the manner he did towards the members of the Interim Government.

Yet this is not the final humiliation. After the frontier is handed over to Mr. Jinnah, i.e., after the referendum, the Muslim Leaguers (of course drawing inspiration from their masters) will stage incidents in Hindu cities like Calcutta, Amritsar and other places. Calcutta will witness scenes similar to those staged in Dera Ismail Khan and other places on an even larger scale. Hindus will be in panic. Then the *Mabap* Britisher will come out with a new plan—Pakistan of Jinnah's conception including the corridor or a united India provided Hindus consent to allay Muslim fears by agreeing to 50: 50 basis in the administration within the British Empire. Hindus who will be desperate by that time will agree to the united India scheme. The defeat of the country will then be complete. It is the British who will come out immensely strengthened and not the toy emperor of Pakistan nor the actor on the international stage. The foolish crowd of Muslims who greeted Mr. Jinnah as the emperor of Pakistan little know that it is his policy that is greatly helping the British in their suppression of the Arabs and the Indonesians, in the latter case indirectly through the Dutch.

To call India—or Hindustan as Mr. Dalmia prefers to call it—Bharat, might make people think that it is one of Mr. Dalmia's new enterprises.—*National Herald*.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

IT seems to me that Lord Mountbatten's Press Conference, which he handled with considerable skill, was not reported well enough. His remarks about the British Commonwealth and Dominion Status were completely omitted by the wire agencies. It is said that Mountbatten had a rehearsal of the Conference when officials of Government tried to guess all the questions that might be put to the Viceroy by Press Correspondents and the answers were also therefore rehearsed. But all the world's a stage, and it really doesn't matter if this was so.

Lord Mountbatten by his manner and speech gave the impression that he had much in common with his Vice-President, Jawaharlal Nehru. He seemed to have the same mercurial temper. I quote from Jawaharlal on himself:

"The Rashtrapathi looked up as he passed swiftly through the waiting crowds, his hands went up and his pale hard face was lit up with a smile . . . The smile passed away and the face became stern and sad. Almost it seemed that the smile and gesture accompanying it had little reality; they were just tricks of the trade to gain the goodwill of the crowd whose darling he had become . . . Jawaharlal cannot become a fascist . . . and yet he has all the makings of a dictator in him—vast popularity, a strong will, energy, pride . . . and with all his love of the crowd, an intolerance of others and a certain contempt for the weak and inefficient. His flashes of temper are well-known . . ."

This may well be a description of Mountbatten. The man who said Mountbatten was dangerously charming was not far from right.

Lord Mountbatten stood on his feet all the time—reminding one of

the first day of Jawaharlal Nehru's appearance in the Central Assembly as Leader of the House. Pandit Nehru, being a revolutionary who was then more familiar with jail-going than with parliamentary procedure, stood while replying to members' questions. According to parliamentary practice, when a member is on his feet, it means that he is in possession of the floor of the House, and is entitled to speak. Until he sits down nobody else has the right to speak. Speaker Mavlankar then intervened and explained the convention. Nehru said: "I am sorry, Sir".

Mountbatten referred to his experience of War during the Press Conference when he was asked whether the Muslim League might not reject the present plan for transfer of power when their Council met on Monday. He stated: "I am the person who is going ahead with this. I have taken risk in doing so. But then I had spent five years in taking risks, which are called calculated risks."

The Viceroy spoke frequently in a lighter vein as he stood near the President's seat in the Constituent Assembly Chamber. Pointing to himself, he said: "This chap here will go the moment his work is over." He explained that the position was that the British need not be asked to quit. They would leave whenever they were told to go. He indicated that this might be sometime in August.

Question: Along with what you call "this chap here", will British troops also be withdrawn? (Laughter).

The Viceroy: Speaking in my personal capacity, I should think "Yes".

Question: When will "this chap here" cease to be "His Excellency"?

The Viceroy: That is an embarrassing question. I should think he will be buying his ticket before the end of the year. (Laughter.)

Lord Mountbatten again and again emphasised that there was nothing ulterior in the British Government's plan for the transfer of power. "I honestly think we have done the very best we possibly could". He said that he had tried to do what he believed to be right, and did nothing against his conscience. "I have absolutely nothing to hide."

On many questions that were raised, Lord Mountbatten said he could give only his own personal and private views, because they had not yet been discussed with Indian leaders. But he gave his personal opinion frankly and without beating about the bush. Asked whether the Frontier people were free to choose the issue on which they would vote during the referendum, Lord Mountbatten replied that the two High Commands of both the political parties had to agree to it. Then he would agree to it. They could in that case vote on the issue of independence. If on the other hand only one party wished it, then they would stick to "what we agreed to originally". Further asked whether this would not mean that they were interfering with the principle of Provincial Autonomy, Lord Mountbatten replied that this would lead to Balkanisation. Both the Congress and Muslim League leaders, he would repeat, expressed themselves in favour of not having any option other than joining one of two Constituent Assemblies.

The question of the rights of individual States of the Indian part of India was then raised. Some of them might decide to remain independent. Would not this result in Balkanisation? Did the British have one policy for British India and another for the States? Lord Mountbatten readily saw the force of this argument, and announced with Gandhian frankness: "I take back what I said before. As you know, the Cabinet Mission laid down the

procedure with regard to Indian States. I was not here at that time."

Speaking about the Sikhs, Lord Mountbatten said that he was surprised that it was the Sikhs who had asked the Congress Working Committee to ask for partition of the Punjab, because the Sikhs in the process would be divided half and half between the two halves of the Punjab. Referring to the suggestion that the division should be done on a property basis, Lord Mountbatten said, "You cannot expect the British Government to subscribe to that—not, at all events, the present Government." This led to the question, "After the lapse of Paramountcy, whom will the British Government regard as sovereign—the people, or the rulers?" The question was asked because the Labour Party was in power, it was pointed out. The Viceroy replied that he did not know what the legal position was, not being a lawyer. It did not really matter who was in power, the Viceroy thought, but they would naturally like to carry out the treaties to the letter until the lapse of Paramountcy. To the question what the British attitude would be in the event of a revolt of the States' people against their rulers, Lord Mountbatten said they were going away in a few months, and not in June 1948. If they were quitting in June next year, that question would have probably arisen. But by August he felt the British would be "put on boats and pushed out." (Laughter.)

An important point was raised regarding the creation of Dominions. It was argued by Correspondents that the British Government should make it clear that both Hindusthan and Pakistan should either remain within the Commonwealth or get out of it. One only of the two should not be allowed to remain within the Commonwealth. It was pointed out that Pandit Nehru had declared that no foreign Power should be allowed to have bases within India.

The Viceroy agreed that foreign Powers should not have bases within Indian territory. But he seemed to have failed to appreciate that the British were regarded as foreigners in India. He therefore did not see

the inconsistency in letting one of the two States to be within the British Commonwealth. He almost flared up, and declaimed: "Why are you asking me to impose the will of one independent part on the other? Why do you ask me to say that people cannot do what they like but must do what the majority want them to do? Is all this talk of independence a hollow mockery? Extraordinary!" Lord Mountbatten went on to say that the British Commonwealth was like the UNO. The difference between the two was that in the Commonwealth countries there was trust in one another, and in due course, affection. He said that the British Government could not say right away that a particular country will or will not be admitted into the Commonwealth. Britain

was only one of the members of the comity of nations. Lord Mountbatten said that he realised only the other day at the Commonwealth Conference that Mr. Attlee was "just one of about half a dozen Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth". Lord Mountbatten pointed out that if one of the two States was admitted into the UNO, Britain could not prevent her being a member of the UNO until the other State was admitted.

At the suggestion of Sardar Patel, who presided, questions were put paragraph by paragraph. When one Correspondent asked a question about Mr. Jinnah's demand for a corridor, Lord Mountbatten asked: "To which paragraph are you referring." (Laughter.)

COVER PAGE: JOSEPH STALIN

THE abolition of the death sentence in Soviet Russia is to be interpreted as a step towards the dissolution of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", which is a necessary phase in the establishment of democratic Communism according to Marxian doctrine. For this abolition the credit goes to Generalissimo Stalin. (We hope to hear before long that the alternative of twenty-five years' hard labour will be reduced to five.)

Since the Soviet State never claimed to have been established by non-violence, it is easy to understand why it took thirty years for the death sentence to be abolished. The best Revolution is of course a non-violent Revolution, but who are we to object now to violent methods adopted in the past for achieving Revolutions in other lands when the peoples concerned accepted violence as a recognised and highly honourable means of achieving their ends?

Once we accepted that violent revolutions are to be recognised, if not countenanced—and we have to accept events that occurred thirty years ago—there is absolutely no difficulty in understanding all that took place in the U.S.S.R. or of what might have taken place in any other country where and if a Revolution had taken place. Violence begets violence. It is the inexorable law of means and ends.

As far as one can guess, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin has been trying hard to decentralise the power which had accumulated in his hands—especially during and on account of World War II.

We have it on the authority of Bernard Shaw that Stalin is no dictator. Stalin has a fine sense of humour and (Shaw points out) no man with a sense of humour can ever be a dictator. We in India would therefore do well to beware of leaders who have no sense of humour.

A small boy returned home from school and told his father that he was second in his class. He also reported that the top place was held by a girl. "Surely, boy," said the father, "You are not going to be beaten by a mere girl!" "Well, you see, father," explained the boy, "girls are not merely so mere as they used to be."—(K. Mahadevan, Vellore.)

THE DRAGON OF DIVISION

by "MIMI"

(To readers of Swatantra, "Mimi" is quite familiar by now. The writer hiding under the nom de plume is a young Muslim advocate of the Madras High Court, endowed with a progressive mind and a critical, unbiased outlook. In this article, analysing the very unreality and artificiality of the Muslim League demand for Pakistan, he appeals to the Muslims to wake up to the situation confronting them and to realise where the cry of Pakistan has led them to.)

IT was claimed for the "Quit India" statement of His Majesty's Government dated 20th February, 1947 that it was intended to impart a sense of urgency and to administer a shock to the paralysed nerves and benumbed ligatures of India's political evolution. The British Government expected that the inevitable imminence of the glow of freedom would electrify the entire body politic and induce the intransigent political leaders to awaken to the tremendous responsibilities which independence was bringing in its wake and to the immense and invaluable opportunities which the political sovereignty will provide for the economic rehabilitation and the social reorganisation of the country. The independence of India was assured in specific and unequivocal terms within an early, fixed date. But, unfortunately enough, the resolution of His Majesty's Government to quit India was accompanied by an observation which has proved dangerously pernicious in encouraging those forces whose avowed object was to defeat the very pious wish of H.M.G. regarding the unity of India. Thus, the two sentences "The Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948" and

"But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a representative Assembly before the time mentioned above, the Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people" occurring in the same statement tended to impress H.M.G.'s declared intention either with unbelievable hopelessness or with the

lities of the Indian political atmosphere and particularly the genius of Mr. Jinnah or with a sinister element of treacherous hypocrisy. The absence of the latter sentence quoted above in the statement with all its vagueness and reservation could not have altered the expressed desire of the British Government if they had really wished to maintain the unity of India.

Dangerous Doctrine

Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan was based on his two-nation theory and his interpretation of the doctrine of national self-determination. The demand was born out of a sense of frustration and political-power-starvation resulting from the self-imposed communal exclusion which artificially but fanatically refused to recognise anything common between the people of India as a whole. Mr. Jinnah pursued his passion for exclusion with tenacity, perseverance and methodicity till an average Indian Muslim began to see nothing in common between him and an average non-Muslim even on the basis of their being human beings. According to Mr. Jinnah, Islam and Hinduism are not merely two different ways of life and culture, but are mutually antagonistic to each other and consequently by implication the Hindus and Muslims are to be in two warring camps for ever, unless either of the groups is completely extinguished by the other. This dangerous doctrine was propagated with all the cleverness and forensic eloquence that the League leader as a successful criminal lawyer was capable of and powerfully appealed to the innocent fanaticism of the illiterate and ignorant Muslim masses whose devotion to Islam was comparable in strength to that of an infant in its helplessness towards its mother. The propaganda was carried on to such an extent that the Muslim masses began to feel that any opposition to the demand for Pakistan on any ground whatever, however weighty and practical it might

have been, was the ruthless attempt of the antagonistic Hindus to destroy the Muslims of India and their cherished religion, Islam. In their ignorance they could not see that Pakistan and the methods adopted for its propagation were as far removed from Islam as the preparation for and the prosecution of a bloody war are from the doctrine of Ahimsa. Ultimately, the appeal of the Muslim League was to the instinct of self-preservation in the Muslim masses and that instinct is notoriously blind. Hence the matchless mutual-killing that we witness in various parts of the country today and it is to this great competition in man-killing that H.M.G.'s "Quit India" statement has actually imparted a sense of urgency.

Role Of League Ministries

All the arguments that were so powerfully and pertinently advanced against the division of the country failed to penetrate the rocky fortress of inspired fanaticism. The statement of H.M.G. of May 16, 1946 which eloquently presented the case against Pakistan in any shape temporarily eliminated the possibility of the partition of India as the statement was accepted by the Muslim League. But the proverbial self-consciousness and the insatiable vanity of Mr. Jinnah soon revived and he found that by accepting the statement he had condemned himself and denounced the entire past of the Muslim League which was built on the hateful propaganda of exclusion which it carried to the extreme and the mounting fanaticism of the Muslims which it had roused. And so the League reversed its own decision and reverted to the cry of Pakistan. In the latest declaration of the British Government as to the possibility of their transferring power in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, Mr. Jinnah found a convenient crevice through which to smuggle his pet demand for the creation of a Pakistan into the scheme of the British Government for transfer of power and used it as a handy device for the rehabilitation of his long-exploded theories. So with Hitlerite thoroughness was started the attempt to bring into existence League Ministries in those provinces which had always been considered as Pakistan provinces by the Muslim League, by any means, even by violence, so that power may be transferred to the League in those provinces, thus virtually establishing Pakistan. But, unexpectedly for Mr. Jinnah, the Pakistan of his dream found its grave in this attempt, just as Hitler himself found his grave in Soviet

Russia even after his thrilling unparalleled victories of the initial stages of the campaign.

The Boomerang Comes Back

Mr. Jinnah and his League never anticipated the demand for the division of Bengal and the Punjab and naturally so. But the latest attempt of the Muslim League to force the non-Muslims to submit to Pakistan misfired and produced the unexpected. The fanatic violence that was let loose and the inability or the unwillingness of the Provincial Government to discharge its most elementary duty of protecting the life and property of the citizens drove the Hindus who had so valiantly fought the partition of Bengal in 1905 and unsettled a "settled fact" of the British Government, to demand the division of the province and today the movement for the partition of the province has assumed irresistible proportions and gathered so much strength that the division of the province seems inevitable even though the division of the country may not materialise. The same instinct of self-preservation that was propagandistically roused in the Muslims has experientially come into existence in the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab and has forced them to demand the division of their provinces if they are to live at all. With the knowledge that with the division of Bengal and the Punjab what will result will be a "maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten," attenuated and truncated Pakistan, comprising of Eastern Bengal (with the probable inclusion of the Sylhet district from Assam, surrounded on three sides by the "antagonistic" Hindus and deprived even of Calcutta as a possible means of escape), the Western Punjab and Sind, with N.-W. F. P. remaining problematical, Mr. Jinnah has been put to the painful necessity of opposing the demand for the division of the provinces and by implication condemning all the arguments which he himself had urged in support of the demand for the creation of Pakistan. To the conception of "nation" and "nation-State" and to the doctrine of "self-determination" Mr. Jinnah had given an unnatural and absurd twist and demonised those principles, intended to facilitate the growth of mutually beneficial intercourse between groups of people inhabiting well-defined and nature-divided sectors of the earth, into springs of communal poison which permeated all aspects of the country's life and gradually but steadily corroded the unity of life that a thousand years of history has so eloquently forged. If the real basis of

determining "nationhood" is spiritual experience and philosophical reality and not the whims and vagaries of a perverted and frustrated individual, then there is either a single nation of humanity or as many nations as there are human beings inhabiting various parts of the earth. All other modes of defining and determining "nation" or "nationality" are expedient resultants of history, politics and geography. Mr. Jinnah cannot have one definition of "nation" for the Muslims and another for the Hindus. If the Muslims of India constitute a "nation" irrespective of the fact of other Muslims living in other parts of the world and are consequently entitled to have a separate homeland of their own in India with an independent sovereign State, the same reasoning will make the Hindus of Bengal a separate nation with the national right to have a separate homeland of their own in Bengal and an independent sovereign State. The argument of the Hindus is unanswerable in this regard and hence the laboured attempts of the League leaders to differentiate between the two claims. If the Muslims of India cannot live in a united India with a Central Government dominated by the Hindus and therefore must have Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah and his League cannot by any show of reason expect the Hindus of Bengal to allow themselves to be forced to live in a united Bengal forming a part of Pakistan with a Government dominated by Muslims. What Mr. Jinnah has sown he must reap now. Let him have the pound of flesh he has been so insistently demanding: but not a drop of blood should be spilt.

Realistic Approach Needed

The dragon of division is staging its devil dance. Some princes and their dewans whose clever hobbies have always been to revel in fantastic propositions with characteristic foolhardiness want to go back to 18th century and become "independent", betraying thereby a contemptible ignorance of the elementary basis of a politically independent existence in the modern set-up and making themselves liable to be charged either with fooling themselves or with an attempt to fool the entire world. With the result, there is a vulgar clamour all round for the parcelling out of India. If there is to be a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, the division of Bengal and the Punjab is inevitable. The Congress, having won the Frontier elections last year on the specific issue of Pakistan, will fight to the last any arbitrary inclusion of that province into the Pakistan area. Therefore, the Pakistan that Mr. Jinnah is



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likely to get will comprise of Eastern Bengal, Western Punjab and Sind. That such a Pakistan will be a political abortion must be apparent even to the meanest intelligence. The fate that will befall the Muslims both inside and outside the Pakistan zone will be unspeakable under such circumstances. The support for the demand for Pakistan of the Muslims living in the Hindu majority provinces has been obtained by keeping them in complete darkness as to their own status in the future set-up. To tell them that they will have to become foreigners in the land of their birth surrounded by "antagonistic" Hindus must be sufficient to wean them away from the emotional and fantastic dream that has been presented to them garbed in the glorious theocracy of Islam. But unfortunately, Mr. Jinnah and his League have exploited their ignorance and religious feeling to the fullest extent and the damage has already been done. Even now it may not be too late for the Muslims to wake up to the situation confronting them and to realise where the cry of the Muslim League has led them to. Deliberately and systematically they have been taught to antagonise the Hindus. Instead of a policy of live and let live and a spirit of give and take which should be the decisive criterion of any modern democratic society, an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion verging on active hostility has been created and worked up. With the result, that the Muslims living in the Hindu-majority provinces are facing a majority which they had wantonly antagonised and provoked and the Muslims living in other provinces are facing a still-born

Pakistan. But, there is no cause for pessimism if only the Muslims will realise their fatal blunder and hasten to rectify it with honour and grace; for the true spirit of Hinduism and Islam are not wholly dead in India: the spirit of Gandhi is still alive and is sure to prevail.

No Cause For Pessimism

Events in the political horizon are moving with such a rapidity that none can predict what will happen the next day. Anything may happen before June, 1948. At the same time the people of India must be prepared for anything with the fullest faith in their great and glorious destiny that has already begun to unfold itself. If there is to be a division of India, a division of the Punjab and Bengal there has to be. Such a division, by the very nature of it, cannot last long. Therefore, the unity of India is already assured if not for today, at least for tomorrow. The very unreality and artificiality of the demand of the Muslim League and the spirit of the time which inevitably moves in the direction of larger and larger federations have accomplished this consummation. But it is for the people of India, particularly for the Hindus to whom the initiative should necessarily belong by the fact of their being the major community in the country—to render this unity of India identical with the unity of the people of India based on the triple streams of political liberty, economic equality and spiritual fraternity, which must begin their healing flow and inundate this unfortunate hate-filled land.



19—?

One half the world is in a turmoil now,

As when a hive is stirred are frenzied bees.

Seeking to settle on some shattered bough.
Men scan the future with a furrowed brow

Reading the coming storm in ev'ry breeze.

And clutch with palsied hand the rusted plough.
A storm will burst with sudden shearing flame.

Not because come the tempest surely must.

But because men will not relinquish shame.
Beside it, Hiroshima will seem tame,

For what it leaves in yawning walls and dust
Will bear Stark Horror for a living name.
But we shall hope, and build a better world
Out of the ash in which the old was hurl'd.

3rd April, 1948.

IAN HOYLE, S.J.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



SO Mr. Jinnah did not over-reach himself after all. The Pakistan that he has achieved (although it must be said to his credit that he has achieved it without as much as spoiling the crease of his pants) is not what he has been feeding his admirers on, but the same "truncated and moth-eaten" stuff that he refused many times in the past. Public memory is notoriously short, but those who remember the details of the Rajaji scheme that formed the basis of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in September 1944, will wonder what reason the Quaid-e-Azam can have for feeling particularly happy over his latest feat. Unless, of course, he had meant to avoid a struggle with the British, which a settlement with the Congress might have necessitated.

Muslim opinion here shows an under-current of deep disappointment at the partition of the Punjab, and a degree of anxiety about the resources of the promised land. I can see nothing but danger in this feeling of disenchantment. Believe me, it is going to be no sinecure running the new State, and the temptation of the would-be rulers of Pakistan to divert the people's attention to Hindu tyrannies beyond the frontier is going to be very great. After all, Mr. Jinnah has learnt quite a few things from Hitler, and international Jewry remains even after Hebrew nationals have been dealt with. Mr. Jinnah will not be able to master the Frankenstein of communal hatred that he has brought into being, and will have to tamely follow it about. Not that, in the circumstances, it will not suit him to do so.

There is another possible line of development. The British and the Americans are interested in safety

measures directed against Russia, and surely Pakistan will have at least as much, if not more strategic value from their point of view, than Greece and Turkey. For its own part, Pakistan is going to be industrially and economically (and therefore militarily) very weak, and will need external help to develop its resources. Remember also that there is no tradition of mutual hostility between the British and the Mohammedans, and that Dominion Status has its own advantages. If hundreds of millions of dollars can be "presented" to Greece and to Turkey, certainly a few billions will not be unwelcome to Pakistan. Either side will think that it has exploited the other for the greater glory of its own people, but to the sub-continent of India such attentions to Pakistan by a foreign power will be truly calamitous.

Do not mistake the implications of "friendly relations" between Pakistan on the one hand, and Britain (with America behind her) on the other. An Ulster on the frontiers of the USSR will be an ulcer indeed. Anglo-American solicitude for the new State will push Hindustan and the Soviets into each other's arms, and another China will be enacted on Indian soil.

This then seems to be the prospect today—a bloody civil war either on communal or on Communist grounds. The only way it can be avoided is for the future rulers of Pakistan not to turn escapist, and to flee from difficulties neither by raising the bogey of Hindu imperialism nor by taking the shortest cut to prosperity by living on doles from Washington. But is it possible for leaders who have thriven on political blackmail and on popular passions, to suddenly change their nature and take the

long and narrow road? I think not. And even if it were, would it not mean taking the road back to unity and goodwill and co-operation, and undoing the work that they are just now glorying over? How many leaders are there anywhere in the world today who can admit having made mistakes and Himalayan blunders without a thought to the

effect such candidness will have on their popularity or influence? And is the Quaid-e-Azam one of them?

As I sit typing this diary out, I am conscious of the favour that has been done to me personally by Mr. Jinnah. Out of a mere provincial diarist, he has, unasked by me, created a foreign correspondent.

WHAT NEXT?

by K. VARADACHARI

I congratulate the Madras Ministry on the policy of utilising the services of the members of the Legislature for investigating and reporting on the working of Government's schemes or on serious incidents happening in the province. The appointment of Mr. T. K. T. N. R. Thathachari and Sreemathi Seethamahalakshamma for reporting on the firing incidents in Gazullanka, is quite good. Similarly the appointment of Messrs. N. S. Varadachari and M. Bapineedu for investigating and reporting on the working of the rural development scheme in the selected firkas of the province is also a very useful measure. I am not aware of their particular aptitude and experience for work of this kind. But they are very enthusiastic and sincere workers and can be counted upon for efficient work, provided they have not been instructed to condemn the scheme.

The Khadi scheme required more particular attention if Mr. Prakasam's policy about the spindles had to be reversed under force of circumstances. The scrapping of the procurement work of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies was absolutely uncalled for. I am perfectly sure that this thing was done merely to help the vested interests who found good support in some of the Andhra M.L.A.'s. Next came the announcement that the posts of cottage industries officers in the selected firkas were abolished. All honour to Mr. Vinayakam Pillai, the Assistant Development Commissioner, who resigned in protest against this policy. The Officers have been working only during the last three or four months and I understand that they have completed a detailed survey of the firkas in respect of the possibilities for introduction of

several cottage industries. To expect the firka development officers to be in charge of cottage industries also is wrong, as they are already overburdened with several other branches of work including education, sanitation, medical relief, communications, irrigation, agricultural improvement, etc. On top of all this comes the announcement that Messrs. N. S. Varadachari and Bapineedu are put on special duty. God knows what will happen to these selected firkas. It would be legitimate to ask the Government "What Next?" There are food committees which are the creation of Sri Prakasam's Premiership. Two more competent M.L.A.'s, one for Tamilnad and the other for Andhra, can be found among the famous "116" to report on their working also.

The sudden stopping of the work of the Aborigines Committee was itself an aboriginal act and resembled other ugly orders cancelling appointments and nominations made by the previous Ministry. To have directed the Committee to submit a report on the little that they had seen was highly Togliakian in character.

The policy of finding work for the M.L.A.'s from among the ministerial group of "116" is a very effective one. The rest cannot be depended upon for loyalty to the Ministry or for efficient work. Moreover, the refusal of the High Command to increase the number of Ministers or to appoint any Parliamentary Secretaries has put a heavy strain upon the leader in the matter of finding suitable work for the "disappointed". I wish the Premier Godspeed in his noble endeavour in this behalf. But let him beware of these who ran with the hare before but are prepared to hunt with the hound now.

If you step off the kerb with your left foot these days they accuse you of being a Communist.—Charlie Chaplin.

KHAN ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN

by K. T. NARASIMHA CHAR

"THE world is something that overcomes the man who seeks it and crouches to him who renounces it" says Sister Nivedita. These words may with truth be applied to the life of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. A glamorous personality who seems to have leaped out of the pages of romance, a leader who spurns power preferring his lonely hut to the homage of millions, a man who has turned the red violence in his blood into the gentle beauty of a life patterned after that of the modern prince of peace—such is Abdul Gaffar Khan!

The Khan brothers are a unique pair. While the elder, Dr. Khan Saheb, is a product of western education and culture, his younger brother had not till recently left the borders of his province. While one believes in the parliamentary programme and is now Premier of the North-West Frontier Province again, "Badshah Khan", as his followers affectionately call the other, has again and again refused the highest honour that India can offer to her sons—the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. He prefers to be a servant of his people to whom he has dedicated himself and who look upon him as their uncrowned king. "Serve your fellowmen," his whole life seems to echo, "and the joy you get thereby is greater than what the highest throne can give you." He has formed a band of volunteers, known as "Khudai Khidmatgars" or Servants of God, whose mission in life is the service of mankind and who are perhaps the finest examples of common men living according to Mahatma Gandhi's creed of truth, service and non-violence. Men who have been across the frontiers of India tell us that human life is about the cheapest thing in those areas. A quarrel once started is handed down from father to son and the toll that the spirit of revenge exacts in those parts even after generations is terrible indeed. In such a region millions of men have



Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan (Right) enjoying a cup of tea and talking with Jai Prakash Narain, the Socialist Party leader.

been made to forget their fiery temper and to transmute it into the gentle glow of love for humanity, fed by the ideal of service, kept aflame by the torch of truth! And such a miracle has been wrought before men's eyes by one man—Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan!

He has had his share of suffering and sacrifice in our struggle for freedom, he has had his share of misunderstanding and calumny at the hands of his co-religionists across the plains. But who is there to share with him the glory of having tamed the might and majesty of the lion into the meekness of a lamb? For what else is it that we see in the Pathan today as a result of the labours all these years of the "Frontier Gandhi", as his countrymen in India have affectionately nicknamed him?

"Religion is love and service" said Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in one of his addresses. Love for humanity, service of mankind—these are the guiding stars of his life; nothing else matters. The Frontier Gandhi is no learned man, he has no university degrees to tag on to his name but he is one who has had a glimpse of truth. "Badshah Khan" refuses to look on men of other faiths otherwise than as his brethren. He cannot accept the fanatical idea of regarding non-Muslims as Kafirs or as persons outside the pale of God's blessings. That accounts for his

stout opposition to Mr. Jinnah's scheme of Pakistan. In the eyes of God, argues the Pathan leader, all are His children. Wherefore these distinctions between man and man, whatever their faith, when Hindu and Muslim have lived like brothers for centuries and built up a common heritage? He rises above petty communal considerations, he does not aim at power, his dream is of a free and independent India in which his own beloved Pathans will play a worthy part. No wonder he is far from popular with the leading lights of the Muslim League.

TEMPLES SHOULD COMBAT ILLITERACY

by P. S. NAIR

IT is stated that the victorious Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution converted their churches into factories, a change unnatural to the mental outlook of the Hindus, however useful or welcome under Russian conditions. Hindu temples will have a bright future worthy of their past only if they underwent certain modifications or improvements. It is true that the reform of Hindu society and temple-entry will do away with some of the glaring evils connected with the temples, but some thing more positive is needed before they can stand the test of time.

One fails to understand why there should be a separate school apart from the temple at least in some of the villages. Every Christian church has got at least a school under its wings and the church without a school is a very rare exception. India cannot afford to lose the present golden opportunity to disseminate learning among the masses. Every temple with sufficient econo-

mic resources should provide primary schools or encourage adult education by night classes. Those which have not got sufficient resources can lend their premises for conducting schools. This will lessen the strain on the Government in pursuing their plans of compulsory primary education. The problem of school buildings can also be partially solved by the use of temple premises. Big temples like Guruvayur, Srirangam and Tirupati can maintain colleges or even universities.

The present method of spending temple wealth is extremely irrational and disappointing. It is therefore high time for public men to consolidate the economic and social wealth of the temples for a systematic campaign to combat illiteracy in the country. If this is taken up by some of our top leaders, the response from the people will be encouraging and a peaceful revolution can be accomplished without even a drop of tear.

IF TO BE CLEVER

If to be clever means that I must jest
At all that men hold sacred, and disdain
The simple teachings telling what is best,
Must serve the passions for my pocket's gain:
If brilliance means an utter lack of heart,
Lord, save me from the sin of being smart!

—Pearson.

SOUTH AFRICANS IN ENGLAND: A REVIEW

by "V. P. R."

WINNING six matches out of the twelve played, losing two and drawing four including a Test, the South Africans now touring England have proved themselves to be a strong combination. Their performances, both individually and collectively, are praiseworthy. Their captain, the stylish right-handed Alan Melville, has set a good example with a total of wellnigh over 700 runs, including two Test centuries in consecutive innings.

All touring teams invariably begin their tour with a match against Worcestershire, and what is more, lose it, nine times out of ten! The reasons are easy to find. The visiting batsmen are unaccustomed to the light, wicket and climate, while their bowlers are also handicapped. But this does not detract from Worcestershire's ability. Their fast bowler, Perks, has still the devil in him. The South Africans lost their opening fixture by 39 runs.

They were more successful in their second contest, beating Leicestershire by 10 wickets. Melville made a fine 104 in the tourists' first innings. This was, besides being his first century of the tour, also the first in first class cricket this season.

Cambridge and Surrey also lost to the South Africans. The former were beaten by an innings and 163 runs, thanks to 128 from Viljoen. Surrey lost the match by 115 runs, Melville making another century. The next match with Hampshire was drawn.

The M.C.C. who were beaten last year by the Indian tourists, performed well against the Africans and won the match. Bruce Mitchell was not out with 103 to his credit, in the visitors' second innings.

Oxford University were given a fine leather hunting, both Nourse and Viljoen scoring centuries. The University made 303 in reply to 510 for six and declared, at which stage rain washed out further play.

Mitchell (113), Rowan (100) and Mann (97) treated Glamorgan bowling with scanty respect and enabled their side to declare at 479 for eight. Glamorgan could muster only 348 in both their knocks and lost by an innings and 131 runs.

After winning a two-day fixture against the Services at Portsmouth, the Africans proceeded to play Middlesex at Lord's. It was evidently a batsman's paradise, and Mitchell (109), Viljoen (104), Compton (104) and Edrich (133) made hundreds. The match was drawn with the honours distributed equally.

Northamptonshire lost by an innings and 132 runs. The tourists began their First Test with England at Trent Bridge on June 7.

Hammond who has retired from first class cricket, could not lead England, and the selectors' choice was Yardley. The English team included Martin, Hollies and Dollery, to the exclusion of Wright who acted as the 12th man. The omission of Wright was a great surprise, especially because this young Kent bowler is acclaimed as the successor to Freeman. During the last tour of Australia, he was dogged by bad luck and many times did he beat the batsman without hitting the stumps.

The South Africans winning the toss batted first on a perfect wicket, and made 533. Melville and Nourse were engaged in a record partnership of 319 runs which is the highest for any wicket in Anglo-South African Tests. Melville's 189 is also the highest individual score for a South African in Tests, beating 176 by Herbert Taylor in 1922. The English attack was moderate if not altogether poor, and of the two new bowlers Hollies alone justified his inclusion. Martin, though successful in County cricket is, in my opinion, not sufficiently experienced for Test cricket. He eventually got one for 111 and bowled erratically. To save some certain bye boundaries, it is

stated, the keeper Evans had to make heroic dives. England could make only 208 in their first innings and Compton (65) and Edrich (57) alone withstood the attack. Following on, England made a fine rally, scoring 331. Compton was again the top-scorer with 163, though Yardley (99) also played well. Africa made 166 for 1 and the First Test was drawn. Melville made another hundred.

Some critics are inclined to blame Yardley's captaincy. This is unfair. The best a skipper can do is to lead well a team given to him. He cannot make players. I am sure a little more

wisdom on the part of the selectors will have given the match a different turn. Let us hope they will be "once bitten, twice shy".

The South Africans deserved the honours of the match and a word of praise to their skipper will not be out of place here. Their attack was consistent and Tuckett, Mann, Rowan and Smith were especially successful. England should send her scouts about to make new "finds". Then alone can she win a Test against the tourists. (Written after the Notts Test.)

THE NEXT SEASON

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT was the most unlikely epigrammatist who described the Thames as "liquid history", but it needs no John Burns to perceive that cricket is the sportive tradition and romance of England. There is something symbolical of religion in the fact that the season commences in May. The appearance of this blessed month, after the "discontent of winter" of which Shakespeare has complained so forcefully in his sonnets, has been hailed by fellow-poets with an awe and happiness, surpassing the glad bewilderment of "stout Cortez" when he started at the Pacific.

Autolycus, the refined successor of Touchstone, sings,

"When daffodils begin to peer,
With heigh, the doxy over the dale,
Why, then comes in the sweet o' the year;
For the red blood reigns in the winter's pale.

"The white sheet bleaching on the hedge,
With heigh, the sweet birds, O how they sing!
Doth set my pugging teeth on edge;
For a quart of ale is a dish for a king".

Even the most unimaginative mortal will need to be told by no dry-as-dust commentator that the phrase, "sweet o' the year", can be inferred by a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher to refer to the month of May. The very spirit of spring, the resurrection of the world, is implicit in the joyous song of the sublime comedian. He continues:

"The lark, that tirra-lirra chants,
With heigh, with heigh, the thrush and the jay,
Are summer songs for me and my aunts,
While we lie tumbling in the hay".

But this assertion bears little relation to the aspirations of most mortals who, even if they are possessed of aunts, cannot always induce them to tumble in the hay. A severe casuist may indeed remark that the most lovable of these creatures in all literature, Aunt Betsy Trotwood, diversified her benevolence with expulsions of donkeys from her gardens rather than with tumbling in the hay. But these not even summer songs, those provided by the lark (which, one notices, anticipates Sir Lancelot before the tower of the Lady of Shalott in chanting tirra-lirra), the thrush, and the jay, provide a music so melodious as that of bat and ball.

A compilation of a bead-roll of the passages in English literature, saluting the arrival of spring, will promise the discriminating lover of the classics not a little of the "magical power of poetry". One may with Wordsworth, find in the song of the solitary reaper an echo of the

"Voice . . . heard
In spring-time from the cuckoo bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides";

or, with Shakespeare himself recreate the beauty of "daffodils

That come before the swallow dares and take
The winds of March with beauty".

But, it is enough to indicate in base and halting prose that the patrimony of cricket in England is as dazzling as the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind.

No such tradition has as yet attached itself to the game in India. The season wants less than a month to commence in Madras, but no poetical reverie or allusion is available to gladden the hearts of the players. But I shall attempt in the limitations of an inadequate style to indicate the thoughts that stir in the minds of every feeling player as he contemplates the return of the period of his activity.

It must be confessed that neither July nor August is a month, at least in Madras, to move a poet to pæans of praise. It is still a time when he is glad of a shelter, and the prospect of running about in the torrid sun is far from inviting. It should be premised, however, that no true fanatic will allow the heat of the Sahara or the cold of the Poles to interfere with his game. But the point is different; it is that kind weather can endow a match with graciousness. The earth has fewer pleasures to offer than fielding or batting on the Marina ground at about three any November afternoon, the eyes unwontedly gladdened by the green turf, and the frame invigorated by the winds of heaven.

But, it is only in November and December that these heavenly days are to be met with. They have normally been preceded by the rains. Every Madras cricketer shudders as he recalls to memory the undue pulviness of last year. I remember, while awaiting my turn to go in to bat one Sunday, gazing idly at a little patch of cloud as it made its appearance in the eastern heaven. Within the space of ten minutes, the earth was grey with the reflection of the sabbleness above. The rains that commenced that day did not cease for six mortal weeks, and cricketers were beside themselves with mortification and disappointment that so many matches should be incapacitated. But fortunately this deluge is not likely of constant repetition. Not even the most hardened cricketer objects to the fall of rain in moderation, if only because when he takes the field later, the ground should be pleasant and sweet to sight.

This disconnected recital of the natural concomitants of cricket in this city serves to show how poorly we are served in extraneous aids. India awaits a poet who should garnish the seasons with verbal magic in an universal language.



Sir Arthur Conan Doyle once related a bantering conversation he had had with a £10 a week actor who was in the cast of one of his plays. The young chap had laughingly suggested that the two agree to divide their incomes with each other for the rest of their lives, but naturally Sir Arthur had refused such a ridiculous offer. The £10 a week youngster was Charlie Chaplin—*Christian Science Monitor*.

"18th century materialism depended on the prevailing condition of the sciences, which still showed profound weaknesses. Chemistry had barely developed. Sciences relevant to the evolution of Nature hardly existed. The origin of species was rarely discussed. In consequence, the 18th century materialists did not consider Nature in its development, but as a great machine in eternal rotation, which for this reason had no history . . . they therefore left a task unaccomplished: that of applying in a consistent manner materialism to history, to the study of the development of society."

The 'Bookman' publishers have done a real piece of service to our reading public in bringing out this collection of scholarly, yet forceful essays. An excellent publication has, however, been made somewhat annoying to read, since there are numerous printing mistakes—entire lines being frequently found in the wrong places. Rectification of these errors will make this valuable book less trying to the reader.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and type-written.

Ban on Merit

The decision of the Madras Government to rescind the order fixing 20 per cent of the admission to the engineering and medical colleges on the basis of pure merit, will be deplored by all those who believe in education for service as against education for jobbery. The only reason for this decision seems to be an indecent anxiety on the part of the present Ministry to undo the work of the last one. While this step will be naturally resented by all those who believe in the education of the fittest as a means of increasing the national potential, it will cause no surprise to those who have easily yielded to the principle that the highest office in the province can be filled in on considerations other than pure merit. A premium on incompetence is by all standards retrograde.

It is never too late to mend. The Ministry will do well to continue the 20 per cent reservation rule.

A. K.

Lopsided

The attitude of the present Ministry with regard to admissions to professional colleges, is lopsided. One is led to believe that in the province of Madras merit is a disqualification.

Last year 20 per cent. of the seats in the professional colleges were reserved to be filled in according to merit. The present Ministry has not only scrapped last year's procedure of admission, it has gone as far as withdrawing the concessions granted to women students in medical colleges, except in the case of Muslims and scheduled castes. If the Ministry thinks that students of these two communities are poor, they should realise that Hindu and Christian women students are as poor as Muslim and scheduled castes; in many cases, even poorer.

Hence it is very clear that the decision of the Congress Ministry is nothing but the quintessence of injustice.

K. V. V.

Conjeevaram.

The B.O.L. Pass Degree

It is understood that the Madras Government have been pleased to create 10 posts of lecturers in the Madras Educational Service, for the various Government Colleges, in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Urdu and that appointments are going to be made soon. It is further understood that the Director of Public Instruction has fixed: (1) B.A. (Hons.) or M.A. degree, first or second class, of a University in the province in the language concerned and (2) B.O.L. of the Madras University, first or second class, in the language concerned to be considered as equivalent to B.A. (Hons.) or M.A. degree as minimum qualifications for the purpose of recruitment to these posts.

It is beyond one's comprehension how a pass degree like B.O.L. may be considered to be equivalent to a B.A. (Hons.) or M.A. degree and it is very strange indeed that the Director has failed to include B.O.L. (Hons.) degree of the Madras University as one of the qualifications for these posts.

In the case of subjects other than languages, it is a well known fact that pass degrees like B.A. and B.Sc. are prescribed as minimum qualifications for tutors, demonstrators, school assistants and deputy inspectors of schools and that for the posts of assistant lecturers and lecturers in these subjects B.A. (Hons.) and B.Sc. (Hons.), first or second class, are insisted. Likewise, in the interest of efficiency and uniformity of standard, it is only fair and just that the Director of Public Instruction cancels the B.O.L. as one of the minimum qualifications for these posts and in its place includes B.O.L. (Hons.), first or

BOOKS

Problems Of International Development.

By Edward Kardelj. (People's Publishing House, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, 4, Price, As. 8.)

"It would be a very great mistake to identify the destruction of a concrete Fascist set-up, such as Hitler's Fascist Axis and its satellites, with the destruction of Facism as a general phenomenon of imperialism, and with the destruction of its sources." This is the warning sounded by the author of this pamphlet who is a leading member of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Pointing to Churchill's opposition to the opening of the Second Front during the last war as an example, he says that although the Second World War was fundamentally a war of liberation, its specific developments were influenced by imperialist elements. These elements, now after the end of the war, are seeking once again to dominate the world. American capitalism is the most powerful of these imperialist forces. The old capitalist Europe is no longer the centre of the capitalist world; U.S.A. occupies that position today. "The greatest economic expansion in history is taking place before our eyes. American finance capital is not merely well on the way of winning, all by itself, dominant positions in the economic life of the defeated countries, it has not only enslaved from an economic point of view practically the whole of South America, the Philippines, China, etc., but is also reaching for the 'independent' capitalist countries, more especially for the British and French colonies and spheres of influence." This is accompanied by the appearance of various 'political philosophies' in the American press explaining the necessity of American world domination. The talk of a "clash between two ideologies" only shrouds in a cloak of ambiguity that which is perfectly clear; the world is divided, not into adherents of dialectical materialism and those of idealism, but into imperialist expansionists and people striving for freedom and democracy

The author points out that though American expansionism might achieve a certain measure of success, there is room for hope because it will involve constant interference in the domestic affairs of the countries involved and is "bound to expose the national bourgeoisie and the local reactionary forces, as agents of foreign imperialism, in the eyes of the people." This leads up to the conclusion that the struggle for true democracy within each capitalist country, and the struggle for a democratic peace and co-operation among nations, are the two facets of the same problem that faces the world.

Ten Essays On The French Revolution.

(Published by The Bookman, 63, Dharmtalla Street, Calcutta. Price, Rs. 3-8.)

This is the first Indian edition of a collection of ten essays written by leading members and intellectuals of the French Communist Party in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak in 1789 of the French Revolution. These essays deal with specific aspects of that great movement of the people, the background to which is provided in a lengthy and valuable 'General Introduction' by T. A. Jackson. Different people have taken up different attitudes towards the Revolution which Shelley considered to be one of the two central events in the history of Europe, the other being the birth and life-work of Jesus Christ. Goebbels expressed the attitude of the Fascists when he boasted that "the year 1789 will be erased from history." As Maurice Thorez says in his essay, "the bourgeois who do not sympathize with Fascism have a different interpretation of the Great Revolution. For them 1789 was a necessity and a boon; but they consider, firstly, that everything was settled definitely by the Revolution of 1789; and, secondly, that the great days of the Revolution, its manifestations of extreme revolutionary audacity and energy, are 'excesses' to be

at least deplored, if not condemned outright." Commenting on this attitude, Thorez says: "This opinion reflects purely and simply the class interest of the capitalist bourgeois whom the Revolution brought to power. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie would like to elevate the production relations of capitalist society into eternal categories. They proclaim principles and arguments which express the economic and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie as eternal truths. They forget completely that the feudalists—the aristocracy and the clergy, with the King at their head—who were deprived of their rights and privileges by the Revolution, likewise believed, or pretended to believe, in the eternal truth of their domination over the people. But the earth has not stopped turning, and another system of society, communist society, will succeed capitalist society, in the same way as capitalist society replaced feudal society." This quotation will have to be borne in mind as indicating the basic approach of all the writers who have contributed special studies of particular aspects of the Revolution to this volume.

Conflict of interest between the new bourgeoisie and the common people was certainly not absent even during the Revolution. "It would appear," declared one of the Jacobin clubs in 1793, "that the Revolution has changed nothing beyond letting the men with money succeed those with parchments," and that "the rich are no better than the nobility." This conflict was at the root of the rivalry between the Jacobins and the Girondins, which has caused much confusion in the popular mind and given room for misinterpretation by certain historians of the Revolution. Roughly speaking, the Jacobins stood to the Left of the Girondins; it was the Jacobin leaders and the popular clubs which they formed, who demanded universal suffrage as against the distinction made by the Constituent Assembly (in disregard of Robespierre's protest) between active citizens—those who paid a certain minimum tax, that is, the comparatively rich people—and passive citizens, which meant the poorer sections of artisans and peasants. The Jacobins also initiated many measures which have become an accepted part of modern, 'scientific' Socialism, like the abolition of indirect taxation, heavy taxation of the rich (apart from the complete confiscation of the property of the emigres and Royalist supporters), control of the banks and of the export of capital, etc.

These interesting points emerge from the essay on the finances of the Revolution, contributed by Jacques Solomon.

Another study that deserves special attention is on the subject of the foreign policy of the Jacobins, by Gabriel Peri. Uncritical and prejudiced people fail to analyse the forces which were at work in France between the year 1790 when the Constituent Assembly proclaimed: "The French nation renounces any intention of embarking on wars with a view to conquest and will not employ force against the liberty of any people," and the year 1795 by which time France had concluded several treaties of territorial expansion. Expansionism, however, was not the policy of the true leaders of the Revolution. It will be useful to recall Robespierre's words: "The most extravagant idea which can be born in the head of a politician is to think that it is sufficient for a people to appear, with arms in their hands, before a foreign people, to have their laws and their constitution adopted. No one likes armed missionaries Before the effects of our Revolution are felt by foreign countries it must be consolidated." It was against the advice of Robespierre and the Jacobins that war was declared on Austria, and a year later on England. About the latter event, Robespierre said: "With what cowardly hypocrisy the traitors made play with the supposed insults to our envoys, which had been contrived in advance between them and the foreign powers! It was not enough to have the armed tyrants against us; they (the traitors) wanted to doom the nation to hatred and render the Revolution hideous in the eyes of the universe." This spirited attack on what Jaures called 'revolutionary imperialism' was not heeded by the Gironde; after the assassination of Robespierre in July 1794, and the victory of the Thermidorian reaction, adventurist policies of annexation held the field and almost destroyed the initial enthusiasm for the Revolution which swept over Europe.

Why did the Revolution fail to achieve the full and final emancipation of the French people? Apart from the Marxist economic explanation that the material conditions were not yet ripe, Georges Politzer in his essay on the Philosophy of Enlightenment provides a brilliant analysis of the rationalism of the 18th century French thinkers, which explains the limitations of the materialist philosophy which was able to beat back the obscurantist medieval ideology but was unable to evolve a scientific theory of the development of human society.

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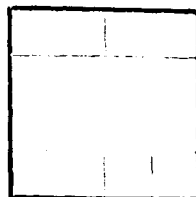
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second class. The B.O.L. pass degree may be fixed as the minimum qualification for tutors and school assistants in the languages concerned.

It is because of this anomaly that the Andhra University has refused, and rightly too, to consider the pass degree of the B.O.L. of Madras, as equivalent to B.A. (Hons.) Telugu, Sanskrit, etc. of the Andhra University for purposes of appointing lecturers in languages in the colleges affiliated to it.

S. MUTHUSWAMI.

Colombatore.

Andhra University Act Amendment

The committee constituted by the Madras Government to consider the proposal to amend the Andhra University Act so as to include the Ceded Districts and Chittoor in its area is reported to have approved the proposal. These districts, it will be remembered, were originally included in the Andhra University area but were subsequently excluded by means of an amendment in response to a persistent demand from representative institutions and individuals. Since then, these districts are included in the Madras University area. Nothing has happened now to warrant a disturbance of the present arrangement.

So far as Bellary district is concerned, there is no justification at all for the proposed amendment. Six out of the nine taluks in the district are included in the Karnatak area since 1921 as per the terms of the Kelkar Award. A separate university for Karnatak is already in the offing. We are on the threshold of formation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Bellary district and other Kannada areas eagerly look forward to this event and especially the formation of a separate Karnatak province and a Karnatak University. For Kannadigas this ideal has been the very breath of their nostrils. The committee constituted by the Madras Government is reported to have conceded the right of the Kannadigas of Bellary district to get their institutions affiliated to the Karnatak University if and when it is formed. Since this is to be formed shortly, why include the district now in the Andhra University area? What is the special charm in including it now and allowing it to depart very shortly? What are the special advantages which the Andhra University is going to confer within this short period and which has not been hitherto conferred by the Madras University? The

proper course is to respect the wishes of the people of the district. The two representatives of the district who have been now nominated to the committee know full well that the opinion in the district is that the amendment should be opposed. So far as Kannadigas are concerned, there can be no two opinions on the subject.

M. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.

Hospet.

The Function Of The Press

The letter writers have not yet ceased to object to your gentle comments on C.R.'s part in ousting Prakasam from leadership. To them C.R. is infallible and any criticism of him, even if just, is resented by them.

But the attitude of the Press is altogether of a different kind. Because certain persons obstinately refuse to face facts from which they turn with great chagrin, they in turn should not expect the Press to do likewise. The function of the Press is to protect the leader (here Sri Prakasam) against the palpably grievous wrong, long ruminated and perpetrated by others. If *Swatantra* had refrained, in a non-committal manner, from passing slightly adverse remarks against C.R., then it could have been said that it abdicated its function and neglected its primary duty. Not to have done so is to the great and everlasting credit of *Swatantra*. The journal has indulged in some plain-speaking. This plain-speaking, animated by good intentions, is a virtue which every newspaper must cultivate. In this connection the words of the great British journalist Wickham Steed are well worth remembering: "My ideal newspaper would be the servant of the public, to whose welfare alone it would acknowledge allegiance, albeit without the misguided sycophancy that flatters an imaginary public and assumes that readers would not stand plain-speaking. A faithful servant tells his master the truth." *Swatantra*, to a considerable extent, can be said to have attained this ideal.

V. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Victims Of Press Black-Out

There is a Telugu popular saying that 'the dogs barked six months after the theft was over'. The news of the heroic fight of one crore of Andhras in Telangana districts against the Nizam and his Deshmukhs, that was brought to light only through the organs of the Communist Party, was completely suppressed in the nationalist press. The same case

is repeated in connection with the police atrocities in North Malabar. I thank the editor of *Swatantra* for having sent his correspondent to North Malabar at least now, if not six months back. Let him get similar reports of police atrocities in Andhra (i.e., Gajulanka, Challapalli estate, etc.) and enlighten the public, the poor victims of the false news of the reactionary press.

Rebala. K. V. RAMANA REDDY.

"No Guts" Charge

It is unbecoming that a first-rate journalist like you should take pleasure in denouncing the Ministers and other leaders of unquestionable ability. That your blind loyalty to Sri Prakasam should drive you to such unwarranted and undesirable criticism is highly surprising to persons like me who have been looking upon you as an impartial, unbiassed and constructive critic all these days since the inception of your useful and powerful weekly. You should not ignore the fact that the present Ministers were rightly or wrongly elected by the majority of the Party just as Sri Prakasam and his Ministers were. You have been condemning all these days the hoodlomanism of the Leaguers and the Communists. But your cynical silence at the rowdiness of the Congressmen in various places is far from the principles for which you professed loyalty. Since those people claim to be supporters of Sri Prakasam, you have no guts to condemn their indecent activities.

Tirupati. M. KRISHNASWAMY.

"Agony Of A Righteous Soul"

I am disappointed to see in the issue of *Swatantra* dated 7th June a mangled portion of my article entitled "Kala Venkata Rao, supporter of capitalists and goondas" sent to you for publication. You left out the portion relating to Tadepalligudem *in toto* and published only what I wrote about Kala's visit to Tanuku. Your omission sapped and dried up the essence of my article which lay in the account I gave of the unwarranted, unjust and brutal assault on the students by the rice millowner and the motor fleet owner and his band of goondas and close on this, the lathi-charge by the police while Kala kept quiet. The police officials too never objected to the onrush of goondalim of the capitalist hosts of the Minister at Tadepalligudem against the students who had staged a peaceful and legal demonstration. A Madras daily report-

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What I wish to bring to your notice is that in the absence of the least provocation or abuse or anything of that sort, the two capitalist hosts of the Minister, thinking that they have got the sanction and consent of the Minister behind them, indulged in unjust assault on the students. Close on this assault the police made a lathi charge. The Minister chose to keep silent over this and never asked his hosts and party why and how they could take the law into their own hands and assault the students. Police officials always side the rich people; so they never questioned them or took action against them even after a complaint by the students. Is this not jungle law?

Sri Kala Venkata Rao acquiesced in the use of goondalim at Tadepalligudem. The world to-day is heading towards Socialism and so the leaders must line up with the times and seek the support of the people and not of a few rich. In this sense Kala is not a popular leader, but a conservative, retrogressive and reactionary force in Madras Presidency. I represent in saying this the voice of the people of Tadepalligudem.

I reposed my faith in your intellectual integrity for bringing out this injustice to the notice of the wide world. Put in print the agony of a righteous soul against the might of injustice.

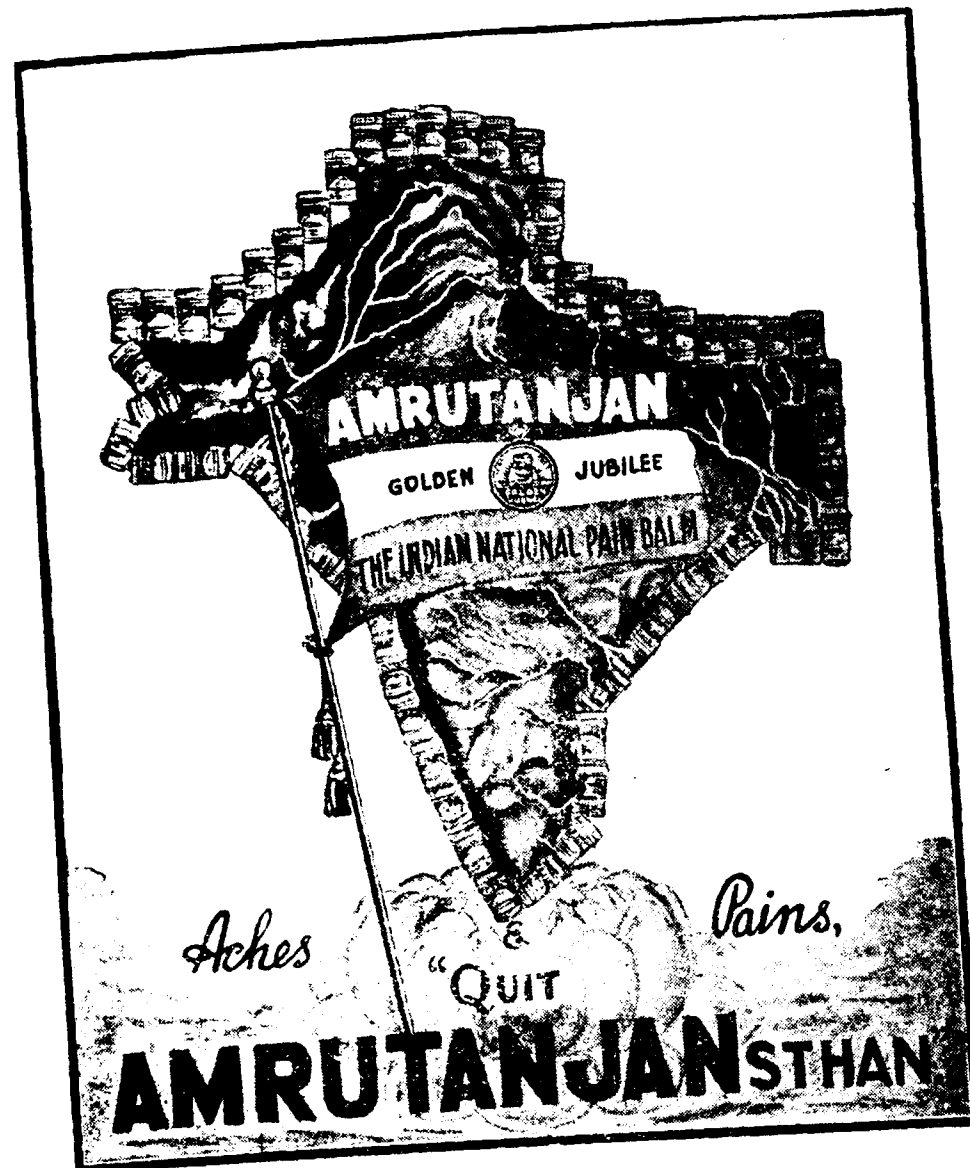
P. NARAYANA RAO.

Tadepalligudem.

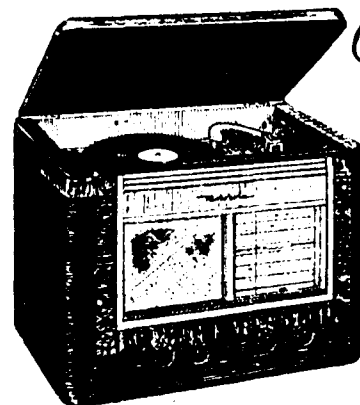
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K. SANKAR RAO.



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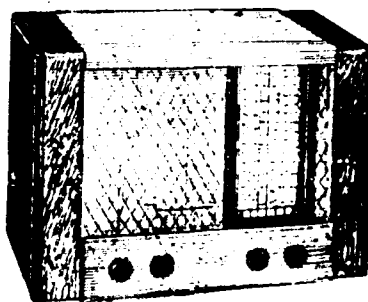


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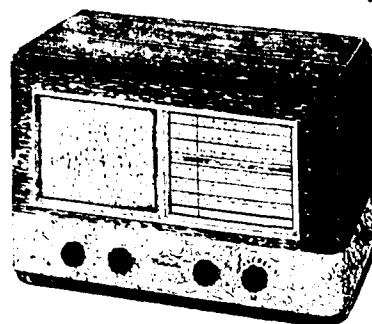
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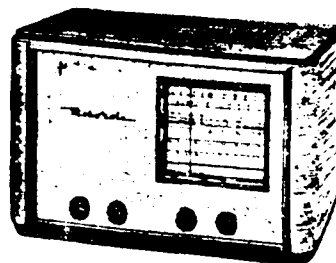
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 20.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1947.

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SWATANTRA

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No. 20

SATURDAY, JUNE 28 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

COMMON MAN DISINHERITED

NOW that the division of India is about to become an accomplished fact, it is no use wasting any more tears over what cannot be helped. When the division is completed, Pakistan will become, for all practical purposes, a foreign State like Afghanistan. That will mean, for those who elect to go into the new State, an end of their rights of citizenship in the rest of India. Mr. Jinnah who staked everything on division should have known this, if ever anyone should. But comprehension of it does not seem yet to have dawned on his understanding. How are we otherwise to account for his reported insistence on having a say of his own as to what the rest of India, after the exclusion of Pakistan, is to be called? It would appear that he is averse to its being called India, and wants it to be called Hindustan. What the rest of India is to be called will be a matter for decision by the nationals of that territory, and Mr. Jinnah will have voted himself out of it at the birth of Pakistan, and if the non-Pakistani leaders want to call their country India, there is no means by which Mr. Jinnah can prevent it, short of entering the lists himself as a competitor for the same name in abrogation of the title of Pakistan itself. This is at the moment so speculative a contingency that it need not be considered seriously, though from a man so given to dramatic stunts as Mr. Jinnah, nothing can be ruled out for certain, merely for the reason

that it is improbable. Another improbability which we mention only as a tribute to the unpredictable character of the man is that, despite his widely advertised acquisition of houses and property in Pakistan—or may be just because of it—he may, at the eleventh hour, decide after all to reside in Bombay or Delhi instead of Lahore or Karachi and plump for the citizenship of India. In the event of this unforeseen possibility coming to pass, Congress leaders will feel the pain of a double defeat at Mr. Jinnah's hands—they will have yielded to his demand for division without reaping from their surrender its anticipated boon of a riddance from Mr. Jinnah's further continuance as a nuisance and a disturbing factor. The division of India will not then mean the final disposal of the two-nations theory. The whole apple cart of Congress plans for India is apt to be most violently disturbed if Mr. Jinnah should set up as a citizen of India or Hindustan to champion the Muslim "nation" outside Pakistan, with the full resources of Pakistan inevitably at his back and most readily available to play with.

Apart from Mr. Jinnah's handling of himself in the near future, the future of the Muslim League in India is a ticklish question. Assuming that Mr. Jinnah will pass over to Pakistan, what towards him will be the attitude of the Muslim League in the Indian Union? The sentimental attachment of millions of



—By Ram Gopa

Sir ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AIYER

Indian Muslims for Mr. Jinnah as a great benefactor of the community is a bond too firmly established to be severed in a day, but then if it should remain intact, it would mean the super-imposition of extraneous direction within the body politic of a State which the Congress leaders at its helm would find it extremely difficult to put up with. Their position would be identical with that of Dr. Benes in Czechoslovakia before the war when he had to reckon with the disruptive operations of a substantial body of Sudetan Germans within the State inspired from outside by Hitler, and tendering to him a loyalty superior to any that they felt for the country of which they were the citizens. Neville Chamberlain, then Britain's Premier, who foolishly thought that the troubles of distant Czechoslovakia were no concern of his own country, represented a common failing of the world's great powers prone to regard the mass manufacture of wrong ideas and hatred-philosophy, in areas outside their immediate political jurisdiction, with the indifference of detached observers, or the zest of interested wirepullers, as something not likely to cause them hurt or adversely effect their fortunes. As a matter of fact, the whole world has had to pay for the rise to formidable power of Hitler, not excluding countries that had hoped to derive immense advantage out of it for themselves at the cost of forces to which they were hostile, which they had banked on Hitler to suppress.

The division of India on the lines indicated in the Mountbatten plan represents the triumph of a conception of government inimical to world peace, quite as much as the backing of Hitler before the western democracies realised the potential danger of German fascism, and it is certain to create many problems and cause unending headaches to the United Nations Organisation on which the modern world's hopes of peace would

seem to rest. For, the hate-born creed of communalism of which the results are seen, along with the birth of a new State on Indian soil, in the orgies of arson, murder, loot and rapine taking place in many parts of India today, is no less a menace to international peace and security than the fascism and imperialism against which the conscience of the world, and in particular of the people of the imperialist nations themselves, is at last being roused. What, in reality, is the essence of the freedom of which so much is being talked and of the democratic foundations of government that are regarded as indispensable for its preservation and safeguarding? Freedom should be for all and not merely for those that happen to wield power for the time being, and it is the glory of democracy that it is the one type of government on earth that provides for the continuing rights of a minority not in power. The Government and all the benefits comprised in government such as education, peace, prosperity and the pursuit of happiness, belong without distinction to all people, and democracy is not merely a form of government, but a thing of the spirit with its own ways of self-expression in meaningful terms of utility and beauty, a continuing co-operative effort in human society in which each citizen has to put into the field of common welfare, in sacrifice and devotion, as much as he takes out in privilege. But communalism cuts across the whole system of the basic principles pertaining to democracy, with aberrations pledged to the creation of a dominant favoured class, distinct and separate from the rest, and encouraged to regard itself as entitled to special treatment. Muslim communalism has set in motion a series of imitating communalisms with the result that very little is left now of anything by way of a common citizenship for all. Congress in power is tainted with the spirit of communalism no less than the Muslim

League, and in the Congress-governed provinces, no less than in the League ones, there is nothing like uniformity of treatment or opportunity for members of all communities. In a province like Madras, for example, merit has attained the indignity of a disqualification—and a series of bans on a communal basis to do the deserving out of their dues in not merely opportunities of employment but education itself, has become the order of the day and usurped the name of government. While fighting with the Muslim League for power, the Congress has succumbed to the League morally, and while maintaining the illusion of combat, both have gravitated together in spirit, and have come to work on identical lines, letting loose on the country a series of warring communalisms, with the law of the jungle established in supreme position in displacement of every fundamental canon of equality and fairplay.

The spectacle of the freedom that is being evolved in the wake of the approaching disappearance of the outside ruling power, is now revealed to be a ghastly thing of shreds and patches. The pattern of the new freedom cuts across the very integrity of citizenship, and the trend is towards creating as many grades of citizenship as there are communal organisations mobilising their energies with pleas for special concessions. The disinheritance of the common man is the net result of the manoeuvres and operations of all these warring communalisms. The establishment of the common man as a beneficiary of freedom in displacement of the usurpation of State authority by sectional power-grabbers is now the real test of our progression on democratic lines. "An empty meal sack cannot stand up" says an authority on the American constitution. All Governments have economic foundations—therefore "a wide diffusion of property and a general equality of condition are the

very foundation stones of popular government; a high concentration of wealth is incompatible with universal suffrage." He concludes that "unless the agencies of popular will can legislate appropriately and administer efficiently, democratic forms will perish, no matter what oceans of ink are spilt and what flowers of eloquence bloom in their defence." These words of warning are well worth the attention of India's constitution-framers.

Good-bye To Commonsense

THE Government of Madras have appointed a committee to examine the future of the producers-cum-consumers co-operative societies in the four Circar districts in the Andhra area. Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar is to be the chairman of the committee. No worse chairman could have been thought of if the *bona fides* of the Government's declared objective of "putting the societies to the best use possible" is to make any impression on the public mind. Mr. Chettiar has already proclaimed himself on the public platform as a confirmed opponent of Sri Prakasam's procurement scheme. Here are a few extracts from the speech delivered by him at the All-India Co-operative Conference held in Madras on 11th May:

"The (Prakasam) Ministry, under the advice of a young I.C.S. officer with more enthusiasm than experience, decided to establish what are called producer-cum-consumer societies, without consulting those working in the co-operative field and without any education or propaganda. . . ."

"It is a pity that the ex-Premier had no knowledge or experience of co-operative societies nor will he heed the advice and warnings given by those who had such knowledge and experience. . . ."

"It is a great pity that the work of the co-operative movement which was developing and extending in all possible ways should be interfered with

by this hasty move on the part of the Government without consultation with those working in the field. . . ."

"I appeal to the present Government to take competent advice. . . ."

The "competent advice" is apparently now to be taken, and is about to be given, signifying that when Mr. Chettiar spoke of "those working in the co-operative field" with "knowledge and experience" he was only making an indirect veiled reference to his own self. It is quite clear that he has a very mighty opinion of himself as an expert in the co-operative field containing in his pocket the last word of wisdom and in his heart nothing but bitter wrath against anyone presuming to do good without calling in his aid. The personal qualities of Mr. Chettiar are not however so important as the fact that under their impulsion he had set himself up in a mood of unforgiving chagrin as a campaigner against the ex-Premier's co-operative scheme. That such a prejudiced

individual should be requisitioned, of all people, to sit in judgment over the scheme itself which he had publicly denounced in such unequivocal terms, is enough to damn the intentions of the Ministry in appointing the present committee. If Mr. Chettiar had any judicial temper, he would have himself realised, after his exhibition of hostility, his own disqualification for any service of goodwill to the societies under examination. It is surprising that responsible non-official gentlemen with freedom of action should be influenced to work under a chairmanship so tainted with pre-professed partiality. That the present Ministry should ever dream that Sri Prakasam would act like a babe in the woods by setting the seal of his own consent on their outrageous committee only shows how completely they have taken leave of commonsense in their perpetual anxiety to undo the work of the ex-Premier and heap discredit on him in every possible way.

Sotto Voce

The Monument



"MAN was born free and everywhere he is in chains." This old wail of a congenital vagabond could have been prompted only by the sight of innumerable officials, with satchels containing their frugal lunch slung over their shoulders, hurrying to catch the 10-15 to Paris. To Rousseau who, like Jacques, could console himself for man's base ingratitude with the gentle intimacies of wayside trees and forgotten pools the prospect of sitting on a stool for hours on end in the grey light of an office must have seemed like a foretaste of hell. But the good

bourgeoisie no doubt pitied him from the bottom of their hearts. And their confreres in India, now on tenterhooks thanks to the Pay Commission, would mob anyone who had the temerity to suggest that it might be good to retire people at fifty.

The Commission's recommendation that the age of superannuation be raised to fifty-eight may not find the Governments enthusiastic. To pension off a man on Rs. 500 and to employ in his stead a cub on Rs. 50, which is what they do now,

is to kill two birds with one stone. Beside, the substantial reduction in the payroll, you play for safety by opening the wicket gate to one of the clamorous horde of youth knocking for admission. Of course the senior hands grumble, having to do the donkey's work and to break the young colt into the bargain. But that very thought almost reconciles Heads of Offices to their diminished importance; no Nosey Parker from the Public Services Commission can deprive them of the pleasure of piling up work on those they do not like.

However fitful the gleam, the optimists hovering on the brink of fifty-five are firmly persuaded that it is no will-o'-the-wisp but an authentic beacon that the Pay Commission has lit up. And there is a new springiness in their gait, a new brightness in their eyes. Three years more of salary and service—what might not one do with it? Three sons could complete their education and two at least could be found jobs through influence; a couple of daughters well-dowered; the loan from the Co-operative Building Society almost paid off; and for the more daring, there are visions even of a serviceable if war-weary jeep.

But fifty-eight will find our Sisyphus sighing for more stones to roll. Those mysterious heights where superannuated members of the Heaven-born Services renew their youth doing liaison work (with unspecified parties) for our great captains of industry and drawing five-figure salaries for their pains are not for humble folk. But there are openings, if only you skilfully scout for them. The ex-Deputy Collector burgeons into a 'Dewan' and even the humble Revenue Inspector realises the ambition of a life-time by becoming a Tahsildar—even if it be only zamindari and with a salary probably half of what he used to draw.

Our bureaucrats are like the jutka-horse. They must run till they drop:

halt them and they will crumple up. The usual explanation, that they have no other interests in life, no hobby, no private resource is only partially true. Many of them turn religious in the early fifties. And for most of them money-making is the common hobby—no one asks of a hobby whether it pays. As for private entertainment, there is plenty—nagging at the servants, eluding the vigilance of the wife, taking it out of meek subordinates.

The official has been shielded so long from all contact with reality that when the toga falls off his shoulders his nakedness is pitifully evident. An old clerk-herd in one of our big City offices, who was a born teaser, applied for commutation of pension on retirement—only to be told that as he was suffering from high blood pressure he was not "a good life." That sent him into a towering rage. "What ingratitude! This wretched Government made me slave for it for thirty years. And having made a nervous wreck of me, it is mean enough to wish to cheat me of my dues." The outburst was typical of a man whose arteries had hardened in every sense.

To the middle-class family the bread-winner is a god; in the enervating atmosphere of Government service he degenerates into a tin god. Whether at home or in the office he is allowed to do nothing for himself; be it the switching on of a fan or the spreading out of a towel in the sun to dry, obsequious hands leap to do his unspoken bidding. The world—his world—would be unspeakably scandalised if he walked where he could ride. At his approach the voices of children are hushed in well-schooled reverence. His proud partner invariably speaks of him to awed subordinates in the impersonal third person which one reserves for established institutions. Appropriately enough; for he has long ceased to be a man; he has become a monument.

VIGHNESWARA.



STATES AND FEDERATION

by R. S. SANKARA IYER

THE Indian constitution that has to be framed will have to start with the definition of the nationals who form the political entity. Hitherto, under the British imperial scheme, the self-governing units, namely, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Great Britain and North Ireland, formed the nations. Indians were only the "people" of the Empire. Now, when India becomes self-governing, whether as a single Federation or more, with its constituent provincial parts, India will be a sovereign State in the language of political science.

A sovereign State is—to put it in very simple terms—a territory occupied by citizens of the State, who in the eye of the law are equal, who owe allegiance to the State, and to whom the State is bound in return to extend its protection, and which derives its power from no outside Power but from its citizens. The basic foundation of a State is the freedom and equality of the citizens. They must have freedom of speech, of religious belief, of person and must have equal opportunities for education, trade, business and owning of property. The collective power and authority of the State maintains and protects these elementary rights of the citizen. The first thing is to declare the qualifications for citizenship. Is it to be adult franchise without distinction of sex? Is there to be property qualifications? What are the disqualifications? Once these are settled, every citizen has a right to expect the protection of the State. The State has equally a right to demand of the citizens' loyalty and allegiance. Their names must be entered on a roll. When the entry is made evidencing the admission of the person to citizenship, some solemn declaration of loyalty and allegiance must be made, attested and recorded.

Will this fundamental legal foundation be limited to the newly-to-be-formed Federation and its parts? Or will it not be logical to insist on

the areas and peoples now ranked as areas of ruling princes and subjects of such princes, also conforming to this need to attain the status of nationhood? If this prime need is duly appreciated it will be a necessary sequel that the people of those areas will, as nationals and subjects of the ruling princes, have to guide the prince with reference to the mutual relations of that nation and the Federation. It will be unthinkable that a prince will make any choice opposed to the wishes of the people duly and fairly ascertained and expressed according to the constitution of that nation. Equally unthinkable is the possibility of the Federation entering into any treaty or arrangement with a prince who has either not made his people rise to the status of citizenship or who has disregarded the expressed wish and choice of his citizens.

Conceivably a prince and his citizens may elect to have no relationship with the Federation, as completely as if it were a nation beyond the seas. Then it will have no better privileges than a nation beyond the seas, in the Federal territory.

When the prince and his citizens elect to stand apart, then, there will be a great many changes as compared with the present. At present, a subject of a native State governed by Paramountcy has equal privileges with a British Indian subject, in the matter of holding office, seeking employment, owning and acquiring property, living and trading and carrying on any profession in British India. He has further the same protection under the law. But when the prince and his citizens elect to be foreign, then all these privileges will disappear.

Let us illustrate by taking the case of Travancore. When the Federation comes into being and the present State of Travancore stands out, the following results may follow:

All Travancoreans in the Federation territory who own property in

such territory (ii) carry on business (iii) hold public office (iv) work for gain or (v) live therein, will be asked to elect to be citizens of Travancore or citizens of the Federation. If they elect to be Travancoreans, they may be (1) asked to go back to their State territory (2) deprived of the ownership of property by compulsory acquisition (3) have their trades, banks and businesses wound up (4) directed to be governed by passport rules if they wish to live inside the Federal territory (5) externed as undesirable aliens for proper cause (6) automatically deprived of their offices under the Government and (7) have their re-entry prohibited.

In the same way the nationals of the Federation now employed in Travancore may be compulsorily recalled on pain of losing the citizenship in the Federation.

Recently Mr. Henry Wallace was threatened by agitators in the U.S.A. with recall and trial on the charge of speaking in Europe against the U.S.A. Similarly any Federation national who, as an employee of a native State, speaks against the Federation can be proceeded against for anti-national speeches and actions.

Conceivably the present Dewan may be subject to suitable disciplinary action by the Federation when it comes into being if he, even then, persists in his present hostile propaganda.

When the Paramountcy of the British Crown lapses there is no obligation on the part of the Federation, the successor authority in British India, to maintain the dynasty of any native prince on his gadi. If the prince and the people of that principality fall out, the Federation will only watch what happens. If such a contingency arises by reason of the prince refusing to join the Federation, while his subjects wish to and this results in conflict of power, even then, the Federation will only stand as a witness. It will not help either party. Such a neutral attitude cannot be called tacit instigation of the people to rebel. The prince makes the bed and has to lie on it.

If, in such a situation, the prince seeks foreign aid, then it will be the vital duty of the Federation to consider whether such a step will be the thin end of a wedge to enslave the Federation. It may be its duty to intervene and make the prince powerless to create such a danger to the whole continent of India.

These are aspects vital in every way which the subjects of the States, no less than the present ruling dynasties, must weigh and deeply consider. They will be wise to decide to accept unconditionally the profound advice of H. E. the Viceroy that the native States should join the Constituent Assembly. That will make the future Indian nation an organic unity, with the vitality to grow, develop and attain full stature as a great world power.

At present Travancore gets (1) all the imports from Cochin harbour, on behalf of the Government or the Royal family, free of customs duty. (2) It gets a very handsome share out of the total customs revenue.

These privileges will disappear. The Federation will repay the State's share in the capital expenditure for the port. It will naturally leave Travancore to develop her existing port of Alleppey and construct new ports in Trivandrum or Cape Comorin or elsewhere. The large sum that Travancore now gets as her share of the customs revenue is in the main a share of the customs duties paid by British Indians. The customs revenue earned by the trade of the nationals of Travancore is comparatively insignificant. Travancore when it segregates itself as now contemplated, will not get one pie of customs revenue in excess of what its own trade can earn.

Now there is no customs barrier on the frontier. In the future, the isolation will be strict. It is for the financial geniuses of Travancore to study this aspect. What will a port cost? What will be the import for internal consumption? What will be the State's power to dictate terms to foreign suppliers, as to customs and port dues? Will the people of Travancore who in the ultimate have to bear all these burdens be able to bear them and make the

ports pay? What will be the value of the external trade (1) with India, (2) overseas, and on what terms?

The same matter will arise as to posts, telegraphs, telephones and road, land and air transport. The people of the State who now get their post carried from Cape Comorin to Assam on the small British Indian postage may have to pay postage twice, once for the State and again for the Indian post. So too with all the other sources.

What is the Constituent Assembly for? It is to frame the constitution. That constitution must have a chapter dealing with the mutual relations of the States and the Federation and the provincial units of the Federation. Once that is framed—with Travancore not in the picture—can Travancore come into the picture at all? It may be allowed, but on terms far more onerous than now. Now it joins the Constituent Assembly sitting as an equal with the added support of the fellow-States' representatives urging

common claims and rights. Then it will come as a suppliant. "Oh! Save me. I am out in the cold. I am torn with internal dissensions and external pressure."

The treaties will be governed by the general principles and limits which the constitution as framed with the guidance of the States' representatives will provide, so long as the State is a member of the Constituent Assembly. But if it is out of the picture, the Federation will naturally dictate its terms unhampered by the limits in the constitution. For, the applying State will then be in the position of a foreign State.

It behoves Travancore and such other States as may be attracted like moths by the glamour of the Sachivottama's glowing picture of independence to think hard and get down to brass tacks and realise the wisdom, profit and safety of accepting the serious advice of H.E. the Viceroy and join the Constituent Assembly forthwith.

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THE PLAN AND THE BETRAYAL

by "MIMI"

IN an article that appeared in *Swatantra* of last week and which was written and offered for publication in the second week of May 1947, the politico-communal situation in the country as it stood before the announcement and acceptance of the Mountbatten plan of June 3, was examined. Now it is proposed to refer to certain outstanding features of the latest plan and the issues they give rise to.

The essential characteristics of the plan can be summarised as follows:—

(1) The plan supersedes the operative parts of both the White Papers of May 16, 1946 and February 20, 1947 except the deadline fixed for the British withdrawal from India.

(2) It accepts the principle of partition of India on a communal basis and provides for the carrying out of the same.

(3) It seeks to create two Dominions in India within a very short period.

(4) The plan itself was framed on the basis of the agreed views of the Indian political parties whose tacit approval was obtained by the Viceroy even before the promulgation of the plan.

When the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on March 8, suggesting the partition of the Punjab on a communal basis, they committed the gravest blunder of their political career and threw off their national character which has been so heroically built for more than sixty years with the blood, tears and toil of thousands of Indians who never thought of themselves or considered others as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or Parsis. It is the most tragic irony of the history of Indian nationalism that the only national movement in India not merely did not succeed in combating and eliminating communalism in the country but ended in allowing itself to be devoured by communalism and perpetuating it for the benefit of posterity. It is to the eternal credit of the Mahatma that he stuck to his guns and stood solidly opposed to both the division of India and the division of the provinces on a communal basis. But the top-ranking leaders of the Congress not possessing the moral strength of the Mahatma and caught in the whirlpool

of power-politics because of their position in the Interim Government did not hesitate to sacrifice their cherished ideal of a united India and succumbed to Mr. Jinnah's communalism. From the partition of the provinces on a communal basis, the partition of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hinduism is not logically a distant step.

With all its defects the Cabinet plan of May 16, 1946 did have the supreme virtue of maintaining the unity of India and that was the reason why Gandhiji continued to commend the plan with his characteristic vigour and force literally till the 11th hour and 59th minute. Even when Gandhiji was making a supreme effort to salvage the plan, the Congress leaders had intimated to the Viceroy their readiness to agree to the partition of the country and in that they had betrayed the trust the country had reposed in them. The partition of India on the basis of Pakistan was inflexibly opposed to the clearly and categorically declared objective of the Congress and the country and the leaders were not within their constitutional rights in negotiating a settlement on the basis of such a division without obtaining the prior sanction of the A.-I.C.C. and they cannot take shelter under the prior resolution that the Congress "cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will," for the simple reason that that resolution did not contemplate a positive division of India on a communal basis which the Congress was uncompromisingly opposed to by its character and composition.

It is easy to see that the Mountbatten plan is definitely and heavily on the side of Mr. Jinnah and his Pakistan and no other explanation is possible for the differential treatment prescribed for the N.-W.F.P. and the provision for the amalgamation of "Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim areas of adjoining districts," with East Bengal. Even the British Government and the Viceroy must have felt that they were talking through their hats when they declared with too much of logic and reasonableness, "the position of N.-W. F. P. is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it

SIDELIGHTS : :

When anger rises, think of the consequences.

—CONFUCIUS

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER had once very close affiliations with the Congress and was for sometime the Secretary of the organisation. He was always an apostle of the unity of India. His sudden blossoming as a protagonist of the independence of Travancore goes against the whole grain of his previous inclinations and utterances. This change in him has roused a lot of recriminations and controversy. It may be more profitable to study it as a phenomenon, with special reference to the psychological factors that have brought it about.

The same thing that happened to Mr. Jinnah years ago, is evidently happening to Sir C. P. now. A timely touch of consideration, courtesy or polish, could have saved the Congress the loyalty of many stalwarts that are now found waging a bitter campaign against it from other camps. It cannot be said that, at the moment of the fruition of the main political objective of freedom for which the Congress has been striving, the personal position of Congress leaders has found corresponding expression in increased influence and prestige. Their acquisition of political power is synchronising with a rapid decline in popularity and the reverential regard of huge masses of people. Compromise has become the breath of the nostrils for the wielders of Congress power. Intimate fraternisations with those who have consistently fought against the Congress in the past for the sake of the favours of the ruling power, have become, with top-ranking Congress personalities, as much an order of the day as vigorous suppression of too faithful exemplars of the traditional Congress teaching under Gandhian direction.

It is not unlikely that some grave hurt or pique might have been felt

by Sir C. P. over a real or fancied slight from Congress Olympians, and what we are witnessing today is the public consequence of the pegging of the fortunes of a whole State to the anger and chagrin of one powerful individual. Under the stimulus of a similar situation, Mr. Jinnah played ducks and drakes with the fortunes of Muslims until the triumph of isolation was reached in the carving out of a separate empire for himself to rule over. Sir C. P. is not less able than Mr. Jinnah. But he lacks the Muslim leader's advantage of a solid following easily convertible into a fanatic fighting force with the aid of dexterous religious and communal incentives. He will have to make up for this defect with swift, spectacular measures to win State subjects' goodwill, and whether they respond to him or embark on Satyagraha, the result will be the same, the acceleration of responsible government, unless, taking advantage of their maritime position, the State authorities seek aid from Pakistan or the outside world to set themselves up as an autocracy.

Congress leaders at the head of the Union Government have weakened themselves for an effective moral campaign against Sir C. P. by the contradictory course adopted by them towards the North West Frontier Province. They cannot in one part of India voluntarily preach the doctrine of separatist sovereignty and seek to punish it in another as if it were a misdemeanour. Nor, if they wish to take reprisals against Travancore, can they afford to exclude from their purview Hyderabad which is exactly on a par with Travancore in this matter. Congress tolerance without a word of protest, of the declaration of independence by Hyderabad, is in marked contrast with the vehemence of their protest over identically the same act in Travancore. The difference between the two exhibits lack of perspicacity.

It is really on the soil of Hyderabad that the forces making for disintegration of the Union of Hindustan will have to be really fought. South India is marked out for this impending conflict. The formidableness of Hyderabad as a potential aggressor on Madras Presidency is accentuated by the Nizam's covetousness for the Circars and need of an outlet to the sea, and strengthened by possibilities of support the limits of which are unforeseeable, from Pakistan. The pathetic nature of Congress preparedness for the grave potentialities of the not distant future is revealed in the present composition of the Madras Ministry where the juxtaposition of Omandur besides Sir C. P. arouses, not confidence but pity. The wreckage of the Andhra Province before the decimating onslaught of the theocratic imperialism of a contiguous State based on a mediaeval ideology and endowed with immense resources of money and fanaticism, can be saved only by a robust leadership

capable of rallying the masses in its support, and not the present Ministers who have need of police protection even to move among the people. The welfare of all the linguistic areas comprised in South India calls for the resignation of Omandur forthwith. He is a symbol of the triumph of mediocrity as a result of the inter-play of intrigue between different linguistic entities. We have had an example of the real leader of the Tamils being ousted with Andhra help and of the real leader of the Andhras being ousted with Tamil help, along with considerable internal demoralisation in each camp as a direct offshoot of such interplay. Two regional Ministries acting in collaboration under a common Governor, pending the advent of separate linguistic provinces, would seem to afford the only possible solution for the ills that have found wild scope in our provincial affairs since the elimination of C. R. and Prakasam.—SAKA.



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A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



LAHORE: Arson has replaced stabbing as the order of the day. Not a day goes by without a dozen cases of attempted or actual incendiarism. The authorities impose collective fines and punitive curfews of 60 hours on areas that offend the most, but the situation is far from being in control. I do not think things will improve till after the Boundary Commission has completed its work, if even then. For there is no doubt about the motive behind these cases of arson—over eighty per cent of all property in Lahore is owned by non-Muslims, and the surest way of getting rid of them is to attack their possessions.

Lahore is going to be claimed by both sides when the Commission sets to work. But anybody can see that it has already lost its importance as the foremost town in the Punjab and that whatever happens in the near future, it is not likely to retrieve lost ground. It will be too near the border to be useful as a capital town for either half of the province; the League in fact has already chosen a site near Rawalpindi for the future capital of Pakistan. Nor will it remain a university town for very much longer, for Pakistan will have its educational centre in the same place as its seat of government, while Eastern Punjab will look towards Delhi University. And who can deny that the tens of thousands of students that constitute the seasonal population of Lahore are not its gayest people? Business has already fled the town—it will not return easily. I hate to say it, but there seems to be no future for this, the fairest of all towns, except as a third-rate historical city, as an Agra of the Punjab. For Lahore will always possess the wonderful Mughal monuments and fort

that Akbar and Jahangir have left us.

The work of dividing the assets has begun, and it is going to be a most sorrowful business. Everything that the Government own is being evaluated and expressed in terms of rupees, annas and pies, in preparation for the final partition. Government offices, public works, the railways, educational institutions that are managed by the Government, even the irrigational system that is the pride of the province—every single item on the list of assets and liabilities is being gone into. Expert committees have been appointed by the Governor for this purpose, and it is an indication of the illwill that is going to be created by the process of separation that they have already been subjected to attack. One can well imagine the trouble that is likely to occur when the Boundary Commission makes its recommendations public!

Meanwhile the exodus continues. Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab are busy trying to find new homes in the East, and voluntary exchanges of property and holdings between Muslims of the Jullundhar and Ambala divisions and Hindus and Sikhs from Rawalpindi and Multan are taking place. Many are buying land in Dehra Dun and Hardwar, both in the U.P. The fact is, people are just not waiting to see how the new Governments will function. They have had enough of this nerve-breaking insecurity of life, and are ready to pay a good deal for the privilege of care-free existence. Naturally, all such people who are moving voluntarily are people who have money enough to make them mobile in this sense. One cannot waste any sentiment on them; the poor who cannot move

on account of destitution are the ones who deserve sympathy.

The general curfew still continues, as it has continued for almost six weeks now. There is no

life in Lahore, nor is there any prospect of future gaiety in this unfortunate city. We are witnessing the decay of a noble metropolis—will there ever again be such another?

LINGUISTIC DIVISION

by Dr. M. RAMA RAO, M.A., Ph.D.

IT is very unfortunate that at a time when momentous changes are taking place in our country and when amity and concord between communities and groups is the greatest need, provocative speeches and declarations should be made in this province tending to create unnecessary bad blood. This province is already plunged in confusion and disorder on account of the recent ministerial changes. The sayings and doings of some of the prominent Tamil leaders in recent days are heightening the misery of the situation. When, in accordance with the general enthusiasm for linguistic provinces, expressed by various groups in various ways, the present Ministry introduced a resolution favouring the creation of these provinces and carried it through the Madras legislature, everybody expected that this will soon be realised and tend to greater concord among different peoples.

This sweet expectation is receiving frequent shocks in recent days. First came the declaration by two Tamil Ministers that Madras belongs to the Tamils and that the Andhras have no claim for it. That two responsible Ministers, who are supposed to serve all the people of the presidency, should thus openly take sides and carry on propaganda on behalf of one section is itself undesirable; that one of them who had sponsored the linguistic provinces resolution in the Madras Assembly with all the gusto of a stout champion, should assume the powers of a Boundary Commission and utter an *obiter dicta* is worse. When a press correspondent brought this to the notice of the Premier and urged greater restraint on the part of his colleagues, the Premier invested them with absolute

immunity and issued them a license to talk as they pleased. When the representative of the *Andhra Patrika* approached the Madras Premier the other day after his pilgrimage to Tirupati, he let loose thunder and lightning on the head of the poor journalist and burst out with a reprimand to the Andhras saying that their demands are increasing like those of Mr. Jinnah and indulged in a number of provoking statements. He laid down that 75 per cent of Madras is Tamil, that not a Telugu word is to be heard within a radius of 25 miles from Madras and that the Andhras have no claim for the city. Immediately he got into an aggressive mood and said that both Nellore and Chittoor bore Tamil names, that they were once ruled over by Tamils and that therefore they should now be handed over to the Tamils. He swore by history, declared that he too is an Andhra but that he could not shut his eyes to the facts of history. The Premier repudiates Andhra claims for Madras on the ground that 75 per cent of the citizens of Madras are Tamils, forgetting the fact that a far greater percentage of Andhras inhabit Nellore and Chittoor which he claims for the Tamils.

These sudden outbursts do not augur well for the future. The recent visit of certain high dignitaries of the Central Government to Madras from Delhi and the outbreak of this tempest of propaganda immediately thereafter, make one wonder whether this anti-Andhra movement is being inspired and controlled astutely from outside. Tamil friends should realise the serious danger of provoking a great neighbouring people.

is clear, in view of its geographical position and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the N.-W. F. P. an opportunity to reconsider its position." It is difficult to comprehend the rationale behind the reference to "its geographical position." If Eastern Bengal surrounded on all three sides by Hindu majority areas and amputated from the other portion of the existing Bengal than which no other territorial unit of India is more united and integrated by culture, customs and language, can be a part of Pakistan whose other zone is more than thousand miles away, what difficulty can possibly arise in the N.-W.F.P. whose Pathans have no greater affinity with the Muslims of Western Punjab than they have with the non-Muslims of the Eastern Punjab, remaining a part of the Indian Union separated from the other areas of the Union only by hundred miles or so if Kashmir does not join the Union and forming contiguous areas with the rest if Kashmir decides to join the Union? Therefore, the argument of "geographical position" cannot carry conviction to anybody and obviously even the British Government and the Viceroy themselves were not convinced of their own argument and hence the addition of the expression "and other considerations" out of abundant caution. The only "other consideration" is that Mr. Jinnah demanded the inclusion of the province into his Pakistan and the British Government were willing to oblige him and the Congress leaders were ready to acquiesce in it. The action of the Congress Working Committee in agreeing to the differential treatment of the Province is a virtual stab in the back of the Pathan leaders who succeeded in winning the Province for the Congress against heavy odds and naturally the Frontier Congress leaders resent the decision of the Congress very rightly and deeply. The fact is that the Congress leaders had made up their minds to make a gift of the Frontier to Mr. Jinnah as price for the Dominion status for "Hindustan." It is significant that after Lord Ismay left India on May 2nd, with the report and recommendations of the Viceroy to the British Government, the New Delhi correspondent of the *Sunday Times* in England sent a message to his paper on May 3, in the course of which he said, "The League demands Sind, the North West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam

for Pakistan. The Congress will not concede the non-Muslim majority areas of Assam, Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal, but may yield on the North West Frontier." This, coupled with the observation of the Viceroy in the Press Conference that he "worked hand in glove with the leaders at every stage and step of the development of the plan. The plan came as no shock or surprise to them" conclusively proves that the Congress position with regard to the Frontier was decided upon even before the plan was promulgated. To a question put by a representative at the Press Conference whether it would be open to any province to state that it will not join either of the Constituent Assemblies, the Viceroy replied, "After discussing this particular point with the leaders of both parties, I found the leaders did not wish to have any option other than to join one or the other of the Constituent Assemblies for the reason that they did not wish this plan to encourage what I might call Balkanisation of India." This statement throws further light on the status which the Congress had allotted for the N.-W.F.P. The conclusion is inescapable that the Congress itself killed the movement for a sovereign Pathanistan and agreed to narrow down the issue for referendum. If the innocent and ignorant Pathans are asked, "Will you fall in line with the cherished desires of Muslim India or fall a prey to the Hindu game of 'divide and rule' over Muslims," as one Frontier Leaguer has put it, it must be fairly easy to anticipate the verdict. The Congress having opposed the movement for any sovereign independent province, if Gandhiji advocates the establishment of the Pathanistan on higher grounds, Mr. Jinnah sees in it only the weakness of the Congress position in the Frontier and insists on the referendum with doubled delight. Having accepted the fundamental principles of the latest plan, it will be morally untenable for the Congress to boycott the referendum; politically it will be making the task of the League easier.

Apart from these immediate results, the Congress acceptance of the partition plan creates a dangerous precedent for the achievement of political objectives by violence. In spite of all assertions to the contrary, the Congress has surrendered to the League violence and the life-long mission of the Mahatma was ignored. For a week before June 2, the Mahatma devoted practically the whole of his post-prayer speeches to a call to the country not to yield to vio-

lence. "Let Indians resolve that they shall not give even an inch of territory or make any concession to violence . . . We have worked hard for achieving freedom. We have bravely faced the bayonets of the mighty British Empire. Why should we falter now?" he asked. "Even though the entire country is burnt to ashes I will not concede Pakistan to force" he declared. Alas, this clarion call of the Father of the Nation fell on the deaf ears of his lieutenants whose idealism had been jettisoned by the taste and play of

power and they did exactly what the Mahatma asked the country not to do. In the context of Gandhiji's reference to the suffering of Indians in their fight for freedom against the British, the explanation of the Congress leaders that they agreed to partition in order to avoid bloodshed will cut no ice.

The surrender of the Congress to violence is full and final; naked, brute and cowardly violence remains proudly enthroned at the political shrine of India.

REFLECTIONS ON ALMSGIVING

by Mrs. PADMA RAMASWAMI

IT was one beautiful morning in September. I felt unnecessarily happy. It was good to live on earth. I was sitting in the verandah watching the lawn. I knew and loved this lawn in every mood. Jamuna, my child, was picking golden flowers. She had all her jewels on, and looked very pretty as she sat in the grass making a festoon with the flowers.

A sound of voices disturbed my reverie, and I turned to look. Entering the square were a couple of beggars, a man and a woman. He was tall and thin, and had a stick in his hand. As they approached, I found he was blind. He was singing a poem of Kabirdas. The woman was the sturdier of the two, her left hand was on his arm, half leaning, half supporting, while with the other she received alms.

I never refuse to give alms. This I do not proclaim a virtue, but count as a weakness. Certainly it is not for reserving a seat in heaven. Not all of them exact my compassion, only the blind and the lame. If I give charity, it is because the sight of poverty terrifies me. Each beggar is to me symbolic of the Bengal famine. I do not believe my little bit will relieve anybody's distress. "Go away, your suffering rouses shame in me." That is my attitude. So I always give—because it is easier to give than to refuse.

Those people were two houses away from mine. Suddenly a fear assailed me that they might steal Jamuna's jewels while I went in to bring the flour. The city was full

of rumours of a theft here and a burglary there.

So, I called her in, she would not come. I tried to catch her, she only ran away and laughed defiance at me. The beggars were still two houses away; I ran in and returned with a cupful of wheat flour. I placed it by my side, and began to knit. The spell of the afternoon was broken.

Nearer and nearer they came, till they stood in front of me. His eyes were beautiful, and it was unbelievable that the light in them was quenched. When I gave the flour, he broke his song to utter a series of benedictions—*Sukhi rahe, Ananda rahe, Puthra hoshia rahe* (May you prosper! May you be happy! May your children be intelligent!) I loved to hear these high-sounding words. Suddenly the woman exclaimed, "God bless you, my child, she is Mother Annapurna herself, waiting for us with the *attah*."

I wished to stop her mouth with my hands. If she had cursed me for having thought her a probable thief, I could not have resented it more. Instead, I had made her happy, and I felt such shame welling up within me as if I had stolen and kept some article of hers.

Suddenly the lawn was dark with shadow. I looked up, a big black cloud hid the sun.

I felt the very earth and the sky I loved were ashamed of me. It was my own insincerity that cast that shadow over Nature.

CONTROVERSY OVER MADRAS CITY

SWATANTRA READERS' VIEWS

(There has been a spate of correspondence on the Andhra—Tamil controversy over Madras City in the event of a redistribution of territory on a linguistic basis. We give below a representative collection of letters received.)

Too Much Controversy

There is just a little too much controversy between the Andhras and the Tamilians as to whom Madras belongs to (and between the Andhras and the Kannadigas as to whose cry for a province is being ignored longer!) The Andhras appear to have the facts on their side. They can adduce arguments to prove that the sands of the present Madras area were under the jurisdiction of a Telugu-speaking chief by A.D. 1639. But the present population, culture and connections are mostly Tamilian. It would seem correct to concede the historicity to the Andhras and the city to the Tamilians. "K."

"Andhras in Madras City"

In the letter entitled "Andhras in Madras City" which appeared in *Swatantra* of May 31, the writer made certain statements which cannot be readily accepted. For instance, his contention that there is absolutely no evidence to show that ancient Tamil kingdoms even extended up to Kanchi, not to speak of Tirupati, cannot be maintained in the face of the written statements that appear in the two thousand year old Sangam literature, which give the four boundaries of the "Tamil-speaking world" as Vengadam in the north, Kumari in the south and the sea to the east and west. The birth of Malayalam in the west coast and the separation of the Cheras or Keralas from the Tamilians is but recent history.

The first mention of Tondaimandalam is also to be found in the Sangam literature where it is mentioned that a certain Chola king gave the northern district of his kingdom to his illegitimate son named Tondaiman Ilantiraiyan. This appears to have been the beginning of Tondaimandalam (named after the first king) as a separate sub-kingdom. The question as to whether the Pallava dynasty which appeared later, is identical with the earlier Tondaiman dynasty, has not been settled as unfortunately the links are missing. The Pallavas may even have been foreigners, but they certainly were not Andhras.

The Imperial Cholas reconquered Tondaimandalam and the later Nellore Cholas were but a branch of the Chola dynasty. Then came the dark days of Muslim invasion and the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire and the final British advent. But all this is beside the point, for, whosoever may have been the rulers of Tondaimandalam, the population has remained Tamil-speaking from the earliest times till today. It is certainly more correct to say that the presence of Telugu in Madras and other parts of Tamil Nad is due to Andhra expansion during the period of the Vijayanagar Empire. The Tamilians are where their forefathers were two thousand years ago, and one needs no better proof than this fact, to claim Madras as a Tamil city.

Colombo. E. L. TAMBIMUTHU.

"Hands Off Madras!"

It is by an accident that a piece of marshy land around the present Fort St. George was given to the British by the Raja of Chandragiri. But in its origin the city was essentially Tamil. Mylapore, the birth-place of Tiruvalluvar who wrote world-famous *kurals*; Triplicane, in praise of which the Val-Shnava saint Tirumangal Alwar sang several hymns; and Kandakottam (Park Town) where the Tamil saint Ramalinga Swamikal led his early life—all these three important and most ancient parts of the city of Madras are of Tamil origin and they are more than two thousand years old. The names of the new suburbs of the city are also Tamil and an Andhra cannot even pronounce properly the Tamil name Elumbur. The northern border of Tamil Nad extends right upto the Tirupathi Hills, far away to the north of Madras, and when the question of dividing the presidency into linguistic provinces is taken up, parts of Chittoor and Nellore districts will have to be transferred to Tamil Nad, as the language predominantly spoken in these parts is Tamil. Therefore the dispute as to whether Madras belongs to Andhras or not does not arise at all. It belongs to the Tamilians and to none else.

Having gradually come to realise that they cannot claim the city wholly, the Andhras are trying to keep it at least as the joint headquarters of both Tamil Nad and Andhra Desa, and some of them have even advocated a plan to divide the city into two parts. And now Sir B. N. Rao who appears to be very fond of applying surgical operation as the only panacea for all political ills, has put forth his own plan, similar to the one suggested by him for the Punjab, according to which the presidency is to be split up into two parts, the north and the south, each to be administered by a separate legislature and cabinet, while the city of Madras, together with its adjoining area, is to be created into a sub-province to be jointly administered by all the linguistic elements of the province. This plan, if put into practice, will create a claim to the city of Madras not only for the Andhras but also for the Malayalese and the Canarese. It is high time the Tamilians declared with one voice, "Hands off Madras."

CHOCKA DASAN.

Aurangabad.

Stop Venomous Propaganda

It is the height of absurdity on the part of Andhras to claim Madras City on the strength of past historical connections, and it is equally ridiculous on the part of Tamilians to claim the territory upto Tirupati on false historical grounds with a view to putting forward a counter claim. An impartial boundary commission consisting of experts or the democratic method of referendum would eventually have to decide the question amicably.

Both Andhras and Tamilians have contributed to the development of the city. Andhras have commercial stakes of no mean value in the city. The city cannot be handed over to any one nationality without providing reasonable political, economic and cultural safeguards to the other. Let politicians stop their venomous and interested propaganda and talk sense lest fascist trends should gain the upper hand.

M. PATTABHI RAMA REDDY.

Two Cabinets For Madras

It is understood that the 1935 Act gives to the Governor the power to form two Ministries. If two such Cabinets are formed, one for Tamil Nad and another for Andhra Desa, the Rajan group and the Nadar group will not only be eliminated from the path of Sri Prakasam but will also have a fair and

free field to follow their own policies. Then we can retain the mature leadership of "Andhra Kesari". If it can be done the ministerial crisis will turn out to be a blessing in disguise, for we will thereby get our long desired Andhra Province.

Delhi.

N. S. LAKSHMI.

Andhras Outside Andhra.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee, President of the All India League of Linguistic Provinces, has made out a case for the protection of the rights of citizenship of Andhras who formed linguistic minorities in other provinces. In Tamil Nad there reside about more than 36 lakhs of Andhras. When Tamil Nad is reconstituted into a province on a linguistic basis, these 36 lakhs of Andhras must be recognised politically as a linguistic minority in Tamil Nad and certain constitutional safeguards should be provided for them. Their mother-tongue is Telugu. The Government must afford them facility for learning and improving Telugu, their mother-tongue. "The children of the minorities should be educated in and through their mother-tongue. Primary schools should be provided at State expense in order to educate pupils belonging to minorities."

JOGYALA KRISHNAMURTHY
PANTULU.

Joint Secretary, Dakshina Andhra
Bhashabhivardhani Sabha, Tinnevely.

Medium in Bilingual Areas

In the issue of *Swatantra* dated 7th June, you complain about the Education Minister's policy of compelling Tamilnad to adopt Tamil as the sole medium of instruction for the reason that it will prevent Telugu students from prosecuting their studies here. But I think it is possible to defend the Minister's action. You will doubtless realise the difficulty of adopting the vernacular as the medium of instruction, if this uniformity is not adopted. It will mean that teachers from various other districts will have to be imported into the bilingual areas to enable students with different mother tongues to prosecute their studies. For one thing, it would be a severe strain on the finances of the State. For another, an Andhra who comes to a Tamil area like Madras must be prepared to learn the language of the place just as a Tamilian going to Andhra Desa has to learn Telugu. Of course by 'Tamil area' I only mean an area where the majority speak Tamil.

M. S. V. CHARI.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE major event of the week is the consideration of the steps to be taken for the execution of General Marshall's plan for American aid to Europe. In this Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, has taken the lead. He visited Paris and had a long talk with the French Foreign Minister and other members of the French Cabinet. An agreement was arrived at that a Conference should be held in the coming week and that Molotov, the Russian Foreign Secretary, should be invited to participate in the Conference. It was also understood that the plan should be proceeded with whether Russia co-operates with it or not. The subject was later on discussed in the British House of Commons and Mr. Bevin was particular in stressing that the matter was urgent and that delay should be avoided at all costs. The urgency is due to three factors. One is the meeting on July 5 in Geneva of the European Economic Commission appointed by the United Nations Social and Economic Council to go thoroughly into the subject of economic reconstruction in Europe and the other is the fact that the Marshall plan is only a proposal emanating from the Executive of the United States and that before it is implemented it should receive the approval of Congress which adjourns in July and does not assemble again until next December. It is therefore necessary that representatives of Britain, France and other European countries anxious to consider the plan should come forward with some agreed policy in time for consideration by the Economic Commission at Geneva and by Congress in U.S. The third factor which makes the matter urgent is the appalling nature of the economic conditions in Europe to which attention was drawn by several speakers in America as well as in Europe in the course of the week.

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC CONDITION.

It was for instance pointed out by Mr. Herbert Hoover, a former U.S. President, that "there is a greater dan-

ger of political and economic chaos in the world today than at any time since the war ended. There is more hunger and want today than there was during the war." Mr. Dean Acheson, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, warned that "financially Europe is bleeding to death. Two years of crop failure in Europe and one in the Far East, the most severe winter in half a century and the inefficiency of the industrial plant due to depreciation, have upset all calculations of recovery. Europe has had to use its resources of foreign money and credits, carefully husbanded, merely to keep alive." A similar statement was made by Mr. Bevin in the course of his visit to Paris. There is therefore an urgent need for taking steps to see that European economic recovery becomes an accomplished fact at a very early date.

UNITED ACTION.

General Marshall has laid down two conditions for the grant of American aid. One is that the initiative must come from Europe itself and the other is that Europe should become organised as it were into one economic unit for this purpose. Both these conditions are quite relevant in the present situation. They are also interdependent. They are the first steps in bringing together the nations of Europe to take concerted action and to forget their political rivalries. It has now become quite clear that no one country in Europe can be prosperous or self-sufficient and that all of them should co-operate in satisfying each other's economic needs. It is because the German, Austrian and Italian economy is shattered today and also because the East European countries are impoverished and there is no free flow of trade between them and Western Europe that no country is getting from others what it was accustomed to get before the war. It is also clear that unless the millions of Germans and Austrians work to their maximum capacity and the industries in Germany and Austria are renovated

Europe can't hope to recover. Questions of food, coal and transport which are at the basis of this recovery can be solved only by concerted action. There is no use of merely depending on American supplies of food. The productivity of Europe must be revived and increased. And it is this that General Marshall had in mind when he emphasized the importance of self-help. All this goes to show that his plan can be a success if Europe act as a single unit.

IS THIS POSSIBLE?

People however are asking themselves whether in the existing conditions united action is possible at all. So far as the countries in Western Europe are concerned unity seems to be possible. Britain and France, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg, and Italy have already welcomed the plan and they are prepared to work together. The only question is whether Russia would join them and whether she would give freedom to her satellites in Eastern Europe—countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania—to join the European concert. So far there is nothing to indicate that her co-operation will be forthcoming. The final reply of Molotov to the Anglo-French invitation extended to him has at last come. But a little earlier he said that the Soviet Government did not feel themselves yet sufficiently well-informed on what Marshall's plan was all about to offer any opinion or express any view. *Pravda*—one of the most influential newspapers in Russia—criticised the plan as the repetition of President Truman's plan for political pressure with the help of dollars "and that it was a plan" for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. There is not therefore much hope that Russia and the Russian bloc will co-operate at present with the countries of Western Europe.

SOVIET SUSPICION.

Russia has her own grounds for suspecting that the economic aid has deeper political designs behind it. The attitude of leading politicians in the United States and Britain has been rather hostile to Soviet Russia and this feeling of hostility has evidently been on the increase in recent weeks. How can Russia participate in the execution of Marshall's plan if a person like Dean Acheson holding a highly responsible position in the United States expresses himself as he did this week in the following words: "In Eastern Europe the Soviet Union, over American and

British protests, has used its dominant military position to carry on a unilateral policy contrary to the Yalta agreement, by which free choice of their destiny has been denied to those peoples. Even more important, the minority Communist regimes fastened upon those peoples have acted to cut them off economically from the community of Europe, curtail their productivity and bind them to exclusive economic relations with the Soviet Union. In the Far East, the Soviet Union has dismantled industries in Manchuria, has obstructed economic and political unification in Korea and has not carried out its commitments for the return of Dairen to the Chinese administration as a free port. These actions have seriously retarded economic recovery and political stability and have contributed vastly to the continuation of poverty and demoralising uncertainty throughout the Far East. . . . As a result the recovery of Europe has been long delayed—tragically long." This is a severe indictment of Russia. Sumner Welles, a former Under Secretary of State, observed only a few days ago that the present leaders of the Soviet Union were determined to pursue a policy of aggressive expansion for the purpose of obtaining Russian domination of Europe and the Mediterranean bases and eventually a similar position of preponderance throughout Asia. Even Mr. Henry Wallace, a severe critic of President Truman, found it necessary this week to issue a warning to Russia when he stated that Soviet expansion across Europe would be a threat to world peace and that Russia should be told there was a point beyond which she should not go without awakening resistance. In the debate in the British House of Commons similar attacks on Soviet Russia were made not merely by Mr. Eden, the spokesman of the Conservative Party, but also by some Labour M.P.'s also. The Soviet Press has also been attacking the United States as attempting to introduce fascism into Europe and upholding the cause of reaction. Under circumstances like these it is no wonder that relations today between Soviet Russia and the United States are rooted in mistrust and suspicion and that it is not likely that Russia will participate in the proposed European Conference and that even if she participates the discussions will be conducted in a friendly atmosphere with a determination to produce quick results. Let us not forget that the inconclusive discussions in the six weeks' Moscow Conference have much to do with the

emergence of Marshall's new plan for creating unity at least in Western Europe and bringing about its speedy rehabilitation. Referring to this aspect Mr. Bevin said: "I spent six weeks in Moscow trying to get a settlement and I shall not be a party to holding up the economic recovery of Europe by fineness of procedure, terms of reference or all that paraphernalia that may go with it."

SIDE ISSUES

The issue whether Marshall's plan will not lead to the by-passing of the United Nations Organisation has been met by the statement that the United States may not have any serious objection to utilise the organs of the U.N.O. for executing the plan. Another question raised in this connection is whether it is within the capacity of the United States to undertake this plan which involves a huge expenditure for a number of years. Effective answer has also been given to this and it is proposed to create a bi-partisan committee representative of both the political parties in the United States to go into this and other aspects. It is now therefore clear that American aid to Europe is a fact, that it will be taken advantage of by almost all countries in Western Europe and that if the Soviet does not co-operate in the execution of the plan the division of Europe and of the

world into a Western and an Eastern bloc will become a reality.

SOVIET PROGRESS

This week has seen the meeting of the supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This is an assembly representative of all the nationalities in U.S.S.R., of all sections of the people—peasants, workers, academicians, men and women—functioning as a sovereign body. It is now discussing the budget that was presented to it by the Commission for Finance. The budget shows that within these two years after the close of the war with Hitler the Soviet made much progress in the work of economic rehabilitation. The difficulties caused by the destruction wrought in the war and the drought of last year have been overcome to a great extent. Nearly two hundred big industrial establishments have been rebuilt. Production has been extended and there is an appreciable increase in the supply of consumers' goods. It is said that 44 per cent. of the houses destroyed in the war have been restored. The budget for the coming year is a surplus one and it has provided for a large increase of expenditure for the development of the cultural life of the people, education, housing and scientific research. Efforts are being made to bring about a speedy completion of the current five-year plan.

PACK THEM OFF, BAG AND BAGGAGE!

by P. P. MENON

AS practical and far sighted men it is incumbent on our part to think ahead of the aftermath of the proposed Balkanisation of India.

We are endowed with all conceivable gifts with which Nature can adorn earth, and we have first rate brains in our midst. Yet all is not well with the state of Denmark. To my mind, proper and right men have failed to come to the arena to lead us well at this juncture.

Let every one of us think in terms of South India, forgetting his party affiliations and petty personal motives and ambitions. The supreme need of the hour is this. We want able, honest and upright men to be at the helm of affairs. The present so-called Congress Ministry should be packed off bag and baggage, unhonoured, unsung and unwept, and

instead, a Ministry consisting of men of exceptional ability, unimpeachable character and tenacity for hard work should be installed at the helm of affairs. Men capable of leading us, men who have got the calibre in them to enrich the province economically, who know the a.b.c. of finance, men who can bring about a healthy and clean outlook on life, should come forward to lead us at this eventful period in our history. Is there any dearth of such men? Will not a Ministry consisting of C. Rajagopalachari, C. R. Reddi, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Prakasam, Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, Sir Mirza Ismail, Ranga, K. M. Panikkar, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Dr. A. R. Mudaliar and with a settled policy be able to take the province to a position where it will be the cynosure of all eyes?

CHASTISEMENT

by
A. ABDUL HAKIM



"WHAT a riddance! At last, I'll be free from the bother of household responsibility, won't have to queue up for the rations, or be disturbed by the crying of the child at the dead of night", Ramamirtham told himself after reading the official order transferring him to a place in the distant North.

The very thought that the place was far far away and that there were little prospects of his returning home for many months made him happy. Of late, a certain restlessness had seized him, which made him want to run away from his home and home-town. Not because his wife was a termagant. On the contrary, he was conscious that she loved him dearly, although in the beginning of their wedded life she had given him considerable annoyance by her mystic coldness. His children too were lovable, although they were very touchy and cried at the slightest chiding. Ramamirtham had no major palpable worries to make him desire a transfer to a distant place. Yet, deep down in his heart, he felt he had been wronged somewhere, and real compensation could be had only by leading a care-free life at some unknown place. So, when he read the transfer order, he was happy that, at last, his wish was about to materialize. "What relief! What freedom!", he told himself a second time.

When the train moved, Ramamirtham thought for a while of the farewell words he had spoken to his wife, and the silly way she had behaved. Yes, women are great sillies! His wife, perhaps like all other wives, had extracted a thousand promises from him that he would write constantly. "Take care of your health", she had begged of him with tears streaming down her cheeks. Her pathetic looks moved him too. But the emotion was not deep; it was just superficial.

Even before he reached the station, his sub-conscious mind, which he had so far doped into silence, was humming the song of freedom. As the train moved, his thoughts wandered away from his home, and he was filled with curiosity about the new place he was going to, and the prospects of new experiences and adventures thrilled him. "I'll go and see the last cinema show every day, without having to answer my wife's accusations, or having to feel guilty", he revelled.

For some days after reaching the place, Ramamirtham did enjoy the newly-won freedom from home and wife. He was so struck by the novelty of the place, its being so different from his own—which had become stale to him by its familiarity—that he promised himself a really glorious time, and put up with all difficulties with great gusto.

But soon, very soon, disillusionment broke in upon him, as the novelty of the place wore away. It rendered unto him all its charm once and for all, and began to pall. The spirit of adventure, the sense of freedom did not move him, and slowly, the dreary monotony and inadequacy of the new life gripped him. He felt a void. The days were like beads on a rosary, one very like another. A sudden, violent gust of homesickness blew over him and he reeled—and began to realize poignantly all that he had missed for some time.

He had to make his bed himself; wash and press his clothes himself, and mend them, if necessary, himself, after learning the art by laborious efforts, and many needle-pricks. The missing buttons, which the dhobi broke mercilessly every other week, had got to be sewed on. The food the mess provided was revolting to his taste. Where was his favourite dish? Ramamirtham remembered with shame

the day when, in a fit of anger, he had refused to go through the full course of the meal, just because the *Sambhar* had a little more salt than he could take. Now he had to take, without a protest, whatever was offered, even if it were bilge-water, misnamed *rasam*. There was none to stand by, and to wheedle him into eating "a little more". If he did not eat "a little more", nobody worried. No preferential treatment as at home; he had to wait for his turn, sometimes till his appetite was gone.

Wherever he sauntered, he saw well-dressed young couples merrily moving about, visiting picture-houses, restaurants, and all kinds of places. His eyes turned yellow; he was stung by acute jealousy. "Everyone seems to have a wife except me!", Ramamirtham pitied himself profusely. He thought of his wife tenderly, thought penitently of the harsh words he had spoken to her, the uncompromising, unreasonable attitude he had sometimes taken to lord over her, to assert male authority. He had often made her weep, in sheer helplessness. How awfully sorry he now was for his (mis) conduct! He was a pious resolution personified. When he returned home, he would be good to her, would love and cherish her, and treat her as his better half, not as his slave.

Once came the news of his wife's illness. At once, the peace of his mind was gone. He became the victim of morbid thoughts. During his stay at home, when she fell ill, he would say callously, "Why make a fuss about nothing? There is no need for a Doctor just now. We can see about it tomorrow." And very often he would forget all about her illness afterwards, and would not ask her again about it. But now? It was all so different. Distance had cast a glamour upon her; she had become a new woman. He wrote and wrote about her illness; insisted ("This is an order from me", he wrote half-

jocularly) that she should consult the Doctor at once, and let him know every day how she progressed. He was really a pathetic figure, as he waited for the postman, and was hysterical as he tore open the envelope and tried to take in the whole page at a glance.

And even when he wrote to her, Ramamirtham felt he was a new man. Except perhaps in the ecstasy of early courtship, he had never called her "Darling" or "Sweetheart", but now there was not a letter he wrote which was not full of loving, if unconsciously untrite, compliments. Where he would have hesitated to confess any attachment lest she should exploit his mood to buy another saree, he avowed impossible love and loyalty; induced her to ask for the moon, and vainly jumped to get it for her, and made a fool of himself for her sake without regret. While at home, he used to break all records in delaying replies to his friends' letters, and exasperating them. It was against his grain to sit down to a tedious letter to him; letter-writing was a tedious job. But now with amazing regularity and patience, he wrote to her, calculated the time the letter would take to fetch a reply, checked up the calculation, and was greatly perturbed if there was even a day's delay.

His feelings reached their climax when he fell ill. Illness was the limit. He lost what little balance of mind was left in him, and thought only of returning home immediately, regardless of consequences—resigning his job, undoing all the work he had done so patiently. His walls became loud; his curses against Fate became unprintable.

The first thing he did after his recovery was to approach his 'boss' with an application for an immediate transfer back to home.

At a ball where Benjamin Franklin was a guest two ladies fell into a discussion concerning the qualities that made for beautiful feminine hands. Both of the fair guests had lovely hands, and they finally decided to ask Dr. Franklin to pass judgment upon them.

The great printer-philosopher instantly realized the delicate nature of his task. As two pairs of beautiful white hands were presented to him for his inspection, the adroit Franklin's quick wit laid hold of the right reply.

"I give up," he sighed, holding one hand of each petitioner and gazing upon them admiringly. "The question is too difficult for me. But ask the poor, and they will tell you the most beautiful hand in the world is the hand that gives."

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

MR. JINNAH is now demanding that both Indias now carved out should be known by new names and should be regarded as two new States. In other words, he objects to the Congress view that certain unwilling parts of the country have seceded from the country and formed into a separate State. This separate State is to be called Pakistan, and the rest of the country is to be known, according to Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, as India or as the Indian Union. But Mr. Jinnah wants this State to be known as Hindusthan. According to the Congress, therefore, there is to be one old State and one new State. But Mr. Jinnah wants that both should be declared new States.

The implications of the latest demand of Mr. Jinnah are obvious. He wants to get, if possible, a half-share of all the assets of the present Indian Government. This can be done by insisting that Pakistan is one of two successor Governments of the present regime. But if his is to be a new State, which goes out of the Union of its own free will, then Pakistan will have very much less title to be considered equally with the rest of India when the time comes for the distribution of the assets. He will once again appeal to the British Raj to back up his claims in the name of fairplay.

It is yet to be seen whether the British Government will once again intervene in Indian affairs with a new statement (for the issue of which special provision has been made in the Mountbatten Plan: a point for you, Mr. Jinnah!) or not.

Mahatma Gandhi has been repeatedly appealing to Mr. Jinnah not to "trouble" the Viceroy but to do things

through Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Vice-President. But as long as the British are there, Mr. Jinnah feels attracted to them. That is why we have been advising Lord Mountbatten through British friends to go now while yet his star is in the ascendant. The longer he stays the greater the probability of his being discredited. The Indian people are a shrewd lot, and if there is the slightest suspicion of unfair dealing by the Viceroy, all their love for him will yield place to bitterness. It is thought here that Lord Mountbatten is thinking in terms of continuing as Governor-General of both the Indian Union and Pakistan, if both will have him. But Mr. Jinnah seems to be keen on showing his gratitude to the Nawab of Bhopal by nominating him for Governor-General of Pakistan. The Congress is said to be not against Mountbatten for Viceroy, although this appears to be a highly improbable report. The Congress leaders are said to be turning over the names of various people for Governor-General and provisional President of the Republic. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's name is prominently mentioned for both these high offices. But even if the Congress does not object to Lord Mountbatten continuing as Governor-General, and if—in addition—Mr. Jinnah too thinks that Mountbatten can continue, even then it will be good for him to go in his own interests. No Viceroy has left this country without abuse being showered on him. And the Indian people had ample justification for causing those showers. The B.B.C. reported that the Viceroy had said that he had already bought his steamship ticket, although what he seemed to have said was that he was going to

buy it by the middle of August. If he has actually bought the ticket, he would be well advised not to cancel it, however strong the temptation to do so. If he has not bought the ticket—and I am afraid he has not done it yet—he should do so without losing time.

I should fancy that since last week, the impression has gained ground that the Viceroy is a dangerously charming man. We cannot help this impression. A strategic withdrawal is therefore indicated.

In the actual process of the division of the country, many delicate points will arise where there will be plenty of scope for real or imaginary partiality. The Boundary Commission's work is fraught with very delicate problems, which will not be rendered less delicate by the Viceroy's presence. He has kindly offered to preside over the first meeting of

the joint meetings of Congress and League representatives. He created the impression that he offered even to preside over a joint-committee of the two Constituent Assemblies. I am not suggesting that he actually said so, but he very definitely created that impression by his breeziness. And nothing can be more absurd than the sight of a foreign Viceroy presiding over anything which has the remotest connection with any Constituent Assembly. In that sense he should not preside even over Indian Union-Pakistan inter-Governmental negotiating bodies—since both will have interim or provisional Governments responsible to the Constituent Assemblies, which will be converted into legislative bodies as well.

When a man thinks he is succeeding like anything, it is time for him to quit. Nothing fails like success.



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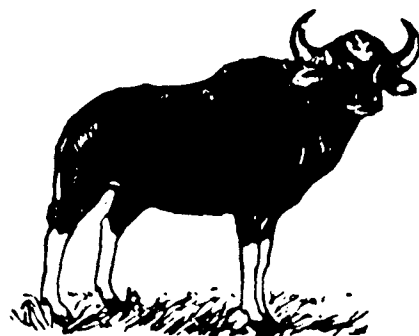
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THE GLORY AND GOSPEL OF THE GITA

by Dr. P. NAGARAJA RAO

THE Bhagavad Gita is the most popular religious Scripture of the Hindus. It is a poem of seven hundred verses—a dialogue between Sri Krishna the great Avatar of God and Arjuna the typical warrior prince and man of action. It is considered as one of the **TRIPLE TEXTS** (Prasthanas Trayi) from which the various schools of Vedanta derive their doctrines. All the three masters of the different schools of **VEDANTA** strive hard to read their doctrines and derive support for them in the Gita. Tradition adds to the Gita, the **UPANISHADS** and the **VEDANTA SUTRA** as constituting the triple texts. The Mahabharata is regarded as the fifth Veda. If it is the fifth Veda, the Bhagavad Gita is its essence. The fanatical Christian John Mackenzie remarked some time "that Hinduism has no New Testament, and hence no gospel to offer to its adherents". The great German Vedantin Dr. Deussen replied him "that to every Indian Brahman the Upanishad is what the New Testament is to the Christian. The late Mahadev Desai in his long introduction to the book **GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHIJI** betters Deussen's remark. "The Upanishad is the New Testament and the Gita may well be said to constitute therein its gospel". There is a familiar verse which compares Upanishads to a cow, the Gita to the milk, and Krishna to a cowherd and Arjuna to a calf. The Gita is the essence of all that is best in the various Shashtras. There is a celebrated verse which enjoins us to "read the Gita and read it well. It is a message direct from the lotus-like face of the Lord." Another verse attributed to Sankara states "a little of the Gita is enough for us. It is as refreshing as the waters of the Ganges."

The Gita has elicited great admiration from modern writers belonging to very different walks of life. It has continued to inspire the revolutionary as well as the reactionary. Referring to its immortality Warren Hastings the first Governor-General in his introduction to the English translation of the Gita by Charles Wilkins (1785) observes "that works like the Bhagavad Gita will survive when the British Dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist and when the sources which it once

yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance." The message of the Gita is not only immortal, but is also universal in its scope. Aldous Huxley observes that "the Gita is one of the clearest and most comprehensive summaries of perennial philosophy ever to have been made; hence its enduring value is not only for Indians but for all mankind." William Von Humboldt says "it (the Gita) is the most beautiful, perhaps the only true philosophical song existing in any known tongue".

Three distinguished great leaders of our land have held the Gita as the source of their great inspiration and life. The late Lokamanya Balagangadhar Tilak wrote *Gitarahasya*, his monumental work on the Gita, in Marathi. It has been translated into several Indian languages and we have a good translation of it in English in two volumes from B. S. Sukhthankar. The interpretation of Tilak is in the main the philosophy of activism. All the modern interpreters of the Gita are teaching the same thing Tilak taught, but they give their own reasons for it. We understand that some years before Tilak, the great Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had in dim outlines anticipated Tilak's interpretation of the Gita. But he left his work incomplete and had written only the first four chapters.

Tilak observes "that the Gita is the most luminous and priceless gem. It gives peace to the afflicted souls, it makes us masters of spiritual wisdom; in short, in all the languages of the world there is not a single book like the Gita which can acquaint us so well with the hidden truths of the ages. It beautifully harmonises the philosophy of action, devotion and knowledge. It can easily be said to be an immortal fruit of the tree of the eternal vedic religion. . . . Tilak's interpretation of the Gita leads us to believe "that India has failed because in her eagerness to seek God, she has ignored God's intention in humanity. Her absolute spiritual sincerity has suffered because it has not been supported by proper attention to material, mental and social activities in which the spirit has to find its existence."

Sri Aurobindo, the scholar mystic, in his famous **ESSAYS ON THE GITA**

gives us an insight into the rich synthesis of the Gita. He observes "Its teaching is universal, whatever may have been its origin. Its language and structure and combination of balancing ideas belong neither to the temper of the sectarian teacher or the spirit of a rigorous dogmatist. It is an undulating, encircling movement of ideas which is the manifestation of a vast synthetic mind. It is the richest synthesis of Indian culture."

It is not a weapon for dialectical warfare, as the polemist commentators have made it out. It is a gate opening on the whole world of spiritual truth and experience and the view it gives us embraces all the Provinces of the supreme religion. It maps but does not cut out or build hedges to confine our vision. With all his love of the universality of the Gita, still we find Aurobindo forces certain verses of the Gita into the services of his doctrine. It is particularly hard to read his doctrine of involution into the Gita.

Mahatma Gandhi regards the Gita as his spiritual mother. He writes "I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed, she has never failed me. When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom . . . I can declare that the Gita is ever presenting me with fresh lessons, and if somebody tells me that it is my delusion, my reply to him would be, I should hug this delusion as my richest treasure".

Gandhiji calls the Gita a SPIRITUAL DICTIONARY, a book of daily reference. A very detailed account of Gandhiji's ideas on the Gita is given in the very illuminating, posthumous book, *The Gospel of Selfless Action*, by the late Mahadev Desai, to which Mahatma Gandhi himself wrote a foreword.

The message of the Gita according to Mahatma Gandhi is "that it inculcates in us the duty of perseverance in the face of seeming failures. It teaches us that we have a right to action only, but not to the fruits thereof and that success and failure are one and the same at the bottom. It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves body and soul to pure duty and not to become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of chance desires and undisciplined impulses."



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PAS 19-4

THE LURE OF THE STARS*

by M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

**I am sorry to seem to mislead the reader. By 'stars', I mean those innocent, little specks, twinkling up in the sky at night. The other interpretation, on the part of the reader, is excusable. Did not the little boy of 7 enlighten his father with—"Daddy, 'star' means two things. It also means the bright dots which we see in the sky at night—you know, 'Twinkle, twinkle, little 'star'".*
—M.S.K.

THE subject of astronomy has attracted mankind from the earliest times; and no wonder. Our remote forefathers watching their cattle at night in the dawn of civilisation had necessarily to watch the stars too. And when a society evolved with cultured leisure, and had not learnt to burn the midnight oil over books or in night clubs, it had to keep awake for part of the night, and watch the stars, and correlate the various observations and deductions.

At some stage, Ego stepped in and turned this objective knowledge into subjective beliefs. Man's self-importance presumed that the grand celestial objects influenced his life; and Astrology grew out of Astronomy, so that a Calpurnia could declaim:

"When beggars die, there are no comets seen,

The Heavens themselves blaze forth the death of Princes."

Fortunately, man became aware of his humble place in the universe; and Astrology was practically killed; and Astronomy remained to grow to its right stature.

Not only is Astronomy a grand subject for study; but it inspires grandeur of language in most people who write and speak on it. Unlike books on most other branches of scientific knowledge, books on astronomy make interesting reading. Here, for instance, are a few paragraphs from "Handbook of the Heavens" written mainly for the amateur astronomers of America.

" . . . Exploring among the stars— It is fun to watch the stars and to make friends with them—to see the Big Dipper (Great Bear), and to know that by this star-picture Greek shepherds told the hour of the night, American Indians timed the planting of their crops, and Columbus guided his boat to a new world.

"Memories of the rough-hewn men who first looked to these stars for

guidance and companionship return to us. And they conflict with thoughts of civilisations which will rise and fall under these same stars. That is the romance of the skies.

"Just as the bird lover rejoices to hear the notes of the first robin in the spring and the gardener smiles to see the early crocus pushing through the wintry soil, so those who have discovered companionship in the stars welcome the return of old favourites to the skies. Each hour of the night and each season of the year, new stars come into view."

(It is not just a mechanical repetition; for, apart from a more powerful telescope revealing more celestial bodies) "Amateurs, armed with no more than a thorough knowledge of the star-groups, are sometimes the ones who first discover the rare variety of stars called novae (new stars) that spring from obscurity to many times their former brilliance, becoming prominent overnight.

" . . . So, all the nights of a lifetime are not enough to discover even half the secrets of the skies. We can learn only a few; always there remains something new, something unknown, to lure us on. Perhaps, some one of us may find something that has never been noticed before."

(And it is not just a handful of professionals who have this privilege and happiness, but a huge band of amateurs like the members of the American Association of Variable Star Observers and the American Meteor Society.) Again,

" . . . Exploring on the moon— Slowly the sun rises over the barren, sandy wastes and the great jagged mountain peaks that form a conspicuous part of the moon's surface. Slowly it reveals to the patiently waiting astronomer the landmarks that make the moon the most interesting planetary object for amateur observation. The amateur astronomer finds that the



moon's topography, studied even with a small telescope, field-glass, or the unaided eye, is far more fascinating than the earth's.

"... Two tiny points of brilliant light, one a rich gold, and the other a deep blue, glowing in a field of coal-black sky, such is the double star Albireo, seen through a 3-inch telescope!

"... Away up in the extreme northern region of the moon, flanking the north border of Sinus Iridum, is located a mountain-ringed plain that contains one of the prime mysteries of lunar observation. There, in the depths of Plato, lies—what?"

The urge to burst forth into such poetry need not be wondered at. Poor Mr. X., M.A., L.T., our Assistant Lecturer in Mathematics, was the most monotonous, uninspiring and soporific of our teachers. But his first sentence in our astronomy class lingers in my memory. He began, in his weak, nasal, unmodulated tone, "If on a clear and dark night, you turn your inquiring gaze heavenwards and scan that greatest wonder of Creation, the star-spangled sky, . . ."

Like Falstaff, who was not only witty but was the cause that wit was in others, Astronomy is not only a grand romance, but is the cause of grand and romantic conceptions in its devotees.

The treatment in the "Handbook of the Heavens" cannot be just dismissed as mere American effusion. Sir James Jeans writes in his "The Universe Around Us"—

"On the evening of January 7, 1610, a fateful day for the human race, Galileo Galilei, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua, sat in front of a telescope he had made with his own hands.

"The more mundane sciences prove their worth by adding to the amenities and pleasures of life, or by alleviating pain or distress; but it may well be asked what reward Astronomy has to offer. Why does the astronomer devote arduous nights, and still more arduous days, to studying the structure, motions and changes of bodies so remote that they can have no conceivable influence on human life?

"In part at least the answer would seem to be that many have begun to suspect that the astronomy of to-day, like that of Galileo, may have something to say on the enthralling question of the relation of human life to the Universe in which it is placed, and

on the beginnings, meaning and destiny of the human race. Man

...only knowing.

Life's little lantern between dark and dark,

wishes to probe further into the past and future than his brief span of life permits."

Lay books on Astronomy bristle with happy and suggestive expressions like 'a voyage in space,' 'journeying by telescope,' 'stars: our blood relations,' etc.

The idea of a 'voyage in space' is not new by any means. Two thousand years ago, it occurred to the Greek writer, Lucian, to suppose a man flying up to the heavens. He called him Icaro-Menippus, because Icarus was supposed to have been the first man to fly

Dr. H. H. Turner, F.R.S., the facile astronomer-author, in his lecture-series, "Voyage in Space," paints a picture of bold contrasts:

"Suppose we travel in a train at the rate of sixty miles an hour. We should take 175 years to get to the Sun. I suppose a return ticket at the ordinary British rates would cost us something under a million pounds. It is curious to think that the Earth is taking a journey three times as long that every year without charging us a penny. We go round the Sun in the greatest comfort, with sleeping compartments at night and restaurant cars during the day, moving so quietly along that we can play our games too. The big Atlantic steamers have broad decks on which people can play some few games; but the Earth has a far broader deck on which we can play every kind of game. We ought to be very grateful indeed for all these comforts and opportunities; and yet we scarcely ever think of them."

(In this respect, as in many others, little Hiawatha seems to have had a good teacher in Old Nokomis.

*"Many things Nokomis taught him,
Showed the broad White Road to
Heaven,*

*Pathway of the Ghosts, the Shadows,
Running straight across the
heavens."*

And Eddington, who raises arithmetical statements to poetic levels, figures out that atoms correspond to Lilliputians, and stars to Brobdingnagians, with humans in a, more or less, mid-position. He claims that there are about

10²⁷ (that is, 1 followed by 27 zero's) atoms in an average human body, and that 10²⁸ average human bodies can go into an average star. Thus, "from his central position, man can survey the grandest works of Nature with the astronomer, or the minutest works with the physicist."

The subject offers so much scope for poetic speculation that a casual, magazine skit on the night-sky contains the following little story about the Great Bear, the Little Bear and Dhruva, the Pole-star.

"The Great Bear looks serene and contented as he glides across the sky, with his first two stars ever pointing to Dhruva of the firm resolve; but he lodges a secret sorrow in the deep recesses of his hairy breast.

"Long, long ago, Little Bear requested him to take him as his disciple. Great Bear agreed; and, among other things, he told him, 'A good ideal is essential for a good life. Therefore choose you a high ideal.'

"Little Bear, in his modern, blunt style asked him, 'What, then, is *your* ideal?'

"Great Bear respectfully pointed his paws at Dhruva, and declared, 'There, is my ideal. His is the kindly, fixed light which keeps me on the unwavering path of virtue. He is the Pole-star of my Faith.'

"Little Bear requested, 'May I too have him as my ideal?'

"The other replied with pleasure, 'Why not? You may go to the heavens' end and not find a better.'

"Now, Little Bear was a hot-blooded youngster who believed in thoroughness. He looked at distant Dhruva and he looked at his long tail; and he thought, 'If I am to be led, why be led from afar?' In a trice, he noosed the end of his tail properly, flung it out dexterously and got hitched to Dhruva. (The short tails of the present-day bears is due to this incident). When Great Bear saw that, he became sad—whether at the youngster's irreverence, or his own lack of imagination and lost opportunities, I do not know. But that has not created any bitterness between them. They each go their dignified way, unruffled by petty things."

Great Bear or Sapta Rishi is an interesting group in more than one way. (There was a note in the *Swatantra* a few months back about the erroneous links connecting rishis with 'bears'—the

hairyness of both has nothing to do with it.—Ed. S.). The second star from the tail end is called Mizar. It is our Vasishtha. Close to Vasishtha is the faint star Arundhati—or Alcor. It requires good vision to be able to see Alcor—so that the Arab army officers used it for testing the eyesight of the



Prof. Harlow Shapley

recruits. (The American-army-joke, "Candidate, how many eyes do you see on my face?—Two?—Okay, your vision is good" did not apply to them). Probably, testing eyesight is the underlying idea in asking our brides and bridegroom to locate Arundhati, as part of the marriage rituals. But there are many anecdotes giving a different twist to this Arundhati business. Often, ignorant and easy-going purohitis boldly point to 'Vasishtha and his Sahadharmini,' with the usual exhortation to live a virtuous life like them, whereas the whole Sapta Rishi constellation is well below the horizon at the time. The bride and the groom, however, do not mind this fraud; in fact, they welcome it. All the people in the party are busy scanning the skies—and craning their necks as if that would help them; and these two get the first clear chance to scan each other's features.

I trust that I have sufficiently established my thesis—the romance of astronomy. But I shall add one passage more—against the possibility of short measure. It is from Prof. Harlow Shapley's foreword to the "Handbook of the Heavens" mentioned above.

"... As an avocation, there is nothing more mind-cleansing than Astro-

homy. The amateur astronomer and the unprofessional student . . . can observe and read and think of velocities, masses, distances and durations that are uncommon to the inhabitants of the Earth's crust. They can play, at least in thought, with meteors and galaxies—which are so different in size, so similar in origin, meaning and obedience to cosmic laws. In a life of petty turmoils, the amateur astronomer, by detaching himself from the Earth, is preparing for one of the highest enterprises in the realm of contemplation—the wholly impersonal Dream.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

by V. VENKATARAMANA

THE street-bred urchin is a familiar figure in our metropolitan towns. His dirt-sodden body clad in rags, with a lack-lustre countenance and blood-shot eyes, provokes the anger of pedestrians when he plagues them for a copper. You see him and his friends in uniform besieging travellers like a swarm of homeless bees. They exactly conform to the eloquent description given by Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby*:

"Pale and haggard faces, lank and bony figures, children with the countenances of old men, deformities with irons upon their limbs, boys of stunted growth, and others whose long meagre legs would hardly bear their stooping bodies, all crowded on the view together. There were little faces which should have been handsome, darkened with the scowl of sullen dogged suffering. There was childhood with the light of its eye quenched, its beauty gone, its helplessness alone remaining. There were vicious faced boys brooding with leaden eyes like male-factors in a jail."

None can improve upon this poignant description which stirs our innate sense of humanity for those tender things who have become the ignorant victims of unseen but well known economic forces that sap our social life.

Needless to say, the problem of juvenile delinquency has assumed greater dimensions in recent years. But one might know that so long as our country is haunted by the spectres of poverty, famine and pestilence, we cannot find a lasting palliative to this evil. Beggary and juvenile crime are the twin offshoots of poverty.

The wholly impersonal Dream!—a Dream that Gandhiji dreamt for a while—a Dream of the Abstract, behind the Concrete Garment of God, as Goethe sensed it—

So schaff' ich am sauesenden Webstuhl
der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges
Kleid. (Faust).

which Carlyle has rendered as

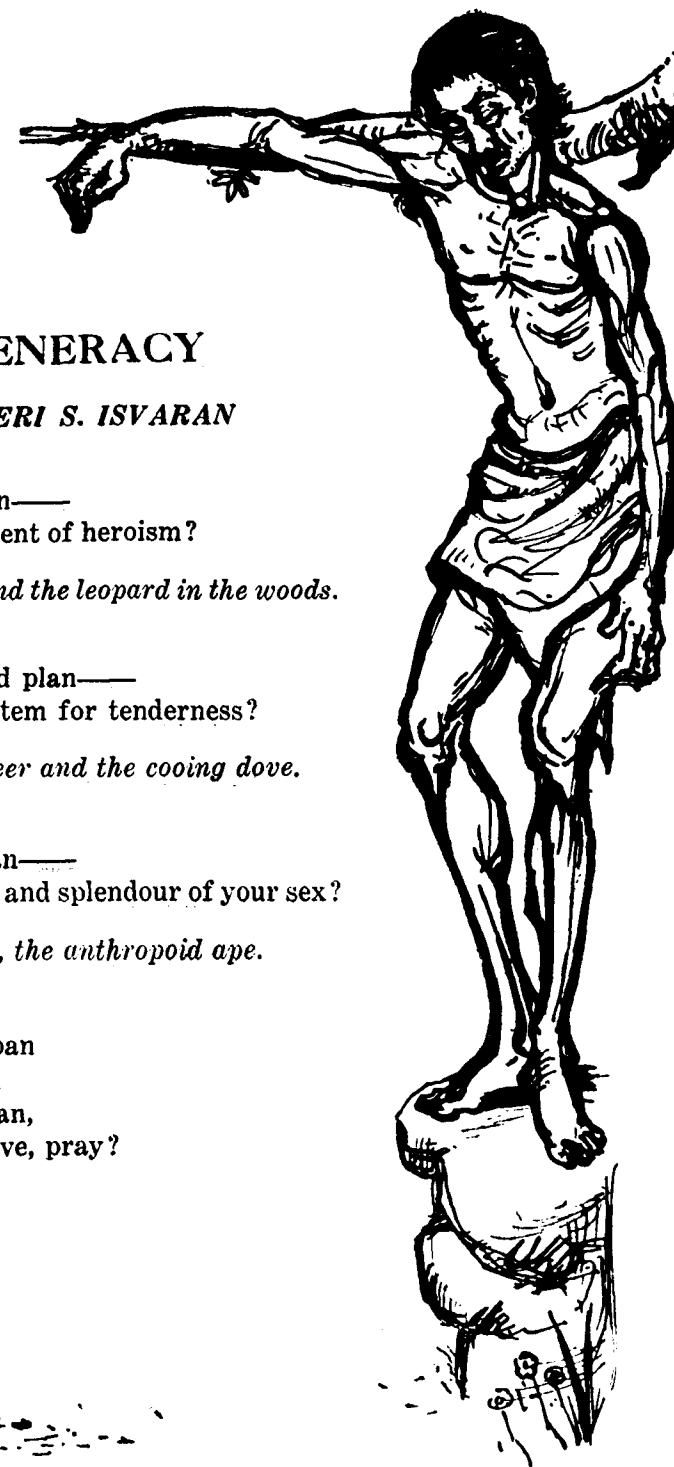
'Tis thus at the roaring Loom of Time
I ply.

And weave for God the Garment
thou seest Him by.

Characteristically, our society, composed as it is of classes and masses, cannot take proper notice of these delinquent children much less work for their rehabilitation. It treats them as loathsome outcasts and pariahs and they are left to stew in their own juice. In refreshing contrast to this attitude, in U.S.S.R. and other advanced countries, these little children who deviate from the path of virtue are taken care of by the State and the public alike. Far from being left to the tender mercies of Nature they are given decent food, warm clothing and a cosy shelter to hide their heads in and their education is planned and organised by experts.

The number of delinquent children in our midst is increasing at an alarming speed. They are forming into little gangs of desperadoes operating wherever people congregate together, principally in cinemas, parks and railway trains. They generally purloin small articles, do pickpocketing and black-market cinema tickets. The qualities of unity, ingenuity and imagination that they display in the confidence tricks they play on the public are surprisingly unique. They are fast becoming a public danger.

Recently Bombay's Premier, B. G. Kher, appealed for greater organised effort to reclaim them back to society. Social workers all over India should take cognizance of this appeal. Isolated work, here and there, cannot by itself take us far. It should be reinforced by the creation of a truly national reform agency to stamp out this scourge of society and bring good cheer to these blight-laden lives.



DEGENERACY

by MANJERI S. ISVARAN

Man,
in your mortal span—
is there not a moment of heroism?

Look for the lion and the leopard in the woods.

Man,
when you plan and plan—
don't you put an item for tenderness?

Ask of the muskdeer and the cooing dove.

Man,
who looketh so wan—
Where is the flame and splendour of your sex?

With my ancestor, the anthropoid ape.

Then Man,
in your mortal span
who hath no plan
and looketh so wan,
why should you live, pray?

Because I must.

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PAS-327

ALLAMA MASHRIQUI, LEADER OF THE KHAKSARS

by A. LAKSHMAN RAO

NOW that Allama Mashriqui, the head of the Khaksar organisation and his followers have come out, I feel I can write something that will be of interest to readers of *Swatantra*. I venture to take up this task, as I have had the privilege of meeting him and of having a full-scale discussion with him on his views and objectives.

Coming from a wealthy Pathan family at Amritsar, this 59 year old sturdy Pathan had a brilliant academic career, both at home and abroad. His full name is Allama Inayathulla Khan Al Mashriqui. The incredible qualifications of the Allama—M.A. (Cantab), B.Sc., B.E., B.O.L., F.R.S. (Arts), F.A.S. (Paris), F.G.S. (Paris)—prompt one to doubt whether he is not a mobile university in flesh and blood. He was a wrangler scholar of Christ College, Cambridge. Though fitted to be in the I.E.S., his recalcitrant spirit disallowed his continuance there. India's enslaved condition constantly beckoned him to politics until he resigned his post of Principal at the Islamia College, Peshawar. Age has left no mark on his features and he is young and cheerful both in appearance and spirit. He hopes to spread Islam throughout the world.

His book "Tazrika" which ran into a record number of editions, secured world-wide praise for the Allama. One could see in that book that his mind was not at peace. He could compromise neither with the political nor with the social order as he found them. In 1925, "Tazrika" which mirrored every inch of his personality, attracted the attention of the Noble Prize Committee. Hitler and Einstein whom he chanced to meet in 1926 congratulated him on his skill in writing it.

"Isharat," a later book that he wrote, was the forerunner of the Khaksar movement. This militant organisation between which and the Nazi organisation could be perceived

identical emblems, is being viewed with suspicion and awe by the Government and the public alike. It is claimed that the spartan training enforced by this movement has drawn into its fold members of all castes and creeds. Nevertheless Muslims dominate this organisation.

The Allama has been consistently anti-Congress and anti-League, though he has often volunteered to co-operate with both. The introduction of the Defence of India Rules necessitated the banning of unrecognised and private military parades. This was too much for the Khaksar leader, and he came into open clash with the Punjab Government. 19th of March 1939 was a red-letter day in the history of the organisation. On that day, they took up the fateful decision of offering armed resistance to the forces of law and order in the Punjab. Bullets did not terrify them but they could not carry on defiance for long and they surrendered after Lahore was inundated with the blood of their martyrs.

He was arrested and sent to Vellore wherefrom he was conditionally released. He was not permitted to cross the frontiers of Madras Presidency. In course of time, the ban was removed.

Allama was among those who strove ceaselessly to bring about a meeting between Gandhi and Jinnah as a prerequisite for a Congress-League pact. But the results were disappointing and since then he and his organisation have felt themselves plunged in frustration.

Since the Khaksars interfered the other day with the proceedings of the Muslim League Council by making a demonstration, wide attention has come to be centred once again on their organisation. The Allama's future course of action which is inextricably bound up with the destiny of his organisation is by no means an easy matter for speculation.

THE CASE FOR KARNATAKA PROVINCE

by P. SETHU MADHAVA RAO

THE resolution adopted by the Madras Legislative Assembly recommending to the Constituent Assembly the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis is timely and symbolic of the wishes of the people of this province. While one welcomes the resolution, it becomes necessary to guard ourselves against the evils of parochialism now on the ascendant. The unseemly scramble for power which marred the fame of Madras recently has been sought to demonstrate the utter impossibility of people speaking the various languages living peaceably together in one province. The advocates of such an astonishing proposition seem to have thrown to the four winds the gospel of world brotherhood which Mahatma Gandhi is preaching. The recent contest between rival groups in the Congress Legislature Party cut across these linguistic barriers and produced strange alliances. The disharmony prevailing in the Congress Legislature Party can be explained in other ways and readers of *Swatantra* must be aware of them.

Why do the people speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam desire to have separate provinces? The demand for the redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic basis was conceded by the Congress over 25 years ago and it is in the fitness of things that the Constituent Assembly should be informed of this just demand. There can be no denying the fact that districts like South Kanara and Bellary which lie in distant corners of the presidency have received little help from the Madras Government all these years. As Sri K. R. Karanth, the Revenue Minister in the Prakasam Cabinet remarked during the last Assembly debate, no Minister could continue pressing the demands of particular districts since every Minister has to look impartially on the people of the entire province. The number of legislators from Karnataka being

small in the Madras and Bombay Assemblies, the needs of the Kannada-speaking people of the two provinces have never received sufficient and prompt attention.

South Kanara cannot boast of any major irrigation works; the railway does not extend beyond Mangalore though the people have been demanding its extension throughout the district. The Government of Madras does not spend much money on the construction and maintenance of roads in the district. Another sad feature of the district is that its students have to travel 550 miles to Madras in order to prosecute higher studies.

Karnataka is endowed with rich physical features. It possesses a highly developed language. The demand for a separate Karnataka province is backed by all sections of its people and there are many untapped resources for the all-round development of the province. The envisaged province will be $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of square miles in area, 425 miles long from north to south and 325 miles from east to west. Its population will be not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores and it can boast of a seaboard of 200 miles.

The province will include the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and North Kanara in Bombay and South Kanara, Bellary and the Nilgiris in Madras and the taluks of Snolapur, Tasgavi and Waiva in Bombay and Madagashira, Hindupur and Penukonda taluks in Anantapur district, Patikonda in Kurnool, Wynaad in Malabar, Coimbatore, Avanashi, Gobichettipalayam, Bhavani and Kollegal taluks in Coimbatore district, Hosur, Krishnagiri and Dharmapuri taluks in Salem district, Punganur in Chittoor district, Karigundi in North Arcot and the province of Coorg. The whole of Mysore State will be included in the province in addition to Berar, Gulbarga, Raichur and part of Koppal in Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Miraj,

Jamkhandi, Ramdrug, Mudhol, Aundh, Sangli, Sondur and some other smaller States.

Natural ports like Bhatkal, Honavar, Karwar, Malpe and Mangalore can be improved to expand the trade of the province. The rich timber and other products of the Western Ghats can be exploited for the good of the province. Waterfalls at Gersoppa and other places can be utilised to generate electricity and thus industrialise the province. According to the information supplied to the questionnaire issued by the Sapru Committee by Mr. K. B. Jinraja Hegde, the President of the Karnataka Unification Conference, British Karnataka alone will have a surplus budget of over Rs. 50 lakhs. Karnataka will be financially more strong than Assam, Sind, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province.

The Kannadigas desire that their demand for a separate province should be viewed on its own merits apart from its consonance with the general trend of opinion among

those who are framing our constitution. It is highly necessary that the redistribution of the provinces should be preceded by the appointment of a boundary commission by the Constituent Assembly and that the people concerned should set about the task in a spirit of justice. The work of the boundary commission will be simplified if responsible leaders like Mr. Kelappan, President of the Kerala Congress Committee, desist from advancing fantastic claims on territories not willing to enter their province. If the people of South Kanara are not prepared to suffer neglect at the hands of the Government of Madras they are not eager to join Kerala either. The need of the hour is increasing toleration and Mr. Kelappan will do well to preach and practise the gospel of good neighbourliness.

The Constituent Assembly should note the volume of the feeling among Kannadigas and others striving to evolve provinces on a linguistic basis.

STORM CLOUDS IN THE STATES

by "Vanshek"

Hyderabad and Travancore have declared their intention to proclaim their independence from August 15, 1947. The All India State Peoples' Conference as well as the A.I.C.C. have passed resolutions protesting against the hasty declarations of these States without taking into consideration the will of the subjects. It is definite that the State Congress will be launching Satyagraha to oppose this autocratic move. The Indian National Congress and other political as well as freedom-loving bodies cannot take a passive attitude, considering the agitation of the State subjects as a domestic affair.

Rumours are afloat that the State authorities are bent on ruthlessly suppressing the agitation of the people.

The managing editor of a group of chain newspapers was recently at Trivandrum and it is rumoured that one of the best talents in journalism in India is almost canvassed for State propaganda.

Many of the State subjects are employed outside their States and some even outside India. An unfriendly attitude towards the neighbours and a hasty declaration of independence will certainly be disadvantageous to the people who are domiciled outside the State boundaries. A repatriation of these people will create an economical collapse.



HOCKEY IN MADRAS

by E. K. RAMASWAMI

THE Willingdon Cup Hockey Tournament, conducted by the South Indian Athletic Association, which is one of the three major tournaments of the Madras hockey season, concluded with the Islam Gymkhana, the League champions, annexing the cup defeating the Spencers Sports Club in the replay of the final.

Thanks to the efforts of the former Madras back, Mr. C. K. Nainakannu, the tournament proved quite a success. But at the same time it revealed the great decline in the standard of hockey in Madras. Very few outstation teams entered the tournament, and not one of those that entered was a first class side. To the great disappointment of the hockey fans even the famous Kamla Club from Cawnpore came down without their regular players, and got eliminated in the second round itself by the M. & S.M. Railway. But it must be said to their credit that they played clean and constructive hockey, and got between very gracefully. There was no doubt that if only they had brought their regular players Pillai, Indres Ahmed, Perumal and others, they would have easily carried off the trophy. Unfortunately most of the local teams, except the M. & S.M. Railway Sports Club indulged in hit and run tactics, and now and then even played very crude hockey. Indeed it was the reluctance of the Railway forwards to advance against the hard hitting and robust methods adopted by the Islam Gymkhana that cost them the match which they were expected to win, after their brilliant display against the Kamla Club in the quarter-final which incidentally happened to be the most thrilling match of the tournament. All the other matches in the quarter-final and semi-final stage were dull and un-interesting, some of them being drawn twice or thrice. After three successive drawn games with the Bangalore Indians, the League champions managed to beat them at last and moved up, to beat the Spencers Sports Club in one of the most scrappy final matches ever seen in a major tournament.

On the whole none of the teams which competed in the tournament possessed a player capable of converting a short

corner with any amount of certainty, or a forward who could finish well inside the ring. In this respect the veterans Eric Blankley and Gilbert playing for the Telegraph Recreation Club gave an exhibition of opportunism and brilliant finishing which the youngsters might well emulate. In the Kamla-Telegraph Club match, both Giloert and Blankley, in spite of their age, revealed glimpses of their former skill, and proved irresistible in the ring. The Telegraphs were one down, and their defence was being kept under pressure by the Kamla forwards, when Eric Blankley suddenly sprang into action. Taking a through pass from the back, he entered the ring in a flash, beating the defence by sheer speed, and scored with a lightning reverse stick which gave no chance to the Kamla custodian. A few minutes later Blankley again entered the top of the ring and gave a pass to Gilbert, who covered it with a bullet-like shot, before the defenders knew what had happened. It is this skill to shoot straight and hard at the goal that should be cultivated by our young forwards like Marian, Perumal, Thangaraj, if they aspire to make their mark in inter-provincial Hockey.

In the pivotal position R. M. Hussein, Islam Gymkhana, Antic of Spencers Sports Club, and Newman of Railway are quite good and promising. But one wonders whether any of them would ever attain the great heights reached by M. J. Gopalan. It will take decades before we have another player of Gopalan's standard in the centre-half position. For a long time Madras has been relying upon veterans to represent her in big matches. It is to be hoped that after the introduction of the League, and other facilities, Madras will produce many brilliant young players who will find a place even in the all-India team.

One unhappy feature of the tournament was that in most of the matches the standard of umpiring was very poor, and far from satisfactory. It is a pity that in spite of the existence of a well organised Umpires Association, this should be the case. Bad umpiring as everyone knows can in no time alter the complexion of a good game. And if nothing is done to improve the standard of umpiring, Madras hockey will be definitely ruined.



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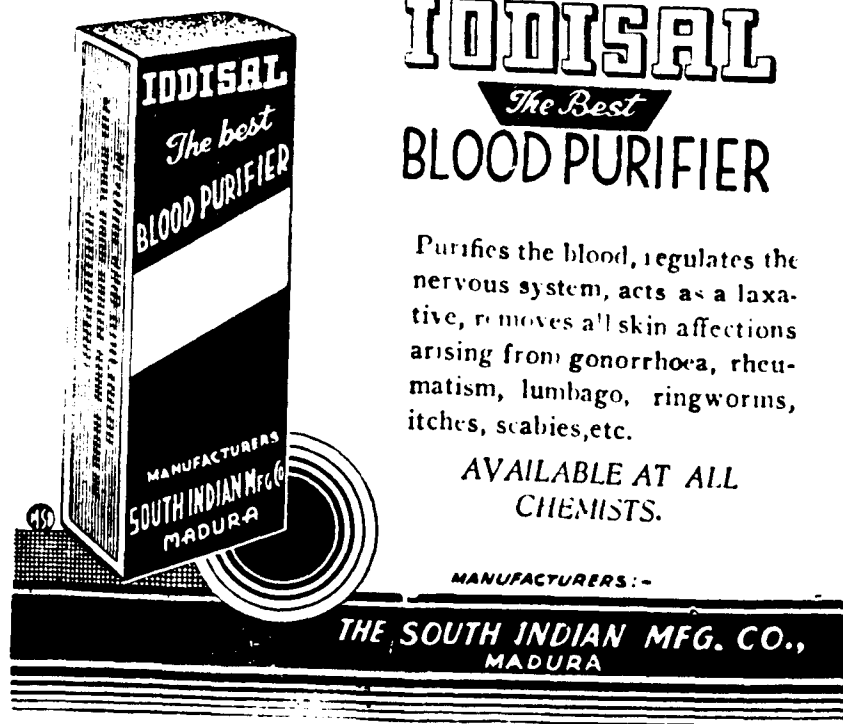
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LETTERS

TO
THE EDITOR

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

King Log For King Stork

It appears that the Congress which had rested upon the will and might of the people all these years, has had to turn, having acquired power, to the Indian capitalist to retain and preserve it for itself. The Indian capitalist, feeling insecure after the exit of the Britisher, had to take shelter under the Khadi cap. To achieve his end the Indian capitalist has taken to monopolising the Press. The capitalist craze of purchasing daily newspapers has become very pronounced at the present moment. It is the policy of these newspapers to keep the capitalist safe and attempt to endow him with political power also. In this context should be seen the havoc the Madras Press played at the time of the overthrow of the Prakasam Ministry.

In recent times, Congress policy has been markedly pro-capitalistic. Sardar Patel, the strong man of the Congress, speaks with the voice of the capitalists. The new Trade Union Congress initiated by the Sardar is a capitalist feat to drive a wedge into the ranks of Labour and make it eternally incapable of any united action.

In the provinces, after the assumption of office by the Congress, all talk of truth and non-violence has been given the go-bye. They have not yet tried to nationalise any industry. At a time of acute cloth shortage, even the textile industry was not taken up by the provincial Governments. This is positive evidence of the pro-capitalistic leadership of the Congress.

A Government which aimed at the amelioration of the poor man's lot and the removal of the exploitation of the capitalist was given a decent burial in Madras. No one well acquainted with the personalities that worked underground to bring about the fall of the Prakasam Ministry can have any doubt that it was Big Business, the capitalist

and the vested interests, that captured the disgruntled M.L.A.'s aspiring for power and implanted them in the seats of power. The voice of true Congressmen did not prevail. The textile policy of the Prakasam Ministry was opposed not only by the industrialists of the province but by the capitalists of the whole of India; for, if given fair trial and found successful in Madras, it was sure to be followed by the other provinces as well, which would mean the downfall of the capitalists in the textile industry.

The present Madras Ministry, after assuming office, revised the wrong done to the capitalists and allowed the spindles quota. The P.C.C. societies were scrapped, allowing the millers with large stocks to black-market. Imperialist trends are being witnessed when Ministers seek police help. Sincere people have begun to think that there is no place for them in the Congress. All their sacrifices, jail-going and receiving lathi-blows have only helped the replacement of King Stork by King Log.

J. KAMESWAR RAO.

Kalkaloor.

Democracy Violated

The letting down of the Prakasam Ministry is an emblem of democracy working from the wrong end. The old Ministry carried on its work with a new zeal and vigour to remedy the ills of the post-war period. It is true that there was a wave of disappointment and discontent among several sections of the public. The treatment meted out to the Communists and the revised scales of pay introduced by the Cabinet sub-committee are examples of how old sores were left unhealed. But though we were angry with Mr. Prakasam for leaving many of our grievances undressed, we never wished for another in his place. This was on account of our deep trust and heart-felt reverence for the man.

Of course his textile policy raised a hue and cry. We failed to see how five yards of cloth will clothe us all the year round. We stood aghast at his refusal to take the spindles granted us by the Centre. But he showed us our quarrels and wanted us to clean them of their dust. We wondered how we can go back to the days of Adam and Eve when others are marching ahead of us. He reminded us of the Gandhian Code and said it was the main plank of the national structure. His policy was not without its reasons. A true adherent of Mahatma's creed ever since its inception, and an undeviating Congressman, he strove to be true to the pledges he made on the eve of the elections, and implemented them, and thus was his reward.

Members returned to the legislatures are supposed to be the true representatives of their electors, whose minds should be reflected within the four walls of the legislature. A candidate is expected to serve his constituents without bringing into play his own bias. Democracy is violated when the legislators go to the legislatures with their own axes to grind, having secured seats in the name of a popular party. And such is the glamour of long-standing parties that it is said that even if a stick is set up in the name of the Congress, it is returned. It is the party here and not the stick that is respected. And sadly enough, the electors have realised at last that this stick is capable of mischief.

CHATTI RAMA ROW.

Jagannaikpur.

Aggression of Vested Interests

We are passing through abnormal times. The War and its aftermath, inflation and soaring prices, concentration of wealth and no real increase in wages, all these and a host of other forces have contributed to a state of disequilibrium, and activated the masses to a degree which is unprecedented.

At such a time the Congress was called upon to assume the responsibility of running the Governments of the land. I venture to say that the Congress was quite unprepared for it. The Congress assumed the responsibility before it could firmly evolve its pattern of social justice and after the psychological forces which could be invoked and mobilized by the Congress with such good effect in our political struggle were frittered away and became unavailable when it came to be translated in the economic sphere. If the Congress High Command want to view the problem

straightly and squarely, and if they desire to protect and preserve the prestige of the Congress built up at such enormous cost of human life and blood, austerance and sacrifice, mainly on the part of the common man, they should not play into the hands of elements who desire to cash immediately the advantage gained.

Struggle there is bound to be on the one hand with vested interests and some misguided elements amongst us on the other. If properly diagnosed the public exhibition of popular wrath against anti-Prakasam groups will be found to be one of the manifestations of the upsurge for attainment of social justice that have been singularly common of late. He is the venetian who merely sees in it the hand of incitement and the cult of hatred.

Let the Congress High Command be aware that unless these manifestations of popular emotion are canalised, properly directed, and justice done to the man in the street according to known conceptions of social justice, the whole fabric so carefully built up for this more than half a century will collapse, be broken up and pulverised, at any rate in this part of our province.

SURI KRISHNAMURTI.

Bezwada.

Merit of C.R.'s Strategy

Your leading article in *Swatantra* of June 7, is a dexterous attempt to whittle down the merit of C.R.'s stand vis-a-vis the partition plan of the British. It is a misreading of C.R.'s strategy to say that his proposals envisaged the continuance of the British connection and it is also a misreading of current history to regard the British withdrawal as a context in Congress victory. C.R. foresaw the fall of the British power much earlier than any other statesman and his energies were directed to mobilising the constructive elements in the country to make the inevitable freedom workable and worthwhile. In his famous Ambalamudram speech, while he was still Prime Minister of Madras, he warned that the time would come very soon when Britain would withdraw her legions from this country as the Romans had done, and that it was upto us to get prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of Government. He grasped the fact that the morale and vitality of the British administrator in India was slowly weakening and he was for conciliating the Muslims at once and installing a National Government in the Centre. His celebrated offer to Jinnah of the post of first Premier of India was not

a piece of heroics. Unfortunately his colleagues in the Congress, including Gandhiji, did not realise, until it was too late, the potential power of Jinnah. To them, the fight was still with the British, and the slogan was "Quit India." In a speech delivered at Calcutta in 1940 Rajaji warned the Bengalis and Punjabis that standing at either end of India they have been the bane of the country's progress in history, and if they could not settle their internal quarrels now the rest of India would march on to freedom. A lot of what Rajaji had said has come true and it is to our eternal discredit that we had not given him the hearing he deserved. It gives me pain to find that such an astute journal as *Swatantra* should decry this saint, scholar, seer and statesman.

CANDIDUS.

"We Have Misunderstood"

We have always misunderstood you. By "We" (I use it advisedly) I mean "your readers."

When in the early days of *Swatantra* you started with a wholesome praise for C.R. and began to criticise Prakasam, we did misunderstand you.

For sometime we mistook you for a rank Communist and, strangely enough, we were quite amazed when, at some later date, the Communists were scathingly criticised by you.

We could not really appreciate when constantly and consistently, persistently and strongly Nadar and his henchmen were being "attacked" by you.

Well Sir, it is easy to misunderstand you. But *Swatantra* is now a year old; and if only we used our imagination and brought into play, without prejudice and bias, our own thinking faculties, perhaps it would be much easier for us to realise what you stand for; that you love all and hate none, shower praise where praise is due, and criticise where criticism is necessary—regardless of the status and stature of the personalities concerned.

Calcutta.

V. L. N. MURTHY.

Unjust Restrictions

Sugar-cane is the main commercial crop for the peasants of Chittoor district. The total area under cultivation of this crop exceeds 17,000 acres and the annual output of jaggery is nearly 68,000 tons. Now according to the present restrictions imposed by the Madras Government, on the free export of jaggery, all the sugar-cane growers are

put to great disadvantage and loss. At present the Government have released only 2,000 tons to be exported to the outlying provinces, 2,000 tons to places within the province and another 6,000 tons for local consumption. According to the present position, as much as 58,000 tons or 7,54,000 bags of jaggery is left surplus with the ryots, which is day to day getting deteriorated, due to lack of scientific storage facilities.

This unjust and unwise restriction has resulted in the steady depression of the prices, bringing economic ruin on many a peasant family. So I appeal to the Government to sympathise with the sugar-cane growers and permit the release of the surplus 58,000 tons of jaggery for export to Hyderabad, Bombay, Ceylon and other places of demand and thus prove their readiness to help the agriculturists.

C. BALI REDDI.

Secretary, Andhra Provincial Kisan Congress.

Price Controls: A New Formula

The control of prices of essential articles by the Government has the effect of sending them underground for black-market deals. When price-controls are taken away the prices soar very high. To break up black-markets and prevent sky-rocketing of prices at the same time some suitable scheme has to be evolved.

The Government may purchase at controlled prices and stock essential commodities up to 10 or 15 per cent of the extent required for the community, allowing at the same time free markets to operate. When the prices tend to be pushed up the Government should open out their stocks at the normal rates so that private dealers may get no opportunity for undue exploitation. The stocks thus released by the Government may be replenished from normal trade sources who will on that account be obliged to supply at the permissible rates.

The producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies may well be utilised by the Government as centres for stocking all such controlled articles. They may be used as levers to keep down the price levels in normal trade channels. The charge that their capital and equipment are inadequate to meet the needs of the community in the distribution of essential commodities is thus avoided, since under this formula it is only a fraction of the total needs of the community that is required to be stocked. With the considerable capital already secured in the name of these

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societies an extensive turnover in business may well be effected with a guarantee-return of handsome profit. If normal trade is permitted to a large extent and the Government stock is utilised only as leaven to pull down unfair dealings, the defect of monopolist exclusiveness in the field of co-operation is also cured. If, instead of being checked, normal trade agencies are displaced altogether under State monopoly, the remedy will be felt to be worse than the disease itself, and the community will then get ill-served in every way. The principle is identical with that obtaining in the banking field when interest-rates are sought to be lowered.

M. V. V. K. RANGACHARI,
Cocanada.

Burma Evacuees

It is now understood that a scheme has been drawn up for the repatriation of the Burma evacuees as the Burma Government have allowed all the Indian evacuees to return. When implementing the plan evolved for repatriation of the evacuees, the authorities should constitute a committee of representative non-official evacuees to assist them to carry out the plan in the best interests of these unhappy victims of circumstances instead of deciding the fate of the evacuees arbitrarily and on the whims and fancies of a few officers who may be totally ignorant of or indifferent to the particular circumstances of the evacuees and in consequence not able to arrive at fair and just decisions.

Dr. M. S. V. RAO.

Rationale of Euthanasia

Your leaderette on euthanasia in your issue of 31st May has set me thinking about the wisdom and rationale of the legalisation of "mercy-killing." If the Hindu theory of Karma postulating that happiness or suffering is the inescapable result of one's past actions is to be believed, I am afraid that a tortured patient committing suicide or helped to die through voluntary euthanasia will not be able to obtain permanent redemption from pain, but would be cast into the world again fully to suffer the consequences of his past sins, just as a prisoner making his escape before his term of incarceration is out, will be relentlessly pursued and put in jail again. Better such patients are

allowed to die a natural death and obtain liberation from the bondage of Karma.

K. SATYANANDA RAO, B.A.
Amalapuram.

"Good Luck To Suicide!"

Your editorial on 'Euthanasia' published in the issue of June 1 is dangerously ambiguous and appears to be the fruit of loose thinking.

The whole edifice of the law on murder and suicide rests on the foundation that God alone is the author of life and no man has a right to take away what he cannot himself give. The State exercises this right over its subjects' lives only as the representative of that Life-Giver. To bring death nearer to a man even by a minute is against the will and design of God and against natural law.

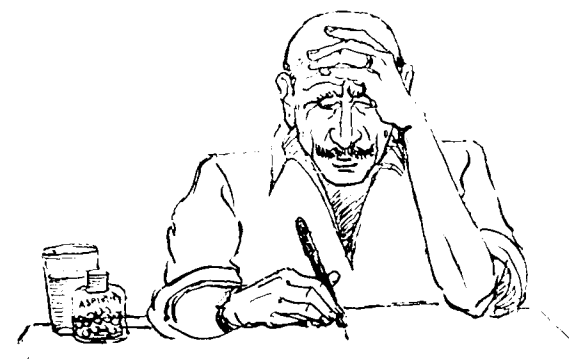
Incurability of a disease is only relative. Time was when small-pox, typhoid, plague and cholera were all incurable. Now they are definitely curable. And so it is not absurd to think that cancer may also have a cure some day. In fact a patient dies of not only cancer but of any disease because it has become incurable in that particular case. So when a doctor finds a case of typhoid beyond his capacity and has a weak heart for the patient's suffering, he has only to inject a death dose and call it 'mercy killing,' legal and excusable. But it is an everyday experience that what was left as a hopeless case by one doctor brings fame and fortune for another who cures it later.

To find an escape from pain in death is cowardly. It is like the soldier running away from the field in fear of the bullets. No sane Government has so far legalised such desertion. If fear of pain is sufficient cause for courting death, then you must take into consideration pains other than physical which are far more terrible. In almost all cases of suicide the person who commits it prefers death to life because the pain in his heart is unbearable and death alone can give him relief. Nobody commits suicide for pleasure or for fame. The young widow, the widowed mother bereft of her only son, the condemned convict awaiting the gallows, all suffer pain which no cancer can equal in severity. And why should they wait for time to heal when they can stop it by swallowing off their life?

Legalisation of 'mercy-killing' must be logically followed by legalisation of 'mercy-self-killing.' Good luck to suicide!

93593 M. RAJA JOSEPH.

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