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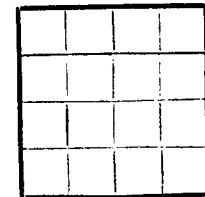
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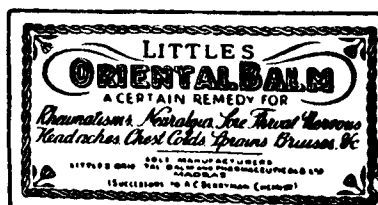
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II, No. 21.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1947.

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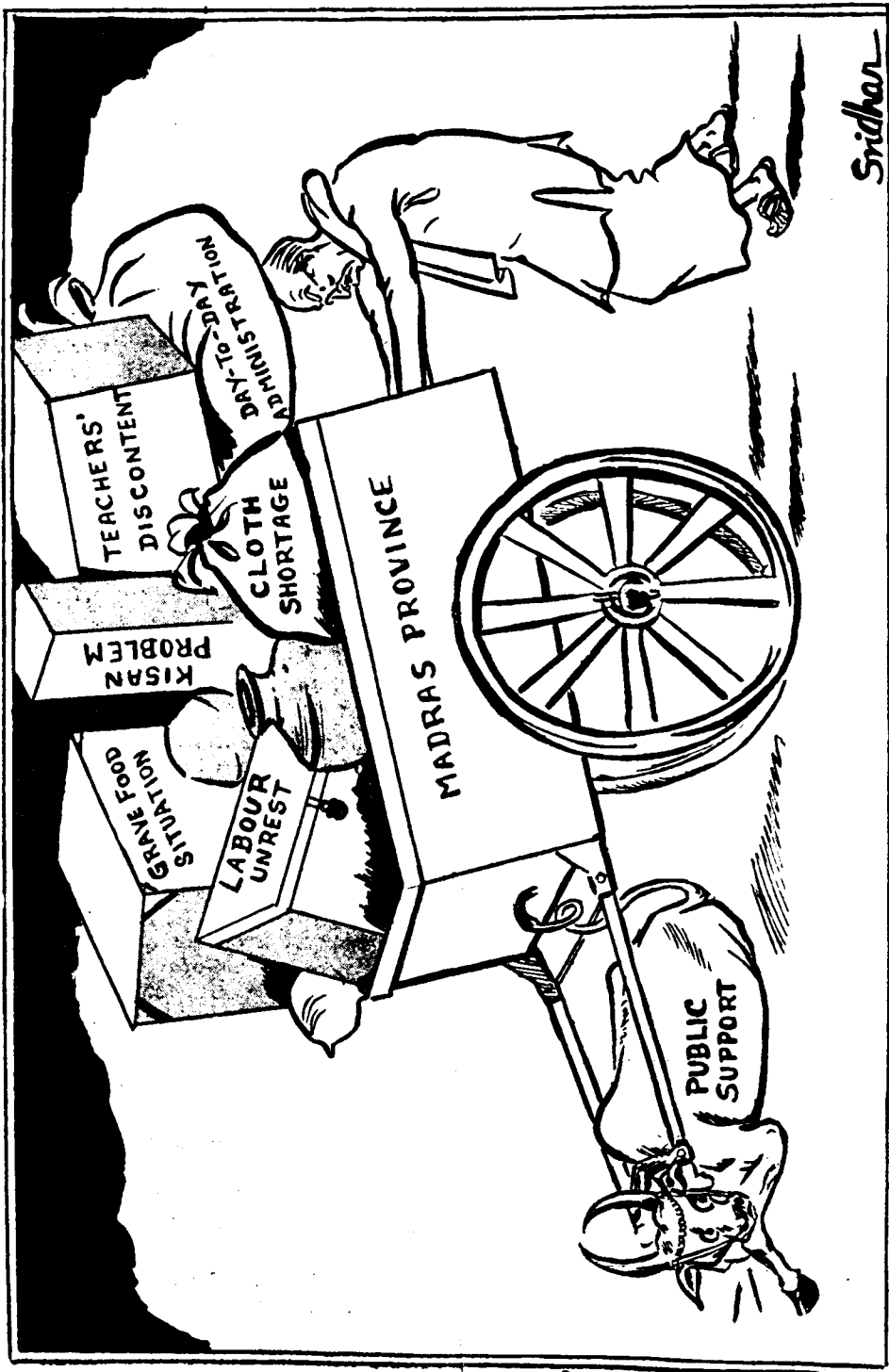
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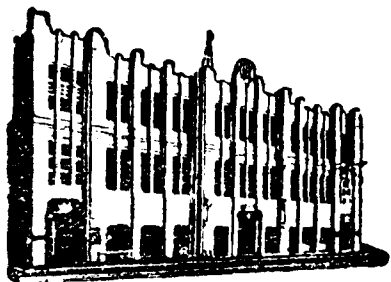
CONGRESS LEADERSHIP ON TRIAL

"I have no hesitation in asserting that the Congress has yet a significant role to play in shaping the future destiny of India," declared Acharya Jugal Kishore, its General Secretary, in a recent press interview pleading that the dissolution of the Congress cannot be lightly contemplated. Apart from the right or wrong of this view, it is a healthy sign that office-bearers like the Acharya, holding key-positions in the Congress organisation, have begun to feel the need for offering a public justification for the continuance of the Congress as a political institution. The heart-searching exhibited by the Secretary deserves to be copied by the mightier leaders behind the facade of titular functionaries, actually responsible for the shaping of Congress policy on grave and momentous issues. Among such leaders Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel holds a towering position at the present moment. He seems to have quietly elbowed out all the other prominent leaders of the great national organisation not excluding the Mahatma himself, who had played hitherto so notable a part in inspiring the masses of the country with faith in its political objective. That objective, mainly anti-imperialist and defined in the Congress constitution as the attainment of independence by all legitimate and peaceful means, is now on the point of fulfilment. The formal enactment of parliamentary legislation in Britain providing for the termination of British responsibility for the government of India, would mean the fruition at the same moment of the

declared objective of the Congress. No institution can last after the fulfilment of its objective, without another objective being set up in its place to hold the allegiance of the supporters of the institution. A change in the Congress creed itself, the main binding article in the Congress constitution, is called for, as a result of the victorious termination of the long-drawn Congress struggle for the elimination of British rule from the country. This is so axiomatic a matter that one would have thought that by this time proper steps had been taken for the necessary amendment of the Congress creed and constitution. But instead, we find an anxiety on the part of Congress leaders to shelve the question. Meanwhile, Sardar Patel is very active in assimilating into his own hands every strand of the political power accruing from the circumstances of the present.

Before it becomes too late, and in order to avoid another struggle that might involve much bloodshed, intelligent and progressive minds in the country should grasp the dangers ahead in the event of the freedom fight of the Congress being permitted to degenerate into an organised grab of power-politics on sectional lines. To some extent, degeneracy has already taken place in that the tightness of office-holding was allowed to strain Congress policy to the point of breaking the cherished dream of united India and substituting it with a pattern after Mr. Jinnah's heart. But for the illusions and perversions connected with official status, Congress leaders





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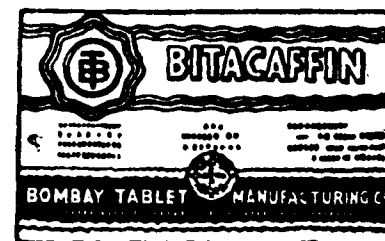
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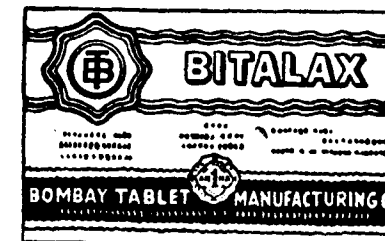
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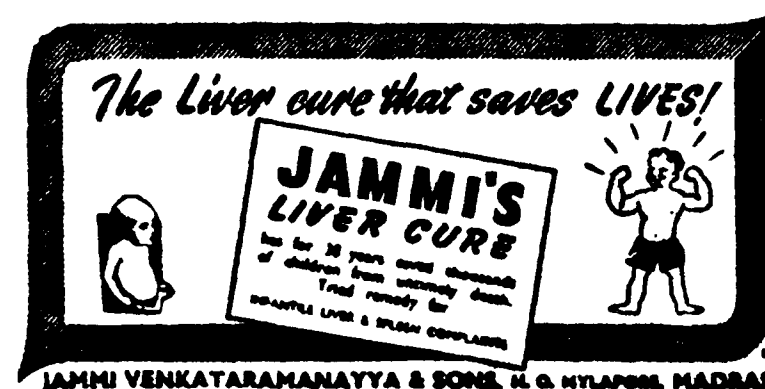
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might not have fallen to the level of Mr. Jinnah in a competitive race for the favours in Lord Mountbatten's gift. Tenacity in the pursuit of the ideal of united India was abandoned because of greater tenacity in holding on to the seats of office lest the League might take what the Congress gave up. The League is an embodiment of communalism and will utilise its power to work its pernicious political philosophy into the structure of the new State at its command. But no accepted doctrine of positive content corresponding to the League's communalism is available to the Congress leaders as a sanction. Under the Congress constitution, the goal was defined negatively, in terms of a result to be achieved with reference to the ruling power. Economic objectives translatable into a positive political system were left purposely vague in order that the loyalties of ordinarily conflicting elements like capitalist and proletarian, landlord and tenant, rich and poor, may be mobilised equally effectively for the common onslaught on imperial authority. Mahatma Gandhi sought to give economic substance to the political effort of the Congress with his constructive programme fashioned on broad humanitarian lines. But the Gandhian economic programme, of which the charka is the hub, broke down under the very first attempt made to give it administrative validity and translate it into a State policy. Khaddar has been turned into a relic of disappearing symbolism to be soon gathered to the limbo of untenable things, while retaining for the present enormous spectacular value as the key to the reservoir of goodwill associated with the personality of the Mahatma. The battle for Khadi against the forces of modern centralised industrialisation was lost with the overthrow of the Prakasam Ministry in Madras, and it is not likely to find a more sincere or powerful exponent

in this province or elsewhere capable of retrieving the defeat. What elevates the ministerial crisis that sent Prakasam out of the premiership above the level of mere provincial politics and gives it the significance of a major event of portentous national importance is the alliance that it revealed between Congress and capitalist elements hostile to Khadi, along with the blessing to it given by the Congress High Command. It gave a twist to Congress politics in a manner not authorised by the Congress creed, and it revealed on the part of the office-holders a usurpation of functions and authority in excess of the legitimate limits permissible under the obvious proprieties of the whole Congress struggle.

Freedom which was pledged to be for all, has already been converted into a drive for power for a few. Millions of people are grateful to Congress leaders for the stature revealed by them as patriots in the fight against British power. So were the British people, *en masse*, towards Mr. Churchill. All internal hostilities were hushed in universal acclamation of Britain's incomparable war leader so long as there was an external enemy imperilling the national security. But on the restoration of peace an intelligent electorate decided that the Churchillian qualities of war leadership were not enough to entitle him to a vote of confidence from his indebted beneficiaries for the tasks of economic reconstruction that lay ahead. The stage of struggle with a foreign power having almost come to an end, it would have been the right and proper thing for Congress leaders to respect the spirit of freedom by passing on to the people themselves the right of determining what economic objectives should fill the content of freedom and whether their old leaders will suffice for the new tasks. But unfortunately we see no sign of this. On the other hand,

tactical advantage is being taken of the organisational strength of the Congress and of positions in the Government to divert State power and influence along narrow channels in disregard of public opinion as such. Congress leaders show no disposition to derive their credentials for the constructive work of the State from the vote of the people in a free election. They give the impression of being afraid to extend the power of franchise to all, of reluctance to face the expanded electorate, and of anxiety to maintain themselves for as long as possible in their present positions with manoeuvres and manipulations forged with the aid of the grace of the departing power. The present Constituent Assembly is not a popularly elected Assembly at all but an *ad hoc* body brought into being by the arbitrary will of a dozen or so of influential politicians implanted in posts of strategical authority. It does not reflect the soul of true democracy, nor do the present Congress Ministries based on legislatures formed on the votes of a small fraction of the population only. No inheritance of the past based on the disfranchised condition of the vast majority of the population deserves to survive, still less to be cherished as a temple of freedom, and we feel that Congress leaders, succeeding virtually to the administrative legacies of the outgoing imperialism, are on their trial today at the crossroads between fascism and democracy.

Manufacture Of Misfits

TWO distinct trends are discernible in the educational policy of the Provincial Government. One is adding to the cost of education by raising fees. The other is allotment of facilities community-war. Both are thoroughly retrograde and altogether unworthy of a Congress administration as it ought to be.

The communal system of apportioning seats in schools and colleges makes great show of administrative justice, but in reality it is based on a complete lack of comprehension of the functions and duties of the State as a purveyor of popular education. The Government seem to think that by allotting the seats available in a particular proportion between the several communities, their task is done. Evidently the distribution is made with an eye to placating certain communities more than others, or even at the expense of the others. But so long as the extent of placation even in the case of the most favoured community is as negligible as it is, what consolation can an excluded member derive from the knowledge that a larger percentage than others of the members of his community have gatecrashed into admission even though he was left outside in the lurch? Being educated is an asset that is peculiarly individual, and the advantages derived from it are not passed on to the uneducated of the community in some mysterious manner inaccessible to the others. Under cover of conferring favour on chosen classes with their system of invidious percentages, the Government are only seeking to sidetrack public attention from the larger measure of denial of which it is the basis and of which the baneful effects are suffered by all communities alike. In a modern society, the right to vote has to be rescued from improper exercise, irrational beliefs have to be overcome and government established firmly on the rock of an informed public rationally seeking its own happiness. Only universal education with no limit apart from individual capacity to reach its higher grades, can achieve all this. The right to education is part of the privilege of citizenship itself. Actually nobody disputes the rule of "one man, one vote," but for an honest implementing of the rule,

there should be no discrimination whatever between one man and another on communal grounds impeding or varying the flow of benefits from the State to the citizen. The Muslim League set out to create a separate citizenship for Muslims with separate treatment with the result that in large parts of the country the intensified effects of the League policy have created hatred and bloodshed and dehumanised its intended beneficiaries quite as much as it pillaged its victims. In the communalism of the Congress Governments we see their moral surrender to the sectarian preachings of the League. By creating multiple varieties in citizenship, this sort of communalism is decimating the whole morale of our social and public life. Appalling is the suffering of people who in spite of aptitude, intelligence and brain power feel themselves worsted of the opportunities that are their due as a result of the Government's discrimination policy. At the other end is being manufactured an increasing number of maniacs, with humanity supplanted by communalism and incapable of taking their stand on any common ground of equity with their fellow-citizens.

In the Punjab and other places the pampered favourites of communal power lost the faculty of maintaining a human relation with members of other communities. In one village the police actually joined with the looters in firing on the peaceful and inoffensive inhabitants. Barbarities once thought beyond the pale of possibility for men of flesh and blood are being enacted. More of them on a vaster scale are being prepared for by the disruptive policies of Congress Ministries steeped in communalism (such as the one in Madras) incapable of grasping the need for a common citizenship with equal rights for all, as the very basic foundation of peace, harmony and social happiness. We would urge the Ministry to abandon its primitive

and barbarous notions, adjust itself to the requirements of civilized administration on modern lines, avoid its present policy of criminally wasting the brains and talents of the most gifted youths of society, and give up its mad folly of mistaking denial by percentage for administrative sagacity. There should be opportunity for education to all, and progress should be organised round merit as pivot. Help for the poor and the backward is an economic issue calling for generous measures ordered rationally on some relevant principle of cause and effect, but it should not be perverted, to the hurt of the able and the efficient, into exaltation of incompetents to positions and responsibilities beyond their capacity in which they can only do harm and no good.

Lynching

THE acquittal of 28 self-confessed lynchers in South Carolina, U.S.A., stirred the conscience of many white Americans and attracted world attention. But it has to be remembered that the case of Willie Earle, the Negro victim, was exceptional in so far as his unfortunate death was at all noticed by a court of law, leading in its turn to the focussing of public scrutiny on what is undoubtedly the most serious blot on the American way of life. None of the six lynchings and 17 attempted lynchings in the U.S. during 1946 was deemed within the scope of federal prosecution—the implementation of laws for the protection of civil liberties is so defective there that during the last eight years the Justice Department has launched prosecutions with regard to only 178 out of the 70,000 alleged violations. Of the Southern States, only eight have some kind of anti-lynching law. It is therefore heartening to find that progressive American citizens are pressing for the enactment of Federal anti-lynching laws. Making this demand, the National

Association for the Advancement of Coloured People says: "We condemn all appeals to sectional, religious and racial prejudices in the courts of the land and we call upon all Americans to join us in rooting out this evil in our midst."

American leaders realize that unless this evil is put out, they cannot really sustain the claims made on behalf of American civilization in the ordering of world affairs. Hence their fear that the lynchings and their toleration by the American law courts will add a valuable weapon to the armoury of "Communist propaganda." But the problem is not one to be viewed from the narrow angle of political warfare. The basic feelings of humanity are outraged by these survivals of racial tyranny after the proud victory of America and the Allies over Hitler. When a man of the artistic genius and reputation of Paul Robeson nearly gets lynched, the shock to world opinion becomes even greater. The truth seems to be that the American whites are alarmed at the few advances in the economic and social sphere made by the Negroes in recent years, after

suffering some two centuries of wrong. The prevailing atmosphere in the South is well described by "Critic" writing in *The New Statesman*:

"Not all white Americans from the South will defend lynching but most of them will. I recall the first conversation on the subject I had with a lecturer from a Southern college. He described how in his home town a Negro, accused (on no sort of evidence) of attacking a white woman had been taken out and chained to an iron stake. A fire had been built up round the stake and the Negro slowly burnt to death as he ran desperately in shortening circles to escape the flames . . . My informant had himself been present at a lynching. Did he or anyone else try to interfere? Of course not. They themselves would have been promptly lynched. And did no one ever worry about whether the crime had taken place or ever been attempted or whether the victim had had anything to do with it? No, I was told; that was really irrelevant. No particular crime was being avenged. The Negro population was being warned never to forget that the coloured man in the South is still a slave, that between him and the white man there can be no law, no claim to justice."

Sotto Voce

The Pied Piper



THE Cauvery delta is at least as old as the Christian era. Ever since Karikal Chola trained the wild stream that took its rise in the jungle fastnesses of Coorg to fill the tanks and water the fields of his rich domain the lineaments of the characteristic riparian civilisation of the South have been more or less firmly fixed. Under the drums and trappings of many conquests neither irri-

gation nor tillage has appreciably altered. And there has evolved a type of land-holding which is racy of the soil. The ryotwari tenure is *sui generis*.

In India the pretence that the land belonged to the King or the State never flourished. The people had too lively a sense of the limitations of the kingly power, too great a reve-

SIDELIGHTS : :

rence for Dharma, to be induced to offer worship to the Moloch State. The village land belonged to the village community, and in many places in the southern districts of Madras it used till the early years of this century to be held in common. But that did not mean that proprietary rights were vested in every member of the community or that all proprietors had equal shares. Disparity in wealth was recognised as an inevitable concomitant of disparity in natural capacity, and land was heritable and transferable.

But so long as the village community remained undisrupted it was an unwritten law that the maintenance of the village folk was the first charge on the village land. The holders of property looked upon their wealth, to use an overworked phrase, as a trust. The maintenance of the old, the derelict and the orphaned was a sacred obligation which the well-to-do shared in friendly rivalry. The craftsman and artisan were remunerated by an allotment of communal land which carried with it a status to which the mere wage-earner could never aspire. It gave them a pride in their work which has been the backbone of traditional art.

The landless labourer, the proletarian to use a new fangled expression, was practically unknown. Every able-bodied man had his own recognised place in the village economy to which the tilling of the land was central. Owner and tiller shared equally in prosperity and adversity. They worked to keep the land in fine condition, to get out of it just as much as would suffice to meet their modest needs and to leave it more prosperous than they found it. The distinctive function of each one of the agents of production was recognised and respected. If master and man did not get on with each other they parted amicably and quietly suited themselves elsewhere. The village was wide enough and tolerant enough to allow for these little ebullitions.

Time and the impact of an acquisitive civilisation have made considerable inroads into the old economy. And there are those who think that that is the best thing that could possibly happen. I will not go into that now. But I must say that the self-confidence with which our Revenue Minister has come forward to confer on Tanjore the blessings of a brand-new system which he has evolved out of his own head leaves me breathless. I am reminded of nothing so much as of Marie Antoinette and her court playing at shepherds and shepherdesses in the gardens of Trianon.

To think that you can impose from above a new law which could be a satisfactory substitute for a network of customary property relations argues a sublime ignorance of history. And the proposals which the Minister has commended accord neither with the tradition nor with the temper of the people. He would scrap the *waram* system; prejudiced perhaps by what he has heard of American share-cropping with which it has only a superficial resemblance. Actually it represents an equitable system of profit-sharing; and industry may study with advantage the way in which it emphasises identity of interest while permitting freedom of association.

In its stead the Minister would substitute a caricature of the old *pannaiyal* system. He proposes to fix a monthly wage for a family unit of man and wife. The Congress with its compartmental thinking would perhaps see no incongruity in selling the woman's labour over her head in this manner. The land-owner is invited to shoulder the burden of finding work for the family throughout the year and also paying it certain other perquisites irrespective of what his land might yield. If he tried to do that he would go bankrupt, pulling down the entire village-structure with him, Samson-like. But the working peasant, whom our pied pipers frantically woo, has too much self-respect to be carried off his feet by visions of an utopia where it will be all pay and no work.

VIGNESWARA.

The opportunity is ours, but it may not linger. Events abroad or selfishness at home can wreck our dream of building a Kingdom of Heaven here on earth—unless we, every last one of us, look to our duties. We can't run away. The time of responsibility is upon us. —HENRY A. WALLACE.

To Americans, Washington the first President of the United States remains an important national symbol, but he is no longer first in their hearts. That place, according to competent estimators, belongs to Lincoln except in the South where Lee is the enshrined idol. Washington is great because, after winning freedom for his people, he was offered a crown and declined it, refusing to take any personal reward. Lee is great because he learned magnanimity of spirit through defeat, the most difficult of all feats for poor, pride-fed, prestige-ridden human nature which is apt to become most vengeful and rancorous when balked. But Lee, after doing what he thought was his duty, and failing under heart-rending odds, exhibited remarkable gentleness at the hour of failure, and threw himself heart and soul into a mission of repairing all hate and malice. Lincoln is great because, wielding the power of a czar on account of the desperate war in which he was engaged, he never forgot his love for the common people of both the warring sides, and at the end of it all, he put away all power and gave their government to the people.

These founders of American democracy had an unerring instinct for the most valuable of the requisites of democracy not to be got at by theoretical definitions or the phrasemaking skill of constitution-framers. They realised that democracy must cope with the "eternal oppositions of power and life, authority and liberty, public spirit and private interest, brute force and humanity." They bridged these oppositions with exemplary manifestations of renunciation on their own part. No attempt was made to convert the power

and victory of the patriotic forces that they handled into consolidations of personal positions for themselves. How very different from the methods being employed at the hour of national liberation, by our own leaders today!

A pattern of tyranny is taking shape out of all the anti-imperialist effort so nobly led for so many years hitherto by our patriots and heroes under the banner of the great national organisation, the Congress. What distinguishes the tyrant from the democratic leader is not the volume of power held. It is the derivative source of the power. One takes his authority from the free will of a free people allowed without hindrance to express spontaneously their preferences in the matter of leadership by means of free voting by ballot. The other bases it on some mechanism of force unrelated to public opinion. Taking power as a gift of Lord Mountbatten, Congress leaders (turned administrators) show no disposition to acquire democratic status by going to the polls for ratification.

The whole trend of Congress policy nowadays is in the direction of avoiding the verdict of the people. As a contrivance of British power in a hurry to leave, the Constituent Assembly is all right, but it is being reshaped, on the ashes of the Central Legislature, into virtually a hand-picked body of the dominant Congress leaders without any reference to a popular vote. Nobody speaks of adult suffrage now. Elections are dreaded. It has become the be-all and end-all of existence for the Congress High Command to step into the shoes of the retiring imperial power, set up a regime filled with puppets and nominees of their choice, and postpone for as long as possible the evil day of a possible change by avoiding elections.

This is not freedom. It is a monstrous caricature of it. Millions of people forming a vast majority of

there was no official account, the Press published an imperfect and often deliberately garbled report of the speeches. This led to frequent complaints and the prosecution of journalists. William Cobbett published a history of Parliament up to 1808 and continued it afterwards in his 'Parliamentary Debates.' 'Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates' was printed by Mr. Hansard and later the Hansard family purchased Cobbett's interests. It was now known as 'Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.' Till 1877 there were quasi-official reports, and from 1909 official reports known as 'Hansard' are published by the Government.

Further, it was only by favour of the House of Commons that the public was permitted to be present at its sessions. Each member had the right to call attention to the illegal presence of "strangers", and the gallery must then be cleared immediately. In 1810 when the House debated on a disastrous military expedition the visitors were ordered out. William Windham, who always opposed the impudence of the Press and the presence of the visitors who were reporters, took the opportunity to inveigh against "bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, footmen and decayed tradesmen." One John Gale Jones and Sir William Burdett protested against this exclusion of the public and were arrested by order of the Commons for breach of privilege and brought before the Bar of the House. These restrictions have been relaxed in a large measure and yet the conduct of the visitors is subject to the scrutiny of the Speaker. "Mr. Speaker, I spy strangers" is now used when the House has to go into a secret session, not for the removal of the King's spies or informers, even as "Mr. Speaker, I call for candles" is for putting electric lights on and not for lighting candles.

Let us look at some symbols and customs, the mosaic of political curiosities.

At the beginning of every session the servants of Parliament examine its cells and undergrounds so that a second Gunpowder Plot might be

averted. This practice is known as 'Guying' after Guy Fawkes, the arch-plotter, whose effigy is burnt by English boys every 5th November.

In the cloak room of the House of Commons there hang, from hundreds of pegs, loops of red tape. Originally the members carried their swords and hung them on the loops, but now they are used for suspending umbrellas.

When entering or leaving the House the members bow in front of the Speaker. The parvenus and "fools" of the Labour Party when they were first returned to Parliament were expected to outrage this convention, but surprisingly they performed "this custom with more correctness than the Tory members." The bowing is no deference to Mr. Speaker. In former times the House met in St. Stephen's chapel which is now part of the corridor of Westminster. In the chapel there was an altar and it was to the altar that the members bowed.

The swearing-in of the members is noteworthy for the defiance of the atheist, Charles Bradlaugh. The House of Commons would allow him neither to affirm nor to swear—an attitude which raised a perverted genius to the status of a martyr and eclipsed in importance the other transactions of Gladstone's Ministry. It was the new Parliament of 1886 that gave him the right of affirming and he took his seat after a relentless struggle of about six years.

Till 1880 the tradition was that no member should occupy the seat "on the highest bench above and behind the Treasury Bench under the shadow of the gallery." That was reserved for Privy Councillors so that they might help the Minister in charge of the business in case of difficulties, without being observed by everyone in the House of Commons. Moreover, new and even experienced members find it difficult to choose the seat of vantage from which to command all sides of the House while speaking, and Philip Snowden and Lloyd George preferred "the corner seat on the second bench below the gangway."

The member speaking should not read his speech from manuscript, but can have notes as aids to memory. Addressing the chair, waiting to catch the Speaker's eye, and using parliamentary language are formative and restraining influences on the "careerists" of the House. More interesting than these is the cry of "Order, order" when the member touches the edge of a narrow strip of carpet two feet wide in front of the benches on each side. In olden times when personal and political rivalry was crude and keen, the members should not step off the strip when making speeches, and if they did they were within the reach of the opposite members who could challenge them to a duel.

The custom of raising a point of order with or without top hat is now extinct. Before division it was raised "standing and uncovered" and after it "seated and covered". By 1920 Austen Chamberlain and Crookshank alone had their top hats which were passed round if necessity arose.

The important officer of the House of Commons below the Clerks at the Table is the Serjeant-at-Arms who appoints its door-keepers, messengers and attendants, and usually they are drawn from the servants of his own or his friends' families. He wears black knee-breeches, black stockings and buckled shoes and an ornamented sword. He sits at a small table and helps to keep the House going in an orderly way. In 1930 when an M.P. walked away with the mace his wits had the keenest trial.

The mace, called "the bauble" by "Brave Oliver" who "came to the House like a sprite", plays an important role. If it is on the top rack in front of the table of the Speaker the House is in "full session" and if in the lower "in committee".

The King's messenger is known as the Black Rod because he carries a black rod. When the Royal Assent is to be given to bills he thrice

knocks the outer door of the House of Commons after it is discourteously locked in his face. The Serjeant-at-Arms announces the presence of the Black Rod who is now admitted. The Black Rod after bowing to the Government and then to the Opposition invites the Honourable House to the House of Lords to hear the Royal Assent given. The Speaker and several members proceed two and two to the other place where a regular pantomime is carried through. Seated on chairs in front of the throne are three of the peers clad in red cloaks with ermine capes and three-cornered hats. The central of the three, probably the Lord Chancellor, instructs one of the Clerks to read the Commission appointing them and others to act on behalf of His Majesty in passing the Bills into law. As their names are called the peers doff their headgear. After that, another Clerk reads the title of the Bills, and a third Clerk pronounces in Norman French the King's assent and bows low. The ceremony over, the Commons return to their own House and the Speaker makes a report of what has taken place.

In the same way the Commons and the Speaker hear the King's speech in the House of Lords.

If a new Peer is created he is introduced to the House of Lords by two old Peers of his own rank.

At night when the House of Commons adjourns the servants and police cry "who goes home?" In olden days when dangerous open spaces and foot-pads abounded the members were escorted by "link-boys" with lighted torches. Nowadays the question may mean "Who wants a taxi?"

Coke's comment upon the House of Commons still holds good. "If you regard antiquity it is the most venerable; if you look at dignity it is the most honourable; if you consider jurisdiction it has the most extended powers." As John Buchan says, "It is nicely discriminating, for while it will tolerate an agreeable buffoon and an honest donkey, it will not give its confidence except to sterling character and talent."

the population not admitted to the vote yet, are denied the political right of having their say as to who shall rule them, and on foundations of mass disfranchisement, the old system is being indefinitely continued under a new name. Here in Madras it has installed as administrators a clique of pinchbeck fascists several of whom dare not even move among people without special bundobust arrangements. Their energies are exhausted in defensive and self-protective operations. There is little surplus left for constructive planning. The province has become a paradise for rack-renters and black marketeers. The Premier is content with spectacular demonstrations of personal participation in temple-entry campaigns, receiving high chits of commendation from New Delhi Olympians for that feat, while in the far-flung area supposed to be governed by him, famine holds terrible sway and millions of people are without hope of near redemption, subjected as they are to horrible privations in the course of their unending daily struggle for the bare necessities of life.

A large part of the prestige acquired in half a century of sturdy political effort is already being lost by the Congress. If it is not to be thrown back on the pitiable fate of having to depend entirely on military rule, the wisdom of the wisest patriots among the present wielders of power must come swiftly into play. Force is no substitute for wisdom. In the present arrangements installing unacceptable persons in authority over unwilling people, there is a dangerous element of force that can be resolved only with an immediate election helpful towards a fresh reconstruction on better lines of the whole miserable machinery of legislature and executive that was made a hash of as a result of the intrigues that have permeated our public life since the C. R.—Nadar conflict. An immediate reference to the poll must test the democratic validity of every remnant of the administrative structure of the past, and every decision tentatively arrived at by the present extremely defective Constituent Assembly.—SAKA.

ODDITIES OF HOUSE OF COMMONS PROCEDURE

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

“THE influence of races in our early ages” writes Disraeli in his *Sybil*, “of the Church in our middle, and of parties in our modern history are three great moving and modifying powers.” More important than the three great powers is the genesis and growth of the English Parliament which determined their course and destiny. Whenever any reference is made to the Parliament, it is the House of Commons that is largely had in mind, though in its origin the House was a secret committee of inexperienced knights and burgesses who had not the temerity to speak out personally and directly to the wise and seasoned members of the House of Lords.

In the 18th century the House of Commons, according to Frederick Harrison, was still “an aristocratic club.” In the 19th Gladstone referred to it in words of unrestrained buoyancy thus: “I may speak of the House of Commons as a school of discipline for those who enter it. In my opinion it is a school of extraordinary power and efficacy. It is a great and noble school for the creation of all the qualities of force, suppleness and versatility of intellect. And it is also a great moral school. It is a school of temper. It is also a school of patience. It is a school of honour, and it is a school of justice.” In the 20th the tendency has increasingly been, as Philip Snowden said, to change it “from a talking shop to a work-room.” Whether Great Britain would attempt to convert Philip Drunk into Philip Sober self-contained without any exotic expedient or continue to adhere as of old to appealing from Philip Drunk to Philip Sober, the future alone can decide. But her Parliamentary symbols, observances and conventions, the slow accretions of several centuries characterised by G.B.S. as “tomfooleries”, would remain indispensable and immutable. The House of Commons is still a “queer place”

with its mysteries, though we are no longer in Edward IV's days when knights ran away from shires for fear of being elected to the troublesome job of an M.P. and boroughs petitioned to be excused from the burden of sending representatives.

The “civil prudence” of the House of Commons which Gibbon eulogized is to be found not in legal conundrums and escapades like Goodwin vs Fortesque, Hampden's case, attempted arrest of the Five Members, Wilkes' episode or the Parliament Act of 1911. It is writ large in human incidents and historical mementos.

The House of Commons once opposed the election of Lord Falkland because he was young and being young he had not sown his wild oats. He retorted: “Then it will be the best way to sow them in the House where there are so many geese to pick them up.” On another occasion Alderman Atkins made a motion that the members who slept in the House and did not mind the business should be turned out. Henry Martin hit back by saying, “Mr. Speaker, a motion has been to turn out the ‘Noddies’. I desire the ‘Noddies’ may also be turned out.” Lord North was the worst sinner as a somnambulist and, when an indignant member reproved him, he pleaded, “The physician should never quarrel with the effect of his own medicine.” A few years before, in the debate on the Insurance Bill, a member said that he could not hear Lloyd George who, as he was facing the Chair, had his back to the majority of members. “There is my difficulty,” replied Lloyd George. “I have been told to address the Chair.” “Address the Chair,” came the reply, “but speak in this direction.” “That”, replied Lloyd George, “would involve something that I never do—facing both ways.”

Far into the 19th century a standing order forbade the publication of debates of the Parliament. Since

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THE MUMMERS OF MANKHET

V.K. RANGANATHA RAO

"AJIT, you rogue!", said Raja Todarmul irritably. "Why can't you confess that you have lost the way."

Ajit hung down his head sheepishly and mumbled something about some village that ought to have been somewhere about.

Both were on horseback, and climbing up a slight rise of the moor, they suddenly came upon a path and a guide as well.

The latter was as much surprised to see them, as they to see her, for when they came upon her, she was sitting on the bank beside the path weeping bitterly. On hearing them, however, she sprang up, and they discovered the form of a young girl, rather ill-clad. Nevertheless, her face was neither stupid nor uncomely. At the first alarm, she made as if she would escape across the moor, probably supposing them to be robbers, of whom the country was not wholly rid of, but stopped as soon as she heard their voice. Todarmul asked her gently where they were.

At first she did not understand, but Ajit speaking to her in the language of the country, she answered that they were near Sakhal, a village not far from Ramghar, and considerably off the road. Asked how far it was to Ramghar, she answered between eight to ten miles, and an indifferent road.

They could ride the distance in an hour, and there remained as much of daylight. But the horses were tired, so Todarmul, resigning himself to the prospect of some discomfort, asked the girl if there was an inn at Sakhal.

"A poor place for your honours," she answered, staring at them in innocent wonder, the forgotten tears not dry on her cheeks.

"Never mind; take us to it," said Todarmul.

She turned at the word and tripped on before them. Todarmul bade his servant ask her, as they went, why she had been crying, and learned through him that she had been to her uncle's,

three miles away, to borrow money for her mother; that the uncle would not lend it; and that they would be turned out of their houses; that her father was lately dead, and that her mother kept the inn, and owed the money for corn and flour.

"At least, she says that she does not owe it," the man corrected himself, "for her father paid as usual just before Divali; but after his death Mr. Durgaram said that he had not paid, and . . ."

"Mr. Durgaram?" said Todarmul. "Who is it?"

"The daroga of Ramghar."

"The creditor?"

"Yes."

"And how much is owing?" asked Todarmul.

"Nothing, she says."

"But how much does he say?"

"Twenty rupees."

Rajah Todarmul was a unique man and a gem among the ministers of Akbar. He was of opinion that ministers were the king's eyes, and that in a state, no class is so unimportant that it can safely be overlooked. Moreover, as the settlement of the finances was one of the objects of his stay in those parts—and he seldom had the opportunity of checking the statements made to him by the farmers, the tax-collectors, the receivers, the gatherers, and, in a word, all the corrupt class that imparts such views of a province as suits its interests—he was glad to learn anything that threw light on the real condition of the country.

So, he continued to put questions to her until, crossing a ridge, they came at last within sight of the inn, a lonely house of stone, standing in the hollow of the moor and sheltered on one side by a few gnarled trees. The house was of one storey only, but a little smoke rising from the chimney seemed to promise a better reception than the desolate landscape and the girl's scanty dress had led them to expect.

Todarmul pushed open the ramshackle door of the house and stepped in. It was a few moments before he could accustom his eyes to the things within, in the half-light. Then the scene that met his eyes was so unexpected and startling that it sent a sudden chill through his heart, and he stood as one petrified.

In each of the four corners of the room was the figure of a man, standing still as death. But what was more curious—they were all standing on their heads. Above a small table in the centre of the room, there hung a man, also with his head down, and his legs apparently tied to a rope fixed in the low roof. There was no sign of anyone else in the house.

Ajit who had followed close behind his master laid a trembling hand on Todarmul's shoulder.

"Come back, sir!" he said in a fierce whisper. "The house is bewitched."

But the courage of the gentleman differs from that of the vulgar in that he fears yet goes. Todarmul immediately drew his sword and shouted if there was anyone in the house.

Within the wink of an eye, the figure hanging above the table had somehow extricated his legs from the rope and with a graceful somersault, now stood before Todarmul bowing deeply in an attitude of exaggerated respect, and holding out his cap. And as if at a given signal, all the four figures in the corners were on their legs in the twinkling of an eye and stood behind the first man, with a mischievous grin on their merry faces.

It was apparent from their dress and demeanour that they were a set of mountebanks.

"Why, you knaves," said Todarmul. "You should be whipped, not rewarded. Who gave you leave to play pranks on travellers?"

"Let him whip who is scared," said the leader with a roguish impudence.

"But why this foolery here?" said Todarmul puzzled.

"We mistook you for another, your honour," he answered.

"Whom you intended to frighten?"

"Precisely, your honour."

"Well, you are nice rogues," said Todarmul. "But who is it you meant to frighten?"

They were not willing to tell him, but at length confessed to his astonishment, that it was Durgaram.

"Durga—Durgaram," said Todarmul striving to recollect where he had heard the name. "The daroga of Ramghar?"

The man made an atrocious grimace. Then, "yes, sir, the daroga of Ramghar," he said frankly. "A year ago he put one of us in the prison, and horse-whipped another for trying to make an honest living. But we don't bear him malice for that. The master of this house, who is now dead, and his wife have more than once befriended us, and he is now for turning her out for a debt she does not owe. However, your honour's arrival has saved him this time from what we intended to give him."

"You expected him here this evening, then?"

"He is coming," the man answered with more than his usual gloom. "He passed this way this morning, and announced that he would spend the night here. We found the good wife all of a tremble when we arrived. He is a hard man, sir," the mountebank added bitterly.

With that the mummeters respectfully vacated the table and retired to a corner of the big room—though they had not the slightest notion who the newcomers were.

Presently, one of the mountebanks who had been looking out of the window cried, "Here he is, sir. I see his lantern coming down the hill. And by God!" he exclaimed spinning round in a wild dance of triumph on the floor and suddenly stopping and falling into an attitude before Todarmul. "Sir," he said, "if both of you will help us, I have the richest jest ever played. Listen! all of you, and listen, gentlemen," he continued eagerly. "We will pretend that he is changed. He is a pompous man; he thinks that the daroga of Ramghar is only next to the Emperor of Delhi. I shall be the Daroga of Ramghar and you, Dandi, you pretend to be the Daroga of Mankhet, so that we may give him enough of darogas. This gentlemen will swear to us, as also the servants. Oh! we will punish him finely."

"But," said Todarmul, astounded by the very audacity of the rogue's proposition. "You do not flatter yourself that you will deceive him?"

"We shall, your honour, if you will help," he answered confidently. "I will be warrant for it, we shall."

Seeing that Ajit was tickled with the idea, and being himself in a mood to

see others tricked as he had just been tricked himself. Todarmul was tempted to consent, though he could not help feeling that it was a taste for the droll.

After this, the preparations took not a minute. The two pretended 'darogas' sat at the table with a cloak thrown over their fools' clothes, and their servants standing behind them in a studied attitude. One of the mountebanks, adopting a refinement suggested at the last moment, was sent out to intercept Durgaram before he entered, and tell him that the inn was full, and that he had better pass on.

The knave did his business so well, that Durgaram being just such a man as the strollers had described, the altercation on the threshold was of itself the most amazing thing in the world.

"Who?" they heard a loud coarse voice exclaim. "Who do you say are here, man?"

"The daroga of Ramghar."

"What!"

"Their honours the daroga of Ramghar, and the daroga of Mankhet," the servant repeated, as if he noticed nothing amiss.

"That is a lie!" the new comer replied, with a snort of triumph, "and an impudent one. But you have got the wrong sow by the ear this time."

"Why, man," a third voice stuck in from behind Durgaram. "Don't you know his honour the daroga of Ramghar?"

"I should," the mummer answered bluntly, drawing himself up before them, "for I am his servant, and he is this moment at his supper."

"The daroga of Ramghar?"

"Yes."

"Mr. Durgaram?"

"Yes."

"And you are his servant?"

"I have been these ten years," the man who barred them answered contemptuously.

The daroga fairly roared in his indignation. "You—his servant! The daroga of Ramghar!" he cried in a voice of thunder. "I will tell you what you are; you are a liar!—a liar, man. That is what you are! Why, you fool, I am the daroga of Ramghar myself. Out of my way! Ganga, follow me in. I shall look into this."

He flung open the door and stalked in, fuming and blowing out his cheeks for all the world like a bantam cock

with its feathers erect. He was a short puffy man, with a short nose, a wide face, and small eyes. But had he been Caesar and Alexander rolled into one, he could not have crossed the threshold with a more tremendous assumption of dignity. Once inside, he stood and glared at those at the table, somewhat taken aback by their numbers; but recovering himself almost immediately, he strutted towards them, and asked them in a deep voice who was responsible for the man outside.

"I am, sir," the pseudo-daroga of Ramghar answered, looking at the stranger with a sober air of surprise. "He is my servant."

"Ah!" the real daroga exclaimed, with a withering glance. "And who, may I ask, are you?"

"You may ask, certainly," the player answered drily. "But until you render me the courtesy that should have preceded your request, I shall not answer."

The daroga gasped at this rebuff and his jaws fell.

"Now, I do not mind telling you," the mountebank continued with a mild dignity admirably assumed, "that I am Durgaram, and have the honour to be the daroga of Ramghar."

"You!"

"Yes, sir, I; though perhaps unworthy."

Todarmul slyly looked up to see an explosion, but the real daroga was too far gone. "Why, you swindling impostor!" he said, with something that was almost admiration in his tone. "You are the very prince of cheats! But for all that, let me tell you, you have chosen the wrong role this time. For I—I, sir, am the daroga of Ramghar, the very man whose name you have taken!"

The imposter stared at him in composed silence, which his friend was the first to break.

"Is he mad?" he said in a low voice. The first man shook his head slowly.

The daroga heard and saw; and getting no other answer, began to tremble between passion and a natural, though ill-defined, misgiving, which the silent gaze of so large a party—for all the others looked at him compassionately—was well calculated to produce.

"Mad?" he cried. "No, but some one is. Sir," he continued turning to Ajit with a gesture in which appeal and impatience were curiously blended. "Do you know this man?"

"Mr. Durgaram? certainly," he answered without blushing. "And have these ten years."

"And you say that he is Mr. Durgaram?" the poor daroga retorted, his jaw falling incredulously.

"Certainly. Who should he be?"

The daroga looked round him, sudden beads of sweat on his brow. "My God!" he cried. "You are all in it. Here! You, do you know this person?"

One of the mountebanks to whom he addressed himself shrugged his shoulders. "I should," he said. "The daroga is pretty well known about here."

"The daroga?"

"Yes."

"But I am the daroga—I," Durgaram answered eagerly, tapping himself on the breast in the most absurd manner. "Don't you know me, my friend?"

"I never saw you before, to my knowledge," the rascal answered contemptuously; "and I know this country pretty well. I should think that you have been crossing the Devil's Grove on the moor and lost your identity. It has happened before, you know—."

"Hush!" the man who had assumed the role of the daroga of Mankhet interposed with some sharpness. "Let him alone. Such a thing may happen to the best of us."

The daroga clapped his hand to his head. "Sir," he said almost humbly, addressing the last speaker. "I seem to know your voice. Your name, if you please?"

"Ram Thivari," he answered pleasantly. "I am the daroga of Mankhet."

"You—Ram Thivari, daroga of Mankhet!" Durgaram exclaimed between rage and terror. "But Thivari is a tall man. I know him as well as I know my brother."

The pseudo-Ram Thivari smiled, but did not contradict him.

The daroga wiped the moisture from his brow. He looked piteously from one to the other, and his cheeks seemed to grow in a moment pale and flabby, and he was on the point of whimpering, when at the last moment, he bethought him of his servant and turned to him in a spurt of sudden thankfulness.

"Why, Ganga, man, I had forgotten you," he said. "Are these men mad, or am I?"

But Ganga, a simple rustic, was in a state of ludicrous bewilderment. "Eh! master, I don't know," he stuttered, rubbing his head.

"But I am myself," the daroga cried, in a most ridiculous tone of remonstrance.

"Honestly, master! I don't know. I don't know even whether I am myself. The Devil's Grove is a very bad spot to cross of an evening," the man whimpered and continued. "I wish I were at home. And there, for all I know, my wife has got another man."

He began to blubber at this; which to the imposters was a most ludicrous thought, so that it was all they could to restrain their laughter.

This was too much for the wretched daroga. He looked all round once with hunted eyes. Then with a spring he was at the door, and pushing it open, darted out with the air of a madman, and in a moment was lost in the darkness of the moor.

When Todarmul rose early the next morning, he found the mountebanks glum, and the goodwife and the girl between tears and reproaches. He could not but feel, on his part, that he had somewhat stooped in the night's diversion, but the finesse with which the farce was played to a successful finish by a set of mere mountebanks filled him with reluctant admiration.

The players were also ready to depart, but a little before they started, they came to Todarmul and set before him very ingeniously that the woman of the house might suffer through their jest. So they proposed to subscribe two rupees and requested him to subscribe a like amount, so that she might have a substantial sum to offer on account of her debt. Todarmul gave them the required amount, which was handed over to the grateful housewife.

They then set out with their bundles strapped to their backs and Todarmul waited impatiently for his horse to be brought, so that he could also resume his journey.

But before the horses arrived, Ajit who was standing at the door cried out that the players were coming back, and going to the window Todarmul beheld with astonishment a whole troop, some mounted and some on foot hurrying down the hill after them. A second glance told him that the daroga of Ramghar was among the foremost, and he cursed the imprudence which had led him to expose himself in this solitary place. He even debated whether he should mount, and if it were possible get clear before they arrived. But the rueful faces of the players as they appeared breathless in the doorway, and

the liking he had taken for the rascals decided him to stand his ground.

An enquiry he wished to make of the players was cut short by the entrance of the daroga. Durgaram was, between shame and rage and the gratification of his revenge, almost bursting, and the moment he caught sight of the imposters, he opened fire.

"All, Mr. Ram Thivari, we have them all!" he cried exultantly. "Now they shall smart for it! Depend upon it, it is some deep-laid scheme of that party."

But the daroga of Mankhet, a stout, big, placid man looked at them doubtfully.

"Well," he said, "I know these fellows. They are strolling mountebanks, honest knaves enough but always in some mischief."

"What, strolling clowns?" Durgaram rejoined, his face falling.

"Ay, and you may depend on it, it is some joke of theirs," his friend answered, his eyes twinkling. "I begin to think that you would have done better, if you had waited a little before bringing Mr. Jaya Singh into the matter."

"Ah, but there are these two," Durgaram cried as he recovered from the momentary panic into which the other's words had thrown him. "Depend upon it, they are the chief movers. What else but treason could they mean by asserting that one of them was the daroga of Ramghar?"

"Umph!" said Ram Thivari the daroga of Mankhet, casting a glance at Todarmul and Ajit, calmly seated at the table. "I don't know these gentlemen."

"No!" his companion cried in triumph. "But I intend to know them; and to know a good deal about them. Guard the window there," he continued fussily. "Is Mr. Jaya Singh come?"

At the mention of Mr. Jaya Singh's name a sly smile spread over the countenance of Ajit Singh. But Todarmul thinking it more becoming not to enter into an altercation, kept his seat and the scornful silence he had hitherto maintained. The busybodies, the soldiers, and the constables which the two darogas had brought with them gaped at the two as if they saw before them the most notable traitors of the age. The women of the house wept in a corner and the strollers, now under guard, shrugged their shoulders and strove to appear at their ease.

By and by they heard the sound of horses' hoofs outside, and a moment later, in came a gentleman with two or three armed guards. He did not see Todarmul at once, but as the crowd made way for him, he addressed himself sharply to Durgaram. "Well, have you got them?" he said.

"Certainly, Mr. Jaya Singh."

"Oh! very well. Now for the particulars. You must state your charge quickly, for I have to be at Ratanghar today. The Minister of Finance is expected there."

"He alleged that he had been appointed the daroga of Ramghar," Durgaram answered pompously.

"Umph! Is that all," Mr. Jaya Singh muttered, looking round with a frown of discontent. "I hope that you have not brought me hither on a fool's errand; which one?"

"That one," said Durgaram pointing to the leader of the strollers.

"Oh!" Mr. Jaya Singh grumbled. "But that is not all, I suppose. What of the others?"

"Those two," said the daroga, "They are the . . ."

He got no further; for Mr. Jaya Singh springing forward stood at attention and saluted Todarmul respectfully.

"Why, your Excellency," he cried in a tone of boundless surprise. "What are you doing in this hamlet? All last evening we waited for you, and now. . ."

"Here I am," Todarmul answered jocularly. "In charge it seems."

"By heavens!" he cried. "I don't understand it!"

Todarmul shrugged his shoulders. "Don't ask me," he said. "Perhaps your friend the daroga of Ramghar will tell you."

"But your honour, I do not understand," the daroga of Ramghar answered piteously, his mouth agape with horror, and his fat cheeks turning in a moment all colours. "This gentleman, whom you seem to know, Mr. Jaya Singh . . ."

"Is His Excellency Raja Todarmul, Minister of Finance, blockhead!" Mr. Jaya Singh cried irately. "You madman! You idiot!" he continued as light broke in upon him, and he saw that it was indeed on a fool's errand that he had been roused so early. "Is this your conspiracy? Have you dared to bring me here . . .?"

But Todarmul thought it was time to interfere.

"The truth is," he said, "that Mr. Durgaram here is not so much to blame. He was the victim of a trick which these rascals played on him; and in an idle moment I let it go on. That is the whole secret. However I forgive him for his officiousness, since it brings us together, and I shall now have the pleasure of your company to Ratanghar."

Mr. Jaya Singh assented heartily to this, and Todarmul did not think it fit to tell him more, nor did he enquire. Mr. Durgaram, the daroga of Ramghar, still stood as one utterly con-

founded, staring at them with his mouth open. Before mounting his horse, Todarmul took an opportunity of saying a word to him, which though it was only a hint that he should deal gently with the woman of the house, was received with servility equal to the arrogance he had before displayed.

Nor did Todarmul forget the strolling players. He bade them come over to Delhi and see him there. They took the court by storm and reaped such a rich harvest as was even beyond their greatest expectations.

Thus an episode trifling in itself, had for them, consequences of no little importance.

IS C. R. VINDICATED?

by Y. V. SUBRAHMANYAM

ONE who has read the British Government's recent statement on India cannot help feeling that the blame for the division of the country must rest mainly on the Congress. The two causes that influenced the decision in favour of division were, according to the British Government, the terrible orgy of violence in the country and a prospect of its developing into a major conflagration if the demand for partition is not conceded; secondly, the acceptance already by the Congress of the principle of self-determination which gave the right to the unwilling units within the country to secede. Taking the second point first, the right of self-determination was recognised by the Congress not because it was convinced that such a right should in justice be conceded (for there can be no self-determination within a nation) but because it mistakenly thought at that time that by conceding such a right it would be taking the wind off the sails of the League. The purpose failed; the concession remained. Having once conceded this right the Congress leadership cannot now cast the blame for the division of the country on the British Government alone.

As to the threat of civil war, this threat was there even before the '42 movement. Mr. Jinnah then threatened the Congress that if it started a mass movement without a communal settlement he would precipitate a civil war. The mass movement came, but Mr. Jinnah failed to carry out his threat. Why? Because he dared not challenge an organisation with more than 75 per cent of the country behind it, when it had screwed itself into a fighting mood.

Mr. Jinnah, shrewd strategist that he is, started his direct action only when he was sure that his mighty opponent was no longer in a fighting mood. The terrible anxiety betrayed by the Congress leadership to appease the League as evidenced by the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on the basis of the C.R. formula, the complete abandonment of the revolutionary technique, a lapse into the still waters of constitutionalism, public statements by some of the Congress leaders that the Congress had had too much of fight and that it is tired of it, all these and umpteen other thoughtless pronouncements from the Congress leaders convinced Mr. Jinnah beyond all doubt that whatever might be the provocation the Congress would not fight any more. One might ask whether the Congress, having once forged the sanction of a mass movement behind its demand for a free united India, could afford to let slip that sanction on the very eve of the fulfilment of its demand, leave the masses to the tender mercies of a ruthless communal organisation and sit back with folded hands. A national organisation could not watch as a helpless onlooker when a communal body is seeking through a mass gangster movement to break the unity of the country and establish theocratic States based on the principle of hostages. Here was a first class political issue. Because the Congress failed to give a lead to the country in such a context, the division became a fait accompli. As a major architect of this vacillating policy which the Congress pursued during the post "Quit India" movement days, C.R. can never stand vindicated in the eyes of his critics.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THURSDAY the 26th of June marked the second anniversary of the United Nations Organization. It was on June 26, 1945 that fifty-one nations of the world meeting at San Francisco signed the United Nations Charter and on that day they pledged themselves to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, not to use armed force save in the common interest and employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the world. They also reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights of men and women and of nations large and small. On the day of the anniversary the leaders of the five major powers—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China—once more pledged their support to the principles of the U.N. Charter. Many will be tempted to ask if these eminent leaders sincerely believe in the capacity of the United Nations to bring peace and security to the world today or whether they are merely paying lip service to its ideals. For, in the course of these two years of its existence, although the U.N.O. perfected the machinery of its organisation and created a large number of international bodies to tackle world problems and find a satisfactory solution for them, the meetings of almost all organs of the U.N.O. were marked by bitterness of feelings between the Soviet and its satellites on the one side and the Anglo-American bloc on the other. Cleavage between these two groups became clearer and clearer and there came into existence not one world as conceived by the Charter but two worlds between which there was no mutual understanding or co-

operation. Neither on disarmament nor on the control of atomic energy has agreement so far become possible. No international military force has been brought into existence. In China, Indonesia, Indo-China and in Greece war has been going on and nothing has been done by the United Nations to put a stop to them except in the case of Greece where an enquiry commission was set up to investigate certain border disputes. A change of heart without which no machinery however perfect it may be can work is what is required; and leaders of all nations—especially the bigger nations—should strive hard to bring about this change. It is then only that the world will have cause to rejoice in the establishment of the United Nations.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE

The Foreign Ministers of Britain, U.S.S.R. and France have met at Paris to consider the issues arising out of General Marshall's plan for economic aid to Europe. But once more the public are asking themselves whether the Conference will be a success and whether the three great powers will cooperate in drawing a balance-sheet of Europe's common needs and the extent of the aid which they should demand from America. Many are pessimistic about the matter for at least three reasons. There is a fundamental divergence between the planned economy of Soviet Russia and other countries in Eastern Europe on the one side and the free economies of the countries in Western Europe. The drawing of a co-operative plan for the whole of Europe requires an examination of the soundness of the different systems of economy. It is the fear of Soviet Russia that this

might result in undue interference in the internal economies of different States and the upsetting of the plans laid down by them. If their argument is correct it follows that each country should be left completely free to judge about its own needs and secure independently whatever aid it requires from America. Concerted action becomes impossible and the idea emphasized by General Marshall that all Europe should be treated as one economic unit will have to be abandoned. On this point it is reported that there is already divergence between the Soviet view and the Anglo-French view. The second reason for pessimism arises out of the impossibility of discussing any plan for European recovery without considering the question of Germany. The economic prosperity of Europe before the Second World War depended to a great extent on German industries and especially the industries in the Ruhr area. Without the restoration of these industries there is no prospect whatever of the economic reconstruction of the rest of Europe. But the Moscow Conference has shown that on Germany no agreement is possible among the great powers. A third reason for pessimism is the state of affairs in the United States itself. General Marshall's plan is so far a plan put forward by the executive in that country. But before it is implemented the approval of Congress has to be obtained. There is no guarantee that Congress would give its approval to it. It is this doubt that has made the Russians demand more precise details about the plan as a whole. Recent events are showing that the gulf separating President Truman from Congress is widening. It is therefore necessary that the world should not expect very much from the deliberations of the Paris Conference. There is also the view of some who say that America was banking on U.S.S.R. keeping aloof from the European concert and the possibility therefore of forming a Western bloc through American economic aid. Now that the U.S.S.R. has joined the Conference in Paris the enthusiasm of the United States in the matter may get cooled. It is

from this point of view that significance has to be attached to the opinion expressed by Mr. Snyder, Secretary of the United States Treasury, that the Marshall offer did not give to the European countries a blank cheque on the United States Treasury.

THE UNITED STATES

Although it appeared at first that on all fundamental issues there would be agreement between the United States Congress with its Republican majority and the American President who belongs to the Democratic Party recent events are making it clear that a real fight has begun between the two. Three important bills passed by Congress were vetoed by the President. One was the Tax Reduction Bill. The Republicans are a party of big businessmen. They are anxious to have the war-time income-taxes and other taxes considerably reduced. But President Truman with his policy of strengthening the military forces of the country and of suppressing Communism through the extension of American aid to weak countries like Greece and Turkey has been pleading for keeping the taxes at a high level and he therefore vetoed the Tax Reduction Bill. Next came his veto on the Trade Union Bill under which various restrictions were imposed on collective bargaining by American trade unions and their resort to strikes. He regarded this bill as violating the fundamental rights of American citizens and also as detrimental to the industrial prosperity of the country. It would create more friction between the employers and the employees. Unfortunately, however, Congress did not respect his veto. Under the constitution of the United States a bill becomes law in spite of the President's veto if after further consideration Congress passes it again with a two-thirds majority. The bill secured such a majority and it has become law with the result that it has caused grave discontent and disaffection among the labourers and brought about the strike of coal miners leading to a shutting down of a number of steel and iron factories. A third bill vetoed by the

President is that which aimed at the imposition of duties on wool imported into the United States. To this bill the greatest opposition came from Australia which depends very much on wool exports. The agitation against it became so serious that it appeared to bring to an end the proceedings of the World Trade Conference now sitting at Geneva. President Truman argued that an import duty on wool was most inexpedient at a time when the United States was trying to bring about an expansion of world trade through the removal of all barriers. The significance of all this from the international standpoint lies in the possibility that it might lead to a modification in the policy of President Truman. Without the active support of Congress it will not be possible for him to put into execution his doctrine. Another point to be observed in this connection is its bearing on the Presidential elections in America in the coming year.

DEVELOPMENTS IN JAPAN

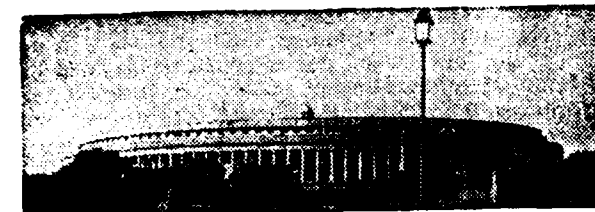
The United States has achieved a large amount of success in reducing Japan to complete dependence on her. Even though there is an Allied Control Council, General Mac Arthur has extensive overriding powers with the result that he has been having his own way in determining the course of events in that country. Australia and some other States on the Control Commission protested against the actions of General Mac Arthur but these had no effect on his policy. He has seen to it that Christianity should make rapid progress in the country. The trade union movement more or less modelled on American lines has gained ground. It is reported that nearly six million Japanese workers are now combined in a single organization and it is expected that within the next few months 70 to 80 per cent of organized labour will be under major contracts. With a view to rehabilitate Japanese economy and lessen the burden now thrown on the American taxpayer in the matter of giving relief to the people

of the country, encouragement is being given to Japanese trade with foreign countries. Mac Arthur is of opinion that demilitarisation has been completed and that peace should be concluded at a very early date.

DETERIORATION IN INDO-CHINA

Acute differences have arisen between the Government of the Indonesian Republic and the Dutch authorities in Java on the question of the implementation of the Linggadjati Agreement. Two factors are behind these differences. One is the bringing of large military forces by the Dutch into Java even after the agreement was signed and their contemplating a war against the Republican authorities to regain their power. The other is the encouragement they have been giving to the disruptionist forces in Indonesia and the separatist movements there. Just as the British in India have been behind the Pakistan movement and are today behind the movement of the Indian States claiming complete independence the Dutch in Java brought into existence an East Indonesian State and a State of West Borneo. They recently proposed the formation of an Interim Government for the whole of Indonesia. On the question however of the composition of this Government and the powers it should exercise differences arose between the Dutch and the Republicans. It is at the point of the sword that the Dutch are now demanding the complete acceptance of their point of view. As the Republic is weak from a military standpoint it has no alternative except to surrender to the Dutch and the disruptionist elements. And a move has come from the United States that the Republican authorities should accept the Dutch terms and that no loan would be granted to them unless those terms are accepted. The Republic has thus been driven to a corner and it looks as if the Dutch will regain their lost supremacy through American aid. Imperialism is still on the march.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

"I see three Giris and not one", said Mahatma Gandhi cracking a joke, when Giri called on him for his blessings—accompanied by two others. Giri introduced Mallimadugula Jagannadha Rao (who came here to attend the A.I.C.C. meeting) as his cousin, and Gandhiji said: "So he is a Giri". And when he pointed to me as his nephew, Gandhiji pronounced me too to be a Giri.

The Mahatma was reclining on his bed, and his body was red like that of a new-born child, as Karaka says. He is in excellent health. He knows Ceylon well, and came to know the Ceylonese intimately when he visited Ceylon. Gandhiji referred to the ties between India and Ceylon, and said that Ceylon was of two parts. One was Jaffna, and the other was the rest of Ceylon. Gandhiji said that he did not know until he visited Ceylon that Jaffna was part of Ceylon. He was under the impression that it was part of Madras, he said.

The Mahatma said that the Indian problem in Ceylon was a delicate one. He hoped Giri would be able to settle it. Asked whether he would give any message to the people of Ceylon, the Mahatma said characteristically, "I feel dried up. The Ceylon Indian leaders came here and saw me some time ago, and I am in touch with them. But you can tell the people this, that Indians in Ceylon should regard themselves as Ceylonese."

The Mahatma had been the first in the field to fight for the right of citizenship for Indians. That was in South Africa. It was over there that he had received a sound thrashing for the sin of being an Indian, a coolie. He slowly perfected the

technique of non-violence in South Africa, which was later to be used in this country. His methods were revolutionary, and met with tremendous success. But now Indians have almost settled down to run their own Government. The Indian Government's representatives abroad will therefore no longer be called upon to resort to Satyagraha in their dealings with other Governments. What Gandhiji tackled by revolutionary methods will now be dealt with administratively between Governments. Such inter-governmental action cannot be as spectacular or as far-reaching in its results as those achieved by the Mahatma. He has proved again and again that Governments are almost powerless against an excellent individual. In *My Experiments with Truth*, Mahatma Gandhi says that in South Africa "God sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect", and that "it has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honoured by the humiliation of their fellow-beings".

I should imagine a distinction will have to be made between "soul force" and "will power". Gandhiji's example has enabled many to develop their will power to a considerable extent without in any way improving their soul force. Hitler and Mussolini had a lot of will power. So has General Aung San. But in the case of the Burmese Vice-President it is not likely to have such bad effects because of the force of history. Gandhiji is himself possessed of a tremendous will, but it is subordinated to his soul force.

In some of the closest associates of the Mahatma, their overdeveloped will power has converted them into



power-mad dictators. They lose all capacity to enjoy life and to achieve the conquest of happiness. Their pre-occupation with power-politics unfortunately results in the unhappiness not only of themselves but a lot of others whom they wish to subjugate to their own will. They care little for the well-being of the nation, except in so far as it provides them with an opportunity to exercise their authority and power. But the thirst for power is unquenchable, and the more it is fed the greater the thirst.

The power to love stands in greater need of being cultivated than the power to subjugate others to our will. Cultivation of the will appears to be something which will have to be done at the expense of all other things in life—as for instance, the practice of truth, goodness and beauty.

From this point of view it would appear that non-violence of the weak is not something that need be laughed at. If the weak were to practise non-violence, they become strong without expending tremendous amounts of energy in cultivating will-power. Bernard Shaw praised the coward who kept away from the Army and was unwilling to kill. Those who enlisted in the Army, according to Shaw, were the real cowards because they were too afraid to refuse to join up. We need not scoff at the non-violence of the weak, because it is the weak people who have no political ambitions that constitute the great majority in this world. Ahimsa is a beautiful doctrine, and constitutes the strength of the weak. Hitler too was a vegetarian and teetotaler: but it was his will power that did the mischief.

THE FUTURE OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

by KHASA SUBBA RAU

THE future of Jawaharlal Nehru is being weighed in the balance in the changes now rapidly taking place in the shape of the country.

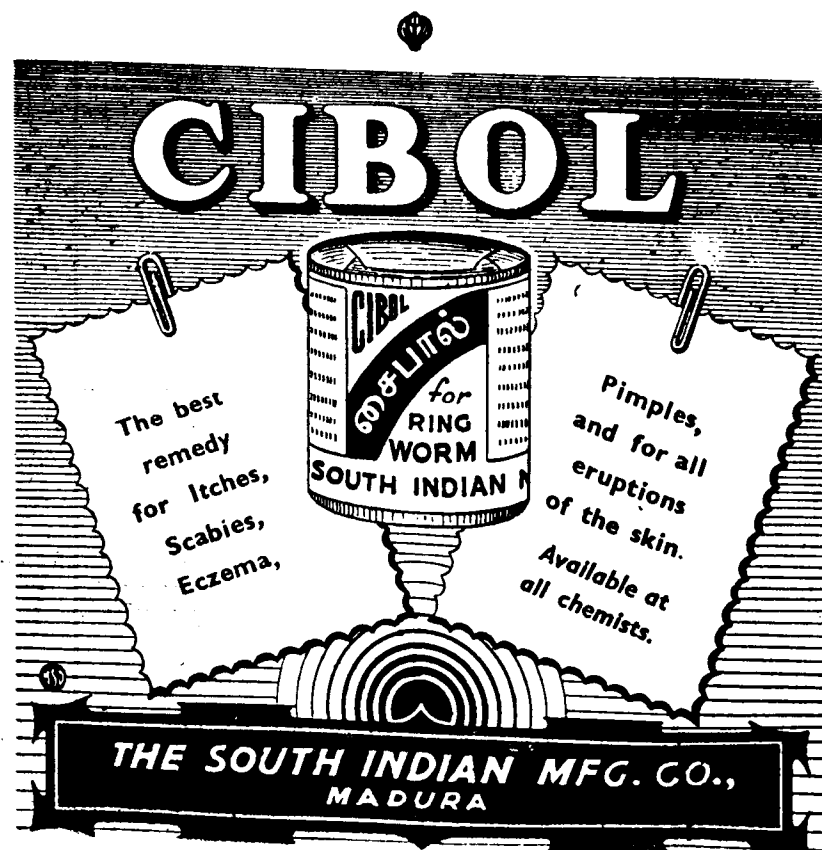
Nehru has been a product of conflicting influences. The pull of Gandhism forced on him the strain of a constant struggle between his own natural impulses and the dictates of a philosophy to which he could not give spontaneous inherent loyalty. A tremendous love and respect for the Mahatma made him put in cold storage the most impetuous of his inclinations and adopt courses fundamentally opposed to his own convictions. This bending of Nehru before the will of the Mahatma is part of a wider phenomenon that was being demonstrated on the stage of our politics since the Mahatma came into the leadership of the Congress.

The secret of Gandhi's influence with Nehru is also the source of his vast power over millions of other people in the country. The compelling part of the allegiances extracted by the Mahatma has lain in the terrific power of his own flamelike sincerity. He practised what he preached, which was a feat no other politician was ever equal to, and the uniqueness of it compelled first attention, and then conversion. The supreme ingredient in the greatness of the Mahatma lay in the abandon with which he pursued ideas that appealed to him in utter indifference to all considerations as to how they would appeal to others. They led him to the primitiveness of the loin cloth that challenged a whole world of conventions comprised in modern civilization.

While he stood as on a rock on his beliefs, the Mahatma grew from strength to strength, and no opposition mattered, and nothing could shake him, because even from ridicule and derision he could draw and develop power. Diminution of influence set in only when he wavered in

the pursuit of what he taught. Every leader in the course of his work attracts to himself an intimate circle of lieutenants on whom he comes to depend as they propagate his faith. It was the misfortune of the Mahatma that when the results of his leadership became convertible into political power, the closest of his associates could not continue their adherence to principles which they had found it possible to uphold with glorious devotion and sacrifice in the days of struggle preceding the acquisition of power. There are always more fish in the sea than come to the surface. If the Mahatma had disowned his unfaithful disciples occupying the next immediate rung of leadership below him, he could have more than replenished what he might have lost from the vast reservoir of mass support that belonged to him in the country. Instead, he let go just that which had made his leadership unique in order evidently to avoid a breach with them. This could not be done without letting down the faithful. The whole of the quarter century-old battle for Khadi, with all that was comprised in the charka economics that formed the very basis of the Gandhian drive, was lost when, without moving one little finger, the Mahatma allowed the Prakasam Ministry in Madras to be torn to pieces. The speciality of Sri Prakasam lay in the fact that he took the economic teaching of Gandhism seriously and did not abandon it when the opportunity came for implementing it on his change-over from non-official status to the premiership.

The pattern of the new State taking shape under Congress direction is very different from what might have been expected from the pledges and policies associated with Congress ideology in view of the Mahatma's part in developing it. They are building Hindustan on the wreckage of Khadi, non-violence and



AGENTS: Rajan Drug Stores, Nyneappa Naicken Street, Madras-3; Seetharama General Stores, Bezawada, Berhampore & Secunderabad; Girija Medical Stores, Bangalore City; M.O.A. Ganey & Co., 96, Chatham Road, Fort, Colombo (for Ceylon).

the like, and Nehru, as one of the architects of the new structure, finds himself for the first time armed with executive initiative divested of Gandhian pressure. What sort of Nehru will the new situation reveal?

Next to Gandhi, Nehru is the most popular of Indian leaders. In one sense his political position is better than that of Gandhi, as it is refreshingly free from religious jargon of any kind and derives no sustenance from mysticism. I do not recollect his having dragged God once into his speeches or writings. Having taken secularism for his sheet-anchor, he is never preoccupied with the soul's salvation in the next world, and all his energies are bent on tasks connected with the material life on this planet and the welfare of people inhabiting it. His humanitarianism, devoid of any flourishes of spirituality, makes him a good companion to people of all climes, and he is today one of the true internationalists with enough culture and civilised refinement to be justifiably classed as citizens of the world. If only intense domestic affections (perhaps) had not led him into the clannishness of assigning to the Nehrus and their cousins a place apart from the rest of creation, he would have shone as a veritable saint, the more lovable for his complete freedom from moral poses and the ways and habits of institutional piety. A man of vast study, energy and social charm; proud without being arrogant; high tempered and tempestuous but unspoiled by wealth, popularity or success; uncommercial, non-acquisitive, and endowed with a cosmic mind given to spacious movement and incapable of being drawn into narrow, crooked paths, Nehru the darling of the multitudes is the hero of the hour and seems as though expressly made to be tomorrow's man of destiny in free India. And so indeed he would surely be but for one fact—there is Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to reckon with.

All the capitalist wealth of India is ready now to pay toll to the Sardar. Immeasurable are the financial resources at his command. He has a towering position in the Congress organisation with a mastery over its

keymen that is not likely to be affected by any changes in the personnel of the High Command, or whoever might come or go as President in the shifting fortunes of annual elections. No breath of a breach with the Mahatma has ever tarnished his standing as a politician. Without any laborious striving for an impressive example, all the prestige of the garnered moral strength of the Mahatma is his to exploit. All these assets make the Sardar the most formidable of the Congress leaders being gathered to the helm of Hindustan's affairs.

Parting of the ways between Socialist Nehru and Rightist Patel is now but a question of time. The brewing conflict is comparable to the historic struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky on the termination of the unifying incentive of Lenin's leadership. Patel has all the tenacity and ruthlessness of Stalin and as much if not more of organisational skill and capacity for party consolidation: while Nehru is unversed in this art. But Stalin's party had at its back the might of all the fresh vitality of a roused proletariat, whereas the forces comparable to Stalin's party are in India preparing now for a fight with the branch of Congress leadership represented by Patel. The eventual victory of Socialism is certain in India as much as everywhere else in the world. Nehru's role would be that of determining whether that victory would come quick or would be reached only after years of prolonged suffering and intense popular distress.—(Tempo.)

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MAHATMA

by "CHITRAGUPTA"

We publish this letter of "Chitragupta" with trepidation, only in conformity with our faith that where a journal dares to praise, it should not shrink from the shafts of the critic. All opinions should be formed with the fullest freedom of expression for all pros and cons.—Ed. S.

DEAR MAHATMAJI,—As one of the many millions of unheroic and obscure Indians who, through their social apathy, mental inertia and spiritual bankruptcy, have indirectly contributed to the growth of the legend of your Mahatmaship during the last thirty years, I hope I have earned the barren right of addressing these futile words for your leisurely consideration.

It was said of Christ at the height of his powers that when a woman suffering from an incurable malady touched the hem of his garment in hopes of a miraculous relief, not only was her faith justified by her instantaneous deliverance from pain, but that Christ himself felt that *virtue had gone out of him*. I do not know if you have felt similarly in the course of your marvellous ministration to humanity during these many years. I am sure you must have felt a sense of power which, in our occult wisdom, is summed up in the term *ojas*; I believe it has flowed as in an electric stream from you now and then. But may I record it as a bald statement of fact that for some time past, there has been a short-circuiting of your sublimated energies which have consequently failed to vitalise those for whom you still love to labour. I say that virtue has ceased to flow from you to me, and for the first time in my life (roughly coeval with your emergence from South Africa) I am catching myself reading your statements and speeches with a critical if not censorious eye, skipping them over with impatience often bordering on exasperation. The reason is that I miss the note of serenity in your latter day thoughts, the healing unction of charity in your utterances, the compulsion of eternal verities in your exhortations or the single-minded

pursuit of *first things first* which is the mark of the makers of history. Instead, you are speaking and writing yourself down with a fatal facility which bids fair to leave posterity gaping with amazement as to how such an animated emporium of inanities as you are turning out to be could have held millions in the most unprecedented thrall in recorded history. Without however anticipating the headaches of the future historian of our present era, let me proceed to draw your attention to the most devastating of your recent deviations from the triple virtues of sincerity, sanity and sainthood.

You were among the most inveterate opponents of Pakistan. You called it vivisection, and dubbed it a sin. But now you have become its most eloquent and least convincing apologist. You explain this *volte face* by saying that it is the result of agreement among the principal Indian political parties. Since when, dear Mahatmaji, has a sin become a virtue by reason of agreement among the wrong-doers? I seek also to remember your threat to die rather than agree to Pakistan, although you are now commending it to save the face of your non-pareil Indian and English workers, friends and followers.

You say that Pathanistan has come to stay. I cannot determine which is more egregious—your former espousal of the Khilafat racket or present championing of the Pathan. Pray what is Hecuba or Harischandra or Haridas to Hercules? If Pathans must have independence, why should not that mysterious commodity be also dispensed to the people of Hyderabad, Kashmir and/or Travancore? Why insist on elections in Travancore while deploring a referendum in the Frontier as

likely to lead to bloodshed? Why soft-pedal the Dewan of Hyderabad, while you have no scruple in bullying Sir C. P.?

You referred to the phenomenon 'of money flowing like water' in Bengal anent the question of partitioning it. When Sri Sarat Bose protested against such a sweeping remark and asked you to give specific instances, you waved him away with the un-Mahatmaic remark that the cap might be worn by those whom it fits. Of old, Mahatmaji, you had the courage to confess your follies in public, because both in large measure were vicarious. But this type of insinuation unveils anything but a Mahatma and I contemplate it with consternation.

You have, with a rare and perverse persistence, dismembered and disgraced the Hindus of India by compromising their immemorial pride and self-respect. You have been running errands and been ready to wait on Mr. Jinnah whenever he nodded to you in supercilious recognition of you. I do not care a tinker's curse if it pleases you to lackey the whole world. But you have been waiting on Mr. Jinnah with a view to pawn my precious heritage, only to make me feel ashamed of being a Hindu. By what right have you done this? You are still ready to run after the Shah-in-Shah—the finest synthetic product of British Bluff—only to betray me, and to be spurned by those whom you have gone out of your way to propitiate. The Pope is styled the 'servant of servants.' Our Sankaracharyas are beggars by divine ordinance. But when they move out in public it is with a pomp and circumstance which they owe to the faith and the power and the glory of which they are the trustees. You have enabled Mr. Jinnah to accelerate his progress from success to success out of your hydroptic thirst for appeasement. A generation is peeping over the horizon which is certain to execrate you as the architect of calamities and disasters which are yet maturing in the womb of time. It will be pronounced of you that you scourged and sapped Hin-



Gandhiji on his way to one of his prayer meetings.

duism, because you were privileged to do it from the inside. The worst and most bloodthirsty of our foreign foes could not achieve that spiritual overthrow of our integrity and manhood which you have wrought with ignorant zeal. For we stood up to Genghiz Khan, to Nadir Shah, to Tughlak and Aurangzebe, in short, to all the land and sea-pirates who plagued us through a thousand years. Proof? We live today and say it, while the barbarian hordes have disappeared like the flies of a summer day. You have cursed the coming generation with a bitter legacy of division, disunity and disaster. They must either re-conquer themselves and learn the ABC of a tolerant civic system of life or be brought under the heel of a mightier power than any that we yet know of. You have riddled the soul of the nation with poisons which cannot be washed out except in a deluge of fire and brimstone. I made it possible by contributing my individual quota of bemused acquiescence in your sterile successes and camouflaged defeats.

Let me next consider your combination of prayer and politics. It strikes me as an elegant variation on the British pattern of combining diplomacy with a dinner! The bell that tolls you and your entourage to prayer is cracked and wafts a false note; as for the politics that follows, I can only describe it as an incoherent jumble of petulance and platitude such as I never thought would proceed from you. You see how intensely I must have idolised you, and how violently I now hasten to break my idol!

Then as regards your faith in non-violence. To say that the fault is in us and not in the doctrine is a pretty way of evading a simple issue. If all of us were dead, then the triumph of non-violence would be complete. For then, nobody would be there to point out its failure. But Mahatmaji, may I point out the melancholy truth that there is no non-violence even in the grave? For the everlasting worm is at work to disprove your theory even from the silence of the sepulchre.

Finally, there is one chance still left for you to retrieve the greatness that is rapidly slipping from your

nerveless grasp. Please retire from the public stage, extend your silence from one day in the week to seven, pray in solitude and to the accompaniment of the deafening noises of the still small voice within you. Emulate Yudhishtira and Sri Rama who knew when it was time to retire from the scene of their triumphs and failures. By doing so, you will partly make amends for the decline of your powers in these last months, and also perhaps rehabilitate yourself in the eyes of posterity.

Ahimsa in the midst of communal troubles, and the message of the Thunder—Datta, Dayadha and Damayata—are blurred by the orgies of rape, murder, loot and arson. Let it be said of you: Nothing became him so well in life as his leaving it. By all means live to 125 or more, but live like me anonymously, and if you can, with mysterious power like our fabled Siddhas.

But for the sake of all that is still worthwhile in the ravaged sanctuaries of India, please fade out from the scene, and help me and millions to cherish the image of your earlier self when virtue was still with you.

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U. P. CONGRESS MINISTRY

by R. B. MATHUR

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT, Premier of U.P., once a leading lawyer of Naini Tal, was born in that hill district on September 10, 1887,



and received his education at Allahabad from where he took his law degree in 1909. From the very start he threw in his lot with the Congress movement and was elected to the A.I.C.C. in 1916. As a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, he was a pillar of strength to his party and proved his parliamentary worth. When the Congress decided to accept office in 1937, Pandit Pant was selected by the High Command to lead the province, where too he had, as a member of the Swaraj Party and leader of the Opposition in the provincial Legislative Council, earned for himself a name by sheer hard work.

A great financier, Pandit Pant has very few rivals to match his talents in the field of diplomacy and parliamentarism in the country. And for this reason the Congress High Command selected him to carry on negotiations on behalf of the Congress with Mr. Jinnah, during the Simla Conference. Though not a member of the Congress Working Committee now, he is always invited to attend the Committee. He is a member of the Constituent Assembly.

Described as the strong man of the Cabinet and the mystery man of the province is U.P.'s Home Minister, Mr. **RAFI AHMAD KIDWAI**, who has the reputation of ruling the province with his telephone in his bed-room. Mr. Kidwai, who is 53, is a man of few words, with an ever active mind. Though a Muslim, he is the high respected by the Hindus and enjoys their confidence. Even his closest friends cannot boast of

knowing his mind, and for this reason he was greatly dreaded by the bureaucratic regime of Sir Maurice Hallett, one of whose Advisers used to say that nobody knows what Kidwai would do at a given moment. And this was mainly responsible for his detention in May 1942, even before the Congress Working Committee called on the British to "quit" the country.

Born in 1894 in a village in Bara Banki district, Mr. Kidwai received his early education at Aligarh and was a law student when the 1921 non-co-operation movement was started by the Congress.



Mr. Kidwai left his class room to find himself in jail. He left his studies thereafter and in 1924 was elected General Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. In 1936, he was elected its President. Dr. Kidwai also served as Private Secretary to the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and as such came into close contact with the Vice-President of the Interim Government of India.

Appointed Convenor of the U.P. Congress Parliamentary Board in 1935, he was mainly responsible for the great success of Congress candidates in the elections—a success which astounded even Congressmen themselves and gave a devastating blow to the Agriculturist Party of the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir J. P. Srivastava. As Revenue and Jails Minister in the first U.P. Cabinet, Mr. Kidwai was responsible for the enactment of the U.P. Tenancy Act which revolutionised the whole tenancy law of the province. As Home Minister in the present Congress Government, Mr. Kidwai has added a new feather to his cap by keeping the province immune from the contagion of communal riots.

U.P.'s Education Minister, Mr. **SAMPURNANAND** was born on the New Year Day in 1890. Educated at Allahabad and Benares, he has been a great educationist all his life, having been in the teaching profession in various capacities. He is even to-day President of the Kashi Vidyapith. He is a great Hindi scholar and is the author of several books on Hindi literature.



Mr. Sampurnanand worked as Pandit Motilal Nehru's secretary during the latter's membership of the Sken Committee. He has Socialist leanings and entered the Provincial Legislative Council in 1926 and was first elected to the A.I.C.C. in 1921. He held the portfolio of education in the first Congress Government also.

Dr. K. N. KATJU, Minister for Development, Justice and Industries, earned a name as a jurist and had a roaring practice at the Allahabad High Court. He was editor of the *Allahabad Law Journal* from 1918 until he became Minister in 1937. Dr. Katju first went to jail in 1940.



In 1946, Dr. Katju was deputed to Washington as leader of the Indian Food and Agricultural Delegation by the Government of India.

Mrs. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, Minister for Local Self-Government, was described as India's "first lady" by one of the New York Magazines. Her recent achievements in America, first as the non-official representative of India at the 'Frisco Conference and later as the leader of India's official delegation to the U.N.O. have made her known all the world over.

Born on 18th August, 1900 at Allahabad, Mrs. Pandit was educated in England and India under English tutors and has toured extensively in England, Europe and America. She was first elected to the U.P. Assembly in 1937, when she was appointed a Minister in the first Congress Ministry.

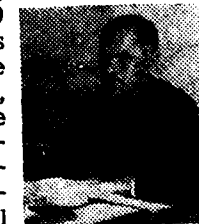


Mrs. Pandit has been closely associated with the women's movement in India. During the great Bengal famine, Mrs. Pandit toured extensively in the affected areas and did a tremendous amount of relief work.

Mrs. Pandit is the author of several books.

A practising lawyer of Nagina, in Bijnor district, **HAFAZ MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM**, Minister for Communica-

tions and P. W. D., was born in 1889 and received his education at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh and at the Allahabad University. He was elected to the U.P. Legislative Council as an Independent in 1926 and remained a prominent member of the Opposition till 1936. With the introduction of provincial autonomy, he was elected to the newly created Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League ticket in 1937, but resigned shortly after and was appointed Minister in the first Congress Government. He, however, resigned his seat in the Assembly in response to the demand of the Muslim League Opposition and was re-elected on the Congress ticket from the same constituency defeating the League candidate. He is closely associated with several Nationalist Muslim organisations in the country and is a very convincing and fluent speaker.



Hafiz Ibrahim

Mr. THAKUR HUKAM SINGH VISEN is 53 and is Revenue Minister in the Government. He was educated at Bahraich, Lucknow and Allahabad and was practising at Bahraich when in 1923 he was elected to the Legislative Council as an Independent and again

Hukam Singh in 1937 to the Assembly, when he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary. He was appointed Minister for Revenue in August 1946 and is the most unassuming of Ministers and prefers to talk in his village dialect to his visitors.

Mr. NISAR AHMAD SHERWANI, Minister for Agriculture, started life as a Superintendent of Post Offices but resigned to join the non-cooperation movement in 1921. He suffered a great deal and when he came out of jail he found all his cash and property confiscated by the Government. Finding himself penniless he tried to establish himself in business but failed. He therefore

accepted a small job in the Lucknow Municipal Board in 1926 and at the age of 40 he took the law degree from the Lucknow University in 1938. He then left service and started practice at Aligarh and later at Allahabad. He went to Germany in 1934 for heart treatment and on return he started sugar business in 1937 and achieved great success. He owns several mills and has a big farm in Etah district and is a director of several commercial concerns. He was elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly in March 1946 and was appointed Minister in August the same year.

Mr. GIRDHARI LAL is the youngest member of the Cabinet. He is aged 35 and comes from a scheduled caste family of Bijnor. He took his degree from the Benares Hindu University and strove hard for the betterment of the lot of his co-religionists. In 1942, he presided over the All-India Harijan League and on being elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1946 was appointed Parliamentary Secretary. Later in August 1946, he was appointed Minister for Excise and Registration.



Girdhari Lal

ECONOMICS OF SEPARATE ANDHRA PROVINCE

by P. GOPAL KRISHNA REDDY, M.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

TODAY an argument has come to light that a separate Andhra province cannot be self-sufficient and that the essentials for the formation of a province are lacking. This argument is without proper foundation.

The first essential for any country or province is area. In area, Andhra Desa is bigger than many other provinces in India. Its area is roughly 80,000 square miles. With the formation of a separate province the area lying between Tada and Madras will undoubtedly be regarded as Telugu country. The Ganjam district which is unjustly included in the Orissa province must be ceded to the Andhra province. In Hyderabad, the districts of Nallagonda, Warangal, Nizamabad, Madag, Karimnagar, Mahaboobnagar, Adilabad, Atrof-balda and Badayat are all Telugu districts. The area of the Andhra province will approximately increase by more than one lakh of square miles, if and when the Telugu districts in Hyderabad, the Ganjam district in Orissa and the Telugu taluks of Chengleput district are brought under Andhra territory. It may be noted that, as things stand today, the area of the eleven Andhra districts is much greater than Bihar, Assam, Sind and the Frontier Province individually. In area the Andhra province is twice greater than either Scotland, or Ireland or Bulgaria or Greece and is five times greater than either Belgium or Holland taken separately.

The population of Andhra Desa is 180 lakhs and the Telugus in Nizam are nearly 80 lakhs. In addition to this, there are 33 lakhs of Andhras in Tamilnad, though their customs and manners resemble those of the Tamilians. Forty per cent of the population of Madras City are Telugus and in the States of Mysore and Buster there are many Andhras. In Burma there are quite a good number of Andhras. Thus, the figure is 3 crores for the whole of India.

The districts where the Andhras are in a majority should be included in the Andhra province. If our statesmen adhere to this, the southern and northern boundaries of the separate Andhra province will be Madras and Berhampur respectively. Belharsha forms the northern boundary, in the Nizam's Dominions.

Andhras form one of the important sections of the people in Madras City. In the interest of a separate Andhra province as a whole it is advantageous and wise to choose Madras as its capital at least in the beginning. Such a step will, undoubtedly, restore the ancient amity between Rayalaseema and the people of the northern districts, apart from economic advantages of a far-reaching value accruing from the use of the harbour, colleges, offices and from trade and commerce.

Roughly, Andhra Desa contributes half of the entire revenues of our Presidency. Andhra Desa would not have been in such a deplorable economic condition as it is today but for the step-motherly affection which the Provincial Government had been extending to it all the while. It is evident from the official figures published on 27th January 1938, that the amount spent on Andhra districts is only Rs. 447 lakhs from its Rs. 8 crores of income! Therefore the first step in the right direction would be the separation of the Andhra budget from the general budget of the Madras Presidency.

The revenue from Andhra Desa is undoubtedly greater than that of Assam, Bihar and the other newly constituted provinces of Orissa, Sind and the Frontier.

The economic life of Andhra is centred round agriculture. Out of the 27,504,826 acres of cultivated land in the Madras Presidency the figure for Andhra is 12,061,605 acres. If the new irrigation schemes which are under active contemplation materialise, the total acreage under



MEASURE OF GREATNESS

Who is the greatest man in India today? Is it Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, truth and love? Is it Pandit Nehru, the writer, the thinker? Is it Subhas Chandra Bose, that vallant son of Bengal who electrified the mind and soul of many a dumb and feeble Indian and organized the Indian National Army under his command and fought for the independence of a subject nation? Or is it Mohammad Ali Jinnah sitting in his arm chair, smoking his cigarette immaculately dressed, who has invented a nation within a nation in the teeth of vehement opposition of Gandhi and Nehru?—A "Layman".

cutivation in Andhra will come to 2 crores. It will be prudent on the part of the Government to put into execution the newly planned projects, which in course of time will bring in an increase in the revenues of the Government. The Government gets nearly Rs. 3 crores by way of land tax and water rates from the Andhra districts. With the materialisation of the new irrigation schemes and the abolition of zamindaries and inamdaris, the revenues of the Government will increase by leaps and bounds. The excise taxes, which do not hit the poor very much, may be enhanced and thereby the revenues will be increased to the tune of 2 crores of rupees. The income from Vizagapatam Harbour may be increased if the Government plans for the construction of a railway line from Vizagapatam to Nagpur. The introduction of agricultural income tax will bring in approximately an additional income of 1 crore of rupees to the separate Andhra province. Thus, by these adjustments and innovations the annual revenues of Andhra, excluding the Telugu districts in Hyderabad, may be raised to 12 crores and even more.

Industrially, Andhra Desa is very backward. In order to develop the industrial potentialities of Andhra Desa the Government should formulate a five year plan and carry it out in right earnest. The Government should also take the initiative in starting a variety of industries in Rayalaseema, rich in industrial resources. The economic prospects of the separate Andhra province can be judged best only when its industrial development and agricultural progress go hand in hand.

In the light of these facts there is no room for any sort of fear that a separate Andhra province may not be self-supporting in the beginning. It will, on the contrary, occupy a unique place on the map of independent India.



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A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



SUNDAY, June 22nd, was the day of the Great Fire of Lahore. Over a hundred shops and houses in the busiest commercial centre of the Walled City were reduced to rubble by a conflagration such as Lahore has not witnessed for a long time. The fire broke out in the small hours of Sunday morning. At 2 a.m. the whole town was awake, for the flames were visible for miles around and turned night into day. The fire brigades did what they could, but it was precious little they could do. The fire burned freely the whole morning and till the afternoon, when it spent itself out. On Sunday evening, the whole of Shahalmi Bazaar and Papar Mandi lay in a heap of smouldering ashes.

Over a crore of rupees worth of property and goods were lost—very probably the loss was very much greater. The immediate result was panic of a kind that even Lahore had not yet experienced. The city poured itself out, as it were. Thousands made their way to the Railway Station where they lay on the platforms waiting for trains that were already crowded to death. But nothing would induce the terror-stricken men and women to return to their homes. Lahore must be evacuated in any case.

This was the background to the meeting of Punjab M.L.A.'s held on Monday morning to decide whether the province should be partitioned. British troops behind a double barricade of barbed wire stood guard at the Assembly Chamber while the meeting was held. And yet the whole affair was a big farce. The decision was a foregone conclusion, and if

anybody had any doubts, the great fire should have expelled them.

The M.L.A.'s meeting of 23rd June, will be remembered for the burial it gave to the Unionist Party. The handful of members, including Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, who still stuck to the party, now divided community-wise and split up between the League and the Congress. Well might Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Sikandar have turned in their graves as the legislators voted on that fateful Monday.

The Fire brought the life of the town to a standstill for a couple of days. This, as well as the fact that the issue had been decided and power was at hand, made the local Big Three, Mamdot, Sachar and Swarn Singh, come to a common platform on Thursday last. Addressing a panic-stricken audience of Lahore denizens they pledged themselves to restore peace. The prospect of high office has suddenly placed these men on the side of law and order. Said Mamdot, "I have taken a vow to stop rioting. I give a guarantee on behalf of the Mussalmans, that henceforth they will give no cause for anxiety to other communities." Declared Begum Shah Nawaz (the Sarojini Naidu of Pakistan) "I warn the Mussalmans that if they want to rule by the sword, their rule will not last 10 days." Said Sachar, "I will give priority to the cause of peace, and will not shirk even if it comes to laying down my life in this noble task." I do not think it is necessary to comment on any of these statements, except to point out that it is a clever politician who can switch off popular passion as easily as he can switch it on.



SAINT, POLITICIAN, OR STATESMAN?

by M. S. V. CHARI

IS Mahatma Gandhi a saint, a politician or a statesman?

Anyone who has followed his politics ever since 1921, would agree with the view that he is a saint and a very shrewd politician with an uncanny power of finding out what is at the back of his opponent's mind. When I refer to the Mahatma as a saint, I refer to his austere and pure life and nothing more. No diplomat can be a saint in its highest sense and the Mahatma is a subtle diplomat to his finger tips. The Mahatma has other human qualities which endear him to the masses; he has a way of moving with men—great and small—which enchants them and makes them adore him at least for the moment. Only three people have been uninfluenced by his charming manners and persuasiveness—Lord Wellington, Mr. Jinnah and C.R., all cold and calculating men.

Is the Mahatma a man of truth? The answer is both yes and no. In non-political matters, he is the embodiment of truth. But not so in politics. But he is not to be blamed, for politics does not admit of absolute truth. Truthfulness in politics cannot be higher than that of Dharmaputra who declared that "Aswathama was dead."

You may agree with the Mahatma's actions or not, but you can never accuse him of personal ambition. Even the most misunderstood acts of his have been actuated by the highest of patriotic motives—the welfare of India. In this he differs essentially from C.R. who resembles the Mahatma—nay, even surpasses him, in all other virtues of an ideal politician.

The Mahatma recognises C.R. as his intellectual superior and values his advice at all times. The district-war partition of India is a standing tribute to C.R.'s political insight. Mr. Jinnah rightly abhorred C.R. who almost pricked the Pakis-

tan bubble by suggesting district-war partition—and called his plan a 'moth-eaten' one. But Mr. Jinnah has had to accept only this 'moth-eaten' Pakistan eventually.

Some of the Mahatma's actions in regard to the dethroning of tried political leaders do detract from his reputation for political fair-mindedness. Without a tear, he saw Mr. Nariman—the hero of the Back Bay reclamation scandal exposure—thrown unceremoniously into political dust by his lieutenant Sardar Patel. Subhash Bose was another great leader whom the Mahatma did not like to become the leader of the Indian nation and he actually declared that Bose's election was his own defeat and even 'fasted unto death' in Rajkot, for dethroning Bose. In recent times, Prakasam became the victim of Mahatma's prejudice. The Mahatma is not the man to forgive people who defy him and in vain Prakasam thought he could win over the Mahatma to his side. In fact, the Mahatma only pushed Prakasam to the top of the political precipice by encouraging him to persist in his textile policy, knowing full well that it would end in his undoing. And when Prakasam was dethroned, the Mahatma had not one word to say about it in his 'Harijan.' Obviously, Prakasam's defeat on textile policy was not Mahatma's defeat!

To the Mahatma, Indian political leaders are only tools to be used for the advancement of India's cause, according to his own lights, and the moment they defied his authority, they were pulled down, on some pretext or other.

C. R. is the only leader whom Gandhiji could not use at will, nor is he willing to let C. R. completely out of his influence and thus allow him (C.R.) to upset his (the Mahatma's) plans.

CRICKET AND DEATH

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

THE juxtaposition of the two qualities in the title of this article may appear startling, but my intention is nothing more melodramatic than to inquire briefly and as far as a memory nurtured equally on crime and cricket books may, into the subject of cricket in crime books.

The uninitiated may be tempted to refer despairingly to that valiant Welshman, Fluellen, who, as every reader of Shakespeare knows, compared the lords of Monmouth and Macedon on the basis of both their territories beginning with the same letter. But, an unprejudiced and faithful reader of books on cricket and crime will realise that the connexion between the two is stronger than may be suggested by the fortuitous accident of both words beginning with the same letter.

It is a point of dispute, which has been the best book of detection. Into this high debate, I do not intend to enter now. It will be sufficient to say that among those who know, the works of Miss Dorothy Sayers have held a high reputation. They have followed with dismay her abandonment of this delectable task for the thorny fields of metaphysics, though, it is true, this unfortunate development was hinted at in her books of detection and crime.

I am prepared to affirm, and hold it unto death, that her book, *Murder Must Advertise*, is one of the pure delights of this field of literature. The exploits of Death Bredon are as puissant as those of Amadis of Gaul, and far more entertaining. The lapse of time has somewhat dimmed in my memory their precise details, but the point of the story was that Bredon discovered who the murderer was when he saw him throw down a batsman from the boundary line. It occurred to the celestial detective that only the hand which hurled the cricket ball so unerringly from such a long distance could possibly have thrown the fatal dagger, poisoned arrow, or whatever the dastardly implement was. Bredon's knowledge of

cricket and crime was perfect. It did turn out to be a fact that the intrepid fieldsman was really the murderer.

I have lately been reading another crime novel. This volume was obviously not of the same high order and value, but I was astonished to observe that cricket again played an important part in the progress of the crime and in the unmasking of the villain. This aspect enters into the fabric of the story in two directions.

The detective of this novel, Nigel Strangeways, is not in the class of Dr. Priestley, much less in that of Sherlock Holmes or Lupin. But he made a remark full of significance, I would even say, philosophy, when he said that nobody who could turn a ball pitched on his leg-stump to the fine-leg boundary so adroitly and beautifully as Tiverton did could possibly be a murderer. This consideration leads to the fuliginous regions of metaphysics. There is no need to discourse on the implications of that profound remark, the great tribute to the spirit of cricket. Devotees of Sherlock Holmes will remember what the master said after he had unravelled the seemingly insuperable mystery of the missing three-quarter. It will be recalled that on the very eve of the inter-university rugby match, Cambridge's most valued player was found missing from his hotel after a man in a black beard had called on him. It was only the acumen of the great detective of Baker Street that absolved the supporters of the rival seat of learning of any dark guilt. Wilson was found heart-broken by the side of his dead young wife, whom he had married in secret, lest he should offend his unsavoury guardian. Then it was that the great man said (and I quote from memory, with the sorrowful knowledge that my book of the holy writ has been stolen from me) that the dark shadow of crime had not so far fallen across the healthy and sun-lit scene of British sport, and that it will remain so forever. That innocent tradition was

certainly not violated in the case of the murder of the Hon. Frank Wemyss.

In the dark doing away of the Reverend Percival Vale, also, cricket played a prominent part. It was the annual fixture between parents and boys. The aforesaid Tiverton had been overheard to mutter loweringly that if Major Fairweather, the captain of the team of parents, should dodder at the crease for any length of time, he would unloose upon him the deadly leg theory bowling of young Smith. This threat was inauspicious. When the school team wanted two runs for a victory with

the last pair batting and with one minute to go, the headmaster, the unblamed cleric, was found murdered with a wound on his heart. In the excitement of the moment, nobody among all that huge concourse had an eye for anything except cricket. That was the moment chosen by the dastardly assassin to murder the reverend gentleman, a tribute to the attractions of cricket.

My title can now be understood clearly. Cricket and death are as the antipodes normally, but the use made of it, I cannot say illegitimately, in crime books, has led to this discursive survey.

ADMISSIONS INTO PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES

by B. BHIMA RAO, M.L.C.

IT is a matter for deep regret that the present Congress Ministry should have introduced the communal ratio with regard to admissions into professional colleges in the Province. In Para 230 of Volume IV of the Bhore Committee's report they recommended that one-third of the admissions should be by pure merit and that the remaining seats may be divided among all the communities provided that the best candidates from the different communities are selected. In Para 231 they also recommended that about a quarter to one-third of the admissions should be reserved for suitable women candidates.

Ignoring these recommendations, the Government last year reduced the percentage of recruitment on the ground of merit to 20 per cent and this year they have rejected the recommendation altogether and applied the communal G.O. to the recruitment of students into the professional colleges. Even in its palmiest days the Justice Party did not dare to introduce such an innovation. On the other hand they prescribed a higher standard of merit in the matter of admission of students of the Brahmin community into the said colleges.

When I interpellated in the Madras Legislative Council in April 1947, whether the recommendation of the Bhore Committee would be implemented in toto, the Honourable Minister gave the reply that the matter would be considered later on and instructions sent to the Principals in time before the reopening of the colleges. The subject was not brought up for discussion before any of the party meetings of the Madras Congress Legislature Party. It is a very important subject on which the party should have been consulted before a decision of this nature was taken and the Ministry cannot escape criticism by taking a decision of their own without placing it before the party.

Seeing the evasive reply given by the Honourable Minister, I addressed a communication to the President of the Indian National Congress to treat the question of admission of students into the professional colleges as a matter of all-India importance and issue a directive to the Madras Ministry to honour and implement the recommendation of the Bhore Committee. But in view of the high level discussions that are taking place at Delhi on matters of supreme importance concerning

Indian independence, this subject has obviously escaped his attention.

The principle adopted by the present Ministry in regard to the above subject causes a lot of injustice to students of outstanding ability and merit, in whichever community it might be and leads to wastage of talent by unemployment. After all, the problem of employment of all people is a matter of the highest

concern to the Government and they should take appropriate steps to relieve unemployment. Thus the Ministry will be confronted with more problems than one by the adoption of the communal ratio in the matter of admissions into colleges and it is absolutely necessary and expedient that they should scrap it immediately and adopt the recommendations of the Bhore Committee in toto.

BREACH OF PROMISE TO EX-ARMY MEDICAL OFFICERS

Captain T. Kanakaraju and Captain M. Rama Rao, ex-I.M.S. Officers and Secretaries of the ex-Army Medical Officers' Association, write:—

It is nearly a year since rapid compulsory demobilisation of army medical officers began. Still the demobilized officers are awaiting resettlement. The question of their permanent absorption as commissioned officers of the army was settled long ago. Those that were willing to take up permanent commissions were interviewed immediately and the results announced soon afterwards. But in regard to absorption into provincial service these officers are given step-motherly treatment, resulting in tantalising and agonising delay and all its evil consequences. Some interviews were held in October 1946 and were stopped thereafter for about 8 months. The result of these interviews has not been announced. Those that were interviewed and those that were not—in all some hundreds of candidates—have been waiting all this time. The anxiety and urgency displayed by the Government at the time of recruitment of these officers is conspicuously absent now, when the question of their resettlement has come up for consideration. Inducements made and promises held out in the beginning have been forgotten and hundreds of useful and energetic young men are kept idle and rotting, when there is admittedly any amount of need for their services in the country. All of them could have been usefully employed, if the recommendations of the Bhore Committee were accepted and given effect to. Even if the notified reserved vacancies are filled according to the original assurances, a good number of these young men could have been absorbed and others told where they stand. Several

months after the Congress Government came into power a change of policy was announced restricting recruitment of discharged military personnel to two-thirds of the vacancies expressly reserved for them and several months have since elapsed without even this policy being given effect to on any permanent basis. Temporary appointments are announced on some mysterious basis giving room for all sorts of rumours about nepotism and corruption. The uncertainties of the situation and the consequent enforced idleness have been producing a most depressing effect on these men, to say the least.

Is it right, one may be permitted to ask, for the Government to leave these young men in the lurch after their need is over, having at first induced them to take all the risks of a modern war by definite assurances? Would there be no legal remedy for breach of promise?

The attention of the provincial Government is invited to the recent broadcast speech made by the Defence Member, Sardar Baldev Singh, wherein, while addressing the Army, he said "Let me say with all the authority I can command that your interests in no circumstances will be made to suffer. You made a name for yourselves throughout the world by your valour and high traditions. India will not and cannot forget the debt it owes you." The apathy which the present Government is exhibiting by a policy of evasion and postponement is most demoralising. It is with the object of ventilating the grievances of these ex-army medical officers with a view to getting them redressed by all persuasive methods and if necessary resort to a court of law that we have formed into an association.

BOOKS

Harijans In A Changing India. By A. M. Rathnasawmy (Copies from the author, II Street, Mackays Garden, Cathedral Post, Madras. Price, As. 12.)

In this brochure Mr. Rathnasawmy, who is the Secretary of the Madras Depressed Class League, not only restates the case for the emancipation of six crores of our countrymen from social degradation and oppression, but also emphasizes the need for Harijans to keep aloof from "interested proselytizers and politicians." The census figures for 1891 and 1941 are compared, in order to show how the number of Muslims and Christians has swelled enormously as compared with the Hindu population. "It can be safely presumed," says the author, "that the majority of Muslims and Christians should have been converts from Harijans." And Mr. Rathnasawmy is decidedly opposed to these large-scale conversions. India is changing, he says, and the caste Hindus are also changing in the direction of enlightenment and reform, so that it has become unnecessary and even disruptive for the Harijans to take up an attitude of isolation and of implacable hostility towards the caste Hindus.

Consistently with his desire for the consolidation and democratization of the Hindu community as a whole (inclusive of the untouchables), the author defends the Poona pact, attaches great significance to temple entry, and is generally opposed to the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar at whom the following thrust seems to be directed: "... providing Cabinet appointments or the like to the chosen few does not affect or alter the position of the community materially." Mr. Rathnasawmy sees the solution in the advance of the Harijans, along with all other have-nots in India, towards full Socialism. Wishing that Pandit Nehru had unequivocally stated at the Constituent Assembly that the future Government of free India would be "on the basis of unalloyed and unadulterated Socialism,"

the author comes to the conclusion that "the only course left open to Harijans is to fall in line with the progressive economic forces which have, in recent times, gained tremendous tempo, and thus convert the Congress into a pukka Socialist organisation."

Congress Mission To Malaya. By Dr. C. Sivarama Sastry. (Copies can be had from 'Sree Haranadha Murali,' Tenali. Price, Rs. 2.)

The title of this book does not exactly indicate its actual content. The author who was a member of the medical mission sent by the Indian National Congress to Malaya during 1946, gives an interesting account of the places which he visited, and of the daily habits, cultural life and political aspirations of the peoples who inhabit Malaya. That peninsula has become the meeting ground of three distinct national groups—the local Malays, the Chinese and the Indians—who yet have a great deal in common, since both the Malaya and Chinese were deeply influenced in the past by Indian religious customs and ideas. The Malays are Muslims but they retain many of the Hindu customs acquired during their earlier history; their language is rich in Sanskrit words though the script is Arabic. Most of the Indians are labourers, while the Chinese run the greater part of the business of the country. The majority of all the three nationalities, however, have until now been jointly exploited by the British, Indian and Chinese plantation owners and bankers. Labour organisation, hitherto confined to the Chinese, is now spreading to the rest, and the working population which bore the brunt of the fantastically steep inflation and other disasters during the war, is becoming a conscious political force in national life. Dr. Sastry roundly condemns the "Federation of Sultans instead of a Union of the people" which is being imposed by the British on Malaya.

The British, Indian and Chinese capitalists are demanding multiple citizenship in order to retain their hold on the rich resources of the country. The author brings out these salient features of Malayan national life through vivid and racy descriptions of day-to-day life, illustrated by numerous pleasant photographs.

(1) **Some of Our Economic Problems.**
(2) **An Economic Plan for Madras.**
Both by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu. (Published by M. Seshachalam and Co., Madras. Price Re. 1 each.)

The war has been responsible for the shattering of the economy of almost all countries in the world and India is no exception to this. The acute shortage in the matter of food, clothing and houseroom is being felt throughout the country. Besides this there is also need for laying down a long-term policy of reconstruction in every sphere of economic life. In accomplishing this task we can learn much from Britain and Russia. Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu who is well known as an expert economist has brought together in book form some of the lectures and talks that he gave on these questions. The first book is a collection of the radio talks given by him from the Madras Station and the second contains three special lectures delivered under the auspices of the Annamalai University. Both books deal with more or less the same problems. Even in the lectures delivered to University students Dr. Naidu approaches the subjects from the point of view of the average man. He has not used any technical language and he has also avoided all references to abstract theories of which professional economists are so very fond. Both books contain suggestive ideas regarding the reorganisation of agriculture and the industrialisation of the country. The author is a believer in State Control and management of business and there is much food for reflection in what he says about the role of the State and of public finance in any future scheme of planning. His observations on the economic system of U.S.S.R. and on collective farming are timely. The books are of value in stimulating thought on an economic questions.

Andhra Chamber of Commerce Building Souvenir. When, in the middle of May, Dr. Rajendra Prasad opened the new buildings of the Andhra Chamber

of Commerce in Madras, a new stage in the progress of Andhra commerce and industry had been reached. Started in 1924 with barely 40 members, the Chamber has now reached a position of commanding influence. It owes a great deal to its President Mr. C. Seshachalam. This Souvenir volume reprints Dr. Rajendra Prasad's address and the numerous messages received on that occasion, in addition to general articles on the Indian economic position in relation to world trade.

Burmah-Shell News. We have received the May 1947 number of this quarterly magazine issued by the Burmah-Shell organisation. It features what has been done by the employers and the staff to enliven their work through well-planned outings, entertainments and sports. Besides information of departmental interest, there is a good article on Ram Gopal's dancing, and interesting tit-bits about recent scientific inventions—for instance, the penicillin chewing gum which "combines the new drug with an old habit." Carrying excellent photographs, the brochure shows that the editor has an eye for style in typography. Our indigenous enterprises could usefully study the amenities created by the management of Burmah-Shell.



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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.

The Last Straw

The student community is already tottering under the heavy weight of the abnormal cost of education and any further enhancement of fees would only be the last straw on the camel's back. I appeal to the various student organisations to sink their differences and present a united front to mobilise public opinion against any such increase.

G. PARTHASARATHY.

Worse Than Cinderella's Stepmother!

It is a pity that teachers in non-Government institutions should be pelted with insult and injury to match every small mercy and concession they receive at the hands of the Government. In fixing the new scales of pay of teachers, the Government pampered teachers in Government schools with all the Christmas gifts, while prescribing a never ending Sabbath and Sermon for those in the employ of the aided institutions and the local boards. Now as if to strangle the baby in its cradle, G.O. No. 975 relating to the local boards and private managements denies these much ill-used teachers the benefit of service increments on the same basis on which past service was assessed in the case of teachers in Government service. Cinderella's step-mother was indeed an incarnation of mercy, since she did not at least indulge in sermons and platitudes for the spiritual benefit of the oppressed child.

Guntur.

N. VENKATESWARLU.

Teachers In Despair

The general feeling among teachers is that the revision of their salaries is a farce, and the teachers are where they were. The emoluments offered are totally inadequate and the suffering and the consequent discontent are bound to continue.

Teachers cannot be blamed if the plea of inadequate finances fails to carry conviction, because the Government was able to find the finances to pay the police constables who declined to take the revised scales. The Director of Public Instruction is flourishing the big stick and is threatening teachers contemplating direct action with disciplinary measures. The outlook for teachers is gloomy. Threats of punishment will only drive discontent underground.

The profession is in despair. That the National Government that was expected to have nation-building in the fore-front should adopt this kind of attitude is deplorable. The least that the Government should do at present is to fix the pay of each individual teacher in the new scale based upon the number of increments that would have accrued if he had been started in service on the present scale.

Kalahasti.

R. RAGHAVALU.

Madras Ministry And Rajaji

I entirely agree with that part of the letter by "Candidus", in your issue of 7th June, in which he invokes your aid to revive the plea to get back C.R. to Madras.

Quite apart from the controversies so eloquently voiced by different readers of *Swatantra*, I feel that the people of Madras, more particularly the most popular dailies and journals, like *The Hindu*, the *Indian Express* and *Swatantra*, *Kalki*, etc., would do well not to indulge in petty bickerings and mutual insinuations, but to ceaselessly strive for bringing back Rajaji to lead the province of Madras, at a time when two successive Ministries have failed to rise up to expectations, thus bringing disgrace to the fair name of Madras. Madras today needs a strong man of the calibre of C. R. who alone is gifted with the

sagacity to solve the many trying problems facing the province at present.

Calcutta.

S. S. RAJAN.

Facts And Fallacies

Prestige makes the Congress High Command say that there was no surrender to the League; but the alternative before them was either to accept partition or to face anarchy in its most hideous form, because of the absence of responsible authority to maintain order. While Congress leaders vainly gloriously boast that the British are quitting because of their non-violent movement, Mrs. Pandit recently said at a meeting that if the British are quitting, it is not because of our sacrifices, but because of the world situation and the conjunction of compelling circumstances. Commonsense requires the Congress to answer, "Why are the British quitting Burma and Egypt?" Were the two countries committed to methods, violent or non-violent, on a mass scale?

The fact is that Gandhiji has mystified even the intellectual classes! Acharya Kripalani says that Gandhiji is still groping in the dark. The poor innocent people are like sheep without a good and intelligent shepherd. They are being driven about hither and thither in a wilderness without a definite direction.

Gudivada.

A. V. RATNAM.

Fangs Of Freedom Regained

While unscrupulous politicians are sniping at each other with greed for power and lust for money, the masses are left in the cold, eating the bread of sorrow and drinking the water of suffering. The cities reverberate with the hysterical shouts of gesticulating mobs which sweep along the streets like the tidal waves of an agitated ocean. Recalcitrant minorities have armed themselves with vetoes and arrogated to themselves powers, not legitimately theirs. Their one intention is to bully the majority and override their decisions by constantly hurling deadlocks on the path of progress. There is a tendency to take moral rules and moral principles as solely matters of temporary social convenience. Good craftsmanship has yielded to meretricious showmanship.

We see, in the midst of this madness and anarchy, the continent of Asia pulsating with a new life. The Asiatics demand their share in the shaping of their destinies. We hear the loud snappings of the chains of slavery that had hitherto bound men hand and foot. As Cicero said, "Freedom suppressed and regained bites with keener fangs than

freedom never endangered!" In the wake of this freedom, man today finds himself in anarchy everywhere—awkward confusion reigning supreme in human behaviour.

S. SIVASUBRAMANYAM, B.A.

Poona.

Premier Should Pity Junior Partners

Even while people were wondering why Dr. Subbarayan went out of the way to declare in a public meeting that the Andhras had no claim for Madras City, the Premier has surprised the Andhra public by extending the Tamil territory to the Nellore district also. The Premier has undoubtedly placed his Andhra colleagues in a very uncomfortable position. Would it not have been better if Sri Omandur had at least out of pity to his junior partners, cultivated a little more patience and waited till the boundary commission started its labours. The Premier has not been certainly apt when he compared the agitation of the Andhras to that of the Pakistanites.

Nellore.

V. RAGHAVIAH, M.L.A.

Andhra Ministers' Platform Pledges

The Madras Premier stated in a recent Press Conference that Andhras have no right to Nellore, Madras, Chittoor and Tirupathi. The Andhra members of the Omandur Ministry recently gave a pledge to the Andhra public that they will fight for the Andhra Province to the best of their ability, whoever the opponent may be. Will they now respond to the Premier in befitting terms and do justice to their platform-addresses?

Y. PANDU RANGA RAO.

Amalapuram.

Madras Government Methods

I am not writing this as a part of *Swatantra's* crusade against the present Ministry.

For quite a long time I have watched the ways of Government, and allowing plenty of red-tape, I have noticed that Government revel in Press Notes and Press Notes that explain Press Notes on all kinds of topics from bridge-building to beans. Press Notes are bad enough with their vagueness and verbosity, but explanatory Press Notes are long-winded. I have never been able to understand why Press Notes should be so confoundingly vague, invariably, and make people to ask for clarification. It is here that our Government become interested in people and explain things in a paternal manner.

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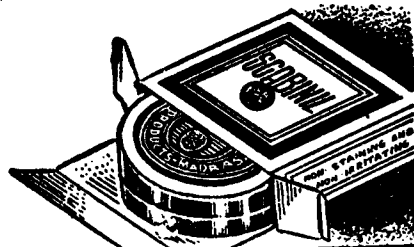
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SWATANTRA

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(SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1947)

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There is a long catalogue of Press Notes that have needed and found explanatory Press Notes, but *Swatantra* readers may not remember them and I have no reference handy. But let me refer to two recent performances. Some weeks ago a Press Note was issued about the consumption of electricity in Madras City, the need for economy, the rules for the same, and the procedure to be followed and the penalty for not following the rules. Amidst the confused verbiage one could find that the amount of electricity one was allowed was a certain very meagre unitage. It put one in fright, for was not one already, as advised by the Electric Supply Corporation, using from 100 units upwards per month? I was expecting a statement from the Electric Supply Corporation pulling me up and putting me wise. Instead came a Press Note from Government explaining that the previous Note had given rise to "misunderstanding", and that what was intended was a republication of some previous procedure. Thank God the head was saved.

This week there is a Press Note about the imported 16,000 bags of beans from Burma which on sampling had been found to contain hydrogen cyanide, a poison endangering human life, and asking people not to use the imported beans! Now who on earth knows what the heck are "beans", or imported beans? If they are so dangerous to human life is this the casual manner in which a Government should warn the people? Is life so cheap? Perhaps, like petty chucklers and tallors purposely leaving their handiwork incomplete in the ends, the Government leave it vague to give room for an explanatory Press Note to such of us as may yet remain alive after taking the "imported beans!"

Now why would not Government say things plainly and clearly and fully in the first instance? The commonest businessman dealing with the public would make himself as plain as plain can be, but Government must encase its conundrums in verbiage and wrap it in red-tape.

To be serious, cannot we put Government wise and subserve people's interests? Imagine the waste involved in Government's methods of madness. Who pays?

Madras.

R. N. SIVASAMBU.

Radio Hours

The Government gave radios to panchayat boards for propaganda purposes, at their own cost. Accordingly the

radios are being kept on for two hours a day, i.e., from 5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. The best and most valuable programmes are generally arranged between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m.

People are deprived of the opportunity of listening to these. May I, as one of the listeners, request the authorities to redress this grievance by arranging for the radios being kept on up to 9-15 p.m.?

Kavali.

I. K. S. RAO.

Hindi, India's Lingua Franca

The other day, a prominent Justicite warned us against the introduction of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of free India. He fears that it would be detrimental to the interests of the Dravidians. But there is absolutely no reason to be scared.

The political, cultural and linguistic problems of the day are such, that the establishment of a separate Tamil province is inevitable. At a recent conference, the Andhras unanimously demanded a separate Andhra province. Likewise, the Keralites demand a separate Kerala province.

It goes without saying that in the Tamil province, Tamil will be the language used by the Government and the educational institutions.

What language is to be used to establish contact with provinces such as Andhra and Kerala? It is evident that we have to use Telugu with Andhras and Malayalam when dealing with Keralites.

But it is obvious that it is not feasible for a Governmental body to be conversant with various languages. Therefore, a common language—a language that will be conducive to a healthy relationship and that will unify the various sects—is as vital and necessary as air is to our life.

Hindi is the prospective common language. It is not a very difficult language to learn as is supposed in some quarters. Also it is not necessary that we should be conversant with the idiosyncrasies of this language; a working knowledge will do for contact not only with Andhras and Keralites, but also with northern Indians.

If, notwithstanding, the Justicite entertains pessimistic views and thinks that Hindi, as *lingua franca* is not desirable, it must be remembered that English is also equally detrimental to the interests of all, since it is an alien tongue. It is therefore hoped that the Justicite will revise his opinion and try to impress on his colleagues the importance of Hindi instead of carrying on propaganda against it.

K. V. VARADACHARI.
Conjeevaram.

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A TIME-BOMB OF DISRUPTION

IT is not by a legalistic approach that the responsibilities confronting Indian leaders in consequence of devolution of power when the Independence Bill takes effect on August 15, can be satisfactorily met. They will have to think of defence first. Control over arms traffic is an important essential of defence. A multitude of powers comprised under Paramountcy enabled British power to keep a very strict watch on the arms traffic as much in the States as in the provinces directly subject to it, and Paramountcy overstepped long ago the limits of any strictly definable content. It certainly was not restricted by the provisions of specific understanding incorporated in the treaties between the Paramount Power and the Rulers of the States. It expanded according to need. When the requirements of the defence of India, or of what British power believed to be vital for the defence of India, dictated the exercise of any encroachment on the powers and autonomy of the States, the British exercised it by unilateral decision if not by mutual agreement, treaty or no treaty. In this way the widest possible powers came to be comprised in Paramountcy, and there have been instances when it was invoked to remove a Ruler from his *gadi* on grounds connected with misgovernment. Abstinence from misgovernment on the part of the Ruler of the State was apparently regarded as a condition of efficiency for the defence of India. The rights of the Rulers were permitted only to the

extent to which they involved no conflict of any kind with the requirements of the defence of the whole country, and they were unceremoniously brushed aside otherwise. When, for example, before the war, the Nizam's Government imported tear gas apparatus from abroad, the Bombay Customs authorities seized it, and the Nizam's remonstrances to the Government of India were of no avail. There can be no doubt that British power realized to the full that no islands of absolutism could be tolerated on Indian soil in the interests of defence, and that Paramountcy was an integral part of the power of the Central Government enabling it to discharge its defence functions efficiently. That, despite this lesson of their experience, they should have been at such pains to divest their successors in the Government of India of the vast body of powers that had accumulated under Paramountcy as necessary and indispensable, can lead but to one conclusion: that at the very last minute of quitting India, some devilish impulse of malicious spite got the better of the nobler declared intentions of the retiring imperialists; and that they have left us a crippled system of Government deliberately planned to prove unequal to the imperative tasks of national defence. The whole truth about this dubious strategy of the framers of the Independence Bill was put in a nutshell by Dr. Ambedkar when he said, "There may be some excuses for dividing India into two Dominions, but there is none for



sowing the seeds of disintegration between the Dominions and the States. Surely, the British people will be answerable before the bar of the world for such a wanton act."

Evidently the Congress leaders failed to grasp all the implications of the provisions relating to Paramountcy under the British plan. They had not experience enough to realise that the British were using their experience to foist on them a time-bomb of disruption in the attractive guise of a gift of independence. It is a common temptation of the masterful to contrive a trail of wreckage for their exits by way of historical proof for their own value and indispensability. British authority would seem to have fallen into this temptation on the present occasion. Is that why we are treated to such marvellous and mystifying harmony between Mr. Churchill and the Parliamentary architects of the new Dominion of India? The prospective inheritors of British authority in India, after having failed at the appropriate moment to perceive the poisonous danger of the Paramountcy provisions of the British plan, find themselves now confronted with the excessively difficult task of undoing the consequences of their own folly or thoughtlessness before they result in irretrievable collapse of defensive efficiency. It is a race for time between statesmanship and disaster—disaster being precipitated by the final vicious kick of departing imperialism forced into the liberality of the Independence Bill.

Having accepted division, Congress leaders about to assume charge of the new Dominion, should face boldly the responsibilities devolving on them as a result of their own decision, without seeking to maintain an impossible balance between the two contradictory positions of unity and division. They do not seem to have grasped yet that ac-

ceptance of division means end of Congress direction in the area to be demarcated as Pakistan. Pakistan is to become another country like Afghanistan, and it will be as inappropriate in the new setting of the British plan for the Congress High Command to put up candidates for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or to seek in other ways to control the internal affairs of Pakistan as it would be for Mr. Jinnah to direct the politics of Muslims in the Indian Union by continuing as President of an all-India Muslim League. What with one impropriety leading to another, division is paving the way for the authorities of each of the two Dominions setting themselves up as leaders of the minorities in the other, defeating the very objective of peace claimed for the British plan and paving the way for an endless series of inter-Dominion conflicts. Having agreed to a division, those that have made the agreement should remain faithful to it in order that, along with the unity of the country which they sold for peace, the peace also may not be lost, leaving shattered hopes behind. The whole structure of the division of the country is communal, and it is a communal State that is brought into existence in Pakistan, though non-contiguous Muslims do not belong to the Pakistan Dominion. Indian States contiguous to Pakistan with predominantly Muslim populations are marked out for affiliation with Pakistan, and all other States belong, by the same token, to the Indian Union. The Union of India cannot afford to have islands dominated by alien influence within its limits, nor can it allow any State to join Pakistan other than a contiguous Muslim State. Land and sea customs make a very large contribution to the federal budget of the Union, and zealous upkeep of central control over the whole length of the

land and sea frontier of India is indispensable as much on economic as on military grounds.

The new independence should be laid on foundations of liberty if its stability and permanence are to be ensured. The distinction between independence and liberty is worth noting, and in the peculiar circumstances of the present, it is of enormous importance to India. Independence is a total national asset that belongs to an entire State, whereas liberty is a privilege of citizenship within the State, individually enjoyed. Germany under Hitler is the classic example of an independent country without liberty. Before the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, Canada and Australia had no independence, but Canadians and Australians were not without liberty. The world's progression towards peace and freedom calls for a synthesis of the independence of the State with the liberty of the citizen, a fact proclaimed for the guidance of all in the Atlantic Charter which prescribes, as the indispensable condition of world freedom and international peace, the establishment of democratic Governments in every country. Authoritarianism in undemocratic States prone to denying liberty to citizens is a source of disturbance to their neighbourhoods, and if tolerated, it is apt to expand Hitler-wise, into ever-increasing waves of aggression. Hyderabad is a significant portent of approaching chaos calling for urgent statesmanly checkmaking measures. For the effective guarding of independence, Congress administrators have to devise measures forthwith to counteract the misgovernment of despotic Rulers in contiguous territory, and instead of supinely taking shelter in a policy of *laissez faire*, they should place themselves boldly at the head of every democratic movement in neighbouring States striving for individual liberty. Independence

should be integrated with liberty. Liberty and equality go together, and equality means a common citizenship for all on the basis of one man, one vote, eschewing the baneful practices of communalism with its hate-born system of preferences, priorities, exclusions and discriminations. A powerful democratic drive based on the widest mass support can alone arm the Union Government, divested of Paramountcy, with enough power to overcome the perils of fissiparous princely separatism; but if it is to be organised properly, it must be unsparing in its handling of the demoralising spirit of communalism infecting its leadership from within, and there must be an end also of the method of intrigue and the pursuits of power-politics.

A Device Of Statecraft?

MR. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar has only made matters worse by attempting to defend the indefensible. We criticised his appointment as chairman of the committee to enquire into the working of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies on the ground that his own public utterances prove him already as having a prejudiced mind against the societies. His reply to the criticism, tendered at the first meeting of the committee this week, provides still more evidence of prejudice and further strengthens the objections to his appointment. Mr. Chettiar cites the report of the Commissioner of Civil Supplies, in gleeful proof of the unsatisfactory nature of the societies' procurement record. This report is not much to boast of. Its author went to work in a most perfunctory way. He scarcely gave a hearing to the secretaries of the societies anxious to prove the worth and success of their procurement work and arrived at his condemnatory report with dreadful hurry on insufficient data. Quite dismal has been the result of Government's action, based on Mr.

Masterman's report, depriving the societies of the right of procurement. The middlemen and mill-owners who took the place of the societies have had their competence prodigiously advertised, but the net effect of it all has been a further reduction of 2 ounces in the rice ration. The very questionnaire of the Chettiar committee reopens the very subjects supposed to have been disposed of by the report of the Commissioner of Civil supplies. We find Mr. Chettiar damning the societies on the strength of a report whose conclusions are in substance sought to be debated upon once again in the questionnaire drafted by his committee! How is anyone competent to assume the role of a disinterested judge in respect of what he has already condemned with gusto in no uncertain manner, to the knowledge of all in the habit of reading newspapers? We repeat that the *bona fides* of Mr. Chettiar's appointment must, in these circumstances, be open to grave doubt even to the simplest intelligence. It does no credit either to him, or fellow committee-members associated with him, or to the Government that has struck upon this device of statecraft. Having hit the societies hard with thoughtless precipitancy and brought them to the verge of ruin, the pretensions of benevolence now aired by the Government have completely fallen flat and are able to deceive none. It is a purposeless waste of public money to proceed with an enquiry in which nobody has any confidence and from which no tangible public benefit can be expected.

Sectarian War Cries

A section of American public opinion is greatly exercised over the use of taxpayers' money for the support of non-public schools and institutions. The cause of the excitement was the incurring of expenditure for the transportation of

parochial children by the State of New Jersey. The matter was carried to the Supreme Court which decided in favour of the State. Thereupon Representative J. R. Bryson of South Carolina introduced in Congress an amendment to the United States Constitution itself, stating specifically that neither the National Government nor any state, county, city, town, village nor other civil division shall use its property or credit or any money raised by taxation or otherwise, for the upkeep of any church, society, institution or school under sectarian control. There is in America a National League Opposed to Sectarian Appropriation with headquarters in Cambridge. In approbation of Representative Bryson's move, the chairman of this organisation, Mr. F. J. Batchellor, is reported to have said, "The issue is much bigger than that of paying from public funds for the cost of transporting school children. It implies the ultimate breakdown of one of the main bulwarks of democracy."

The American zest for non-sectarian administration is worthy of being copied by other countries and peoples aspiring to progress on democratic lines. The influence of sectarianism on democracy is deadly. State patronage of sects begins by way of social justice and ends in fraud. Theoretically it sounds excellent that backward sects should receive extra help from the State, but when the backwardness, because of the privileges extended to it, becomes a coveted status, the result is perpetuation of social degradation as a marketable asset. Instead of recognition for merit, and the achievement of social benefit through fulfilments of merit, we have then a clamour for privilege on the score of backwardness or in exercise of the brute power of organised communities. Its inevitable result is the progressive slaughtering of merit as a matter of deliberate

State policy, with a wayward maze of priorities and discriminations and nothing like a common citizenship for all. It is the evil fruits of such a policy that are now being witnessed all over India.

It is depressing to find so many of our prominent administrators flaunting in public their denominational appellations, and worse still, making of them so many battle-cries for personal or party warfare. Administration is impoverished by being canalised thus. That it should belong to all and not

a section only is the meaning of democracy. In a right and proper democratic atmosphere, the attainment of political power should impel not only a tolerance of parties other than one's own on the part of the holder, but also a sense of being the custodian of the rights of all and a dispenser of equity without reference to labels. How far from this are our Ministers and leaders who can think of themselves only as members of this or that sect and but rarely as citizens of one common country!

Sotto Voce

Hide and Seek



THE railways propose to introduce "a much intensified form of ticket-checking." The announcement has faintly ironical overtones for the middle-aged in whose earliest recollections the policeman and the ticket-examiner figure as the Gog and Magog of the Temple of Authority. For me as a stripling the green turban of the railway sleuth was even more terrifying than the red puggree of the constable on point duty. The latter was predictable and could be avoided. He was an Olympian who rarely condescended to notice the very young. But the ticket-puncher, like Poothana, seemed to seek out the tender children. How earnestly my grandmother, while making sure for the hundredth time that her ticket was safely tied to the corner of her saree, adjured me not to talk too much, lest somebody snooping round should think I was old enough to be charged a half fare.

Gog and Magog are slightly tarnished by the touch of time. But

the little bit of pasteboard which my grandmother clutched so apprehensively is now a hundred times more difficult to come by. For those who are too white-livered for black-market operations the third-class booking window is a baleful invitation to sup on a surfeit of horrors. You have to have the strength of a Hercules, the patience of a Job and the resignation of an angel from Heaven to edge your way through that heaving, perspiring, desperate crowd without feeling any animus against the Administration or to resist the overmastering desire to give it a sock in jaw in the person of the pert young fellow behind the counter who shuts the window to with a bang just when you have reached it.

Recently they have begun selling tickets at all hours of the day at a metropolitan station. This revolutionary change came like a thunder-clap on the old hands. "We used to collect three hundred rupees per train by way of excess fare; and now

there is not even a paltry three rupees, for all the trouble we take," declaimed one of these with the air of a man whom nothing would convince that the world was not going to the dogs. That might suggest to you that the average passenger is not wicked by predisposition and if men don't buy tickets it is not because they won't but because they can't. But the moralists who run our railways will have no truck with such latitudinarianism.

Trains scheduled to carry three hundred persons more often carry thrice the number. And yet I have never seen it suggested that the railway should give a substantial rebate to those who have had to squeeze themselves for a whole night into a third of their normal allowance of space. Of course it is not the fault of the railways that there is not more accommodation; the war is responsible for that. And no man is under a compulsion to travel, we know. But people do board overcrowded carriages making themselves and others miserable; and so long as they pay their fares the railways do not seem to mind.

Might it be that this god-like indifference to the plight of the third-class crowd herded like cattle is largely responsible for the increase of ticketless travel? Drawing the crude inference that the Administration regards him as fair game because he is helpless, the proletarian seems to think that he is only get-

ting his own back if he steals a ride. It is all wrong, of course. But the remedy may well be to treat the man who pays a fare as if he were of some account.

At present he is too often made to feel that he is there on sufferance. The calculated brusqueness with which underlings clothe themselves as with a mantle puts him on the defensive. The civic conscience can only thrive on self-esteem. Sadhus, singers, byrages and vagrants of every description, while they add considerably to the discomforts of third class travel find safe harbourage there. Mistaken charity, may be, on the part of the paying passengers; but the more likely explanation is that an obscure resentment finds vent in this fashion.

The seasoned offender is no John Gilpin out for a joy-ride. He takes a professional pride in outwitting authority. With the younger generation it is pure bravado, though it likes to wrap itself up in an ill-fitting philosophy like the ass in the lion's skin. To dodge the ticket-collector, to rip up the upholstery, to smash the electric lights and scrawl smut on the closet walls is to qualify yourself in due course for lodgement in the Communist's Heaven. A society that has forgotten to live spontaneously must needs distract itself thus. We sadly lack the passion that makes men whole.

VIGHNESWARA.

A farmer got a letter from his son who was studying in the city. Because he couldn't read he asked the village blacksmith to read it for him. The blacksmith, a giant with a fierce black beard read in a thunderous voice that made the anvil tremble: "Dear father, please send me ten dollars. I need it badly."

"How dare the young scoundrel speak to me like that?" exclaimed the father. "I won't send him a penny."

But a few days later a second letter arrived. This time the blacksmith was not at home, but his venerable mother was sitting beside the forge; so the farmer asked her to read the letter. In a meek voice she read: "Dear father, please send me ten dollars. I need it badly."

"That's different," said the farmer, deeply touched. And he sent the money to his son.—Emery Kelen in *Christian Science Monitor*.

SIDELIGHTS :

In some cases newspapers pursue purposes other than the purely journalistic, and that determines their line. That may happen if the proprietor is a partner in other business enterprises, or if the paper belongs to a business concern, which has nothing to do with it, or if there are other business commitments, which influence the attitude of the paper in the treatment of certain problems. Every editor of a certain American newspaper, so it is said, was given a list of sixteen public corporations, in which the proprietor was 'interested' and about which not a critical word was allowed to appear in the journal. —Dr. IGNAZ ROTHENBERG.

AN American chronicler with a reputation as a careful reckoner of crowds, gives these reports of Mr. Wallace's reception:

In Cleveland—"A cheering capacity audience of 3,000 in the public music hall; more than a thousand were left standing outside. Tickets cost 60 cents to \$2.40."

In Chicago—"A frenzied, cheering crowd of more than 20,000 overflowed the Chicago Stadium. It was a sell-out, and scalpers even did some business at the doors."

In Detroit—"Five thousand Detroiters paid 50 cents to a dollar to hear the former Vice-President, and an overflow crowd of 4,000 heard him through a public address system in a park across the street."

In Los Angeles—"Twenty-seven thousand tickets were sold for the mass meeting. Top price was lifted to \$3.60."

And so on.

Of Wallace's visit to England, "which began as a private affair and turned into an international event," *Critic* wrote thus in "New Statesman":

"I can recall no other private visit to this country which has been so fully reported and discussed. One rather naive reporter made the odd comment that we were justified in saying that Wallace's visit had roused public attention by the fact that 2,000 tickets had been sold for a Central Hall meeting (London). Actually,

the 3,000 tickets for the Central Hall meeting were sold out in a few days as a result of one small advertisement in this journal (*New Statesman*). Subsequent enquiries and complaints showed that we could have sold out the Albert Hall three times over if it had been obtainable. There were 5,000 people (on cup-tie afternoon) at the Manchester meeting; crowded meetings were held at Liverpool and Stoke; and, judging by enquiries from all over the country, similar crowds were anxious to hear Mr. Wallace in a score of English and Scottish cities."

Yet Wallace is no spell-binding orator. Of his Central Hall speech in London referred to in the paragraph above, an English journal reported, "Wallace's delivery was dull. He read his speech, mostly with his eyes on his prepared script. Once he stumbled badly, and had to correct what he had misread . . . He seemed taken aback by the brilliance of Crossman and Priestley who preceded him." The political value of public gatherings is proportionately increased when they meet to hear speakers that have little to offer them by way of oratorical thrills. As the entertainment value of a speech diminishes, the public importance of the crowd listening to it tends to increase. When people gather in large numbers to listen to the dull platform performances of non-brilliant lecturers, (even paying a fee for it!) it is an indication of popular sympathy for the ideas associated with them, without reference to skill in presentation or any gifts of forensic artistry.

Little minds in his own country have reproached Wallace as a "starry-eyed idealist," but Wallace really is one of the very few true internationalists of our time with a vision of world welfare extending beyond his own native country's frontiers. One central idea runs throughout his political thought. It is that the root of famine, misery and strife all the world over lies in

the fact that far too many men are struggling with primitive tools to gain a wretched living from refractory uneconomic holdings. They have to be relieved through the pressure on land being relieved and alternative employment in industry found for some of them. Realising the need for a worldwide balance between agriculture and industry, Wallace holds that the biggest social objective of mankind at the present day is to raise the standard of tillers of soil everywhere to the level of living of industrial peoples. Wallace would have America's dollars used in the promotion of industrialisation to raise the standard of life of primary producers in backward countries, rather than to buy allies as Truman has been doing in Greece and Turkey.

But Wallace has neither a party machine nor the support of any organised interests in his attempts to win public response for his ideas. To politicians in modern times bent on winning public support, the Press next day is even more important than their immediate audience, but Wallace, with none to pull strings for him in the underworld of manoeuvre and intrigue from which the daily Press of America draws its guidance and inspiration, found his speeches ignored in the papers after his break with the President, and his avenues of approach to the judgment and conscience of American voters cut off. From this isolation he has won back Press publicity, partly with an adventure of his own in journalism by taking up the editorship of the weekly, *New Republic*, but mainly by forcing world attention on his views with a European tour. He is no longer neglected by the Press of his country and substantial coverage is being given of late to his political tours.

When the Press denies fair reporting, the equilibrium of responsible government is gravely disturbed. The outbursts of hostile sentiment that have been so frequently greeting our Madras Ministers

when they make their appearance on public platforms nowadays, are a form of reaction to many a resented deviation of the daily Press from the strict proprieties of impartial reporting. Perhaps because most of the editors of our newspapers are themselves immersed up to the neck in intrigues behind the scenes to promote the fortunes of this or that combatant for honours or leadership, there is nothing like objective fairness in the reporting columns of the papers controlled by them. Space is allotted not in proportion to the public importance of speakers or the merit and worth of their speeches, but in accordance with a table of preferences and exclusions got up by the man in control very often with far from creditable motives completely divorced from professional journalistic standards. The effect of the shady system of bans and boosts that prevails in many a newspaper office (to the hurt and degradation of conscientious reporters that are sought thereby to be turned into hacks) is a source of constant exasperation to the public whose helplessness against the authors of the system drives them to seek other ways of letting the steam off. The orderliness of social behaviour all the world over would seem to have a direct relation with the quality of the Press; and if we had newspapers of greater integrity in our midst it is not unlikely that there would have been less of violence and disturbance in public meetings and social life.—SAKA.

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REPORT ON HYDERABAD

by G. N. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

(This is the first of two articles on Hyderabad by our staff correspondent G. N. Srinivasa Raghavan who made a special firsthand study of conditions in the State in a tour extending over some two weeks.—Ed. S.)

OF all the talks that I had with representatives of the political parties in Hyderabad, that with Mr. Kazim Razvi was the most striking; his remarks were so startling and of such significance for the political future of Hyderabad. Mr. Razvi is the President of the Majlis Ittehad-e-Muslimeen, the major organisation of the Muslims of Hyderabad (forming about 12 per cent. of the population) who enjoy a statutory 50 : 50 representation in the Legislative Council with the Hindus (85 per cent. of the population). Having just attended the open session of the State Congress, where well over a lakh of people had applauded a resolution demanding the entry of the State into the Indian Constituent Assembly, I put some questions to Mr. Razvi about this matter which is engaging the attention of the whole country, as also about the general demand for responsible government in the State.

Question: "In view of the declared feeling of a large number of the State's subjects that Hyderabad should not become an independent State, don't you think the best democratic course to adopt will be the holding of a referendum?"

Answer: "The question of holding a referendum arises only when there is any doubt about the wishes of the people. I know the will of the people. They are fully behind the Nizam's Firman. The protest against the independence declaration is not a mass desire, but is that of professional political agitators. The entire Muslim community, scheduled castes, Lingayats, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians are for the independence of Hyderabad."

It must be noted that the abovementioned Sikhs and Parsees number a few thousands each in a total population of 16,338,543. As for the scheduled castes, the support of Mr. B. S. Venkat Rao to the Nizam's Firman has been widely advertised as the expression of Harijan feeling. I made enquiries about this Mr. Venkat Rao. He is a wealthy man living in a mansion in Secunderabad, who has made considerable money through Government and army contracts. He is also a nominated member of the Legislative Council (this post carries a salary of Rs. 200 per month).

It is expected that Mr. Venkat Rao will shortly be appointed to the Executive Council. The scheduled caste people who live mainly in the villages have never heard of him.

Mr. Razvi then launched into a tirade against Brahmins in general: "Only 40 lakhs of Brahmins—and of these the vocal leaders who claim to represent them—are against Hyderabad's independence. The Brahmins were responsible for disunity between the Congress and the Muslim League in India, and it is the Brahmin spirit of monopolisation of all power that led to the Pakistan demand. Now after partition, let me assure you these Brahmins are going to ruin Hindustan. They are the root cause of all the troubles in the country."

I can safely estimate that the majority of the gathering at the Congress session were not Brahmins. Apart from this, I failed to realize the reason for Mr. Razvi's passion about them. Perhaps he thinks that Dewan Bahadur Aravamudu Aiyangar who has faithfully served the Nizam for years and is a member of the Executive Council, is an honourable exception to the rule.

I next asked Mr. Razvi whether the Majlis hold that the Muslims are the ruling race in Hyderabad. He replied:

"It is not a question of theory. It is the fact now and it is also a principle which shall be defended. Just as Kashmir (where the majority of the population is Muslim) and Mysore call themselves Hindu States, Hyderabad is a Muslim State. Everywhere the community of the ruler is supposed to be the ruling nation. This does not mean domination of the Muslim community. I, as the President of the Muslim organisation, say that I will be the first man to defend the rights of every community."

Q.: "Do you then desire democratic responsible government?"

A.: "No. Responsible government means majority government. The Hindus who are the majority community are not yet fit for responsible government. They have already shown, wherever they had it, that they cannot uphold responsible government. Look at Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab—in all these

places the mischief was started by the Hindus. We will never—never so long as a single Muslim lives in Hyderabad—agree to a diminution of the present principle of parity, because otherwise the majority community will dominate by force of numbers. Our common demand should be for good government, not responsible government. We are not yet ready for the transfer of all the portfolios to the elected members of the Legislative Council. We must get some representation on the basis of parity, and first gain some experience."

Q.: "Supposing the Congress should launch a movement. . . ."

A.: "We will oppose it by every means at our command. For whatever steps they take, we shall take counter-steps. I will try my best to make the Congress movement a failure."

By the time I left Hyderabad, the Muslim Majlis had already initiated its anti-Congress propaganda on a large scale. "Look out for communal riots"—this is the uneasy forecast of Congress workers. The Majlis are quite capable of trying to stem political advance on democratic lines by provoking communal clashes.

STATE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

It is interesting to note the Government's attitude to this Muslim organisation. Mr. Abdul Gaffar, the Director of Information, told me: "If the main parties come together on the basis of a commonly accepted scheme, I am certain that the Government will place no obstacle in the way." Bright idea, isn't it, to insist on agreement between the Muslim Majlis and the State Congress as the condition precedent for any political advance?

Other remarks made by officials in the Secretariat were equally revealing. Here is what a top official of the Political Department told me and some other journalists: 'One would have thought that Pandit Nehru would sober down after assuming the responsibilities of government. But power seems to have gone to his head. Look at the menacing tone of his statements about native States.' To a suggestion made by one of the group that perhaps Dominion Status has come to stay, he said: "Yes. Otherwise how are we going to get the warships for the defence of our coastline, or planes for defending the Frontier? After all, we must remember the danger of Communism which is growing internally, and that Russia is on India's border." It would appear that this official of would-be independent Hyderabad is as ardently against

Balkanisation of the country as any patriot: "As if the partition of the country was not enough, some people are clamouring for linguistic division. This will create more mutual hatred, more Balkanisation. We shall be sowing the dragon's teeth of division." He was presumably having in mind the growing movement for the unification of Maharashtra, Andhra and other linguistic groups living in contiguous territory. One can understand his alarm, since such unification will mean the disintegration of Hyderabad State.

No official figures are available, but there are widespread reports in Hyderabad about the expansion of its army. Mr. Thompson and other officers of the Political Department are now in Hyderabad, supervising the work of winding up the Residency Office. The British cantonment area is also to be handed over to the State shortly. Gun-running is said to exist on a large scale; arms are being smuggled from France and Portugal, it is alleged. It is also believed that the State is trying to secure British paratroopers. It is not considered impossible that Hyderabad's forces might make a break-through into Berar and the Central Provinces. Government's spokesmen say that the stationing of troops on the Berar frontier is solely for the purpose of preventing smuggling operations. I could find no indication in Government circles of the least desire or readiness to reconsider the decision regarding the State's independence, in view of the criticism voiced inside and outside Hyderabad.

SIR MIRZA'S EXIT

It was mainly due to the Muslim Majlis that Sir Mirza Ismail had to quit Hyderabad. Branding him as a pro-Hindu and an enemy of Islam, it organised a hartal in the city to demonstrate against Sir Mirza. The Nizam who also wanted to be rid of his Prime Minister, is said to have remarked in a mosque that Sir Mirza might be good enough to supervise buildings, but not for administering a State. A writer in Dr. Syed Abdul Latif's *Clarion* expressed the view of the Majlis thus: "At this critical hour the responsibility lies on the Muslim rulers not to entertain any further, ministers antagonistically inclined towards the Millat. History is replete with shameful instances of how the ministers sabotaged the Muslim States by their fifth columnist activities. Mir Jaffar, Mir Sadiq and Bu Qulami are dead and gone; but their spirit haunts the land of the living in the personages of Sir Mirza Ismail and

Mr. Bashir Zaidi, the prime ministers of Hyderabad and Rampur respectively. Happily Hyderabad is going to be saved the evil designs of Sir Mirza in the near future." Hyderabad was 'saved.'

One of the pressure groups which edged Sir Mirza out of office was that of Mr. Laik Ali, one of the wealthiest businessmen in Hyderabad, who is also connected with the Majlis organisation. He had succeeded in cornering almost all the contracts for building construction from the Public Works Department, and other contracts for the supply of sugar, paper, etc. Sir Mirza Ismail wanted to give a chance to others in the field also. My enquiries revealed that Laik Ali, chagrined at the threat to his monopoly, strengthened the Majlis' campaign for the removal of Sir Mirza. This is no stray instance. The Majlis is an organisation which seeks to perpetuate the monopoly of the upper and middle classes of the Muslim community in the administration and economy of the State. Nearly 90 per cent. of all the Government services, including the police, are manned by Muslims, especially in the higher grades. Standing near the Government Secretariat buildings, you can see an unbroken stream of Muslim employees streaming in and out, most of them mounted on bicycles. Incidentally, Hyderabad holds a high world record in the number of bicycles which ply the city's roads. There is, of course, that other world record held by Hyderabad—in the retention of feudal relics. Jagirs, paigahs, samasthans and sarf-e-khas (Crown estate) cover about half the State's area. The owners of these 'States within the State' exercise police, and sometimes also judicial powers, besides their revenue rights. The three paigahs, which are the biggest of these private estates, as also a good portion of the bigger jagirs, are owned by Muslims. This does not mean, certainly, that all the Hindus are poor. On the contrary there are enormously rich Hindus—like Pannalal Pitti, for instance. He is a banker who lends money to the nawabs at huge rates of interest, and he can buy up any number of the jagirs. Other Hindus like Raghunath Mul and Vallab Das have an annual revenue of something like 25 lakhs each. I had an opportunity of attending a meeting of the commercial community where I found Muslim and Hindu financiers getting on most happily together, discussing common problems about Customs duties. The point made here is that the Majlis organisation represents the interests of

the rich Muslims, and not those of the common mass of Muslims, though it carries on obscurantist religious propaganda about the defence of 'Muslim interests.'

POSITION OF THE STATE CONGRESS

Hyderabad witnessed stirring scenes of popular enthusiasm when the first open session of the State Congress was held there recently. Over a lakh of



A section of the open session of the Congress.

visitors attended the conference, and during the three days of the session Sultan Bazar was resounding with the cry 'State Congress Zindabad' raised by lorry-loads of people proceeding to the session. Certain facts connected with this session will indicate the difficulties which the organizers of the conference had to face. I learnt from Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya that the Government took a whole day over granting her permission to address the conference—there is a ban prohibiting speeches by all-India Socialist leaders. Permission was at last secured on the plea that she would speak, not on a 'political' subject, but about "the role of constructive work in national regeneration." Again, after Sri Shankar Rao Deo had addressed the conference, the police commissioner contacted Swamiji on the telephone at about 12-30 in the night, and called him up to be admonished for some 'objectionable' remarks in Sri Shankar Rao's speech.

I found that the State Congress is having to face internal problems of its own. During the period of its illegality, the State Congress was functioning through the provincial organisations of the three main sections of the people. Nearly half the population are Andhras who live in a homogenous territory in the State known as 'Telan-



Mr. Govinddas Shroff, Member,
State Congress Working
Committee.

gana,' adjacent to the Andhra districts of Madras Presidency. Maharashtras and Karnatakas are the other two distinct groups, and they have similar links with the Marathi and Kannada-speaking peoples of British India. The Andhra Mahasabha is the oldest of these provincial organisations, the others being the Maharashtra and Karnatak Parishads. But the present Andhra unit of the State Congress is a weak and divided group which broke away from the original body and formed a rival Andhra Mahasabha in 1945.

RIGHTISTS VERSUS LEFTISTS

This takes us straight to the vexed question of Congress-Communist relations, and into the larger problem of the struggle between the Rightist and Leftist groups in the Hyderabad State Congress. When I met Swamiji I asked him about the position of the Andhras and he said: "Any weakness in the Andhra section means weakness of the central organisation; any strength there will help the State Congress. I hope that in the coming struggle Andhra unity will be strengthened." The hostility of the Right-wing and certain nationalists towards the Communists of Telangana has resulted in a split which has weakened the State Congress as a whole. The Communist who worked among the village poor and led them in their fight against feudal exploitation, rose to leading positions in the original Andhra Mahasabha. The tussle between them and their rivals which

went on during 1942-44 finally led to the split. There were two rival Andhra conferences held in 1945, that of the Communists being much the bigger affair. It is the new, non-Communist Mahasabha which is now the Andhra unit of the State Congress. Ever since the split, the Rightists have found it difficult to work in harmony with the Leftists in the State Congress, or even with Swamiji and his followers. Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao was the Right-wing opponent of Swamiji during the election for presidency of the State Congress held in May 1947. Swamiji was elected by 720 votes as against 465. It is interesting to note the distribution of votes: Swamiji secured 99 per cent. of the votes from the Maharashtra area, 46 per cent. from Karnatak and only 33 per cent. from Telangana. I met the State Congress leaders from Maharashtra like Mr. Govinddas Shroff and Mr. Vaishampayan. They are well-informed and active workers, eager to rouse the mass of the poor peasants to political consciousness and to a sense of their rights. While they have their differences with the Communists, they entertain no blind hostility towards them. Needless to say, the Rightists are totally opposed to the present fight of the peasants in Telangana against the oppressive rule of the jagirdars and *deshmukhs* (zamindars). The whole struggle is dismissed by them as one more manifestation of Communist goondalism. Mr. Narasinga Rao is one of the Right-wing leaders who have



Mr. Vaishampayan, Member, State
Congress Working Committee.

recently resigned their offices in the State Congress. When I met him, he made the charge that the Leftists, as also the middle-of-the-road group led by Swamiji, acted as fellow travellers and "secret allies" of the Communists. He specifically instanced the statement condemning Government's repressive measures against the peasants of Nalgonda district (of Telangana) which Swamiji issued after a personal visit to that area. The Rightists succeeded in preventing a mass movement against the ridiculous and reactionary 'Reforms' which were introduced by the Government last year. They also tried to prevent the formulation of the demand by the State Congress that a Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage should be elected in Hyderabad to draw up a democratic constitution for the State.

ARE THE LEFTISTS REALLY REDS?

The Communist bogey has been the favourite weapon of the Right-wing. The actual state of affairs can be judged from a striking feature of the recent State Congress session. Meeting for the first time after emergence from eight years of illegality, it had no word of sympathy for the Communist Party or for the Communist-led Andhra Mahasabha, which were both declared illegal by the Government last year. I questioned three of the State Congress leaders about their omission to condemn the denial of the right of existence to two people's organisations. I received three different explanations. Swamiji said that this was an 'old issue' and he had already protested against the ban in his capacity as President of the State Congress. Mr. Govinddas Shroff attempted a diplomatic answer: "We have framed the resolutions in general terms without going into particulars; and they are addressed to the people, not to the Government." Mr. Vaishampayan was franker. He said: "We didn't want to precipitate a crisis, and possibly have to get out of the State Congress, by bringing up this matter. We want to work inside the Congress and resist as far



Mr. V. C. Chandrasekharan, a great
solo-character-actor and quick change
expert, who has organised a troupe of
amateur artistes to exhibit one-act
plays in Telugu.

as possible the compromising policy of the Right-wing."

PROSPECTS

It is against this background of the divided character of the people's leadership that one has to view the developments in Hyderabad in the coming future. It should be remembered that, at present, the "people's struggle" for Hyderabad's entry into the Indian Union is confined to the sending of numerous telegrams to Pandit Nehru, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and others. This is what Swamiji told me about the future course of action: "On our part, we are not going to precipitate any movement. We will merely assert the right of the people and carry on propaganda. But if the Government strikes at us, we will not take it lying down. Our future attitude will depend upon what the Government does."

(To be continued.)

TAMIL NAD NEWSPAPER AGENTS' ASSOCIATION

At an informal meeting of the Tamil Nad Newspaper Agents' Association held at Courtallam on June 15, with Mr. S. Ramaswami Naidu in the chair, the following were elected as Secretaries to do the preliminary work of publicity, enrolment of members, etc.: Messrs. C. V. Soundara Rajan, Tenkasi; S. Vinayagam, Arni; K. P. Subramania Iyer, Solavandan; and C. S. Natarajan, Erode.



THE DEPTHS

M. KRISHNAMOORTHY

SHE got down from the train in a flutter, her heart going on a mad race. Her cousin was there to meet her as he had written he would. It was years since they had seen each other and once they had been passionate lovers secure in the serene hope that there would be no bar to their marriage. But difficulties had arisen; the dislike of members of the same family for each other, petty jealousies and meannesses, old scores to be repaid, and a hundred other common but unfortunate features of the collective life of a large and self-important family, and the young people had to sigh like lovers but obey like son and daughter. Their passion, like many another middle-class affair, was tempered by a sense of reality and a disinclination to create scenes and an innate sense of cowardice from which all well-to-do people suffer. For years they had been married to others than their hearts' choice and from youth they had advanced into sober middle age. At that time her husband died and left her a wealthy, and a fairly young, widow, and she wrote to her cousin at once suggesting that they should meet. The years, she said, had made no change in her love for him and her marriage had been none of her seeking. Her dislike of her husband, she said, had prevented her even from having a child. Instinctively she just could not think of any one else except her beloved cousin Sundar as her husband and her marriage had been a failure in all its fundamentals. She now wished to be with him, and she wrote that she would come to him whenever he wanted her to. Through the years she had kept on friendly terms with Lata, his wife, and she saw no difficulty about going over to stay with her and her husband and take again the thread of a romance broken years ago. She had to wait in the utmost impatience for months before she received a reply from Sundar; but come it did finally and asked her to be in Madras on a fixed day. Her preparations were soon made and she

boarded her train with all the fervour of a blooming bride going on an assignment to meet her beloved husband on their honeymoon trip!

She saw him on the platform, tall and impressive as ever, but with the first bloom of youth away from him. For years he had maintained his boyish charm but age was after all beginning to tell on him. Though full ten years older than herself she recognised within her heart that the years had been kinder to him than they had been to her. He was not young; that was all. His springiness was there and the physical impressiveness of a well-built man. There was nothing faded in his appearance as she knew, in the innermost recesses of her heart, there was in hers.

"Hullo, Neela," said he, with a smile; and his smile, as usual, did strange things to her heart and her fancy and she looked up at him with desperate longing and admiration in her eyes. She glanced into his eyes and found them as lusty and wonderful as ever and she wished they would rake her with the passionate intensity with which they used to in the years gone by. But that passion was not there. Instead she saw a great deal of good humour and tolerance of other people's foibles, a slight contempt for her because she had failed him years ago at the vital moment, and many other things which, perhaps, he never felt. She took a grip on herself and said with an air of ill-assumed casualness, "Hullo". And added, "Where is Lata?" "She has gone to her father's place," he replied, and, looking at her with a disconcerting shrewdness, he asked her "Do you mind?" She said nothing in reply. He called for a porter and took her to his waiting car. He had become quite a prosperous and well-known man during the past years and she knew it; but the salutes of the passers-by and the obvious signs of his opulence gave her a sense of pride and a sense of desolation at the same time. If only she had been his wife instead of Lata! They reached his home in silence

though, occasionally, she caught him glancing at her from the corner of his eyes with what she was certain was a look of amused contempt for her. She was in a mild rage by the time they reached his home. "Here we are," he said, as the servant opened the door of the car for them, "Welcome to my home. I am sorry Lata is not here to look after your comforts but Ahmed and Sona will have to be the substitutes, I am afraid." Ahmed was obviously the bearer and she looked into the background to see who Sona was. A female housekeeper, she thought and answered, pettishly, "Don't bother too much about Lata's absence; your servants will do equally well." The moment the words were out of her lips, she regretted them. He looked at her quizzically.

"Sona", he called, "Make the lady comfortable. Give her some coffee immediately. Have you prepared her room for her? Make arrangements for her to have her bath. I shall drop in at the office for a minute and be back for the meal."

"I shall," replied Sona.

She had her bath and dressed herself with particular care, ably assisted by Sona, who, she discovered, was a gem of an attendant. Her mistress had obviously trained her well in the mysteries of the dressing table used by a westernised Indian lady. She handed her just the thing she wanted at just the moment she wanted it. There was Sona with the powder puff when the powder puff was needed; there she was with the perfume spray when that was needed; she gave Neela the lipstick when she wanted it and she handed over the nail file and the nail polish at the right moment. She had already unpacked Neela's things and had selected her dress for her and had laid it out in readiness for her to get into the moment she finished her bath. She helped her to comb and dress her hair and, in the course of the casual conversation which ensued between them, Neela discovered that Sona could speak English well.

"You are a gem," she said, at the end of her dressing. "Lata is, as usual, very lucky."

"Thank you, madam," replied Sona, "It is kind of you to say so. Indeed it is the mistress who has trained me so well."

Neela awaited the arrival of Sundar impatiently. At last he came home and she ran to greet him in the front hall.

"You are home at last!" she cried.

"I'm afraid I'm rather late," he replied, glancing at her admiringly, "I

was held up at the office with some important work. My! How lovely you look!"

"Really! Do you think so honestly?" she asked, with a tremor in her voice.

"Of course," he replied, "You are a sight for tired eyes. Will you excuse me a moment or two? I shall get ready for dinner in a jiffy. I must have a bath; I have sweated like a pig, Sona!"

"Yes, sir," answered Sona.

"Is my bath ready?"

"Yes."

"Well, then, Neela, I will be with you shortly."

And he disappeared into his rooms while Neela waited impatiently for him to come and join her.

He emerged from his rooms radiant with a glow of good health and with all the obvious outward manifestations of a man who has had a refreshing bath which he had completely enjoyed. He was, as usual, well-dressed and his hair was parted with care and well brushed down. There was a constriction at Neela's throat, a feeling brought about by her intense desire that he should take her in his arms and kiss her on her eyes as he had once used to. The bearer and Sona hovered around the room.

They went through their dinner pretty fast, the servers being excellent and the food more so. Further Neela's thoughts were not on the food but on her cousin sitting opposite her at the table.

Dinner over, they retired to the verandah and tried to talk but they could not keep up the desultory affair for long.

"Shall we retire?" he asked, "You should be pretty tired after your long journey."

"All right," she said.

"Your room is next to mine," he said.

"Is it?"

"If you want anything at night don't hesitate to wake me up," he added, "There is a door between the rooms."

"I shan't," said she.

"There was a pause, rather significant in its silence."

"Well, good night, then," said he, smiling at her.

"Good night."

She went to bed but not to sleep. The servants were still busy moving about the house. They were finishing up their work for the day. She could hear Sona instructing them on what to do.

It seemed ages to her before absolute quiet reigned over the house; in reality it was but a couple of hours after they had finished dinner.

She sat up in her bed. Quite softly, quite tentatively, with no plan in her mind, like an arrow shot at a venture, she called out, softly, "Sundar!"

She was surprised at the quickness with which he was next to her on her bed. She felt elated; she was sure that the old fire was still in him.

"Oh, darling," he murmured, enveloping her tired but passionate and yielding body in a fiery embrace. She buried her face on his shoulders and wept silently. He kissed her tears away.

"Don't weep, Neela," he pleaded. "Is it for weeping you came here?"

"No, no," she hastened to assure him, "Never! I came to be with you, to be your beloved for some time at least."

"Well then," he laughed softly, "let's be."

And they were.

She awoke in the morning as happy as only satisfied lovers can be.

Sona came in.

"What time is it, Sona?" she asked, "Am I very late?"

"I am afraid so," replied Sona, "It is ten and the master has already left for his office. He asked me to make his apologies to you."

"Good Heavens," cried Neela, and sprang out of her bed. And she went in to have her morning tidying-up and bath.

She was assisted by Sona through her toilet and that morning she was in a mood to beautify herself with particular care. Her body was to her a sheer delight since it had helped her to achieve a deep desire of her heart. The memory of her cousin's kisses sent thrills through her and there was a smile on her face she could not keep away and a song on her lips that was an expression of pure joy. She passed her comb through her luxuriant hair and felt again as if Sundar were passing his electric fingers through their softness. She was completely lost in the happiness of a peerless emotion recollected in tranquillity.

"Madam seems to be very happy," cut in Sona into her thoughts, rather harshly.

"Hum! What did you say?" asked Neela.

"I said Madam seems very happy."

"You are right," replied Neela, "I like your town very much and your admirable household. I am so comfortable I feel almost as if I were at my home."

"I am glad Madam is so happy," said Sona, "I am sure she would have been happier if the master's wife had been here to welcome her in person."

"I am sure I would have enjoyed my stay better," replied Neela, somehow feeling a trifle uncomfortable, "It is a pity your mistress is away."

"Is it?" asked the servant cryptically.

"What do you mean?" cried Neela, flaring up.

"Oh, nothing, Madam, nothing at all," said Sona, looking boldly up into Neela's eyes.

"You are impertinent," cried Neela.

"Am I?" asked Sona, "Are you really sorry the mistress is away?"

Now this was a direct challenge and a degree of impertinence Neela was not willing to put up with from a mere servant.

"Don't forget you are only a servant," she said, coldly, "And don't be impertinent and don't answer me back."

"Impertinent!", replied Sona, feigning hurt astonishment, "Oh, Madam, please forgive me. I never meant to be impertinent. I only felt that you would be more happy with the mistress away."

Neela was speechless with anger and a certain alarm.

"You see, Madam," went on Sona, after a pause, "It is only when the mistress is away master likes other women. While she is with him he never thinks of others and he loves her so completely. When she is away he amuses himself with other women but I do not think he really loves anybody else except his wife."

Neela knew not what to say.

"Before you came, Madam," continued the inexorable Sona, "He used to make love to me, a mere servant as you said so well. But I love him deeply, Madam, like a dog loving its master and I never demand from him more than what he is willing to give. I am satisfied, like a dog, with the occasional bone thrown to it by a kind master. But you have come and taken away even what little happiness I know in my life as a servant. I am only a servant, Madam, but I think he likes me as much as he likes you. You see he loves ~~the~~ ^{one} of us but only his wife. We are both foolish women, Madam."

From the very heights of ecstasy Neela was plunged to the very depths of

drive so that there may be more exports. In all this however the development of European economy with the aid offered by the United States is an urgent need; and this explains why with or without Russian co-operation Britain is so anxious to join France in drawing a four year plan for Europe through the proposed Paris Conference of July 12.

REACTIONS IN THE FAR EAST

The strained relations between Soviet Russia and the United States are having their reactions in the Far East. For the last five weeks consultations have been going on between the Russian and American representatives as regards the procedure to be followed in setting up a provisional Government for Korea as a whole and at one stage it was reported that the prospects of such a Government being established were brought. But today they have become dark. New difficulties have arisen and it does not look as if there will be any union between the Soviet and the American zones in that country. Another feature that has been becoming prominent in recent weeks is the vigour with which the Communists have been carrying on their campaign in Manchuria against the forces of Kuomintang. This is accounted for by the increasing help that the Communists are getting from Soviet Russia. Many Koreans have been trained in the Russian zone and they are reinforcing the Communist armies in Manchuria; many of the imprisoned Japanese have also been permitted to join them. The Russians have not handed over control to the Chinese over the Manchurian seaports although this was one of the conditions of the treaty of 1945. Russians have also been active in Sinkiang and outer Mongolia. All this is an answer to the attempt of the United States to dominate the Mediterranean and Western Europe. The war in China is thus becoming an international civil war. The United States has permitted the Chinese Government to purchase without any restriction

whatever all its military requirements from American factories. So encouraging was this offer that the Chinese State Council headed by Chiang Kai-Shek decided this week on a total mobilisation of China's man-power and resources to continue the fight against Communists. Of course the Americans as well as several of the prominent Chinese leaders are pressing on Chiang Kai-Shek the need for a coalition Government representative of all parties and the need also for paying more attention to the work of internal reconstruction—especially the reconstruction of agriculture and improving the lot of the peasant which is now most miserable. There is however no knowing that the Generalissimo will pay heed to this advice. But in China—as also in India—mass co-operation in fighting the Communists and the rest of the people opposed to a strong central Government cannot be secured unless immediate attention is paid to the economic uplift of the common man.

PALESTINE

The U.N. Commission appointed to enquire into the problem of Palestine has been carrying on its work for the last three weeks in spite of the Arab decision to boycott it. The British as the mandatory power have placed before the Commission a comprehensive report as to the way in which they administered the country during the last twenty-five years in accordance with the regulations framed by the League of Nations on the subject of the administration of mandated territories and on the difficulties they had to experience in fulfilling their obligations towards the Arabs as well as the Jews. The Jews also have presented their case for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and for removing all restrictions on Jewish immigration. It is rumoured that the Commission might recommend a partition and the absorption of the Arab part of Palestine in Transjordan or in the proposed State of greater Syria.

KARL MARX

by P. N. SAMPATH

THE true father of modern economic history, and indeed of modern sociology, in so far as any one man may be called that, is Karl Marx. The socialistic trend in the politics of today, all the world over, is on the pattern evolved by Marx, though the allegiance may not be universally recognised.

Marx was a German Jew by birth. Even early in life he acquired a pronounced taste for lucid argument and an empirical approach, that enabled him to maintain a measure of independence in the face of the philosophy of his time, and later to suit it to his own positivist pattern.

He had an aptitude for intense study of economic, sociological and historical problems of the human-kind, as expounded by eminent men of the past generation like Hegel, Sismondi, Saint Simon, Spinoza, Holbach, Mably, Guizot, Adam Smith, etc. Thus, before he was twenty-five years of age, he was the most learned man in the continent of Europe. Moses Hess, a Jewish publicist of Cologne, who met Marx when Marx was 24 years old wrote: "He combines the deepest philosophical seriousness with the most biting wit. Imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine, and Hegel fused into one person—I say fused, not thrown together in a heap—and you have Dr. Marx." Again, Bakunin the Russian revolutionary, who was an opponent of Marx, could not help saying: "Very few men have read so much, and it may be added, have read so intelligently, as Marx." He was the "Aristotle of the nineteenth century", according to Hyndman, founder of the Social Democratic Federation.

Marx's international popularity as a Socialist was due to the opportunity which Paris afforded him, to come into contact with the working class movements in the different countries of Europe through the several leaders who were fellow exiles. Marx was driven out of his country, and having been refused entry into the other

States of Europe, he came to Paris, which was for a long time famous as the asylum for international exiles. Paris has long been notable for its intellectual hospitality. It was the clearing house of European intellectuals. At the time Marx was there, Paris contained a conflux of foreign 'emigres',—German 'illuminati', continental radical luminaries, revolutionaries, anarchists, etc. None of these had the learning and the strength of character of Marx. Marx did not have confidence in their ability to guide the destinies of the masses to the socialist goal. They were all rhetoric and recklessness. Though Marx held that destruction is a kind of creation, as a revolutionary he did not approve of conspiratorial methods. Perceiving the historic inevitability of the capitalists' fall, he exhorted the workers to unite and be on the alert for the first suitable opportunity to wrest power. He set himself to create an open political party dominated by the new view of society.

He created an international revolutionary organisation. He stood for the solidarity of the working classes throughout the world. "Socialist sectarianism and a real working class movement are in inverse ratio to each other." Sectarianism is reaction.

He carried on a fearless campaign against the bourgeoisie and the vested interests, mainly through the press, without restraint or respite. The vitality, veracity and the verisatality of his writings and speeches had a profound effect.

Marx's genius was but the triumph and apotheosis of reason and commonsense. His social theory is "inverted Hegelianism". Hegel's thesis of historical materialism was the foundation for the development of Marx's theory.

Marx had no ethical or social ideal to press upon mankind. He did not plead for a change of heart, for that would mean only a substitution of one set of illusions for another, while

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE Paris Conference of the British, the French and the Soviet Foreign Ministers for discussions on General Marshall's plan for economic aid to Europe ended in complete failure. No agreement was possible between Molotov on the one side and Messers Bevin and Bidault on the other as to the latter's proposal that a balance sheet of Europe's resources and needs should be drawn up and definite information should be given to the United States as to how much help European countries would require from America. This was a reasonable proposal in so far as without such data it would be impossible for the United States Congress to enact the legislation necessary for implementing General Marshall's plan. Molotov however objected to the proposal on the ground that it would amount to interference with the internal sovereignty and domestic economy of European States, that no all-European programme was necessary, that each country should get direct help from the United States and that any attempt to treat Europe as a single economic unit would mean the domination of the big powers over the smaller States. Messers Bevin and Bidault could not convince Molotov that there should be a larger amount of freedom of trade between one country in Europe and another—which is not the case at present—and that efforts should be made to promote the economic unity of Europe as suggested by Marshall. The result was a complete breakdown of the Conference.

DEEPER CONSIDERATIONS

The Conference had never any chance of success. It was most re-

luctantly that Molotov accepted the invitation to the Conference. The suspicion that Marshall's plan is only a continuation of Truman's doctrine and that its execution will certainly result in the establishment of American domination over Europe is firmly rooted in the Soviet mind and there is no prospect whatever of this being removed. Moreover the Russians think that the days of monopoly capitalism which characterises the economy of America are over, that a slump is sure to overtake the United States in another year or so, that it will lead to economic chaos and confusion in the countries dominated by her and that nothing should be done by Russia to avert such a collapse as that would be the most favourable atmosphere for bringing about a world revolution on Communistic lines. They feel that co-operation in the execution of the Marshall plan would only delay the ushering in of this revolution.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BREAKDOWN

The breakdown however of the Paris Conference is fraught with consequences of a most serious character to the future of world peace. The division of the European world—and with that the rest of the world also—into a Soviet bloc and an anti-Soviet bloc is now complete. Each will pursue its own line of policy independently of the other, preparing the way for the outbreak of a third world war. The Russian attempt to consolidate their hold over Eastern and South Eastern Europe will be pursued more vigorously and appeals to Pan-slavic sentiment will become more effective. Countries in Eastern Europe

the malaise would linger on, in another form. He appealed solely to reason, so that the inevitable transition could be made "less painful, accompanied by less friction and less waste of human substance". He believed that a revolution of ideas will of itself bring about a revolution in practice. He averred that by nature all men are rational and all rational beings have equal rights before the natural law of reason, but this clear and simple fact is wantonly obscured from our eyes by the selfish machinations of priests and princes, vying with one another for purposes of exploitation of the proletariat.

Marx threatened the oppressors not with retribution but with the historic inevitability of the destruction of the exploiting classes. "Social, political, religious and racial barriers were so many artificial products of the deliberate obscurantism of priests and rulers. With their disappearance, a new day would dawn for the human race, when all men would be equal not only politically and legally in their formal internal relations, but socially and personally, in their most intimate daily intercourse."

Marx hated the stupid complacency of the bourgeoisie. He disliked and even suspected the *bona fides* of bourgeois intellectuals like Proudhon. Marx hated all compromise, as there can be no compromise with truth. He was dead against gradualism. He was obsessed with no fixed ideas or pathological fanaticism. He disliked "spellbinders" in politics, as they are liable to lead followers astray.

Marx had a firm faith in the omnipotence of education and the perfectibility of man. He advocated the education of "the vast benighted mass of mankind". If Voltaire created the religion of Man, and Rousseau was the greatest of its prophets, Karl Marx was its greatest propagandist and disseminator.

Marx taught that justice cannot exist in a society which tolerates economic inequality. The existence of several classes in society is a destroying canker. The essence of a class is to compete with other classes.

To attempt to create equality between classes is an Utopian conception impossible of realisation. So Marx stood for the achievement of total abolition of the classes themselves as the next and last stage after a period of proletarian dictatorship. For, Marx held that the proletariat class, which was created by the bourgeois order, would both be its heir and executioner and that the ascendancy of the proletariat is an economic and historic necessity which nothing can prevent. "The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win". "Workers of the world, unite!"—was Marx's parting appeal in his manifesto which he prepared for the Communist Party.

He held that the first duty of a revolutionary leader is to disseminate among the masses the consciousness of their destiny and the task before them.

The following lines were written by Marx when he was teen-aged:

*Let us not in lean subjection
Brood away our fearful life,
When with deed and aspiration
We might enter in the strife.*

Marx was powerful with his biting wit. He said of the French Republic: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—when what this Republic means is Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery." On another occasion, when Proudhon submitted his book "Philosophy of Poverty" to Marx for a critical appreciation, Marx, unable to agree with the contents of the book, wrote a reply entitled "The Poverty of Philosophy", with the opening remark, "To leave error unrefuted is to encourage intellectual immorality."

Karl Marx came to London in 1849, after he was asked to quit Paris and when he found that no other European capital would entertain him. He stayed in London for over 30 years, till his death in 1883. There he increased his knowledge immensely by exhausting all the readable books in the British Museum, to which he paid long daily visits. With the material thus collected, he wrote "Das Kapital", which has since been acclaimed as the Bible of the working

classes. This treatise provided a definite intellectual foundation for international socialism. Most of the ideas expressed therein are not by any means new. There is not one view of his which cannot be traced in embryo to some previous or contemporary writer. Karl Marx acknowledged his debt to other thinkers, since his search was for truth, and not for novelty. "Das Kapital" was the most comprehensive work ever written on the subject of human sociology and economics. Russia is the only country which successfully and sincerely followed the teachings and methods advocated by Marx, as elaborated by Lenin and Stalin. But even there, there is some leeway yet to be made up for the anticipated goal to be reached. Marx's influence can be traced in every working class movement since his day.

No account of Marx is complete without mention of the work and lifelong collaboration with him of F. Engels, another genius in the field of Socialism. Engels recognised the superiority of Marx over other intellectuals of the day, and became "a son unto him". Engels was as much a genius as Marx, and his contribution to the common cause was considerable. "To the oppressors, Marx appeared as an angry and indomitable Moses, the leader and saviour of all the insulted and the downtrodden, with the milder and more conventional Engels at his side, an Aaron ready to expound his words to the benighted, half-comprehending masses of the proletariat. He was called the Red Terrorist Doctor."

When Marx was living in London somewhere in the slum areas of Soho, amidst want and poverty, "plagued like Job", it was Engels who was supporting him all through. It was Engels who collected and later collated all the unpublished portions of "Das Kapital", after the death of Marx. A man who could command

such devotion from a master-mind like Engels must indeed have been a towering personality.

Marx had his defects too. He had an explosive temper. He was extremely jealous and vituperative. He quarrelled easily and disliked reconciliation. He was unable to get on well with famous fellow Socialists like Bakunin, Lassale, Weitling, Proudhon and others.

He was not a popular figure in his lifetime. He was not an orator, as his speeches were always overloaded with matter and difficult to follow and comprehend. He was by temperament a theorist and an intellectual and instinctively avoided direct contact with the masses to the study of whose interests his entire life was devoted.

With all that, he was the active organiser and practical leader of the Socialist movement of his day, as well as its theoretician. He expressed himself practically in the First International (1864), as well as theoretically in "Das Kapital" and "Critique of Political Economy." His Communist Manifesto is a marvel of lucidity and purposefulness. His efforts to found an international organisation of the working classes succeeded, but it was soon sabotaged from within by Bakunin.

Marx still enjoys a special 'niche' in the hearts of all genuine Socialists. Such a life of entire dedication to the working class movement is a rare event in history. Let us hope that many more leaders of the intelligence and moral rectitude of Marx will be forthcoming to usher in the ideal time envisaged by Condorcet: "The time will come when the sun will shine only upon a world of free men who recognise no master except their reason, when tyrants and slaves, priests, and their stupid or hypocritical tools, will no longer exist except in history or on the stage."

Married couples resembled a pair of scissors, so joined that they cannot be separated; often moving in opposite directions, yet always punishing anyone who comes between them.—Sydney Smith.

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EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

by V. VENKATA RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

(Politics Department, Madras University.)

PRESIDENT Benes wrote in 1941 "The problem of national minorities will have to be considered far more systematically and radically than it was after the last war. I accept the principle of transfer of populations. Populations were exchanged successfully and on a large scale between Greece and Turkey. . . If the problem is carefully considered and wide measures are adopted in good time the transfer can be made amicably under decent human conditions, under international control and with international support." This statement coming from a distinguished statesman requires careful consideration.

History records several movements of populations from place to place. These movements had taken place for a variety of reasons. They had taken place with a view to bring about the unification of populations of identical language and nationality scattered in several parts of the world. For instance, movements like Pan-Germanism and Pan-Arabism were started with this end in view. The initial objective of Pan-Germanism was the incorporation of all the German people into a single State. Frederick List, the famous German economist, contemplated the creation of a comprehensive economic unit extending from the Rhine to the Black Sea and inhabited predominantly by the German people. Later on Pan-Germanism adopted the policy of transfer of minorities with a view to weaken their solidarity. Pan-Arabism, on the other hand, contemplated not only the creation of an Arab State inhabited predominantly by Arabs but also the liberation of Arabs from the political subjection and economic impoverishment into which they were plunged by foreign imperialism.

Transfer of populations was also effected with a view to break down the cultural separateness and national consciousness of the con-

quered peoples and to assimilate them into the majority group. It was thought that separation from land with which the national minorities associated not only their national consciousness but also their national God would prevent them from developing into aggressive groups. For instance, the Assyrian Emperors uprooted groups of conquered peoples and transferred them to the other parts of the empire and they were replaced either by Assyrians or by other subject groups.

Transfer of populations was also effected for economic reasons. For instance, the Russian Emperor Yaraslav moved large groups of Poles from Northern Galicia to the sparsely settled areas of his empire for their economic development. Sometimes for security reasons the previously tolerated groups were moved from one place to another. For instance, the English uprooted the Acadians for their refusal to bear arms against France and deported them to the English colonies of North America. For religious reasons also certain groups of people were moved from place to place. The frequent and widespread movements of the Jewish population are traceable primarily to their religious and social practices. The Jewish practice of moneylending was hated by the people and Church in England. The Church demanded their expulsion and it was done in 1290. Similarly, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 resulted in the migration of a half million Protestants from France for settlement in England and other places. Spain expelled the Jews and Moriscos from its territories for similar reasons. But the significant fact was that these peoples were expelled from Spain only after the failure of attempts to convert them to Christianity. The Jesuits were expelled from Venice in 1606 and 1761. In 1878 the Mormons were expelled from

Missouri because their religion prohibited the taking of oath, holding political jobs and most important of all service in the army.

Populations were also moved with a view to secure national homogeneity and territorial integrity. For instance, the existence of Christian minorities within the Turkish Empire provided a pretext to the Balkan States to interfere in her internal affairs and thereby constituted a danger to her territorial integrity. With a view to eliminate this danger the Young Turks decided to expel the Armenians, to exterminate the Greeks and other national minorities from Turkey and to persuade the Muslim minorities in the Balkan States to migrate to Turkey. In pursuance of this policy Turkey expelled, deported or massacred thousands of her Christian subjects.

Though migrations and mass expulsions had taken place in the past, the exchange of populations is a modern event. For the first time in the world's history a proposal for exchange of population was formulated and incorporated in the Turkish-Bulgarian Convention of 1913. The convention provided the reciprocal exchange of Bulgarian and Muslim populations within fifteen kilometers of the entire newly created common frontier in Thrace and as a consequence 9472 Bulgarian families in Eastern Thrace were exchanged for 9714 Muslim families in Bulgaria.

After the First Great War, Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey were faced with the problems of securing adequate protection of life and property to their national minorities and the maintenance of political stability in the Balkan States. The exchange of populations was resorted to as a solution to these two problems. This plan was first suggested by M. Venizelos, the Greek Statesman to Bulgaria in 1915. But for some reason or other it did not materialise. It was again taken up in 1919 and incorporated in the Treaty of Neuilly of 1919. By this Treaty Greece and Bulgaria agreed to "the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities" of their respective countries.

It was further provided that the right to emigrate should be exercised within two years from the date of signing the Treaty. A mixed commission was set up to supervise the emigration and to liquidate the properties left behind by the emigrants. A similar Treaty was concluded between Yugoslavia and Hungary. According to the Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarians living in the territory ceded to Yugoslavia, were given the option either to retain their Hungarian nationality or to accept the Yugoslavian nationality. A similar option was given to the Yugoslavians living in Hungary. The significant feature of these two conventions was that the exchange of populations was voluntary and not compulsory.

But the outstanding example was the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Here again, the exchange of populations between the two countries was first suggested by M. Venizelos in 1914 to clear up an atmosphere poisoned by national animosities and historical enmities. M. Venizelos went to Brussels to meet the Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha to carry on negotiations. But before any agreement could be reached the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia intervened and abruptly terminated the negotiations. It was taken up again in 1922 and incorporated in the Treaty of Lausanne. The significant feature of this treaty was that the two countries agreed to the "reciprocal and compulsory emigration of the Turkish nationals of the Greek orthodox religion established in the Turkish territory and Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established in the Greek territory." But this provision was not applied for economic reasons to Muslims in Western Thrace and Greek Christians in Constantinople. It also provided the liquidation of the properties left behind by the emigrants and the amounts due as a result of such liquidation were to be considered "as a Governmental debt from the country where the liquidation takes place to the Government of the country to which the emigrant belongs." The emigrants were entitled to receive in their new homeland property of equal value to

that which they had left behind. To carry these provisions a mixed commission was set up. As a result of this agreement 400,000 Muslims were exchanged for 115,000 Greeks.

These examples seem to have appealed to some of the Indian politicians like the late Moulana Mohammad Ali to suggest the redistribution of populations according to their religious labels to solve the Hindu-Muslim question. A factual study of the problem is therefore essential. The distribution of Hindus and Muslims in different Provinces is as follows:—

Provinces	Populations in thousands.	Muslims	Hindus	Others
Assam	10,207	33.7	41.3	25.0
Ajmeer Merwara	584	15.4	64.4	20.2
Baluchistan	501	87.6	8.8	3.6
Bengal	60,367	54.7	41.6	3.7
Bihar	36,341	13.0	73.0	14.0
Bombay	20,849	9.2	79.4	11.4
C.P.	16,814	4.7	76.9	18.4
Coorg	169	8.9	77.5	13.6
Delhi	918	33.2	61.8	5.0
Madras	49,342	7.9	86.7	5.4
N.W.F.	3,038	91.8	5.9	2.3
Orissa	8,729	1.7	78.3	20.0
Punjab	28,418	57.1	26.6	16.3
Sind	4,335	70.7	27.1	2.2
U.P.	55,023	15.3	83.2	1.5

A closer study of the distribution of the Hindus and Muslims by districts in the different provinces further shows that Muslims are living in all the 228 districts in British India excepting in Balipara Frontier Tract and Lushai Hills in Assam. Similarly Hindus are living in all the districts excepting in Biloch Trans Frontier Tract in the Punjab. Further Muslims constitute a majority of the population in 55 districts. In six they are more than 40 per cent of the population; in 13 more than 30 per cent; in 11 more than 20 per cent; in 55 more than 10 per cent and in 42 more than five per cent. Only in seven districts, Almora (0.6) and Garhwal (0.8) in the United Provinces, in Ganjam (0.2) Koraput (0.3) and Sambalpur (0.4) in Orissa, Naga Hills (0.5) in Assam and Vizagapatam (0.8) in Madras they are less than one per cent of the population. In the remaining 39 districts they are more than one per cent of the population. An ethnological map of India in different shades of

colour indicating different intensities of Muslims in the population will show how inextricably the Hindus and Muslims are interspersed.

In spite of these facts man wants to sort out the populations according to their religious labels while history and geography had conspired to bring them together. How far is this practicable and desirable?

Exchange of populations must be resorted to if the problem of minorities proves intractable. It is the only tolerable alternative likely to produce good results. For instance, the exchange of populations between Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria had practically eliminated the problem of minorities in those countries. It brought about a certain amount of ethnical homogeneity. Greece was able to hellenise its northern provinces particularly Macedonia to an extent which without exchange of populations would have been hardly possible in so short a time. In 1912 the Greek population was only 43 per cent in Macedonia and 37 per cent in Western Thrace. In 1925 it was 88 per cent and 65 per cent respectively. The ethnical homogeneity in its turn ensured territorial integrity and political stability. Further as a result of the exchange of populations the feelings of hatred and contempt towards one another gradually disappeared and facilitated the growth of mutual respect. During the Venizelos revolt against the Greek Government, the Turkish Government actually demonstrated to Bulgaria the fact that she would not tolerate any attempt on her (Bulgaria's) part to help the Greek revolutionaries. What a difference the exchange of populations had effected! Turkey actually guaranteeing Greece against an attack by a third power! From the Greek point of view the exchange of populations was advantageous. By accepting this principle she was able to save about 115,000 Greeks who were in Turkey leading a precarious existence in the midst of a hostile Muslim population particularly after the debacle which the Greek army had suffered at Anatolia in 1922. Further, the acceptance of this principle enabled her to evacuate four

lakhs of Muslims from her territories without which the settlement of the Greek refugees would not have been possible.

Though these are the bright spots of the treaties, a closer examination reveals the fact that they failed to accomplish the object in view. It must be said that they simply ratified a *fait accompli*. At the time when these treaties were concluded a great majority of the people were either deported, expelled or had fled from their respective countries. Between 1912-25 the migrations and mass expulsions were as follows. In 1912 as a consequence of the First Balkan War one lakh of Muslims fled from the Balkan countries. In 1913 as a consequence of the Second Balkan War 15,000 Bulgarians fled from Macedonia; 10,000 Greeks left parts of Macedonia granted to Serbia and Bulgaria by the Treaty of Bucharest; 70,000 Greeks were driven out of Western Thrace by Bulgaria; 46,764 Bulgars were driven out of Eastern Thrace. In 1914 Turkey expelled 265,000 Greeks and deported 85,000 Greeks into Asia Minor; 115,000 Muslims left Greece and 134,000 other Balkan countries for Turkey. In 1916 Bulgaria deported 36,000 Greeks to the interior of Bulgaria. Thus at the time when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed there were only 115,000 Greeks in Turkey of which only 50,000 were in their original homes. Further, the treaties did not affect all the minorities. For instance, one-third of the Bulgarians remained in Greece. The Greeks in Constantinople and Muslims in Western Thrace were not touched. Similarly, several thousands of Hungarians in Yugoslavia and Yugoslavians in Hungary did not migrate to their mother country.

The exchange of populations was not advantageous to Turkey. It is true that she got rid of the subversive elements from her territory. But it was the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of the Turkish rulers that brought these subversive elements into being. The policy pursued by the Turkish rulers that the infidels should be left to themselves without being admitted to the benefits of Turkish Law facilitated the

minorities to develop a separate national consciousness. If only the Turkish rulers had displayed statesmanship and foresight the problem of minorities would not have become an intractable one resulting in the exchange of population. The exchange of population affected Turkey economically. Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister, said after signing the Treaty of Angora "We have always prized the services which our former Christian fellow citizens accomplished for us in the field of exports and international trade. The general economy of Constantinople has suffered as much from the absence of the non-Muslim Turkish citizens as from the interruption of the Russian trade." Turkey lost in the Greek population the most effective carriers of its ambitious programme, namely, the westernization of Turkey.

The exchange of population was always accompanied by privations, disease and a high rate of mortality among the emigrants. President Benes himself admits that "transfers are painful operation. They involve many secondary injustices." Of the half million Moriscos deported from Spain only one-fourth survived. Of the 36,000 Greeks deported to Bulgaria from Eastern Macedonia 19,000 perished. Pneumonia and malaria took a heavy toll at both Salonika and Smyrna. The loss of property, movable and immovable, was enormous. When the minorities were permitted to convert their immovable property into movable wealth, the immediate effect was the reduction in their value almost to a vanishing point. As regards the movable wealth, transport difficulties prevented the minorities from taking all that they owned. For instance, the movable properties of the Acdians were left to rot on the shores of the Bay of Fundy and the Greeks who swarmed into Greece in 1922 carried with them little more than destitute refugees. It was true that mixed commissions were set up to liquidate the properties left behind by the emigrants. But experience shows that these commissions took years for the liquidation of the emigrant properties and paid only a

part of their value. The mixed commission set up to settle the Greco-Bulgarian properties paid only ten per cent of the property valued in cash. The remaining 90 per cent was paid in State bonds which depreciated in value.

If these are the facts, the exchange of populations is not the means to solve the problem of minorities. The composite character of the population renders it impossible

to carve out national States of cultural uniformity. Voluntary exchange of populations would meet with no response. But a compulsory exchange is barbarous and constitutes an assault upon the sense of attachment of the individual to the home and a source of danger to the organic health of the population concerned. Therefore the map of any country, particularly that of India, cannot be ethnographically remade.



COMPTON AND EDRICH

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

TWO new stars have flamed in the forehead of the morning sky of England. The beams have certainly been tricked. The gloom and depression that filled patriotic souls as they contemplated the dismal record of their cricket team in Australia recently, have been replaced by joy.

A halting prose style is no proper medium to sing the praises of Denis Compton and Bill Edrich, who have emerged among some of the notable figures of cricket, ancient or modern. A lyric, much in the style of Milton's own, "Blest Pair of Syrens", is imperatively called for. For, with these modern and greater successors to the famous Middlesex combination of Patsy Hendren and "young Jack" Hearne, cricket has reached its utmost poetic projection. A negligible barrier prevents the story of their brave doings from ascending to an epic.

It is a cynical remark that nothing succeeds like success. But, lyrics are addressed more to daisies than to weeds. A mere succession of huge scores no more makes a batsman a Compton than a long series of poems makes a versifier a Milton. Unless a man's innings is diversified by character, imagination, and poetry, it avails nothing in the final record, whatever may be its immediate but ephemeral prominence.

Compton is the undoubted true singer of the age. While prac-

tioners of words have lost themselves in *libre vers* and other abominations of desolation, it has been left to him to express through the willow the essential poetry of the English people. It may be an epic, as he bravely rushes to England's rescue, scattering to the four corners the might of hostile bowlers. It may be a limerick as he impudently dashes down the pitch and massacres the slow bowlers. It may be a lyric, as he delivers himself of a grave and beautiful innings. No style is beyond him, he is the complete batsman of the age.

The bowlers which South Africa has brought on the present tour, are by no means to be despised. Tuckett, and Plimsoll, in their different styles, have established a reputation for hostility and energy. Rowan, who spins off-breaks to an immaculate length, is the most dangerous of them all. Smith, the slow left-hander, is always a force to be reckoned with. But, against this varied and clever bowling, Compton has, to the moment of writing, compiled four centuries, one in each of the three Tests, and the other for Middlesex. Nor has the quality of his performances suffered by their prolificness. "In literature, as in finance, much quantity and poverty may co-exist", said Washington Irving. It is signally not so in the cricket of Denis Compton.

Edward I was called the "hammer of the Scots". Compton undeniably fulfils this sharp role in relation to

South African cricketers. When he has left off chastising them with his bat, he proceeds to puzzle them with his left-hand slows. His emergence as a bowler has been particularly gratifying to England, which is still mourning the death of Verity. No one player can possibly combine in himself the greatness of Compton and Verity without great prejudice, but there can be little doubt that, until a new left-hander arises, Compton will be able to deputise for him competently.

Edrich is the perfect foil to Compton. Two suns shining together will outcountenance the spectator, who sometimes requires a softer light, as of the moon. The newly-turned amateur provides the element of what may be called earthiness in this famous combination. With little of the marmorealness of his compeer, he is direct, hearty, and bluff. Not for him is the magical splendour of Compton; he be-

lieves too much in physical force for this delicacy.

He takes things as they come; he does not transform them into unrecognisable objects of beauty, as his partner does. He meets the bowler with circumspection, skill, patience, and enjoyment. He likes to shake runs from the bowler, not to weave them magically.

He is the personification of energy, as he lards the lean earth. As a bowler, he rumbles down to the wicket like a whirlwind, scattering away all obstruction. Every one of his balls has the concentrated strength of two men behind it. His uncanny skill in the slips styles him a not unworthy successor to Walter Hammond in that position.

The visitors have suffered cruelly from this notable pair. The next tourists to England, the Australians may find their career of triumph interrupted abruptly by the same pair. There are no other impediment in sight.



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GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR

by "B. S."

SO at last wisdom has dawned on Congress leadership. Dr. Ambedkar is no longer an untouchable but a decent member of society. Scheduled caste people cannot be deceived by the patronage that is being showered upon them. To ask them to feel that they are an integral part of Hindu society is, to use the words of the late Maulana Mahomed Ali, "to ask the awakened man to go back to sleep and dream the pleasant dream he was dreaming." To ask them to enter Hindu temples is to ask them to hug the very symbols of a system which, across the centuries, has reduced them to slavery and something worse than slavery. Congress Ministers who are proclaiming from the house-tops that they are conferring great favours on the scheduled castes by throwing open the temples to them, are certainly not living on hopes of a life hereafter but have taken care to provide themselves with all modern amenities at State expense.

What the schedule castes demand is not entry into the temples, not even worship at the sanctum sanctorum, but a due recognition of their essential dignities and rights. This the caste leadership is not prepared to concede. It does not require much argument to show that people who have not got the confidence of their community cannot be their real representatives. Harijan Ministers and legislators are there by the sufferance of the very people who even today are looking upon them as inferiors. Does Mr. Kurmiah sincerely feel that he is getting a fair deal, or that his community is getting a fair deal from the present Congress Government in the province? If he does, what can he say about the portfolio allotted to him? Harijan uplift is considered to be penance by the caste Hindus for their age-long oppression of the

Harijans, and so caste Hindus must have the Harijan Sevak committees. If so, why was not the portfolio of Harijan uplift allotted to a caste Hindu Minister and some key portfolio given to Mr. Kurmiah? Or was Mr. Kurmiah offered a better portfolio and did he feel himself unequal to the task?

Whenever a question is asked on the floor of the legislature why such and such a post is not given to a Harijan, the stereotyped reply is "There is no candidate with the requisite qualifications." There are about a dozen Harijan graduates studying in the law colleges of the Madras and Andhra Universities. Why should not the Congress Government recruit them for big jobs like deputy collectors etc., and stop recruitment of members of 'higher' communities at least for a decade? Short of socialism, such acts will prove the bonafides of Congressmen towards the scheduled castes. That will be a better way of repentance than the opening of temples. It was given to the Advisers' Government to make direct recruitment for big jobs from among the members of the scheduled castes. What has the Congress Government done in this direction?

The Mahatma is able to swallow a whole camel of the division of India, but he is determined to resist the indefeasible claims of the scheduled castes with his life. That he had hitherto no use for a man of the calibre of Dr. Ambedkar only shows that the consolidation of Hindudom and not the assertion of their rights and self-respect by the scheduled castes, is his main concern. Anyway let us hope that even this belated recognition of the worth of the Doctor by caste Hindu leadership is not making a virtue out of necessity but a real change of heart.





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A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



PARTISAN unity is always easy to maintain in the face of external opposition or danger, but tends to weaken as soon as it is overcome. So it has been with the Congress and so it is with the League. The Congress M.L.As. of Eastern Punjab failed to come to any decision about the choice of a leader the other day and tamely agreed to abide by whatever the High Command might decide. As it was, the Congress High Command chose Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, who will thus become the Premier of Eastern Punjab. But the League too, has exhibited a similar lack of unity, and has developed two local factions, each aspiring for leadership of the new province of Western Punjab. Malik Feroz Khan Noon is the leader of the "rebel" party. The other day he convened a meeting of League M.L.As. of Western Punjab, and was elected their leader. Khan Iftikha Hussain of Mamdot who is the leader of the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Party has publicly questioned the validity of the meeting and of the election held by it. No doubt this wrangle will bring the High Command into the picture, and things will be smoothed over. But the incident is symptomatic of what might happen on a larger scale in the future.

Food for thought for a lot of Mussalmans is contained in the brief New Delhi message that the Government of Afghanistan has laid claim to a goodly portion of the N.W.F. Province. So King Zahir in any case has not been profoundly moved by the spectacle of a sovereign Muslim State rising on the

frontiers of his kingdom, and has even deemed the moment opportune to try and squeeze some territory out of it. Students of Indian history will remember that Afghanistan's attitude towards Muslim States in India has always been completely free from religious considerations, and this latest incident merely shows that the passage of time has not changed its predatory tendencies. People who are taken up with pan-Islamism ought to be reminded that even the Great Mughals—including the last and the most truly religious of them, Aurangzeb—were not spared the perpetual worry of frontier defence. So the problem on the N.W. Frontier will not just vanish with the proclamation of Pakistan.

Peace, a peace of the grave, is slowly returning to the Punjab. Lahore is just now very quiet, and Amritsar is relatively very much so. A curfew has been in force in both towns for over two months now, and there are large numbers of troops around, but a breach of the peace is still apprehended when the boundary commission sets to work. The amount of communal distrust that prevails may be gauged from the fact that the Government dare not appoint an Indian to the presidency of the commission. Two Muslims, one Hindu and one Sikh High Court Judge, have been nominated to the Commission, but the chairman is to be imported from "Home"!

Meanwhile the division of assets and liabilities is proceeding apace and is producing its own harvest of ill-feeling.



BOOKS

Economics Of The Cabinet Delegation's Proposals. By Dr. S. K. Muranjan. (Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price As. 12.)

In this address which was given by Dr. Muranjan to a Bombay Discussion Group in August last there is a clear analysis of the economic consequences of the British Cabinet Mission's plan for India issued in May 1946. The essence of the plan was the establishment of a three tier system of government for the country with a weak centre restricted to the discharging of functions relating only to defence, foreign policy and communications. The method by which the centre was to raise the finances required for these purposes was left vague and Dr. Muranjan discusses the ways and means that have to be adopted for securing to the centre the revenues it requires. Besides this he points out the difficulties and complications that might arise in the absence of a uniform system of banking and currency and internal free trade, although some of these difficulties might be overcome by stretching sufficiently widely the meaning of defence. On the whole he deprecates these proposals as likely to break up the economic unity of the country. It is true that with the scrapping of the Cabinet Mission's plan and its replacement by the Mountbatten plan the points raised in this book have not today the same significance as they possessed when the address was delivered. All the same the book is worth careful perusal as the partition of the country which was a veiled one in the Cabinet Mission's plan has become an open one today.

TAMIL

Raja Tanthiram—Machiavelli. Translated by 'TULASI' (Dinamani Publications, Madras; Editor: A. N. Sivaraman. Price, Re. 1.)

This is a translation in Tamil of the famous 'Prince' of Machiavelli whom Mr. Sivaraman in his foreword to the book calls the Chanakya of Italy. Machiavelli holds a very important place in western political thought. The transla-

tion of his book, when there is a great paucity of such works in Tamil, is highly commendable. The rendering is in a smooth and simple style which any layman can understand.

The best portion of the book is the translator's Introduction. Here she sketches, in the brief compass of eighteen pages, the life of Machiavelli, describes his time which indeed determined his outlook on men and politics, and gives a concise summary of his political philosophy.

The translator has taken upon herself the task of defending Machiavelli from adverse criticism. In common parlance 'Machiavellism' is associated with political crimes and intrigues. She says that this is an unjust evaluation. Critics are in the habit of interesting themselves only in the conclusions that have been arrived at by a writer; they do not go deeper and make a study of the social and political conditions of the times that were responsible for the writer's outlook. Students who have understood him well have said that one can find no trace of 'Machiavellism' in Machiavelli. He was a great patriot. The chaos in the country and the degeneracy and dissensions that he saw around him in Italy distressed him, the more so because it was the seat of the great Roman Empire that had fallen into the abyss. His book was an attempt to offer a solution for ending the existing intolerable state of affairs, and for uniting the people under a strong sovereign who would combine in himself the cunning of the fox and the courage of the lion.

No one can deny that Machiavelli was a great observer and thinker. In him the faculty of observation was developed to perfection. In his writings one can see his shrewd insight into the points of weakness, and cool judgment of the resources and temperament of an opponent; the most objective estimate of the limitations of a policy, the soundest commonsense in forecasting the outcome of a course of action. He wrote wholly of the mechanics of Government, of the means by which States may be made stronger, of the policies by which

they can expand their power, and of the errors that led to their decay and overthrow. In political realism his mastery is undisputed.

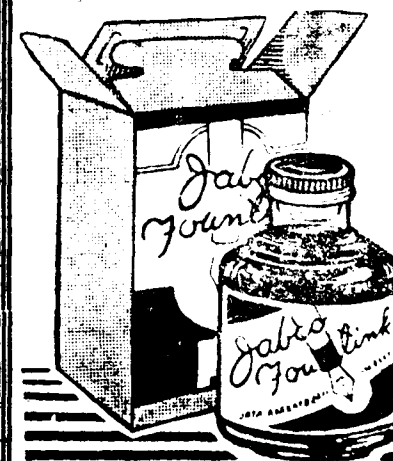
The cornerstone of Machiavelli's philosophy is that man by nature is bad and needs coercion to keep him in the path of Right. The State must force him to conform to a set of norms. Law is enthroned as the basis of man's rights and his obligations, while the individual in whom authority resides is the sovereign, whom the people must unquestioningly obey. Machiavelli held that politics and religion should not be mixed since the medley would result in confusion. Religion should be the handmaid of law and should help in making the latter powerful and lasting. The ruler is not obliged to follow any fixed principles. Cruelty, falsehood, heterodoxy—he can adopt any means for strengthening the State and his own rule. Machiavelli simply abstracted politics from all other considerations and wrote of it as if it were an end in itself.

The translator and the editor have rendered a service to the Tamil reading public by bringing out this excellent book at a cheap price. But one would have liked to see a better get-up for the volume.

Kathal Kaditham (Love Letter). By Purasu Balakrishnan. (Published by Jyothi Nilayam, Swadesamitran Karayalam, Madras. Price Rs. 2.)

The ten short stories collected in this volume reveal an observant mind with a keen insight into human nature. The selection and treatment of the themes bear the mark of the influence of Chekov, of whom the author is a great admirer. Characters and incidents in the stories are drawn from everyday life around us; for instance, the student who is overwhelmed by a sense of frustration on the eve of his examinations, and the fifteen years old Nitya, whose imagination runs riot on the reading of Kalidasa's 'Sakuntalam.' These themes are handled with consummate skill. In 'Nastikan', the longest and most realistic of the stories, the writer analyses with arresting penetration the psychology of a young disbelieving doctor, whose loss of faith in God has not been followed by a more sustaining, rational, and positive outlook on life. 'Moulana's Prayer' is a powerful story, of a different type, relating the strange circumstances in which a Muslim priest, with the shadow of death hovering above him, realises the essential unity of all life and that love towards all beings is the best prayer one can offer to God.

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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.

Spilling For A Fight

It is to be regretted that the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee is letting himself go on the question of the respective claims of the Andhras and Tamils for the city of Madras. When recently Dr. Subbaroyan and another Minister spoke in a controversial manner on the subject, I raised the matter with him and all the Ministers. I understand that the matter was taken up in the Cabinet. Another Minister agreed that the question should be left to a boundary commission; and Dr. Subbaroyan and Mr. Venkata Rao wrote to me that the understanding not to raise a controversy now on the claims to the city would be kept up. Sri Venkata Rao gave also a press statement to the same effect. But what is happening now? The President of the T.N.C.C. categorically claims on public platforms that the city belongs to Tamilians. Of course his mind is not burdened with past history or present facts. More than that, his statement, if reported correctly, not merely raises a controversy but also incites people to a fight. The Andhras who built up empires in the past and ruled from Patna in the north to Coimbatore in the south never will be afraid of a fight. But is this the way in which members of the same Legislature Party should carry on the matter, particularly after the Ministers gave an assurance that no controversy need be raised at this stage.

T. VISWANATH.

Reject B. N. Rao's Scheme

According to a newspaper report, Sir B. N. Rao's scheme is to be implemented soon after the formation of the Indian Dominion Government on August 15. There is going to be no separation of the budget, no formation of separate legislatures and no appointment of a separate Governor. This is a negation of the very basic essentials of a separate province. To confound and complicate it still further it is added that Andhra

and Karnataka members of the legislature will meet separately as one group and Tamil and Kerala members as the other.

There is an ocean of difference between the Andhra claim for a separate linguistic province and this scheme. The scheme should not be accepted even as an interim arrangement. It is reported that Andhra leaders like Sri Prakasam and Sambamurti are favourable to the scheme. No leader should accept this scheme, which is opposed to the wishes of the Andhras, even out of political expediency.

Sir B. N. Rao's scheme can be accepted as an interim arrangement only if and when there is a complete separation of the budget, separation of the legislatures, a separate Governor and after a boundary commission is appointed.

T. SATYANARAYANAMURTY,
 Secretary, West Godavari
 (Tadepalligudem) District Andhra Sabha.

Future Of P. C. C. Societies

At long last, the Government have set up an enquiry committee to examine the future of the producers-cum-consumers' co-operative societies. From the questionnaire issued in this connection, it appears that the Government have their own misgivings about the future of these societies.

If the policy of Government is to nationalise industry and discourage capitalism, then the future of these societies is more than solved already. If, on the other hand, the Government wish to pursue a policy of drift and adopt desperate remedies for dangerous maladies, then there would be no future for these societies. If all key-industries become State-owned and all trade is made to flow through co-operative channels, controls or no controls, these societies would be a boon to the poor and fulfil a long felt want of the country.

In whatever spirit these societies have been conceived, they are in fact a check

on black-marketing, undue profiteering and corruption in these difficult times.
Kollipara. B. V. KAMA SASTRI.

Stop These Indiscretions

Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar is going to be the chairman of the committee to decide the fate of the p.c.c. societies. He has already condemned Mr. Kapur and all his glorious efforts—Mr. Kapur, one of India's great sons of promise.

The Omandur Ministry showed great lack of appreciation of the potentialities of these societies when they chose indiscreetly to throttle them and recognise the millowners in their place. Mr. Masterman's enquiry was a pitiable mystery enquiry. He spared himself the labour of getting at facts.

The Ministry should stop further indiscretions and seek the co-operation of the people through tried Congress workers and committees and thereby serve the public.

C. ACHYUTHALINGAM,
President, Amalapuram Town
Congress Committee.

Grow More Food Without Implements

Procurement of food grains is going on with unexpected vigour in villages, irrespective of the fact that the karnams' accounts of production and surplus are incorrect and questionable. The calculations of surpluses was based on cultivation charges of previous Faslies but during 1947 the cost of production has grown higher than in previous years and higher wages in kind are also being demanded for the coming season under threat of strike. What is left to the agriculturist in kind by the procurement authorities will be totally inadequate to meet the demands of labour in kind. Apart from this, agricultural implements are not made available by the popular Government who are anxious to step up production. It is an irony of fate that the department of procurement, the department in charge of production and the department that supplies materials, do not co-operate in the common effort of "Grow More Food." The callous indifference of the authorities to the representations of producers is more in evidence today than ever before. There are perhaps enough stocks of iron as there are enough stocks of cloth but the distribution is faulty throughout. The producer and consequently the consumer in due course have to suffer. The administrator has to wake up and immediately devise quick means of service to the Province.

B. RAMACHANDRA REDDY,
President,
Madras Chamber of Agriculture.

Cruel To Increase Fees

It is cruel to increase the tuition fees by 25 per cent in colleges and to increase the number of instalments from 8 to 10 in schools. A Government which seeks to augment its income by extracting money through abnormal rates of fees from students to whom the State is expected to impart free education, cannot be a popular Government.

The existing rates of fees in schools and colleges are themselves far above the level an average student can pay without running into debt. In a poor country like India, any increase in the cost of education is sure to retard its spread. I warn the Education Minister against the consequences of callous irresponsibility in the management of State affairs, such as we have witnessed in some of his steps like the encouragement of communalism with regard to the award of seats in colleges, the abolition of Telugu in Madras schools, etc. The Government would do well to withdraw the orders increasing the fees in schools and colleges and hit upon some other good source of income.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Rajahmundry.

Inglorious

The reported decision of the Ministry to cancel the twenty per cent reservation of seats in colleges for merit is one more inglorious addition to the already bad record of the Ministry. Last year this very Education Minister vigorously championed the cause of merit. What has made him change his views so soon? The argument that the basis of selection has always been merit is ridiculous on the face of it. If this policy is continued, in course of time we will have to face a shortage of first rate brain power. How can a third rate candidate sent to an engineering college become a good engineer?

P. SURYANARAYANA, B.A., B.L.
Masulipatam.

An Appalling Decision

The decision of the Government of Madras to take no action with regard to the alleged excesses by the M.S.P. in Malabar is rather appalling. The Government are only making things go from bad to worse by their decision. The M.S.P. are notorious for their inhuman attitude towards the public, and if the Government do not put an end to their excesses it may well prove a stumbling block to the peaceful life of the people.

I have read in *Swatantra* the two articles by Sri G. N. Srinivasa Raghavan on the Malabar Special Police. Every line written by him seems to be the

No Ugly Reactions.

No Deleterious After-Effects.

SRI RAMA YOGI'S TRISULAM

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Gastritis,

Chronic

Diarrhoea,

Chronic

Constipation,

Other gastro-intestinal disorders.

Phthisis,

Bronchitis (Acute or Chronic),

Coughs consequent on

Pneumonia,

Malaria,

Influenza,

Measles,

Other stubborn coughs.

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outcome of close study and my heart throbs with pity when I think of the unfortunate fate of the poverty-stricken peasants subjected to the excesses of the M.S.P.

K.K.S.

Resign!

The present Madras Ministry has entirely lost the love of the people of the province. Congress Ministers in other provinces receive immense popularity and esteem. But the Madras ones are hated bitterly by the people and their lives too are in jeopardy.

If the Ministers are really patriotic, they should at once resign and allow the people to form a popular Ministry.

Bangalore.

P.M.D.

Cart Before The Horse

It appears that the Madras Ministry is contemplating to establish village panchayats in the immediate future. At present, by entrusting more powers of administration to a few influential and self-interested village men, the Government will be doing more harm than good to the poor, starving and half-naked masses. Especially in a backward area like Rayalaseema the very object of decentralised panchayat raj is sure to be defeated the moment power passes into the hands of the exploiting rich people in remote villages. Instead of wasting both time and labour in launching such uncertain schemes, the Government could as well explore ways and means for the economic betterment of the toiling millions by expending funds in banishing illiteracy and on such other beneficial measures. Let not the Government put the cart before the horse.

V. KRISHNAMOORTHY.

Rayachoti.

Questions To Ministers

The disability of Ministers in the matter of answering questions put to them at public meetings was commented on in a letter in *Swatantra* under the heading "Lowest Ebb." I am sure the writer was not on the scene. If the questioners had been sensible, they would have elected a leader among themselves and put their questions through him. In that case, if the Ministers had failed to answer the questions, then we can say that they have fallen to the "lowest ebb." Without order nothing can be done.

Madras.

R. RANGANATHAN.

Erode.

C. KUMARA SWAMY.

Wrong Labour Leadership

There is no proper basis for the formation of the new Indian National Trade Union Congress, when the All-India Trade Union Congress has been already existing for many years and has achieved many of its objects.

The promoters of the new organisation have stated that the All-India Trade Union Congress is a stronghold of the Communists and that the Communists are instigating the labour masses to launch on strikes very frequently in order intentionally to disturb the provincial Governments where the Congress Ministries are now functioning.

What is the harm if the A.-I.T.U.C. is a stronghold of the Communists? If they are the real leaders and have influence among the working class, the new formation cannot be the means for preventing the so-called 'Communist instigation of strikes' and popularising Congress policy among the workers.

It is meaningless to say that all the strikes were due to the instigation of the Communists. A strike occurs when workers attempt to secure their legitimate demands and when industrialists refuse to concede them.

If the organisers of the new Trade Union Congress are really interested in working for the working class, it is needless to leave the existing mighty union and form a new one; they may attempt from within the A.I.T.U.C. itself to secure the support of all the 'affiliated unions' from all parts of India. The course adopted by them clearly indicates that there is nobody to support them among the 'affiliated unions' in the A.I.T.U.C. Such being the position, how is it possible for them, with their new Trade Union Congress, to prevent the Communists agitating against the Congress Ministries?

The new Trade Union Congress has only separated the innocent workers into Congress and Communist.

Without creating disunity between the innocent workers, it will be good if our trade union leaders of both the parties do their best jointly for the uplift of the working class by putting pressure on the provincial Governments in India to nationalise all the major industries in the country or place them under a co-operative system, or make the worker a co-sharer in the profits of the industry in which he is employed, or fix the worker's wages adequately by means of legislation.

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INDEPENDENT TRAVANCORE

by "A TRAVANCOREAN"

OUR State of Travancore is re-assuming her independence. For centuries together prior to British Paramountcy the State was an independent Indian and international entity. She used to be the fabled home of prosperity, progress and security. In the early ages no less than in later times Hinduism flourished here with exceptional sweetness and tolerance. The first Christian missionaries fresh from the inspiration of Jesus did not find a more congenial atmosphere anywhere else on the globe for the dissemination of the 'gospel'. Islam followed and was greeted with the same amity of spirit. We have ever been the 'Gurkhas of the South', no less famous, and superior in the psychological elements that mark out the true warrior. There is a stirring chapter in the annals of the last war on our fighting men—a reaffirmation of the unexcelled martial qualities of our people in the incredible conditions of modern warfare.

British Paramountcy for the State was by no means an unmixed blessing. We have had to mark time during the period in several matters. Paramountcy becoming paramount throughout India, it became difficult for any part of the country to forge much further ahead of other parts. Even so, our record has been outstanding and we stand today at the forefront of progress in India. The Temple Entry Proclamation of eleven years ago by itself provides an index of the State's leadership.

We were only too willing to join an All-India Federation, for the sake of the larger unity at the sacrifice of several of our special interests and advantages. The partition of India on a fictitious two-nation basis affords the saddest evidence of Congress vacillation and weakness in this tragic century. So the League has been propitiated. British India is divided with the "blessing" of the Congress,

the same Congress that had sworn to stand by unity. The States were not a party to the transaction and were not even consulted. British India is divided but not the States. Both British Rule in British India and British Paramountcy over the States are going. The Congress, after having surrendered a large slice of the country to the secessionists, 'behind the back of the States' as it were, demands that the States, should now 'make up for the loss' by federating with the Congress Provinces, putting forward a far-fetched and fantastic claim for 'inherent Paramountcy' over the States. It would seem to be nothing to the Congress that Britain herself has been categorical on the point that with the lapse of her Paramountcy, the States would automatically become sovereign and independent. In brief, the Congress, maybe unwittingly, is adopting the same procedure against the States as the League so successfully used against the Congress, while the League itself is willing to behave differently, now that its main objective has been gained.

This is perhaps the reason why, when this State is ready for a most friendly deal of 'co-operative independence' with the coming 'Indian Union', the Congress High Command and certain members of the Constituent Assembly are indulging in the theory of the big stick, throwing to the winds their fundamental and necessary allegiance to self-determination, tolerance, reason, and above all, non-violence.

The State's independence is going to be no enemy of the freedom of any other part of India and she is going to be so independent that her independence can only add to the freedom and independence of India as a whole—such has been the custom and tradition of Travancore from the days of Kurukshetra, when the ruler of Travancore is said to have acted as the commissariat for both the contending armies.



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Chronic	Influenza,
Constipation,	Measles,
Other gastro-intestinal disorders.	Other stubborn coughs.

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SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1947.

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SWATANTRA

Notice

Mr. K. Satyanarayanamurthi, Ramachandrarao, Ellore, has been appointed as our Agent at Ellore, to sell copies of SWATANTRA on his own account.

Manager.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 23

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY



—by H. V. Ram Gopal.

SHE! A fascinating study and a fine record of an impression. This is the opinion of a very distinguished Indian artist.

MARSHALL, HIS DOLLARS AND EUROPE

HENCEFORWARD any essay on the useful functions of universities might well include the opportunity they afford to eminent politicians who wish to announce startling proposals unobtrusively. A month back, the Harvard University listened to Mr. Marshall's offer of American aid to Europe, probably without fully realising its implications. Since then the offer has become the central theme of international discussion. The Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and Russia who met at Paris to discuss the Marshall Plan failed to arrive at a unanimous decision and the leadership of Europe with regard to this matter has devolved upon Britain and France.

Marshall's offer is worded in guarded terms. In the traditional style of big-hearted America, the proposals are full of kindness and generosity, and show a commendably humanistic approach to the problem of Europe. But, as *Tribune* puts it, "we have been brought up in the hard school of the twentieth century; we are no longer dew-eyed where declarations by American statesmen are concerned. One Wilson is enough." One might be pardoned therefore for looking closely into the mouth of the gift-horse.

Europe is fast running out of dollars just now, when she needs American goods to reconstruct her shattered economy. The countries of Europe cannot go on importing consumers' goods from America for

their day-to-day needs. It is time they started building their industries and establishing trade connections with each other and with America on a stable basis. This cannot be done without the help of America, which has emerged from the war as the greatest producer and largest exporter of machines and consumer goods. During the war, the Lend Lease agreements between U.S. and Europe provided a successful device by which the dollarless and goldless Europe could import war material from America. With the cessation of the war, Lease Lend also stopped and Europe was left to its own resources to try and secure dollars. The ravages of the war have left Europe so depleted that she has to enter into some sort of new Lease Lend agreement with America.

No definite figures have been given, but it is expected that America will offer five to six thousand million dollars annually to the whole of Europe. It amounts to roughly three per cent. of the present national income of America. It was made clear that the initiative must come from Europe as a whole. The dollar needs of the European nations are to be lumped together, so that there need be only a bilateral agreement between U.S. and Europe. If the estimates are drawn up quickly enough the Marshall Plan can be presented to the Congress for approval by September 1, when there

would still be a month for its consideration before the autumn recess.

Mr. Marshall was silent on the conditions, or 'tags' as wary politicians call them, that are to be attached to his offer. He did not proceed beyond extremely vague generalizations. "It is not directed against any policy or doctrine and is extended to any country willing to assist in the task of recovery," he said but declared in the same breath that his offer could not include any country "which seeks to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise". Nine out of ten Americans believe that only private enterprise in Europe is sufficient guarantee to their loans. Even Harold Stassen who steers neutral between Henry Wallace and Colonel McCormick, has laid down that the Governments aided should "not move further away from individual economic freedom and go further down the sad trail of increasing nationalisation, socialisation, or Government ownership which would result in lower production for them and negative the constructive efforts we are making, and would make more difficult our own economic future." This reflects the predominant trend of thought in America, in the face of which *Tribune's* optimism that "there is nothing in the plan that rules out an overall Socialist plan for Europe" sounds, to say the least, a little thick.

The conditions of the loan could certainly be amended during the negotiations, because an American loan is not merely Europe's necessity but is equally a necessity for America. This will be obvious to anyone who takes a look at America's balance sheet of foreign payments. The State Department has estimated that in the year 1947 America's exports will amount to 16,200 million dollars in return for which she would be importing goods worth only 6,700 million dollars. The huge gap is partly made up by interest payments

by America to foreign investors (200 million), dollar payment for services (2,000 million) and purchase of gold (1,900 million). The excess of exports over imports will still remain at the high level of 5,300 million dollars, to be covered entirely by loans or gifts. This lack of balance is the source of instability for American economy, and consequently for world economy. If through an unimaginative handling of the problem this difference is left unattended to, it will pile up and topple over into default, bankruptcy and American slump. One would expect American memory to be long enough to remember the thirties.

Further, America's effective demand is expected to fall by five per cent below its industrial capacity this year, according to the estimates of the Federal Reserve Bureau. Already technological unemployment has increased beyond the expected level and the Government cuts in war orders have resulted in a falling demand. A temporary stimulus was given by the dollar loans to Greece and Turkey, but dollars to any army are dollars down the drain pipe from the point of view of stimulating demand. Greek and Turkish armies armed to the teeth cannot help American business when the slump comes. The only way out is through the rehabilitation of Europe, which will then demand American goods and will be able to pay for them. A prosperous Europe is necessary for a prosperous America and, as Marshall frankly recognised, the consequences of a European collapse "should be apparent to all."

This presumably accounts for the support given to the Marshall Plan by U.S. Big Business. The worried businessmen do not believe in the reality of a recession but know a slump when one is coming. The less farseeing and rabid anti-Reds give their support because they look upon it as an extension of the Truman

doctrine of fighting Communism with dollars. The few New Dealers left in the Administration are enthusiastic about the offer because they see in it the only way to "prime the pump" of the inflated American economy and avoid the fall in the national income of 10,000 million dollars which must inevitably follow a five per cent fall in demand.

The difficulties in the way of implementing the Marshall Plan are real, though not insuperable. Europe has to present a unified balance sheet for getting dollars from America. As the *Economist* has pointed out, any pooling of political or economic sovereignty in Western Europe would be technically the most difficult thing to negotiate. It has taken nearly one year for Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg to form the BENELUX customs union and even now it has not taken final shape.

Again, consent for the loan cannot easily be obtained from the American Congress unless it is made to look like a deliberate bulwark against Russia. The abstention of Russia has increased the chances of acceptance by a Congress which has approved virtually every foreign aid programme since the end of the war on a strictly anti-Russian ticket. But this will make matters more difficult for the countries concerned. Already the Eastern European countries have stayed away as a bloc, and developments in the other countries which have accepted the offer are awaited with interest because of the existence of Communist parties which have a large following in some of the important countries like France and Italy.

There is another difficulty that is bound to arise within the State Department itself. A closer association of countries of Western Europe would require either preferential trade agreements as between them, or a full blown customs union (which is practically out of the question

within the time-limit set). But Mr. Clayton has been battling in Geneva at the World Trade Conference for pulling down all preferential trade agreements. This is a contradiction which can only be resolved by a more realistic approach on the part of U.S. by allowing inter-governmental agreements which are necessary for Europe's integration.

Even prior to the Paris Conference, the Swedish economist Mr. Myrdal made a gloomy forecast that the Marshall Plan will split Europe even more than already. His prophecy, unfortunately, has come true. Russia has decided to stay away, and France and Britain are going ahead with a plan for Western Europe. This has resulted in a cordoning off of the Eastern countries which are so vitally a part of Europe. The rehabilitated industrial countries of Western Europe will be hard put to it to find their grain requirements. Russia has kept out through a deeply ingrained suspicion of the intentions of American capital. Her zeal for guarding the sovereignty of small nations arises primarily from her belief (quite a justifiable one) that foreign capital always plays an important role in the suppression of democratic forces in any country. However, there were no definite conditions (at least as yet) attached to the Marshall Plan to justify Russia's decision to break the negotiations even at the first stage. Russia could have played a useful role, if she chose to do so, by staying on and fighting any anti-democratic provisions that might be sought to be incorporated into the scheme of reconstruction.

Some commentators have offered the interesting suggestion that Russia's decision was prompted by her anxiety to usher in Socialism all the world over, and particularly in Europe, by staying aloof and allowing the coming crisis in the

capitalist world to take its course. Russia was averse, they say, to participation in an arrangement which might have seen Europe safely through the crisis and led to its stabilization on capitalist lines. In other words, Russia wanted to bring about political changes through the misery into which an American economic collapse would inevitably drag the people of Europe. If this was really the reason behind Russia's non-co-operation, the ethics of it are open to serious question. Further, such an economic crisis might conceivably throw up a fresh Fascist Messiah instead of the desired Communist Saviour.

But is there really need to despair of European reconstruction? It is heartening to find that in his declarations so far, Mr. Bevin has expressed his hope that Russia might yet change her mind and that he would certainly keep the door open for Russia's entry. If Mr. Bevin and his European colleagues live up to this in their practice, such a consummation is not outside the range of possibility. The promised American aid, for instance, could be administered in a way which will demonstrate to Russia and the world that the Marshall Plan is different in conception from the aid that has already been extended to Greece and Turkey by Truman. Many others besides Stalin would like to be assured that Marshall's offer to Europe is not an extension, but a revision of the Truman doctrine.

The New State

MR. JINNAH'S pledge of protection to minorities in Pakistan has a disquieting ring about it. If he had offered the protection with any new awareness of responsibility as the head of a new State, there would have been some hope of a change from the present atmosphere of carnage. But Mr. Jinnah

said: "Let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I have said repeatedly with regard to the minorities. Every time I spoke about the minorities, I meant what I said and what I said I meant. The minorities, to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or their faith or belief will be protected in every way possible. Their life and property will be secure." What Mr. Jinnah said repeatedly with regard to the minorities, (meaning, as he now tells us, what he said) has not prevented the atrocities in Noakhali under the rule of the League inspired by him. There is nothing to prevent the story of Noakhali being repeated in Pakistan, with Mr. Jinnah going on as complacently as ever before repeating his assurances of protection to the minorities with dramatic verbal emphasis in press conferences and the like. Promises can bring little solace to the threatened or the afflicted, especially when they come from persons who have already made them more than once with little corresponding practical effect. Particularly unpromising and even forbidding is Mr. Jinnah's reference to the democracy learned by Islam thirteen centuries ago. It is to be hoped that the Pakistan of the Quaide Azam's Governor-Generalship will not attempt to throw a bridge across time to reach that democracy of thirteen centuries ago, of which the impression left in non-Muslim minds through study of history is one of bloodthirsty aggression and rapacious iconoclastic zeal. One of Mr. Jinnah's acquisitions from the Islamic democracy of thirteen centuries ago is the two-nations theory which, after Hitler's Nordic doctrine, has proved to be in our day the most destructive of incentives to human life and peace. The duality of the two-nations theory is not one of detached objectivity. It is a

hate-born creed. That is why it has given rise to savageries in India as gruesome as white American tales of Negro lynching which illustrate on another continent the devastating effects of the same sort of duality that has been animating Mr. Jinnah's teaching in our midst. Having sown so fiery a crop of death and destruction with his two-nations theory, will Mr. Jinnah be able to change its character now or turn it into a source of peaceful goodwill between the two divided camps? He carries this problem with him to Pakistan, and it will confront him at every turn as Governor-General.

The Indian Union need not carry the burden of Mr. Jinnah's aggressive political drafts on religion any longer. Our policies need not be bound by his prescriptions. For sometime to come, no doubt, the ghost of the Muslim League with its honeycombs of intrigue in the vital spots of power will no doubt haunt the precincts of the Indian Union, but League fifth column activity will have to be met with stern penal and preventive measures without any impairment of the integrity of the non-communal State to be set up. While trying to extirpate the evil effects of Muslim communalism, the builders of the Union can ill afford to allow harbourage to other forms of communalism in non-Muslim folds. The power and integrity of the Union State are bound up with the building up of a single allegiance round a common citizenship on foundations of perfect social and economic equality, and whoever seeks to breed bad blood with nostrums of communal ill-will and exclusion deserves to be chastised as an enemy of the State.

Justices In The Saddle

THERE is little hope of the affairs of this province being administered properly so long as the pre-

sent Ministry continues in office. Its worst handicap lies in its leadership. It is led by a Prime Minister who according to no canon of commonsense can be deemed fit for the post. Bernard Shaw must have had someone like him in mind when he wrote that people with the mental scope of villagers should be eligible only as parish councillors. The great Irish sage and thinker is intolerant of promiscuous selection of rulers and wants it to be restricted to panels of persons with a minimum of education and sanity. For the highest offices of state he urges that a grasp of the two elementary laws of political economy (rent and exchange value), should be exacted, and gives the solemn warning that until the popular electoral choice is limited to some such extent, "the election of anybody by everybody will operate as a guarantee of mediocrity and reaction interrupted only by paroxysms of Hitlerism." These words of prophetic insight of the world-famous Bernard Shaw would seem to have been more than fulfilled in the brief period of less than four months that have elapsed since Sri Omandur was installed as Premier of the province. In the most elementary of the duties of the administration, that of providing a bare living ration for the people, the Ministry has failed most miserably. The present ration of 8 ounces of rice imposed on the people of Madras is the lowest in the whole country. It amounts to malnutrition, and if allowed to continue, it will pull down the health and strength of the millions subjected to its victimisation and produce on them the decimating effects of famine, plague or other epidemic. Unavoidable restriction of ration is understandable under conditions of scarcity. It is the clear absence of any element of unavoidableness about it that makes the wretched food ration now prevailing a feat of

patent incompetence on the part of the Ministry responsible for it. By their own statements we are informed that the province has had a better crop this year than last, underlining the entirely man-made character of the present privation in food. When a better crop results in worse feeding, it means that the Government in control have failed in the elementary task of procuring food from producers. Their machinery has failed. Their policies have proved worthless. Their total output of prestige has failed to provide stimulus enough to induce the growers of food to co-operate in the social function of popular feeding. For such a Ministry as this to continue in office is sheer anti-social folly; and the Congress High Command whose part in bringing it into being is now well known, cannot afford to sit supinely with folded hands and allow the rapidly growing public disgust with the present administration to develop into another crisis and ruin the stock of Congress influence built up by the sounder leadership of the past with over a quarter century of strenuous sacrifice.

After food, cloth is the most imperative of human needs. The Government have brought about a veritable chaos in the cloth distributing system. Cloth is supposed to be rationed, but there is nothing like a guarantee that each ration card holder will get his allotted quota. Appalling conditions of cloth famine prevail in the generality of the villages. The escape of cloth into the black market has not been checked. As for housing, the promulgation of a scheme having all the elements of a racket would seem to have exhausted the energies of the Minister concerned, and beyond that there has been no plan, no attempt even at a plan, for providing the barest semblance of a shelter to the vast numbers of houseless poor that live

on the pavements in the city and on unpaved mother earth elsewhere, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. It is in the matter of education that the worst characteristics of the present Ministry have been brought to light. Our educational administration has degenerated into a crusade against merit. We have as Education Minister a rampant communalist whose conception of duty is apparently that of causing the maximum of irritation and discomfort to the most gifted of the community marked out by nature for the highest levels of educational receptivity. A system of bans expressly devised to hurt the progressive has now been let loose on educational institutions as the acme of ministerial wisdom for promoting the advancement of the backward. Never was the imposition of frustration on the most promising and talented of young men in their quest of opportunities for schooling and higher education, perfected so ruthlessly as a tenet of administrative virtue as it is now being done by a so-called Congress Education Minister in Madras. Whereas in U.P., the non-communal spirit of the Congress is being sought to be implemented through the expunging of all sectarian titles cutting across the integrity of a common Indian citizenship, here in Madras, quite the reverse has been the case, and the custodians of Congress authority in Government have been literally running riot in orgies of disruption, utilising their administrative power for the perpetuation of special bans, priorities, preferences and discriminations on sectional lines, to the utter ruin of all equality and fair treatment as between man and man in the area under their control.

With the advent of the present Ministry there has been much effective sabotage of the essential spirit of Congress objectives. It has not merely failed in some of the essen-

tial duties of government, it has given a wrong direction to the Congress itself as an institution, fraught with immense peril to its prestige and popularity. It has shown itself bereft of the ballast of nationalism, and in all matters of practical administration it has been betrayed into the temper of the Justice Party of old routed by the Congress at the polls. Not a few of the Madras Congress Ministers are no better than Justicites in Congress garb, and they are using their position for the furtherance of the discredited communalism of the Justicites, poles asunder from the constructive social outlook and purpose of the Congress movement. With the defeat of the Justice Party, the disappointed aspirants of that organisation worked themselves to the fore in the Congress camp, and it is these, backed by the money power of traders, brokers and big businessmen that found favour with the High Command and were helped to mount to positions of administrative power in the name of the Congress over the heads of the great stalwarts that had stood steadfastly by the organisation in its days of trial and struggle. Now that the Congress has won the fight for freedom, and survived the need of multi-class collaboration for gaining its end, Jai Prakash Narayan has begun to ask bluntly to whom it should belong in the new situation. Should it be of the rich for the rich or of the poor for the poor? It would seem as though the question is already answered to the prejudice of the Socialist leader's demand, to judge by the manner of the High Command's intervention in the Madras ministerial crisis. As a result of it power has passed into the hands of opportunists, rich landlords, trimmers. We have as Finance Member one who knows precious little about the complexities of public finance. We have as Industries Minister an ex-company

promoter. Under guise of abolishing the zamindaries, the Revenue Minister has been specialising in expedients calculated to turn him into a beloved benefactor of the order to be abolished, what with the preparations afoot for compensation on an enormous scale. The wild unbalanced freakishness of the Education Minister and the havoc being caused by it to the despair of competent educationists, have been briefly indicated above. Already the ideal of a plentiful economy of production, distribution, employment and education would seem to have been given up in favour of the rancorous pursuit of clannish gains, and we find the freedom won by the effort of the many being turned coldbloodedly into a preserve for exploitation by a few. It is because we find Justicite communalism enthroned under cover of Congress in the seats of administration in the province, that we wish to see the present Ministry ended for the sake of the recovery of the Congress from the present morass of demoralisation. The objections raised by some critics in our Letters Section to the effect that our viewpoint is based on pro-Prakasam or anti-C. R. sentiment and by others who have attributed worse motives to us, would seem to have confounded effect with cause, and a merely seeming effect at that. Let us say, with all respect, that they have not assessed the scope and functions of journalism aright. Every consideration of self-interest prescribes at this moment avoidance of the perilous course of coming in the way of the steam roller of Congress leadership tending to manifest itself in increasingly harsh and intolerant ways. Also there is little to be gained by advocacy of the cause of a supplanter leader nowhere near the helm of power at the moment and with but problematical chances of being restored to it, ever. But these calculations do not belong to the

field of journalism as we conceive it to be. Likes and dislikes, personal friendship, gratitude for kindnesses, ill-will, prejudice—these are not relevant to the true function of journalism which should cut across all personal predilections for arriving at impartial conclusions on public questions in a truly detached and impersonal way. The greatest sacrifice that the journalist is called to make to his vocation is when his professional conscience bids him to become critic of a friend whose public importance elevates him above the bounds of a purely personal association. We claim not to have failed on such occasions, and hope not to fail should they recur.

Inglorious Vendetta

THERE is a cheap element of meanness in the Madras Government's handling of teachers. Do they want to strike at the right of collective action of discontented employees feeling themselves ill used in the matter of wages? If so, they will find themselves up against a hard-won worldwide right of workers which will presently enlist in its defence incalculable forces which no wise Government dependent on public goodwill will care to rouse and antagonise. If the Government had any dignity or sense of proportion, they would have chosen other more powerful sections of employees for a trial of their strength instead

of singling out for their penal vindictiveness so peaceful, patient, long-suffering a class as teachers, so grossly ill-paid and ill-treated and yet so little disposed by habit and temperament to take umbrage over their own wrongs. If even the teachers with their established tradition of silent endurance rather than troublesome agitation have at last begun to strike, it is a sign that their distress has reached a point beyond what flesh and blood can put up with. What the Government airily dispose of as "strike fever" is a cry of hunger and not an outburst of indiscipline or rebellion. This cry of hunger must be met in some rational way, and it is sheer administrative lunacy if not cowardice to think of seeking to suppress it with stern economic reprisals. We must say that Government's attempt to turn headmasters into spies and policemen to report on teachers shows no understanding of the courtesy due to the headmasters. No headmaster worth his salt will consent to take sides against the teachers in an issue like this, and if any of them are found to respond to the Government's directive, it only means that the Minister for Education who, we believe, is the moving spirit of all this inglorious vendetta, has merely succeeded in injecting into the supposed noble profession of teaching a considerable amount of degradation.



THE MADURA DISMISSALS

The Statesman (Calcutta) writes:—The Madras Government has instructed the Municipal Commissioner of Madura to dismiss 575 school teachers who struck work on June 15 for higher pay. The Commissioner is about to replace them. The Madras Government's action seems unnecessarily harsh. It has not accepted the Central Pay Commission's recommendations fixing a minimum living wage. It knows that growing unemployment among the middle classes makes it likely that the vacancies will be promptly filled. If the strike had been widespread and better organized or if the strikers had been workmen, instead of middle-class employees, Government action might not have been so peremptory. Teachers have still to win adequate recognition, social and economic.

Sotto Voce



The New Book Of Days

LIKE all stay-at-homes I have an inordinate fondness for tourists' guides. They have the spareness that is a challenge to the imagination and the concreteness that gives it a foothold. They strike a happy medium between Bradshaw, which to my unmethodical mind is as unattainable as the higher mathematics, and those syrupy brochures which celebrate the glories of Kinchinjunga and Manasarovar in the language of beery salesmen. Mounted on one of these itineraries like the witch on her broomstick my fancy goes on a spree. It is the most satisfying way of seeing the world.

When, therefore, there fell into my hands a copy of the "Calendar of Events for 1947, with notes of interest to visitors," prepared by the Travel Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, I promised myself a quarter of an hour of unalloyed pleasure. And I may assure you I was not disappointed. No doubt Browning sang of April in England and we are plump in the midst of July. Between you and me, Browning, for all he was a poet, was almost feline in his loyalties. He drew the line at English weather, preferring to see his country at her uncharacteristic best. But the weather seems to have considerably mended its ways since his time.

At least that is what I infer from the discreet statement in the Calendar that "Great Britain and Northern Ireland have the most agreeable weather of any country in the world with'n the same degree of latitude." I will grant those last words are not calculated to dispel scepticism.

But the dispassionate summing-up with which the Calendar takes leave of the subject,—“In short a visitor to this country will be troubled by neither excessive heat during summer nor by extreme cold during winter,” must carry conviction. It is in the best English tradition of *equivoque*.

"Calendar" is one of those untidy words which the student of semantics would probably like to put on the index. It conjures up visions of many different things, to the undoing of idle day-dreamers like me; racing and Old Moore, Pope Gregory and the police court have all their calendars. But in the little pocket-book the Travel Association has issued there are special features which went straight to my heart because they put me in mind of our own Panchangams. There are saints' days here, festivals and pilgrimages set out in scrupulous detail for each month of the year. It is a mute invitation to you to take up the palmer's staff.

There is a difference of course. Rugby football, racing and cricket recur here with the monotonous regularity of *tithi* and *nakshatra* in our Panchangam. "Fox Hunting season ends" runs the entry for April 30—as your old almanac-maker might say "Mahalaya Paksha ends." Boxing bouts and musical concerts, stallion shows and industrialists' conferences seem to be the nearest English analogues to the feasts, fasts and ceremonies which make up the annual round of the devout Hindu. But whereas Englishmen give themselves to these things with

tremendous zest, the man who regulates his life by the Panchangam is or will shortly be like the fabled roc.

One frequently recurring entry in particular arouses in me a nostalgic feeling for all the innocent gaiety and care-free holidaying I missed in youth. I refer to the "Old Customs" of Merrie England whose very names are musical like a peal of bells. From the distribution of Pax cakes at Ross Hereford you are whisked away to Westminster Abbey where the King distributes Maundy money on the Thursday that goes by that name; and then you hop for hot-cross buns to St. Bartholomews, Smithfield. For the more lively there is "Hare pie scrambling and bottle-kicking day", appropriately at Market Harborough. Perhaps you are too squeamish for the "Flich of Bacon trial" and too unsteady of nerve for the "Pace Egg Play"; but Oak Apple Day Ceremony

and the May Queen's Festival should make you feel young again.

Some of my matter of fact readers will here interject, "But these are hardly festivals and pilgrimages in our sense. They are survivals from a by-gone day and an outmoded faith. The Englishman likes to grow sentimental over them, but he does not allow them to interfere with the serious business of life. Even his saints are national heroes; as witness St. George and the Dragon." Quite true. And that is why I commend the Travel Association's Calendar to my countrymen's attention. We are rapidly going the way the European has gone. Our temples are fast becoming museums. Our immemorial way of life and *acharas* are smilingly dismissed by the intelligentsia as quaint customs and archaic survivals. We follow the fox that has lost its tail.

VIGNESWARA.

TAXATION ANOMALIES

by V. LAKSHMIPATHI

Certain anomalies in the methods of taxation prescribed under the Court Fees Act were criticised by Mr. S. Rajagopalan in an article under the caption "Modern system of selling justice" in *Swatantra* of June 21. The remarks of Sir Lionel Leach, late Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, are pertinent in this connection. He observed, "They (the litigants in India) pay High Court fees and it is beyond question that the aggregate amount is far more than sufficient to cover the total cost of the administration of civil justice. When I came to India I was amazed at the High Court fees which litigants were called upon to pay, the position being so different in England. But accepting the principle that they should pay sufficient to defray the total cost of administering civil justice, the making of a profit out of it cannot be justified."

Here are some more glaring instances of the absurd nature of the taxation prescribed under the Court Fees Act.

A person suing for possession of 20 acres of ryotwari wet land costing in these days about Rs. 50,000 has to pay court fee on 10 times the assessment, provided the land is comprised in one survey number. For such a suit, the

plaintiff should pay a court fee of Rs. 187-8, taking the assessment per acre at Rs. 10. Such a suit has to be filed in the district munsiff's court.

But if the land claimed is part of a survey number with defined boundaries though it is ryotwari wet land, then the court fee payable is on the market value of the land. Thus the court fee payable for possession of 2 acres of such land would be Rs. 337-7, valuing each acre at Rs. 2,000. Such a suit has to be filed in the sub-court. Again, if the land claimed is inam wet land exempted from payment of revenue, the court fee is payable on 15 times the net profits. Taking the net profits of 2 acres of inam wet land to be Rs. 200 per year, the plaintiff in a suit for possession of 2 acres of inam wet land has to pay a court fee of Rs. 262-7. How harshly and unjustly the Act operates in these days of inflation and artificial values of property, can be gleaned from these anomalous instances.

Successive Provincial Governments since 1922 have been promising reform of the Court Fees Act. The first Congress Government appointed a committee to go into the question. Till now no steps have been taken. That the need for reform is urgent is patent.

SIDELIGHTS :

Who makes quick use of the moment is a genius of prudence.—
LAVATER.

THE golden jubilee of the firm of G. A. Natesan was celebrated the other day in the presence of a very distinguished gathering. Mr. Natesan is the last representative of a type of journalism that is fast ceasing to exist. Nowadays the difference between business and public spirit has become pronounced. It has become difficult to combine both, if only because the taint of capitalism attaches to successful business which is frowned upon by the vast body of proletarians that shape public opinion. People are no longer taken in by the patriotic professions of merchant princes running newspapers, who are discovering to their cost, after having built up huge fortunes with chains of papers, that their influence has not grown with the money earned by them.

The capitalist proprietor of the big daily who gets planted in journalism as a managing editor through the lever of ownership has outlived his brief period of glory and is nowadays more of a pathetic figure than an important one in the circles which he vainly seeks to dominate. This is because of the incorrigible uncommercial character of working journalists as a class wherever they may happen to work in the world. Working journalists have stubbornly refused to learn the facts of commercial life, to the despair of their employers who never could completely subdue them to their will with the economic weapons so potent in other fields of employment. *The Hindu* is perhaps the only daily in the country where a reverential attitude to the owner is conceded by the journalist members of the staff. In other offices characterised by direct proprietorial assumption of the editorship, a little residue of hostility is always mixed up with the routine loyalty needed to keep things going. Willing obedience is yielded not to the pay-

masters but to the masters of the profession whose worth, irrespective of pay or position, is sensed by the rank and file with an unerring collective instinct. The atmosphere of newspaper offices is not conducive to



G. A. Natesan

the peace of mind or equanimity of proprietors setting themselves up as editors without proper qualifications. They are assailed in their seats by a pervasive derision which saturates the whole place without any need on the part of anybody to utter a word. We find therefore so many of the "bosses" rushing like mad to the four corners of the globe in quest of tributes to their vanity denied them in their own offices.

Mr. G. A. Natesan was fortunate in the acquisition thirty-five years ago of a namesake with the energy and working power of a battalion of "subs" but without an iota of that refractory tribe's yearning for independence and autonomy. In the whole history of Indian journalism I do not think anyone gave so much for so little as B. Natesan has to G.A., in service of the *Indian Re-*

Wet land—flat rate of three maunds from every acre

Dry land—half a maund per acre from holdings comprising less than ten acres and three-fourth of a maund per acre from holdings above ten acres.

This year the levy has been steeply raised:

Wet land—flat rate of five maunds per acre

Dry land—three maunds per acre from holdings below ten acres and five maunds per acre from bigger holdings.

It will be easy to see that these flat rates of procurement operate to the disadvantage of the middle and poor peasantry, while leaving the big zamindars with large stocks even after collection of the levy (if it is collected at all). A peasant with two or three acres of dry land will have nothing left for his own needs. Bribing the officials is the only way of securing exemption from the levy. The universality of corruption will be understood if it is realized that in areas like Sherki taluk, where the land is very poor, the yield itself is not much more than three maunds per acre. The peasant can retain enough of his crop even for subsistence only by giving bribes. A tahsildar recently found himself with much money but no rice stocks. When there was pressure from above that he should produce some stock of rice, he rushed up to another district, bought about 600 maunds of rice in the blackmarket and sold it to the Commercial Corporation. This is a semi-official organisation which is run by the big merchants and financiers of the State and is in charge of distributing stocks for rationed centres.

I might mention in passing that, during my stay in Hyderabad, the Commercial Corporation made the following offer to the Hyderabad correspondent of a leading Indian daily newspaper: "Give us good publicity and we will give you Rs. 200 for each column of news about our activities which appears in your paper." The individual concerned had sufficient professional integrity to refuse the offer, while telling the Corporation that he would certainly report events of real importance. Not all journalists, however, observe such standards. The newspapers in Hyderabad, with a few honourable exceptions, permit themselves very little freedom. Leaving the loyalist papers out of account, the rest are generally too weak in spirit to present an objective and fearless picture of the State's affairs.

In the Indian provinces, legal bans and cash securities are imposed by the administration to silence hostile criticism. No such drastic steps are necessary in Hyderabad; fear of the loss of patronage from the 'important' men in Government is enough to keep most of the papers within voluntary bounds. There is always, however, a list of outside newspapers and journals which are prohibited from entry into the State. But for this state of affairs, the recent peasants' movement in Telangana would have attracted greater public attention than it has.

PEASANTS' REVOLT IN NALGONDA

The Communists have a considerable following among the Andhra peasants and agricultural labourers in Telangana. Nalgonda is one of the districts of Telangana in which the oppression of the feudal jagirdars and zamindars is especially severe. Under Communist leadership, the peasant masses organized themselves and refused to submit to oppressive exploitation. What exactly did they revolt against? The following glimpses into their life will indicate the answer.

Kadari Ramachandra Rao and his brother Narasimha Rao of Jangaon taluk together own about 5,000 acres of land, one rice mill, etc. They are the patels of Ramavaram and Mundurai villages respectively. Young labourers in these two villages found it difficult to find wives for themselves, because people knew that anybody who came under the rule of the Kadari brothers would have to endure horrible conditions of life. When the bell rang at 5 a.m. all had to go to work, which would continue until evening. Women with new-born or sick babies could not absent themselves, nor could men suffering from fever. Otherwise the *sheridars* (labour overseers) would beat and drag them to work. And the payment was either one anna or half a seer of grain per day. After the peasants' fight, the daily wage was increased to about 6 annas, and the workers on the field won the right to stay away if they were ill!

The Kadari brothers are also adepts at extracting forced labour and contributions. Their rice mill was built by Lambadi and other peasants who were paid next to nothing. On special occasions, be it a marriage or a funeral, the brothers used to extract money, cattle and other contributions from their tenants. Instances of such forced contributions in cash and labour extracted by other zamindars can be multiplied.

Land-grabbing is another favourite occupation of the zamindars. One of

the immediate causes for the peasants' revolt was the increasing number of illegal evictions which followed the announcement by the Government of a Tenancy Bill.

Medieval treatment of serfs is often re-enacted in Hyderabad in the twentieth century. Not so long ago, a certain barber went to shave his master (a zamindar) later than the appointed time. So the zamindar had the barber buried in the ground upto the neck for several hours. The zamindars have always had certain roughs, to teach the lesson of obedience to those who might get restive. Now, after the peasants' movement, the number of these goondas has increased to the proportions of little private armies.

BARBARIC REPRESSION

I met a lad of 21 who is the leading worker of the peasants' *sangham* in his own village. The police had got hold of him and subjected him to the routine method of torture: rough pieces of wood were introduced between his fingers which were then tied together. Then he was beaten on his hands until blood flowed. His legs were then tied together under the knee and he was commanded to perform the impossible feat of executing the 'sit and stand' commands of the police officer. The soles of his feet were cut with a knife and he was then made to walk on the ground. Application of chillie powder followed.

The above is by no means an isolated case. These, and other methods of torture too gruesome for description in print, are the methods employed by the police to strike terror into the hearts of people who demand that they be given tolerably human conditions of work. Apart from the torture of political workers, the police act in concert with the private goonda armies of the zamindars in raiding the houses of arrested or wanted men. Humiliation of the womenfolk in these houses was widely reported to me. The number of instances in which the wives of political workers were marked out for harassment was appalling.

After the military units sent by Sir Mirza Ismail had dealt with the trouble spots, a collective fine of one lakh of rupees was imposed on 34 villages of Nalgonda district. It was realized through the sale of cattle, houses, hay, etc., which has left its mark on the already miserable life of the people. Reserve police camps are still on the scene. In one group of villages on the border between Bhongir and Jangaon taluks there are as many as 300 reserve police

even today. The outrages committed by the police were condemned by the State Congress, by Dr. Kachru of the All-India States Peoples' Conference who toured the affected areas and by the delegations which visited Hyderabad on behalf of the Andhra Mahasabha (of Madras Province) and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Nothing was done by the State Government to enquire into and check the excesses of the police and of the zamindar's agents.

Wherever they could, the peasants fought the police back with whatever weapons they could get hold of. They admit, with pride, that they managed in some cases to teach the zamindars goonda gangs the lesson of their lives. In such places, the zamindar's men dare not molest the peasants directly now.

Since my first article was written, news of communal clashes in Hyderabad has appeared in the press. The fears of the Congress and other political workers have come true. But it is necessary to recall that in the economic struggle described above, Hindus and Muslims fought side by side against their common exploiters. Most of the zamindars in Nalgonda are Hindus. But among the leaders of their gang of roughs was a Muslim, Miskin Ali. Clearly there was no question of Hindu-Muslim differences. Equally so among the peasant masses, illusions of communal advantage disappeared under the impact of the palpable fact of common exploitation suffered by members of both communities. There are quite a number of Muslims in the peasants' organisation. I was surprised to find that it was a Muslim, Mohammad Abbas, who organised the peasants sangham in Nirumala village of Jangaon taluk. It is again a Muslim, Maqdoom Mohiuddin, who stands at the head of the industrial workers of Hyderabad organized by the Hyderabad Trade Union Congress. And though the State Congress has no Muslim among its leaders, it enjoys a degree of sympathy from enlightened Muslims in the city as well as some of the Muslim peasants of the villages.

The future of Hyderabad, and its advance on a non-communal basis towards political and economic democracy, will be determined by the unity and strength of the State Congress and other popular organisations embracing all communities. This involves the defeat of the communal and reactionary policies advocated by the Muslim Majlis and practised by the State Government.

view and other publications that have brought wealth to the house. Mr. G. A. Natesan's genius lay in making commerce appear like public spirit and making public spirit as profitable as commerce. His influence therefore kept abreast of his prosperity and his prosperity was multiplied by his influence, and there is no knowing to what pinnacle he might have risen, had not Gandhian non-cooperation come on the scene shattering the whole structure of our public life and the foundations of recognition, reward and preferment for its leading figures.

By no means a zealot in any cause, Mr. Natesan is an expert in social relations with an enormous passive receptivity, the greatest of all aids for eliminating unpleasantness and getting on successfully and well with all varieties of men. Of Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British delegate to the U.N. General Assembly, it is stated that he is a perfect product of the iron rules

in the education of a British Foreign Office diplomat, that calm, good temper, patience and caution are for ever spread over his deportment, that when he speaks no manifestation of personal brilliance is ever allowed to come to the surface, he never laughs, never makes hasty gestures, and seeming all the time to be gazing into the distance, he is an adept in the game of non-committalness that diplomats have to play. Our Natesan laughs and loves gaiety, and is socially light, buoyant and agreeable, but without being grave and portentous he is capable of teaching lessons to Sir Cadogan himself in the matter of non-committalness. He is a skilled artist in mobilising social contacts to desired ends, and as I wrote of him on another occasion, confidences pour into his ear as air rushes into a vacuum. He seems marked out by nature for diplomacy and ambassadorial missions, for which openings have begun to come to Indians only just now. It is a pity they have come too late for the exercise of Mr. Natesan's gifts.—SAKA.

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REPORT ON HYDERABAD—II

by G. N. SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

(Our staff correspondent, who made a special tour of Hyderabad State for some two weeks, concludes his report in this article.—Ed. S.)

HYDERABAD City has the appearance of a person who has stopped suddenly in the middle of a course of beauty-effects. No visitor can miss this reminder of Sir Mirza Ismail's short-lived administration. Old walls pulled down around the public gardens, brightly painted seats in the parks, heaps of stone and incomplete structures along the Husain Sagar embankment—they bear testimony to Sir Mirza's zeal for beautifying the city. The Nizam stopped these plans in the course of his comprehensive 'non-cooperation' with his ex-Prime Minister. Not that the city is unattractive, as it is. Hyderabad has remarkably fine roads—most of them of concrete-lined with spacious buildings. The fourth biggest city in India is also one of the finest. When I expressed my admiration at the long stretches of neat concrete roads to a friend who was with me, he asked me to wait and see what the roads were like in the towns and villages of the interior, and also the condition of the people from whom revenue was collected for constructing these roads for the comfort of the city rich. At the moment I felt that my friend was being too solemn, but what I saw later made me appreciate his feeling. The contrast between urban and rural standards of life is nothing peculiar to Hyderabad, but the contrast is painfully sharp there. The main reason for this is the continuance upto the present day of an extremely backward and feudal type of agricultural economy.

"As in India we have about 600 States, ranging in size from tiny estates to the biggest like Hyderabad and Kashmir, so in Hyderabad itself there are over a thousand private jagirs, ranging from a single village to a whole district. Politically and economically, these jagirs bear the same relation in terms of backwardness to the Diwani Elakha (Government administered territory) as Hyderabad State compared with the rest of India." This is how Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao (until recently General Secretary of the State Congress) summed up the position of the miniature kingdoms which form the backbone of the old and decrepit body of feudalism

in Hyderabad. Just as the royal proclamations from England used to refer to the faithful Princes in India in terms of affectionate eulogy, the Nizam of Hyderabad addresses the feudal nobility and the jagirdars as "pillars of strength" for his State. It would be more correct to call them the main sources of the people's misery. Let me quote some more of the remarks made by Mr. Ramachandra Rao on this subject: "Inequality in the distribution of land is unimaginable. In jagir as well as Government areas, the entire cultivable land in a village will often be owned by one or two individuals. Forced labour prevails in many places. The dhobi, barber, etc., have to serve the *pattedar* (landowner) free. In many cases surveys have not been made, so that a peasant may be made to pay rent for 10 acres even though he might hold only 4 acres. These conditions are widely prevalent in the sarf-e-khas (Nizam's personal estate) and in the interior districts like Nalgonda." Ever since its inception the State Congress has condemned this state of affairs and asked for land reform, but with no effect.

The first village that I visited was in Sherki taluk, part of the sarf-e-khas. The Nizam appoints his own officials for these areas. The influence and power of such officials can well be imagined. In Jenepalli village, for instance, about a hundred acres of wet land are under cultivation. During the last harvest the yield was fairly good. But the tahsildar wrote off both the levy and tax. While the rich peasant can thus escape payment of revenue and delivery of rice required for rationing, the poor peasant has to pay bribes for getting the village patel or other officials to recognize even genuine cases of crop failure.

HOW PROCUREMENT OPERATES

One of the problems discussed at the State Congress session was the way in which the present system of procurement is affecting the peasants. Until last year the procurement levy was as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. JINNAH

by "CHITRAGUPTA"

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCEL-
LENCY! QUAIDE AZAM! SHAH-
IN-SHAH! I greet you in the day of
your glory, after the manner of the
Witches who way-laid Macbeth and
bade him see, unbidden, the shape
of his Future as through a glass—
darkly. I greet you without defying
or denouncing you, but with calm
dispassion, unabashed by the spect-
acle of out-size haloes being fever-
ishly improvised by your faithful but
prostrate following to signalise your
canonisation. Believe me, I am not
jealous of the greatness that has
come to be thrust upon you by the
ironic Fates. Rather am I chastened
by the Virgilian dictum that tears
are due to mortal things which pass
into fables before they are realized
facts, that there is nothing new
under the Sun, and that your type
in particular recurs with more per-
sistent monotony than some others
which provide free entertainment to
the masses so as to keep them in
good humour with themselves and
their miserable lot....

I greet you above all because you
have just demonstrated the vitality
of the Vedantic Sutra: 'Tatvamasi!'
in the stubborn and sterile field of
politics.

To pick up a hare-brained idea of
uncertain paternity and indetermi-
nate content, make it the rubric of
mass-incantation, and while still in
search of a local habitation, give it
an ironic name, and an ugly but
distinctive physiognomy—all in less
than a decade—such is your singular
claim to immortality! You are now
the patron-saint of a terminological
quiddity, of a political phantom, of
a notional state. Now, for the first
time for all the world to gape at,
have you performed the mythically
celebrated Rope-Trick. For your
Pakistan has shot into mid-air with
no recognisable support based on
firm earth. Bask while you can in
the fleeting glory of it!

According to the Manichaeian doc-
trine, the Universe is made up of
equal but opposing pairs—Good and
Bad, Light and Darkness, and so on.
In this view, you are the antithesis
of Gandhi. But as to which of you
is which is a very large question
into which I do not propose to probe
at the moment, specially as it looks
like becoming the King Charles' *Head*
of our future historians. If I
refer to the contrast, it is merely to
say that you have at last outstripped
your opposite number, and have gone
off at a tangent where no one else
can either keep abreast of you or
even follow you.

When you first adopted the slogan
of Pakistan, neither you nor any
one else knew what it stood for.
That delightful dubiety is still the
distinguishing mark of your adopted
foundling. The Cripps Formula and
the C. R. Mahabhashya were at-
tempts to give you not only the
arguments in favour of it, but also
the intelligence to understand them.
But you kept your lugubrious and
long-drawn face averted from them
with an inflexible censoriousness
which Dido could not have improved
upon. Wherefore arose the popular
notion that your cry was but a bar-
gaining lever with which to extort
concessions from a 'brute' majority,
and that consequently there would
be grace and virtue in meeting you
more than half-way. But you grew
on what you fed on. With the irres-
istible momentum of Fate itself,
you mounted, step by step, over the
stooping shoulders of the Hindus,
until you have now arrived at the
threshold of Pakistan, gleaming over
the horizon, and waiting for an Act
of Parliament to give it and you,
your-long-prayed-for Avatars!

Why do I recapitulate this fami-
liar, if not trite and tedious tale?
It is to underline the grim fact that
you have won all along the line,

even as Hitler did. The demoral-
ization of the Hindus is now com-
plete. A formidable majority of
more than 300 millions has been
fragmented, isolated, blind-folded,
fooled by friends, and betrayed by
foes. The only compact and homo-
geneous entity that is emerging from
the present manipulations is the
Muslim Nation. Out of a belated
gratitude to the Muslim empire
which it swindled in the middle of
the last century, the departing Bri-
tish Government has chosen the
middle of this century to hand back
power to you as to a legitimate suc-
cessor, with a meticulous thorough-
ness and a suspicious honesty for
which there is no parallel in history.
Need I say that it was a memorable
climax which you achieved when you
had yourself announced as the first
Governor-General of Pakistan? It is
the sort of spectacular sign in the
sky which bemuses the vulgar and
confirms in them an idolatrous wor-
ship of success. I look, figuratively
speaking, into the faces of Mahatma
Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Sardar
Patel, only to detect a mortified ex-
pression of crest-fallen stupidity
such as may be seen in urchins in
infant classes when they commit
howlers. As I admire cleverness, I
cheerfully pay you my tribute for
bringing off one of the prettiest
coups in current diplomacy.

I look around me, and see other
signs of the mounting prestige of
the Muslim League. You have issued
a single-line whip deciding the Flag
and the Citizenship questions of
Pakistan. We are not going to dis-
pose of them so easily or so simply.
The Nawab of Bhopal sports a Lea-
gue Flag on the bonnet of his car,
and for all I know, also perhaps on
the crest of his *nugree*. I look in
vain for a single Hindu prince show-
ing any respect to (much less wear-
ing) the Congress Flag. Imagine the
Maharajah of Mysore or Kashmir or
Travancore committing such an
enormity. Even if the princes
themselves felt so inclined, their
dewans would die of an apoplectic
stroke if such a *gaucherie* were
committed or even contemplated
by them!

There was talk of the Interim
Government resigning, and a sha-
dow cabinet formed for the re-
mainder of the interim period. You
put your foot down, and the Mighty
Mountbatten, the hero of one abor-
tive and many contingent com-
mando expeditions — lumped it.
Shadow cabinets! Not for the Mus-
lim League which wants the sub-
stance of power. Shadow cabinets
are too good for the Hindu and Sikh
rabble, while the substance of power
still continues to vest in the League
Ministers as in Bengal.

Murder, arson and loot still go on
merrily enough in Calcutta and
Lahore. H. H. the Agha Khan
sends a perfervid message from a
convalescent bed laying the flatter-
ing unction to his soul that Pakistan
has been born in peace and concord.
Peace, quotha? Is it the peace of the
grave? Such indeed seems to be the
determination of League leaders
ruling the roost in Bengal openly,
and in the Punjab under cover. Even
in this killing business, it seems high
time to acknowledge that the Mus-
lim does it with a zest, a gay non-
chalance and a professional integrity
which extort my admiration. Un-
fortunately for the Hindu, his mad-
ness is of shorter span: and regain-
ing his sanity, he asks himself the
crucial question: why he should do
it at all. The moment that question
is posed, defeatism takes shape, and
the enemy is assured of victory. But
ask the Hindu to fight for any one
else, for any or no reasons at all!
He proves the finest soldier in the
world—for, why? because he then
fights in the true spirit of the
Karmayogin, not caring for the
fruits of his action, and content to
win the approbation of his supe-
riors!

Other fissiparous tendencies that
are at work among us may be more
synoptically summarised. Famine
stalks through the rest of India,
while Pakistan areas are not only
well-fed, but in a position to dictate
the terms on which they could dole
out their surplus food to us. Sind,
the most insignificant part of the
old order, the 'ugly duckling' of the
joint family is now the cock of the

walk, the tail that wags the head with a saucy impudence which cannot be trounced by an infirm if not non-existent Centre! Minorities are being squeezed out in the original home of the wandering Jew when he came as the Arab, the University is shut out for them and their other rights are being liquidated with open cynicism. But Muslims in the rest of India are in continued enjoyment of benefits conferred on them by the 'honest broker' during the period of his dishonest trusteeship. In Madras, the sponsors of the Dravidian movement are found in league with Muslims to the detriment of long-suffering and quiet-going Hindus. A hundred communities and sub-sects are statutorily recognised, while the Muslim is left compact and formidable as the greatest and most powerful single community. A putative Congress Ministry which has been bullied and traduced, both in the legislatures and outside, by the leading darkneses of the League Party has shown its pusillanimity by truckling to such defamation by continuing to pamper them with safeguards and special weightage and what not. The Ministry cannot plead Christian charity as its motive, or the turning of the other cheek when one is slapped, since its cowardice, rancour and jealousy of talent and merit when they are found in other communities whose virtues are their only faults are now patent to all!

From all these general signs of the times, I am led to the conclusion that the new-established Pakistan would be but the starting point of a more portentous and irresistible campaign for tarring the whole country Muslim. The classic honesty of Britain, and the notorious disinterestedness of her foreign policy can be counted upon to help lame Pakistan over many an awkward stile. For look at Europe: Having destroyed Hitler (by the way, please note that Hitler was the carefully planned, and pre-fabricated work of the British genius) she is now doing her best to rear Hitlerism as a tender plant for the future needs of her commonwealth, New Style! Having used you to 'liquidate' the

formidable Hindu numbers, it is to Britain's interest to keep you strong enough to make the Hindu perpetually weak, and not too strong to swallow him entire! I anticipate an interminable series of border 'incidents' calculated to keep the dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan in a state of chronic jitters. The Hindu will cease to worry or fight after a time, because you see, he has an unanswerable philosophy. I give you the reason, though you may not believe in it. Having fought your primordial type in Duryodhana and his malignant but well-disciplined crew, and smote them hip and thigh, he has no zest for repeating the performance. It sickenes him, and I foresee him throwing up the sponge, even as he threw it up when all the marauders from Muhammad the idol-breaker to Mohammed Ali Jinnah the nation-breaker have been driving a chariot and four through his scattered ranks.

In short, Mr. Jinnah, I foresee Pakistan throughout India, and with it a new tale of Suzerainty and Paramountcy told by your spiritual successor for the edification of gilded noddies who mouth tall talk of Independence today but who will be among the most picturesque of those to bend their knee before a new Shah-in-Shah to be installed in Delhi.

If such a thing happens, it will, believe me, be a short-lived dream. For the next phase in the world's drama is to be a colossal fight between the Bear and the lesser beasts of the jungle on the one side, and the bigger bullies like the Lion on the other. It might seem even politic for your successor to join forces with Communists—an experiment which is now being tried out in the provincial sphere. For you see, Communism is the major plague of the rest of India—not a breath of it has so far corrupted the ampler and purer air of Pakistan. You may, between you, try to make common cause, but only up to a point. But you must part company, even as Britain and Russia have had to after

victory. But the future is ineluctably with Communism, and I welcome it, *inter alia*, in the hope that its flood will wash out the theocratic rubbish with which as ballast you have been making your progress till now.

All this however in a future—how distant or near I cannot say. But today, YOURS IS THE POWER AND THE GLORY! Only mark—this is

my distinction—I acknowledge it without being impressed by it. For I see in you an inscrutable instrument of a mysterious Nemesis, a fool of Fortune and a plaything of Fate, acted upon rather than acting with any conscious or rationally exercised will. I who can visualise Nebuchadnezzar eating grass take leave of you at last, wondering idly whether you will digest Pakistan or whether Pakistan will digest you.



CRUX OF STATES PROBLEM

by R. RAMANUJAM

A truce having been declared over the Pakistan fight, the question of Rajasthans has cropped up. It is a matter for regret that the parties to the controversy miserably miss the real point underlying the problem and give undue importance to legal and legalistic considerations which can have no validity in the present context. Unless the problem of the States, like all other problems, is going to be tackled in accordance with modern conceptions of constitution-making, no solution can be arrived at in the near future.

The crux of the problem is whether the Ruler or his Dewan can proclaim or prescribe the status of his territory, let it be independence, sovereignty or serfdom. An emphatic 'No' can be the only answer to this question. After the close of World War No. II at any rate, it has been recognised beyond doubt that the right to determine the form of the constitution for any particular State should solely rest with the people of the State. Only recently, the principle of self-determination has been thoroughly vindicated in our country. The British have decided to quit India only in deference to the will of the Indian people. The right to break away has been conceded to the Muslim territories only out of respect for the wishes of the Muslims residing therein. To allow an individual like the Ruler or the Dewan to arrogate to himself a right which is that of the people, is to give the go-bye to the principle of self-determination. Two issues arise in regard to the States. Firstly, the relationship of the States with the Union of India has to be determined. Second-

ly, what form the constitution of the States has to take also arises for decision by the people.

How to ascertain and give effect to the will of the States' people in regard to these two issues, will be the next question. It has now become the imperative duty of the Indian Union to take up the matter in its hands. Whatever may be the declarations and pronouncements of the British Government, the moment it withdraws from India, the whole of Hindustan, inclusive of the Indian States, should be deemed to have come within the jurisdiction of the Indian Union. The Indian Union should direct the Rulers to ascertain the people's verdict through a prescribed procedure and give effect to it. Should the Rulers refuse, the Indian Union itself should set up the suitable machinery, obtain the verdict from the people and enforce it by the employment of State force, if necessary.

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scheme for producing groundnuts in East Africa was prepared and put into execution. On that occasion Mr. Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that that was the first shot in a campaign for a more intensive development of the resources of colonial territories "in order to raise the standard of living of the people in them and at the same time to increase the supplies of necessary goods to ourselves." He then hinted at developments in the production of meat, poultry, eggs, rice, cotton and tobacco. It is mainly with the purpose of implementing this policy that the new corporation has been started. Of course a scheme like this will go to some extent in raising the standard of life of the colonial peoples, provide them with more employment and secure for them higher wages. But these are only incidental to the main object which is to make Britain get out of her own empire all the essential articles she needs.

DEVELOPMENTS IN GREECE

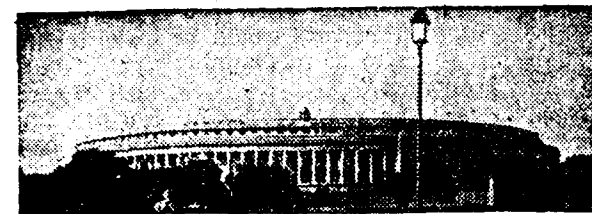
American aid to Greece has now produced its first fruits. It was for the purpose of preventing the spread of Communism into the country through external pressure and foreign aid that Americans came forward with their plan to help the

present Greek Government. The United Nations Balkan Enquiry Commission whose report was recently published and debated upon in the Security Council came to the conclusion that there was much truth in the case put forward by the Greek Government that the Communist guerilla bands that have been threatening the country with numerous disorders were receiving the help of the neighbouring Balkan countries. Of course the Russian and Polish representatives on the Commission dissented from this view but it did not weaken very much the majority opinion. Fortified by this the Greek Government decided on taking vigorous steps against the Communists in the country. The presence of the American military and financial experts gave it the needed encouragement and confidence. With the consent of the United States Government and of the British Government, the Greek Government undertook last week a drive against the Communists accusing them of a plot against the State. 4,000 arrests were made and several of the arrested persons were sent to the concentration camps in the islands near Athens. It is in this rounding up of the Communists that the first fruits of American military aid to Greece are to be seen.



Lord and Lady Mountbatten with members of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

P. C. JOSHI explained to me in a long interview the Communist Party's position today in respect of the policies and the lack of policies of the Interim Government. The criticism of some of us had been that the Communist Party co-operated less with the present Indian popular Government than it had with the foreign British Government during the War. We had known for some time that the Communist Party was thinking of settling right this glaring defect—though not, of course, because of what we said about it. It was something over which every non-partisan might well be pleased.

Joshi spoke frankly, and his frankness did not diminish when our questions became searching. Someone had told him that I came from Andhra, and he asked me if this was so. I confessed that it was. Joshi knew that I was no Communist, but there was an impression in Communist Party circles that Andhra was a stronghold of the Communists. The fact seems to be that Andhra is a stronghold not only of the Communists, but of Congress Capitalists, Congress Socialists, self-styled Gandhites, Forward Blocists, Fourth Internationalists, Revolutionary Socialists, Andhra Parliamentarians, and a host of others. I do not say this to belittle the significance of Communist influence in Andhra, but only to emphasise one of the most lovable traits in Andhra character. There is scope for many parties in that part of our country, and Democracy is assured of continued survival over there. Politics there may come to resemble French politics, but who can deny that the French are per-

haps the most democratic people on earth—despite Viet-Nam and Madagascar?

Frankly, I do not regard the Communists as a menace in this country. But I do not want them to overestimate their own influence in Andhra or in any other part of the country. They have worked hard in Andhra, and they enjoy a certain amount of prestige among the people. But they should work harder and serve the people even better. Then alone will they be properly rewarded apart from service being its own reward. M. Blum told Henry Wallace that the French Communist Party is wholly democratic. M. Janacek, the United Nations official, told one or two of us in New Delhi that the Czech Communists were Czech first and Communists afterwards. He also added that the present programme of the Czech Government was one that was worked out by the Communists. The tendency now seems to be for Communist Parties in some countries to accept what they call "bourgeois democratic tradition". The Indian Communist Party seems to be adopting this tradition. If that is so, we will have very little to quarrel with them about.

The Secretary-General of the Indian Communist Party described Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy as "very progressive." Joshi said: "We want Pandit Nehru to go further. We support his policy whole-heartedly. We would like it to go forward and recognise the independence of Viet-Nam and Indonesia, and break through all obstacles that are preventing the resumption of diplomatic negotiations with the new Democracies of Europe."

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA, M.A.

THE crisis with which we in India are faced today in the matter of food—a crisis which is growing more and more acute every day—is only a reflection of the crisis which has overtaken the whole world in this matter. So grave is the present and prospective situation in regard to this subject of food supplies that it has been found necessary to hold a World's Cereals Conference to discuss all problems bearing on it. It was last week that this conference representing thirty-three nations including India met in Paris. It was convened as the result of a proposal made for this purpose in May last by Mr. Anderson the United States Secretary for Agriculture and the representative of that country on the International Emergency Food Council. It is mainly to the United States that most of the deficit countries in the world look for relief though the contribution of countries like Australia, Canada and Argentina are also substantial. Mr. Anderson felt that unless the whole world knew the exact position in which his country was placed in this respect and the extent to which she would be in a position to give relief in the coming crop-year there might be a danger of the people in deficit areas forming too high an expectation of American help and getting themselves disappointed in the end. He has made it clear that though his country is having a bumper wheat crop this year there is a fall in the corn crop. Moreover there is also a great decline this year in the food grain production in Western Europe. The result is that the demand from deficit countries exceeds the exportable capacity of surplus countries by twenty million tons and

this measures roughly the seriousness of the food crisis in the coming year.

The proceedings of the Cereals Conference make sad reading. Every deficit country—India, Italy, France—is compelled to cut down the food by as much as fifty per cent of the normal quantity with the result that malnutrition and the diseases which accompany it have become matters of course. The Conference has a twofold objective before it. One is to impress on the deficit countries the great and urgent need for husbanding indigenous food supplies and for their proper distribution and frugal management and the other is to suggest long term measures for the rehabilitation of production in such countries. They should try to produce as much food as possible with their own resources. To a large extent the crisis, especially in Europe, is the outcome of the devastation caused by the war and the loss of man power. Even the post-war policy followed by some of the victorious States has been responsible for the crisis. As a leading American paper puts it, "The present widespread famine is primarily a political famine, caused not merely by war, cold and drought, but even more directly by the political and economic policies of the victors—policies which are strangling European and, to a large extent, Asiatic production, converting fertile lands into waste lands by the expulsion of their populations, and dismantling fertilizer plants badly needed to restore the exhausted soil." Two difficulties are being experienced even in the matter of short-term relief. One relates to shipping shortage which is being made worse from time

to time by labour strikes and the other to inflationary prices now ruling in the American markets. Food has an important place in bringing about amity among nations and everything should be done to encourage a free flow of food from surplus to deficit areas through the removal of obstacles like these.

MARSHALL'S PLAN

All this has a bearing on Marshall's plan for economic aid to Europe and the Soviet reaction to it. The sixteen countries that have accepted the invitation of Britain and France for the Conference that is being held in Paris to discuss details regarding this plan belong to a great extent to the category of deficit areas in regard to food. Some of them—England for example—have been depending on foreign countries for food even in normal times. Many of them are highly industrialised and they export their manufactures and get food imports in return. Several of them are also countries which find it necessary to have colonial dependencies for the same purpose. Soviet Russia however is not in this position. She is one of the biggest food-producing countries in the world and some of the countries like Roumania which are included today in her sphere of influence do not depend on foreign countries for their food supplies. This contrast between the countries in Western Europe which have now agreed to follow the Anglo-French lead and those in Eastern Europe which are included in the Soviet bloc has to be borne in mind if one is to understand why they have reacted differently to Marshall's plan.

THE MOLOTOV PLAN

But American aid is not unwelcome to countries like Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia or Poland. As a matter of fact they got in the past a good deal of such help through UNRRA. It is political considerations and the Soviet hegemony that has been established over them that have prevented them from participating in the Paris Conference. Czechoslovakia which first agreed to take part in the Conference subse-

quently changed her mind and the explanation put forward is that accepting the Anglo-French invitation "would be interpreted as an act directed against friendship with the Soviet Union and other allies." But these last European countries whose economic condition is as bad as that of countries in Western Europe and who are therefore in real need of external economic aid have somehow to be placated and in this connection it is reported that a Molotov plan for aid to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe is being prepared by Soviet authorities. Two points are worthy of notice in this connection. One is that Russia herself is in need of manufactured commodities and machinery which can be produced in Czechoslovakia and some other among her satellites. The Molotov plan will be directed towards intensifying the industrialisation of some of these countries so that in return for Soviet supplies of food and other agricultural products they might supply her with their industrial products. She is very much in need of some such division of labour today if her new five-year plan is to become effective. The other point is that as a consequence of any such plan the division of Europe into two competing blocs will become an accomplished fact.

(NEW) BRITISH COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

The food crisis also explains to some extent why the British Government has recently announced its intention to bring immediately into existence a Colonial Development Corporation with borrowing powers of one hundred million pounds behind it. Britain has for a long time been short of food. Her efforts to bring more land under cultivation and to introduce agricultural improvements during the period of the last war have not solved her food problem. She is therefore determined to develop her colonies, especially in Africa, so that she might in course of time become self-sufficient in the matter of food. The first step in this direction was taken some months ago when a new

He said that the new European Democracies "are planning their economies, and their experts would be of immense value to us in planning our own economies."

Joshi praised the work of the Indian Delegation at the UNO, especially on the South Africa-India dispute. He urged that India should continue to pursue a democratic policy in the UNO and work in co-operation with all the democratic forces of the world.

The economic policy of the Interim Government, said Joshi, was one of drift and of pleasing the vested interests. It was spreading despair and discontent among the common people, especially the working class and the organised employees whose conditions were worsening instead of being improved, contrary to their expectations from the Interim Government. The solution would lie in the direction of a vigorous policy against vested interests, controlling profit, planning production, increasing wages—so that the Government could rely upon the greater confidence of the people. Their strength should weaken reaction internally, and thus lay the basis of all-round national planning.

Joshi continued: "We are aware of all the difficulties and do not expect a miracle tomorrow: to pave the path for a full-blooded national plan tomorrow is to weaken vested interests, who are the allies of the British today, and add to the well-being and strength of our people." What the Communist Party would be pressing for in Pakistan would be "a line-up with democratic movements in the Middle East countries and against Muslim reactionaries who are tools of Anglo-American reaction". P. C. Joshi declared "If India pursues a consistently democratic policy there will be no third world war," and added, "No regime in the whole Muslim bloc is stable socially."

The Communist leader then replied to a question on their party's policy regarding the distribution of land. He stated that it necessarily varied from Province to Province and from one piece of land to another, because the quality of the

land differed from one place to another. Pressure on land in India was terrific. The Kisan Sabha had calculated that each family should get 25 acres of wet land and 50 acres of dry land on a rough basis. There should be room left for adjustments. Five acres of land and a bullock made a world of difference in Europe in the battle against reaction and for the liberation of one's own country.

Asked how the Communist Party proposed to work for the unity of all Left parties, which was laid down in their recent resolution, Joshi said:

"The immediate issue in the life of our people is the freedom of our country. How do the progressive forces combine to defeat reaction? On that depends the line of advance of the country, or the success of the reactionaries who will compromise the independence of the country itself.

"We offer a programme which is not Communist. Do not compromise on independence. Be democratic. Mobilise forces and turn the tide straight off."

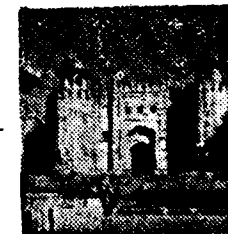
The immediate issue, according to Joshi, was to take up the problems of the masses, and for that purpose all Left parties should come together irrespective of differences. The living battle against reaction, the vested interests, would help weaken the compromisers in the national movement—who were generally the friends of vested interests."

Joshi said that they would keep contact with all the Left elements despite all differences and try to come together on the most elementary common issues. "Our ranks are in contact with Congress Socialist Party ranks. On the unity campaign in Bengal we worked with the Forward Bloc. In the Cawnpore strike the C.S.P. worked with us."

Asked to state why he was not in touch with the leaders of the Socialist Party, Joshi replied that the C.S.P. should stop slandering the Communists and begin to respect their patriotic bona fides to create the basis for consultations. They were in contact with C.S.P. ranks and would seek contact of unity from issue to issue.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



TROUBLE again. It is as if there must be one violent week for every three that pass uneventfully. Once a month disturbances reach their peak, and then gradually die out. This time the Boundary Commission is the direct, though unwitting cause of renewed excitement. Hindus and Sikhs are naturally eager to see Lahore, and if possible, the Montgomery and Lyallpur districts included in West Punjab, and indeed they have every claim to these areas except that they do not form a majority of the population. They own by far the largest part of the land and immovable property, pay the greatest part of the taxes, and run an overwhelming majority of private institutions in these districts. All these facts are being placed before the Commission, but meanwhile a whispering campaign has been started which promises the Ravi as the final frontier. Such tactics are a form of pressure put on the Commission, and a flare-up naturally results when they have raised popular passion to a fever-pitch.

It is not difficult to see why the Sikhs should be the first in every attempt to alter the provisional boundaries. Their frustration is very great indeed, for though they have agreed to a plan that has bisected them, they have done so with a great deal of mental reservation and it seems, with an equal amount of mental confusion. Thus we see the spectacle of Master Tara Singh, alone of the Punjab leaders, continuing to exhort the Sikhs to remain on the alert and be prepared for all eventualities—whatever that might mean—when other communal representatives are counselling forgiveness and forgetfulness. In a

certain sense, therefore, he must be held particularly responsible for keeping alive a spirit of hatred in the Punjab. The hartal of 8th July, for example, though it did not give rise to any incident on that day, was a most unwise step, as the recrudescence of trouble immediately afterwards showed. And frankly, despite one's fullest sympathy for the Sikhs, it is difficult to appreciate their efforts to maintain an agitation long after their leaders agreed to the Mountbatten Plan.

Mounting interest in, and speculation about, the work of the Commission is no doubt going to hinder that body considerably. But there is also a degree of loose thinking on the part of top-level directors of partition that does not augur well for speedy and undisturbed transfer of power. Thus Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who incidentally will remain at New Delhi and from his head-quarters there control the work of both the Punjab and the Bengal Boundary Commissions, said the other day that the Commissions would complete their labours in about two months' time. But the date for transfer of power is August 15, and should not the Commissions submit their reports sometime before, and not after that date? Everybody here is asking that question, and it would be well if it could be answered.

Meanwhile, the evacuation of Lahore is still proceeding apace. Prices of land and property have dropped beyond the wildest hopes of prospective buyers, and still no transactions are taking place. Houses—what a shortage of accommodation there was three months ago!—are now to be had for the asking, sometimes literally without the condition of rent attached to their occupation.

SHADOWED DAYS

by
S. ROBERTS



DR. MUKHERJI laid aside his stethoscope with studied deliberation, stood gazing pensively for a moment at the polished tips of his patent-leather shoes. Only the tick of the clock on the wall behind him sounded heavy and insistent in the stillness.

Rao Banadur Shamdas watched him irritatedly. He knew that the doctor had long back arrived at his finding but was wondering how best to express it. Shamdas felt he knew what the doctor would shortly utter—a conventional expression of regret at his inability to be of help softened with a few words of hope and encouragement. But the doctor's words were an honest delivery of the truth, unadorned with the usual apologies and platitudes which had so sickened Shamdas with their utter insincerity.

"I'm afraid there is nothing I can do. I can hold out no hope. I would only be deceiving you if I did. I should say that with the most careful living, you will live for another year, much less if you exert yourself. No medical aid could give you a further lease on life."

Shamdas rose to his feet. He said casually, as though it hardly counted:

"I expected that, doctor. Thank you very much for the honest-to-goodness truth. I am sick of having people pity me and comfort me with banal phrases that don't mean anything."

His pace was slow but steady as he walked out of the consulting room, his face a study in composure. He was aware that the heart specialist had not exaggerated. Mukherji was not the first man he had consulted and the opinions of all the others boiled down to much the same thing, though they were not so bleakly expressed. He knew there was no possibility of mistake, his days on earth were numbered.

There was no feeling of alarm in him, no fear, no self-pity. Emotionally, he hardly reacted to the confirmation of his worst forebodings. He was past all

that. For months, he had known that his health was declining, that his heart was weakening, that the springs of his life were fast drying up.

In the beginning, he had been inclined to worry about the imminence of death. He had rushed madly from one specialist to the other, eagerly welcoming the drugs they gave him and living assiduously up to the prescribed mode of life. He had felt greedy for existence, clung feverishly to life as he saw it slipping out of him. Rigidly adhering to medical instructions, he had avoided all excitement, cut away from his professional duties, damped all his enthusiasms, set aside all domestic demands on his attention, settled down to a very quiet life. In his consuming voracity for life, even the death of his wife had not disturbed him. Nothing seemed to matter as long as he could prolong, if by ever so little, his span of life.

Much later, his mind had suffered a revulsion of feeling. He had tired of his vegetable existence, he was nauseated by his own morbid love of life and had decided that "one crowded hour of glorious life was worth an age without a name." More out of a dispassionate desire to know his position rather than in renewed quest of life, he had consulted the specialists again.

"With the most careful living, he would last another year," they had said. With the most careful living! The expression now disgusted him. He had done with all that. He was not going to brood over his impending death, dying the coward's death of anticipation each minute in a futile attempt to postpone the inevitable. He felt now that there had been something obscene in his tenacity for life. Rather would he seek to cram all the life he could into his last months, lead a full life while breath lasted.

Thank God he did not have to worry about money. He had more of it than he could possibly use up in the short time on earth that was left him. For

decades, since he had run away in his adolescence from his middle-class home and set out ruthlessly to make his fortune, he had been earning money, amassing it with the thriftiness that was inherent in his nature. At home, long back, he had witnessed his parents' continuous battle with poverty, their painful self-denials and sacrifices, their pathetic, little attempts to maintain what they called respectability but which now seemed to him to be just another name for middle-class snobbery.

And out of his childhood experiences, he had precociously evolved the theory that had become the basis of his outlook on life—that he who had money held the reins of life in his hands. Early in age, he had set his theory to practice. He had absconded from home with just a bundle of clothes and a paltry amount of pilfered cash but speedily, he had changed his material circumstances. He had a shrewd and practical mind which helped him in business.

Soon he was riding the crest of good fortune and everything he touched seemed to turn to gold. Now in his late thirties, he had contrived to become a wealthy and powerful businessman, the owner of a line of prosperous textile mills. The process of multiplying his possessions became an obsession with him and he applied himself to this. Money became to him not the means to an end but the end in itself.

Despite his wealth, his manner of life had remained economical. He had touched upon only a fraction of his income. With sardonic humour, he asked himself what all his wealth could avail him against death. Death could not be halted or bribed as he had often done the venal officers of the Government.

True he had a son and heir whom he was training already to take over the reins of his power when he became too old to hold them. But he knew now with startling perspicacity that he did not love his son in the unselfish, objective meaning of the word. He was intensely and exclusively egoistic and he assessed the value of everything in its relation to himself. He prized his son because it added to his own personal importance, left him with a feeling that in a way he had even triumphed over death. His son was to him someone who would bear his name and embody for another generation the ego that was Shamdas. And reciprocatively, he reflected grimly, his son was probably just waiting to step into his father's shoes, waiting for him to die like the vultures that hovered expectantly over the Parai Tower of Silence.

He shuddered at his own morbid flight of fancy. Strange how vividly the mind could visualise facts under the shadow of death. He had never realised things so truly as he did now.

Simultaneously with his clearer sense of perception came to him a reorientation of values. Things which he had held high in his estimation, like his vast wealth and his family name, sank in value. Even his own life seemed to matter little except that he felt an urge to live as he had never lived before, sucking out of the fleeting hours all the happiness they had to offer. His nature changed and everyone who knew him sensed this inner transformation but did not understand it, because it was intrinsically opposed to his former self.

Some two months after his call on Dr. Mukherji, Shamdas organized a large poor-feeding. It was perhaps the most unexpected act of generosity he could have done. He had of course always donated to charitable institutions, funds and samajams but his liberality on those occasions had been dictated by pure self-seeking. He had achieved recognition as one of the wealthiest magnates and it gave him a sense of his own power, besides advancing his good name and winning him titles, to evidence it in acts of charity.

Demonstrative of his attitude was the fact that despite his substantial donations to recognized funds, he had not been known to give a copper in alms to a crippled beggar. His stock reply to beggars had been "Charity encourages sloth. Go and do honest work"; though he never worried himself with the thought that there was such a thing as the unemployment problem and willing men were stranded without a job.

Now for the first time in his selfish life, there was something of altruism in his benevolence. Perhaps he desired to put himself in the right with his soul but he also wanted to bring rays of brightness into the drab lives of those less blessed than himself. It gave him a vicarious pleasure to witness the happiness he could bring into other people's lives; he felt grateful for their thankfulness to him for this kept alive his faith in his own power.

Amusedly, he recalled an incident that had occurred a few weeks back when a delegation of the workers' union had called on him to represent their grievances. Formerly, he had derided and ridiculed the union and their demands for "more pay and less work" as he put it, contemptuously. But now he was more patronizing and tolerant.

There was something of the indulgent father in his attitude towards them.

He had listened to their demands patiently and then he had turned very casually to the manager of his mills who was also present and addressed him briefly:

"Grant them their demands."

The mills manager had been visibly startled at this order. He had been prepared, at the most, for a few concessions to assuage the union but an unconditional surrender had not at all occurred to him. He was personally convinced that if they were given an inch, they would soon take an ell. Even the delegates had been astonished at his command.

"Give them their demands?" the manager had queried, weakly.

"Why not?" the millowner had queried whimsically. "The mills can afford it. Haven't they battened for years on the sweat and blood of its loyal workers? Let the workers have their just dues."

And the delegation had gasped at these words while the members, who had carefully prepared for remonstrances and ultimatums, were quite discomfited and became at a loss for appropriate words of thanks. They had shuffled awkwardly on their large feet and pleasure had gradually spread over their features. They had mumbled out their gratitude confusedly.

And late that evening, as Shamdas had driven past the mills for a breath of fresh air, lines of workers had gathered round him, enthusiastically clamouring like a crowd of contented children around him, impeding his progress, and the ever-smoky air had rung with hearty shouts of "Seth Shamdas ki jai." He had seen their black, wrinkled faces, their lean bony bodies showing through tears in their clothes, the pleasurable excitement on their dark features and Shamdas had thrilled to know that his one sentence had been responsible for it all.

For the first time, he felt a curiosity in regard to his workers and the sort of lives they led. For years, they had worked for him and he had hardly ever thought of them other than as human cogs in the wheels that drove his mills and spun out his gold. He saw them now as parcels of humanity, as distinct individuals, highly emotional, swiftly responsive. A few days later, he had yielded to an urge to see for himself their conditions of life and he was appalled by what he saw. Despite his own middle-class origin, he had not been prepared for such degradations.

Plans for the building of long lines of workers' tenements on modern lines and the construction of a charitable hospital with up-to-date equipment were the outcome of his visit to the slums. And his popularity with the workers had increased, all past grievances willingly buried, while on the other hand, he lost face with his fellow-millowners who denounced him as setting a bad precedent and encouraging the growing rebelliousness of labour. But Shamdas had not heeded, he was overpowered by the supreme happiness of doing good . . .

He had erected an extempore hall in his grounds, a long shed under whose roof the poor could squat in batches for the hearty repast he had arranged for them with all the gleeful anticipation of a kindly father who had prepared a surprise treat for his children. As he saw large columns of the poor troop in, he was overcome by a feeling of compassion for them. He had not imagined that there would be such large numbers of ragged, hungry people in such an acute state of want that the prospect of a free meal could lure them across miles of country. There were among them men, women and children of all ages, blind, deaf, dumb, crippled, some without any physical deformity but all stamped with the marks of privation and undernourishment. His soul revolted at the sight of such abject wretchedness, all his tender feelings were outraged and he recoiled from the reality of what he saw.

He went out into the grounds and they greeted him vociferously as they saw him. "Eat your fill, my kinsmen", Shamdas exhorted grandly. "And don't hesitate to ask for more." He sank into the chair set up for him at one end of the erection with a servant at his side and watched them eat ravenously. As the surfeited wretches filed out, he dropped coins into their cupped hands.

An old man, his face corrugated with wrinkles, his eyes sunken and watery with age, his body broken by the weight of his years, bent to touch the feet of the philanthropist, murmuring "May God bless you and yours, kind sir," but Shamdas stretched out his hand and raised the old man up. He was touched to the core of his heart and he said in admonition:

"For shame! You are even as my father, old and venerable. It is I who should make obeisance to you and seek your benediction."

All day, the ragged armies of the poor continued to file past in unending procession and Shamdas sat at his post

sending them off with words of good cheer and gifts of money as though they were not alms-seekers but honoured guests. His eyes shone with the excitement of giving happiness and his faithful attendant, who had served him ever since his accession to prosperity, grew disturbed and urged his master to retire. But Shamdas laughed away the other's fears saying, "This is my greatest day. I'm elated and exhilarated. Let me continue to delight myself."

There seemed to be no end to the line of miseries. As one batch walked out, a fresh one filled the vacant places.

In the temporary kitchen erected in one corner of the pandal, the hired cooks sweated profusely as they toiled to feed the hungry troops. Shamdas's excitement began to give place to an unhealthy glow and lines of weariness creased his face. He sat back in his chair and allowed his loyal servant to take over the distribution of charity while he watched the passing parade of poverty through half-closed lids, his heart singing within him.

Long after the last of the poor had streamed out, Shamdas still sat in his chair, his face, composed in the sleep of rapture, his soul at peace . . .

T.K.C.—AN ESTIMATE

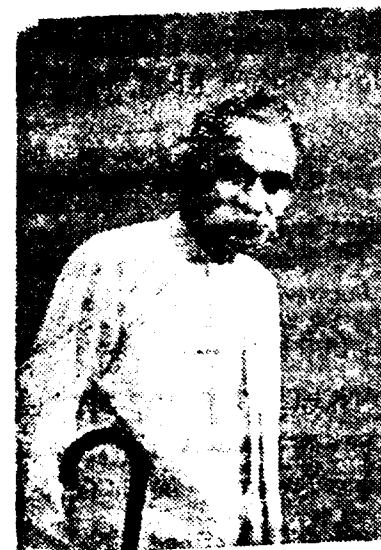
by T. S. R.

"I HAD an idea that a man might pass a very pleasant life in this manner. Let him on a certain

a cultivated mind can weave around itself.

In the still hours of the night when sleep walks up to him rather tardily, that is identically what T.K.C. does, lying in bed in his country-home, on the salubrious heights of Courtallam, in the refreshingly cool air of the hills and against the lulling background of the humming Falls. He goes one further too. One grand spiritual passage, either from *Kamban* or a Tamil saint, serves as the starting point. In his own characteristic slow and resonant manner, he sings it to himself, with significant pauses and come-backs, retracing his initial forward moves a second or even a third time, the verse improving all the while in richness of appeal and thought-content. All this is the unseen outcome, more of a long process of evolution than of a designed attempt at chastening the faculty of delight in the course of a lifetime.

T.K.C. is over sixty now. He is of medium height with a well-proportioned body to which his words and deportment lend an extra grace. A grey head and a luxuriant moustache stand out of an aspect that radiates warmth and goodwill. There is in him an unmistakable suggestion of breeding and culture. The great charm of his personality is easily traceable to an utter sincerity and a complete lack of affectation.



T K. C.

day read a certain page of full Poesy or distilled Prose, and let him wander with it, and muse upon it and reflect from it, and bring home to it, and prophesy upon it, and dream upon it: until it becomes stale—but when will it do so? Never."

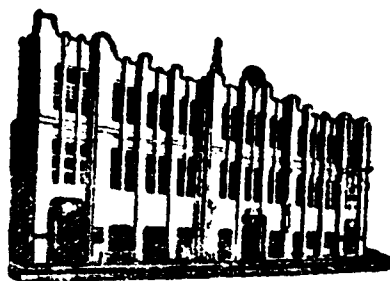
That is Keats speaking to Reynolds, growing lyrical over the possibilities of aesthetic delight that

A wide scientific outlook (for he is a keen student of the biological sciences) an intimate knowledge of music and of dancing, a right assessment of religious emotion with all its deep unconscious drives and an inherent repose of mind—all these excellences are in him captured to the service of interpreting the true and the beautiful in Tamil poetry. Love for *Kamban* is with him an ardent overwhelming (*virutham*) flame. The exquisite metrical pattern in which *Kamban's* poetical genius takes form, is to him the peak of poetic workmanship. In his temple of literature the *Pradhana Deva* is *Kamban*.

That is not to say he has no room in his temple for other deities. His is not a one-track mind in the matter of literary perception. He is a devoted student of *Kural*. His exposition in that field is at once refreshing and convincing, deviating, at times, from the line of established commentators. His intimacy with the songs of the Tamil saints, *Alvars* and *Nayanars*, charges his interpretation of these with a vigour that has been known to raise many a pious discerning soul into mystic exaltation. His unerring insight into the truly poetic has salvaged from oblivion not a few anonymous verses of merit.

If there is any one thing that exasperates him it is pedantry. He is so ill a dissembler of his dislike for pedants that it is not possible for such not to discern it. The uneducated are those who have the least to unlearn, he would say. He cannot, for the life of him, see why we delude ourselves into believing that we can appreciate poetry in a foreign tongue.

T.K.C. is nothing if he is not an evangelist whose vital life is directed towards the sharing of aesthetic joys with as many as are fit and are willing. He is an incorrigible host whose Courtallam home has, down these years, attracted quite an odd miscellany of people, poets, artists, writers, critics, actors, pundits by no means unwelcome, and members of the professions. The atmosphere



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is one of ease, warmth and kindness. No pyrotechnic display dazes you, nor are you perplexed through being led along a tortuous maze of so-called 'exposition' that renders the original inscrutable. There is, on the other hand, a pointed and revealing introduction and he starts 'singing', not reciting, which is another name for mouthing poetry. The manner is entirely his own. It is a warm resonant voice that invests the utterance with a measure of emotional appeal. The movement is leisurely, guided by an unerring sense of rhythm. He knows where to pause and where to stress, to give the maximum effect. In between he comments, without excess and that significantly. You are in a rapture as you sit listening to a grand exposition that recaptures for you the poet's own mood. You feel exhilarated, as you would walking on the slopes of the hills with the cool wind bracing you up. Despite the circumstance that he has sung it many a time before, you are surprised to find in him the simple involuntary joy of a child over the present of a fresh toy. Ere long, you discover you are in the presence of a great artist, interpreting a poet in a medium peculiarly and unforgettably his own.

A line about his written word. Here is a reputed authority on the quality of prose: "In the best prose, whether narrative or argument, we are so led on as we read, that we do not stop to applaud the writer, nor do we stop to question him."

T.K.C. does achieve this unique distinction. Read his delightful collection of literary essays *Idaya Oli*. The bulk of his writing, as also a great part of his talks, is interpretative in character and has, perforce, to be repetitive. A thing of beauty is not the less beautiful, because you pronounce a hundred times it is so. That should correct the vision of the hasty critic who confounds manner with mannerism. To a simple effective style he adds

the gift of the illuminating phrase. His grammar might, sometimes, give pundits the creeps. He is never guilty of flaccid writing to which flaccid thought inevitably resorts.

He has a 'notion' of his own, a 'pattern in the carpet' which informs everything he speaks or writes and every judgement he arrives at on the quality of literary craftsmanship. He has removed out of his edition of *Kamba Ramayana* released in part, passages ascribed to *Kamban*, for the sole reason that they do not ring true. This is where he meets with opposition.

Acknowledging *T.K.C.* as one who initiated him into the mysteries of Tamil poetry and who instilled in him a love for Tamil, C.R. in an article on the subject says:

"Let those who quarrel with him on this score look upon his edition of *Kamba Ramayana* as a *Kavya Sangraha* or a purposeful reduction. Such of those pundits as have the leisure and the zeal are free to read the entire work through and chasten themselves. What *T.K.C.* has given is enough for the rest of us."

Paying a high tribute to his monumental edition of *Muthollayiram* he continues:

"Few are those that can sense poetry; and fewer, those that are blessed with the uncommon gift of infecting others with a like sense. Fewer still are those in whom the ardour is not chilled by private griefs, (what calamity can there be to a man more poignant and blighting than the loss of an only son in the prime of his life?) and depressing physical ailments. With a rare pertinacity the cause inspires in them, they keep aloft the torch. One among this small august band is *T.K.C.* May he and his service in all its glory flourish!" (Translation, writer's). Be it so, chimes this humble writer in fervent prayer.



TAMIL NADU AND MADRAS

by Dr. N. VENKATARAMANIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

TAMIL politicians and the journalists of the present day never miss an opportunity of asserting that the northern boundary of their land extends right up to the Tirumalai Tirupati hills in the Chittoor district and the city of Madras is consequently included in it. They, no doubt, cite certain passages from ancient Tamil classics in support of their contention. The problem is not, however, so very simple as these people would have us believe. A careful and dispassionate examination of all the relevant facts shows that the area in which the Tirupati hills and Madras stand was not included in the Tamil country but lay outside it and the Tamils came there in the wake of the early Chola conquerors. It is interesting to note the opinion of some of the most distinguished Tamil historians and scholars on this subject. Curiously enough, their views run counter to the current popular beliefs which are largely shaped by the propaganda of politicians and demagogues. The Tamils were known to the Andhras from very early times as Aravas and their language as Aravam. Aruvas or Aruvalar were the northernmost inhabitants of the Tamil country who were in the immediate neighbourhood of the Andhras; and the latter, who did not perhaps know the real names of the land and the language of its people, referred to them by the more familiar names of Aravas and Aravam respectively. The Aravas (or Aruvas as they were known) lived in the district, called after them, Aruvanadu. Aruvanadu, according to the Tamil Lexicon, was 'the region where a vulgar dialect of Tamil was spoken, possibly a large portion of the South Arcot district.' Another district called Aruvavatalai lay obviously to the north of it; and here also a vulgar dialect of Tamil is said to have been spoken. In the opinion of the authors of the Tamil Lexicon, this region possibly corresponds to the Chingleput district.

Though the Aruvas or Aruvalar thus lent their name to the Tamil language and people, they themselves were not Tamils. Tradition has it that they were a northern people established in South India by the sage Agastya. The fact that they were speaking a corrupt dialect of Tamil even in the early centuries of the Christian era lends colour to the tradition. A distinguished Tamil scholar, the late Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, believed that the Aruvalar were a Naga tribe, quite distinct from the Tamils ethnologically and culturally. He wrote: "This portion of the country, according to Ptolemy, was inhabited by the Aruvalar tribe in the second century A.D. Early Tamil literature calls its two divisions Aruva and Aruvavatalai, that is, Aruva north and south. The modern districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput may be taken as marking their extent. The people of this tract were evidently the Naga race who seem to have occupied the whole of the northern border extending westwards to the verge of the Arabian Sea. Tamilagam was then separated from Dakshinapatha or Dekkhan proper of the Aryan colonists by a broad-belt of forest land inhabited in addition to the aboriginal hill tribes and nomads such as Kuravars and the Vedars, by the Naga tribes known as the Aruvalars or Kurumbars. These last were a thorn on the side of the rulers of the border states of the Tamil land and gave them 'a sea of trouble' by their depredations and forays." "Later on the words Aruvar and Kurumbar came to signify people of mischievous and evil propensities." "Though the Aruvalar spoke a kind of Tamil, it would be a serious blunder both ethnologically and culturally to confound them with Tamil races living farther south. The Tamils too held these semi-barbarous borderers in great contempt." (The Chronology of Early Tamils, App. IV PP. 227-28.)

The late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar was definitely of the opinion that Aruvavatalai lay north of Aruvanadu outside the limits of the Tamil country.

This is what he wrote: "The ancient capitals of the Tamil Kings were Uraiyur, Vanji and Madurai, and Tamil tradition does not connect Kanchipura with the earliest Tamil kings. It is situated far from the heart of the Tamil country, being on its outermost borders. The district of Kanchipura had in early times no specific name like the other eleven Tamil districts but was merely called Aruvavatalai, the region lying north of Aruva, which was what is now called the district of South Arcot. It was in later times, i.e., long after the Pallava dynasty had established itself finally there and the district became a centre of Tamil culture that it came to be called by the specific name of Tondiamandalam, literally the district ruled over by the kings, or belonging to the people, named after the creeper Tondai. . . . We thus see that in ancient days the district of Kanchipura was conceived by the Tamils as practically outside the genuine Tamil country, the region north of the Tamil district of Aruva. . . . Almost since that time Aryan influence ought to have penetrated to the district of Kanchipura, for it lay in the outermost fringe of the Andhra dominion in the region that was just outside the genuine Tamil provinces." (History of the Tamils Page 323-25.)

Tamil literature, as may be gathered from the accounts of Tamil writers, has very little to say about the early history of Kanchi and its neighbourhood, or of the rulers who held sway over it. If we can depend on the tradition mentioned by Huen Tsang that the emperor Asoka built a stupa at Kanchi, it may be admitted that it was included in the Mauryan empire. Kanchi next passed into the hands of the Andhras, the political successors of the Mauryas, and it remained in their possession until the break-up of the Andhra empire in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., when

it passed into the hands of the Pallavas through a marriage of the first Pallava king with the daughter of the Naga chief Sivaskanda Naga, the commander-in-chief of the last Andhra monarch, Pulumayi IV.

The fifth century of the Christian Era witnessed the expansion of the Tamils towards the north. The powerful and ambitious Chola monarch conceived the idea of conquering the whole of South India; he reduced at first the Tamil kingdoms of the south and the west, and then set out on an expedition for the conquest of the northern countries. Pattinappalai, one of the poems included in the Sangam collection, mentions the peoples whom Karikala had conquered. "The poet tells us that among those subjugated by Karikala were the Olyar, the ancient Aruvalar, the northerners and the westerners and the Pandyas; while the petty chieftains of the shepherd class and of the line of Irungovel were stamped out of existence." (Chola Studies by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Page 22.)

Of the peoples conquered by Karikala, the Aruvalar and the northerners deserve special notice. The former, as stated already, occupied the territory situated immediately to the north of the Chola country. The northerners, (or Vadavar, a term usually employed to denote the Telugu people), must have been the people living farther to the north in the countries of Aruvavatalai and beyond. Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, commenting on this passage of Pattinappalai, correctly observes, "The Aruva and Oliya chiefs ruled over the districts between the Sola and the Pallava dominions. Having conquered these, Karikala subjugated the northern king (Vadavar) i.e., the Pallava Raja of Kanchi. He pushed beyond and brought under his control the Poduva chieftains who ruled over the Cuddappah and the Kurnool districts." (History of the Tamils, Pages 345-46.)

This is corroborated by the evidence of epigraphy and literature. Telugu inscriptions dating from the early decades of the 7th century

testify to the existence of the rule of the descendants of Karikala over Renadu in the present Cudappab district, and tradition (both epigraphical and literary) states clearly that Karikala defeated a Pallava king of Kanchi called Trilochana and occupied his kingdom. (History of the Tamils. Pages 383-7.)

It was during the reign of Karikala and his immediate successors that Tamil colonists emigrated from the south to the newly conquered region and settled down permanently in Kanchi and its neighbourhood. "It was only after the complete subjugation," says Mr. Sivaraaja Pillai, "of the Aruvanadu of the Naga tribes and of the North Aruva inhabited by some forest tribes and the planting of Tamil colonies in those semi-civilized and barbarous regions, that Venkatam must be considered to have become the northernmost boundary of the Chola dominion and hence of Tamllagam." "The first mention of Venkatam in this (Sangam) literature occurs in the poems of Kalladanar, a poet of the seventh

generation. It was in the sixth generation that Aruvanadu was conquered and brought under complete subjugation by Karikalan II. Both the father and the grandfather of this sovereign are said to have fought some battles in the north; but those victories did not take them as far north as Venkatam nor did they lead to any permanent occupation of territory in that region. It was only during the time of the great warrior-king, Karikalan II, that the Chola kingdom had its northern frontier pushed to the foot of Venkatam. . . . In the commendatory stanza composed by Panam-paranar, Tolkappiyar's co-student according to tradition, and prefixed to Tolkappiyam it is definitely stated that Venkatam was the northernmost boundary of Tamllagam at the time of the composition of the work. Hence one may legitimately infer that Tolkappiyar could not have written his grammar before the Chola power had extended its conquests to the foot of the northern-hill." (The Chronology of Early Tamils. App. XV. p. 259.)

LABOUR POLICY OF MADRAS GOVERNMENT

by T. S. RAMANUJAM, M.A., LL.B. (Lond.)

WHEN the Congress formed the Ministry in the Madras Province, the workers were led to expect that the fundamental rights of trade unions would be guaranteed, that "yellow unions" i.e., (those secretly organised by employers) would not be tolerated and protective and ameliorative labour legislation would be introduced in abundant measure. In consequence of India being dragged into World War II without her consent, that Ministry resigned suddenly, without having implemented its labour pledges. When a Congress Ministry with Sri V. V. Giri as Labour Minister was formed once more in the Madras Province in 1946, hopes ran high in worker's hearts. In regard to settling trade disputes and handling strikes, he was sympathetic and tactful, and he made also definite moves towards the inauguration of ameliorative labour laws. Some of his draft bills have been taken up by the Central Government for All India Legislation, and his "Shops and Establishments Bill" is at the anvil in the Madras Legislature.

During the Prakasam Ministry a few things took place that were in consonance with the professed sympathy of the Congress for the working class. To give some relevant examples: When the Postal Strike was going on, the Government of Madras issued orders that none of its servants should undertake to do the duties of the men on strike. This was a tacit recognition of the right to strike on the part of a trade union of Government servants. The Madras Government was dead set against haphazard retrenchment and formed a Retrenchment and Reorganization Sub-Committee consisting of Cabinet Ministers, to go into the matter. The Madras Government Fire Service Workers' Union was formed on 21st July, 1946, duly registered under the Indian Trade

Unions Act, 1926 by the Labour Commissioner of Madras, and letters and deputations on behalf of the union were given due respect and promptly attended to by Government Secretaries and the Cabinet Ministers. Thus the Madras Fire Service Workers' Union was enjoying *de facto* recognition at the hands of the Prakasam Ministry as well as the present Ministry which succeeded it till 30th May 1947. Then suddenly the Union was told by the Government that the Fire Service personnel, though duly registered by the Labour Commissioner under the All India Trade Unions Act 1926, could not resort to trade union methods, as they would thereby be violating the Government Service Conduct Rules as well as certain Statutory Service Rules which are now under preparation, that they had better convert the trade union into a Government Service Association with their own officers as office-bearers, that they could not even have an interview with the Hon'ble Premier who is in charge of the service, until the suggested conversion of the trade union had taken place. Such a decision on the part of the Government of Madras under a Congress Ministry at this critical juncture has driven workers to the verge of despair, especially when it is read in the light of the following facts:

(a) Government servants of all categories in England have long been enjoying the right to form trade unions. When the Attlee Government came to power, the King's address contained the happy news that trade unions of Government servants could join the Trade Union Congress (with which are affiliated trade unions of non-Government servants also).

(b) The All India Railway Men's Federation is now a body consisting

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of trade unions of Government servants with outsiders as office-bearers; and it has been duly recognised by the Government of India as a trade union organisation with the usual trade union rights, including the right to strike.

(c) Several unions of non-gazetted employees of the Posts & Telegraphs Department of the Government of India are regular trade unions—not Government Service Associations—duly recognised by the Government of India in the role of an employer.

(d) The Madras Government Fire Service Workers' Union has certain statutory rights conferred upon it by an All India Act—the All India Trade Unions' Act 1926—which include the right to have a certain percentage of outsiders as office-bearers, and the right to conduct a legal strike. The Government of Madras now claims to prepare a separate set of Statutory Service Rules under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935, some of which are calculated to override the provisions of an already existing statute of the Central Government.

(e) Freedom of association is a fundamental right vouchsafed to all categories of workers under the Charter of the International Labour Organisation of which the Government of India is an original member.

(f) The policy of the present Congress Ministry in Madras is the diametrical opposite of the previous Congress Ministry, as regards the question of recognising Government servants' trade unions, and is a negation of the fundamental rights assured for India's masses by Congress resolutions and election pledges as well as the conclusions already made by the Indian Constituent Assembly.

This appeal has been sent to leaders and Men of Affairs and Democratic Institutions all over the world, who are interested in World Peace, Social Justice and True Democracy. Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, President Truman, Premier Attlee, Field Marshal Stalin, George Bernard Shaw, Henry Wallace, Harold Laski, International Labour Office, the United Nations Organisations Secretary-General are a few among those who have been thus informed.

SURRENDER TO BLACKMARKET

by K. G. SIVASWAMI

(President, South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Union.)

THE price of food grains to the consumer has been raised by Rs. 1-8 per bag of two maunds by the Government of Madras. This rise in price has been effected with a view to inducing the hoarders of paddy, particularly in the Circars, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely districts, to disgorge their surplus which they are selling in the blackmarkets. An inducement of annas eight per bag of paddy was given by the present Congress Ministry in April last without much result. The present Ministry announced on assumption of power that they would under no circumstances increase the price to the consumer. The Minister for Food said at many meetings that the sellers of surplus paddy are mostly rentiers and that any increase in price would not benefit the real producer who had to incur the increased cultivation expenses. The only argument that has been advanced in a recent press note for an increase in price to the sellers of surplus paddy is that it should be consistent with the increased cost of living. It is well-known that most of the sellers of surplus paddy are not subsistent or small holders making a hand to mouth existence from the land but owners of large areas of land, with whom even the present price left an unsocial surplus wealth sufficiently disturbing to the price structure of society. What this class really required was a progressive agricultural income-tax in order to mop up their excess mischievous purchasing power. The present Minister for Food got the Congress Party to postpone such a tax at its last meeting and now proposes an addition to the income of these people by granting them a higher price.

The Commissioner of Civil Supplies has given the reasons for the failure in the procurement of paddy by about 50 per cent. as compared with last year. Firstly, the Con-

gress Ministry started food committees in villages which comprised mostly representatives of sellers of paddy who could not but be expected to underestimate the yields and thus widen for themselves the blackmarket. Secondly, the co-operative societies were found inefficient in procurement. These, too, hardly represented the poor consumer interest but mostly comprised the rentier classes, interested in dumping wet paddy and chaff on these societies and claiming a higher price. The Congress Party has been identifying itself with a policy of putting pressure on Government for an increase in price to sellers of surplus grains. The President of the Andhra Provincial Congress and the ex-Prime Minister have not only been doing active propaganda but organising direct

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GOBIND RAM. YODH RAJ.
Manager. Chairman &
Madras. General Manager.

action too for increased prices. The rentier classes have captured the legislature and have put into power a Ministry whose life depends on their goodwill. The consequence is that however much the present Ministry avowed their determination not to increase the consumer price, the sellers of surplus grains naturally refused to take it seriously. They thought they should hoard more so that the eight annas bonus per maund that was initially promised might be increased.

The most charitable interpretation that can be put on this whole episode is that Government with all good intentions to protect the consumer has succumbed to the onslaughts of the richer landholders in this trial of strength. The present announcement has given a rude shock to the masses of poor consumers in villages and to the peasants with economic holdings who, being purchasers, of food grains for part of the year, are also keen about lower prices.

While even in pre-war times there always existed a class of chronic poor in villages who could not pur-

chase their elementary requirements of food, this class has increased after the war, owing to the prevalence of age-long traditional wages and rents for permanent farm servants and tenants, and failure of the Government to enact any legislation for their relief.

The poorer classes painfully realise not only the utter incapacity of the present Government to prevent a rise in price but their total surrender to a handful of surplus holders of produce. They realise that the present impasse is entirely due to want of courage on the part of Government to stop blackmarkets. Their policy is no more than regularising blackmarkets by themselves offering the blackmarket price to the hoarders. A handful of vocal middle class rentiers claiming sanctions in their past jail life, their Khadi dress and their doles to Harijan and Kasturbha funds, are making it impossible for the poor to buy their food essentials at a fair price. Frankly, we are heading to a crisis, which can only be overcome either by a purge in the Congress, or a new people's party coming to power.

BOOKS

The Press The Public Wants. By Kingsley Martin. (Published by The Hogarth Press, London. Price 7s. 6d.).

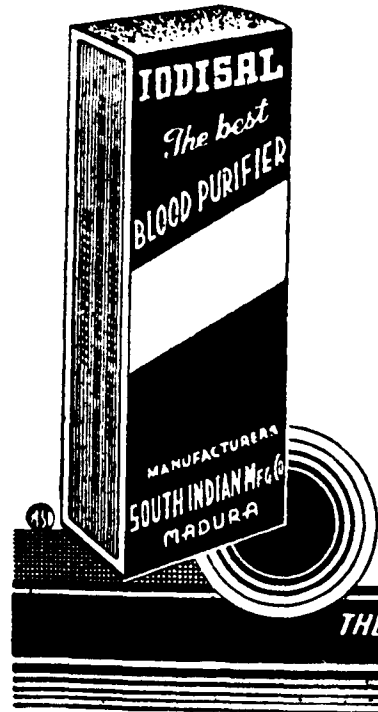
Here is a first-rate book on a subject of first-rate importance. In India we have in recent years been witnessing the invasion and capture of a considerable portion of the daily press by industrial magnates like the Birlas and the Dalmias. This is a development which is quite in accord with the history of the press in all capitalist countries. The tendency towards monopoly in the media of mass communication in America was clearly established by the American Commission on Press Freedom (whose report was summarized and commented upon in an earlier issue of *Swatantra*). In the book under review Kingsley Martin traces the growth of monopoly in the British press, and does very much more besides. As might be expected of the editor of such a consistent Liberal-Socialist journal as *The New Statesman and Nation*, he does not stop with criticism of the commercialization of the press which has tended to make it trivial, vulgar and irresponsible. While suggesting various steps to free the press from the economic control of the Press Moghuls and to encourage non-profit-making co-operative newspapers, Kingsley Martin goes on to point out that the press must be equally free from quite another form of monopoly, State control.

The chapter on "The theory of freedom" is most illuminating. The philosophers of 18th century Enlightenment expected, says the author, that in the coming democracy of their conception "the public would be in effect a jury listening to the advocacy of politicians and journalists, while, enthroned in impartial splendour, as judge in the great argument, there would sit—have you guessed?—the editor, watching to see that the rival cases were put fairly and the jury given the fullest opportunity to make up their minds in a cool, rational, and majestically self-interested manner." These early crusaders on behalf of a free press could not foresee that the press would become an extremely

profitable business and that its commercial possibilities would swamp its political function. When Lord Northcliffe declared with confidence that the newspaper proprietors could make "the whole country think with us whenever we say the word," he no doubt overestimated the gullibility of the readers; but he was giving frank expression to the press lords' consciousness of their own enormous power. This power has not been used with any adequate sense of responsibility. The uncritical handling of foreign affairs generally and the vicious misrepresentation of Soviet Russia are instanced by Kingsley Martin as the unfortunate effects of capitalist bias in the press.

Does the press fare any better in the Soviet Union, where it is free from capitalist control? To a great extent, yes, Soviet newspapers, says the author, "deal almost exclusively with political, economic and cultural affairs. They are eagerly read by millions who have never learnt to expect the crime, sex, and human interest stories which entertain the reader of Western newspapers . . . there is no sales advertising—perhaps the most significant difference between the West and the Soviet Union. No one tempts the reader to buy that which he does not conspicuously need—which is no doubt partly because all commodities are in short supply, but which is also to be expected in a country where there is no economic incentive to stimulate appetite." But then, Soviet journalists have to take care not to deviate from the 'policy directives' issued from above. Further, "the picture presented by the press and wireless (in the Soviet Union) of the outside world is often obviously false."

How are we to steer clear between the capitalist's irresponsibility and the commissar's rigidity? Kingsley Martin's suggestion is that we should follow the British middle way. The press should neither be just one among the capitalist's profit-yielding industries, nor the State's propaganda machine, but should become a free and responsible public concern. Such a press is essential in



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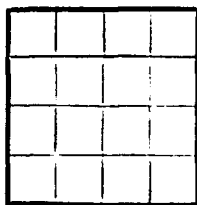
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and order maintenance in divorce cases. They commit young adolescents to Borstal and reformatory schools. The people who resort to these courts are immensely pleased and designate them as people's courts. Their personnel is not drawn from any higher strata of society than the honorary magistrates here in India, and it must be admitted that the men chosen here are drawn from all classes and are highly qualified. But the institution of honorary magistrates has not acquired in India the name and fame of the English Justices of the Peace. Our Law Minister is well versed in European traditions of administration. He should copy the English honorary system in toto and make the administration of justice cheap and speedy. This is a sorely needed and long delayed reform.

P. V. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR,
Vice-President, Hony. Presy.
Magistrates Association.

Teachers' Salaries

Teachers working under the district boards were hitherto paid a craft allowance of Rs. 5 a month, exclusive of their usual monthly pay and now this allowance has been included in the salary proper.

The Government on the one hand extols the teachers as the true servants of the nation and on the other hand desists from redressing their economic grievances. When funds could be found to appease the police who till yesterday were anti-national and anti-Congress, what is the point in pleading lack of finance in regard to the teaching profession with all its tremendous potentialities?

The teachers' demands are just and reasonable. The popular Ministry should find it possible to increase the salaries of teachers at least to Rs. 50 a month, which is nothing more than a minimum living wage.

C. BALI REDDI,
Secretary, Andhra Kisan
Congress.

Sowing Illwill

While the Nizam of Hyderabad is satisfied with declaring Hyderabad an independent State, Mr. Mohammed Yamin Zuberi, member of the Working Committee of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen has issued a statement to the effect "that with its independence, the retrocession of Berar, of Ceded Districts including Masulipatam, should be taken as a settled fact." He gives the warning that the Mussalmans of Hyderabad State will not tolerate any move which may go against the principle of an independent sovereign Hyderabad, ignor-

ing the fact that the Andhras of Hyderabad State and also of the Ceded Districts are equally determined not to tolerate any move whatsoever from the Mussalmans of Hyderabad or anyone else to thwart their legitimate rights.

It would be wise of Mr. Md. Yamin Zuberi and his like, to refrain from making such meaningless and lofty speeches which will in no way be beneficial to either of the communities, but will only create unnecessary strife and ill-feelings.

Rayalaseema people should regard this as an eye-opener and work unitedly for the early formation of an Andhra Province.

Kadiri,

N. D. MAMLU.

Telugus In Hubli

The Telugu population of Hubli has been increasing at a tremendous pace in recent years. But there are hardly any educational facilities worth speaking of for Telugus. Today about eight hundred Andhra boys and girls are taught in the schools of the town in a language which is not their mother-tongue. This is a deplorable state of affairs, and the Bombay Government who are the tax-collectors in this area, should see to it that it is ended, and that proper educational facilities in their own language are provided for Andhras resident in their territory.

Hubli.

M. S. MOORTHY.

Premier Not Impartial

A rule applicable to one part of the country should not be altered when it is to be applied to another part.

If the fate of Madras is to be determined on a linguistic basis, why should it be modified when it comes to Nellore and Tirupati? The Premier's attempt at such modification only proves to an ordinary intellect that he lacks an impartial outlook.

M. MALLIKARJUNA RAO, B.Com.
Nellore.

Fallacious

It is urged that opportunities should be given to the various communities according to their population. Agreed. The proper procedure would be to take a census of the literate population in every community and apply the communal ratio. But why mix the literate and illiterate and thus weight the scales in favour of particular communities? After all, how are the particular communities going to be benefitted if a few people from its fold are to be given jobs? Jobs will benefit only the recipients and none else.

It seems unjust to mix illiterate people who do not come into the picture at

each country for creating that intelligent public opinion which alone can fashion and manage the One World which so many of us desire. Kingsley Martins book says all these important things and provides besides very enjoyable reading.

World Monopoly And Peace. By James S. Allen (Published by "The Bookman," 63, Dharmatalla Street, Calcutta 13. Price Rs. 6-8).

As the title of the book suggests, world peace has always been in danger due to the growth of monopoly capital. Before the Second World War, for instance, American monopoly capital had played no small part in the rise to power of European Fascists. As the Kilgore Committee said in its report to the American Senate, "Krupp and Thyssen and other powerful figures on the industrial scene provided both financial support and political influence for Hitler." It was with such German monopolists that America had at least 162 cartel agreements, according to Attorney-General William Bege. With far-seeing and enlightened self-interest, the American Du Pont and German I. G. Farben decided, when the war broke out, to 'suspend' exchange of technical information "until the present emergency passed."

George Allen, who is a noted American Marxist scholar, reaches this conclusion after his extensive study of all the "feverish amalgamations" inside the capitalist countries: "The basic problem has shifted from the field of business structure and corporate entities to the financial world . . . The cartel agreements have helped these monopoly powers to extend their sway beyond national frontiers. They represent a stage beyond the interplay of blind economic forces; they are a conscious effort on the part of the monopolists to regulate such forces and therefore they function in the realm of high economic and political policy." The Marshall plan of aid to Europe can be usefully studied against the excellent background provided by this book.

Attention is also drawn to the danger to world peace which Germany and Japan yet represent. The war potential of Germany has not been diminished so much as not to afford a basis for fresh rearmament with the aim of aggression. In Japan the monopolists are better off now under American occupation than they would have been if Russia had also formed part of the occupation army. Now that the militarists have been crushed, Big Business

in Japan is left with undisputed sway, the monopolists of course parading as 'moderates' and working out the reforms presented to them by the Allied Supreme Commander. In contrast to Germany, Japan does not have a strong progressive movement since there has been no democratic revolution to this day.

Surveying monopolistic tendencies in other capitalist countries, Allen makes the point that a redeeming feature in these countries is the increasing demand for nationalisation of industries. In a State which is run by representatives of the financiers, nationalisation no doubt gives more power to those interests, but there is the possibility that the changing complexion of the Government, through increasing participation of democratic forces, may enable the operation of the nationalised industries in the true interests of the people.

The Andhra Herald. (Edited and published by V. Ramana Rao, 4, Stringer Street, G.T., Madras. Price, As. 3.)

This new weekly magazine seeks to be an "exponent of Andhra life and culture" and to be "the voice of 40 million Telugu speaking people." The figure might not be correct, but it indicates the desire of the journal to portray the life of Andhras now living outside the frontiers of the Andhra area of Madras Presidency and to promote their interests. There are articles on the early migrations of Andhras and the position which they now occupy in Mysore, Orissa, etc. As might be expected, the demand for a linguistically unified Andhra province is vigorously voiced, and the fall of the Prakasam Ministry is bemoaned. Mr. G. Harisarvothama Rao's survey of the awakening and development of Andhra consciousness and its effects on politics and cultural activities, is interesting and comprehensive.

But one fears that the almost exclusive attention to things Andhra will limit the interest and usefulness of the journal. This will be no disadvantage, of course, if such a limitation has been deliberately accepted. Here is a fair sample of the editor's style: "Our ancient and great country of Bharatavarsha is now on the threshold of great, glorious and splendid future. She is presently entering an era of freedom and independence, in which she will have vast opportunities for playing a magnificent and resplendent part in the history of the world and progress of humanity."

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.

What Is Justice?

With reference to the article under the caption "Justice Interfered With" in your issue of 21st June, let me say that the whole public of Rajampet taluk have received with relief and gratitude the withdrawal of the case foisted on Sri V. R. Satyanarayana, the father of the Co-operative movement in this area. Since your readers may not be interested in the long and sordid story of the Co-operative officials who engineered this libellous attack on an upright non-official co-operator who felt it his duty to defy the dictates of bureaucratic officials, it will be sufficient to state that the withdrawal of the case against Sri V. R. Satyanarayana is not enough. The Government should book the officials who almost shattered the confidence of the public in the free growth of the Co-operative movement in Rajampet taluk. While not a single pie of the Central Bank's loans has been lost under the management of Sri Satyanarayana, elsewhere thousands of rupees have been embezzled and the Department is still hesitating to take to task the local officials for their negligence.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Pullampet.

Procurement Defeatism

To appeal to the "producer" to surrender his stocks is something like asking people to make voluntary contributions to the Government in lieu of taxation. It is a sign of weakness and defeatism, not pardonable in a popular Government. To offer higher prices or bonus whenever procurement is low is to accept defeat at the hands of anti-social elements.

But this is just what is being done by our Government. In his speech at Erivilliputtur, the Premier stated that the Government desired to abolish informal rationing in rural parts. The Premier could not have struck upon a better means of hastening the famine.

The moment rural rationing is lifted, the prospect of higher prices would automatically drive food grains underground.

The main crop (Samba) of last year was harvested in January, '47 and the last crop too has come into the hands of the "producer." The Government and their officers are guilty of dereliction of duty in not having procured the surplus so long after the harvest. Where it is a question of life and death for millions, there can be no room for tenderness or sentiment. If even now the Government act with grit and determination the unreal scarcity of the present would be removed before long.

K. N.

Tirupati.

Paddy Rotting In Orissa

I understand that paddy has been rotting without anybody to buy it in the godowns of Orissa for the past three years. It is high time that the Food Minister flew to Orissa and negotiated with the Orissa Premier and rushed food stocks to the starving areas in our Province. At least in this respect, the people expect our Madras Ministry to shed their false sense of prestige and follow the precedent set by Sri Prakasam who secured huge stocks from Orissa. The producer-cum-consumer societies also should be permitted to procure foodgrains along with the millers.

V. NANNA RAO, B.A.

Anakapalle.

Honorary Magistrates

There are some 20,000 permanent Justices of the Peace distributed in Britain all over the counties and they are very much respected. They try all cases including murder and grievous hurt and commit the cases after trial to sessions. They have power to grant and cancel licenses. They issue warrants of arrest and order eviction of tenants. They also grant separation

all while working out the communal ratio with literate people who do.
M. S. V. CHARI.

Dissolve Constituent Assembly

The Constituent Assembly that is now functioning was brought into being in pursuance of the British Government's declaration of May 16. The Congress and the country agreed to its formation through indirect election as it was felt that matters should be expedited so that the transference of power which was made to depend on the completion of constitution-framing, may not be unduly delayed. But now we are free to frame a constitution according to our own lights and take our own time to do it. Thus the urgency that impelled us sometime ago to accept a Constituent Assembly which was admitted on all hands as not being broad-based and fully representative, is not there any longer. Hence it is incumbent on us to pause and consider whether the present Constituent Assembly may not be dissolved and replaced by a fresh one elected on the basis of adult franchise.

• K. NARASIMHAN.

Tirumalai Hills.

"Swatantra On Trial"

With reference to your editorial comments in the issue dated July 5 under the title 'Congress leadership on trial' I have no hesitation in asserting that instead of the 'Congress leaders, succeeding virtually to the administrative legacies of the outgoing imperialism' being on their trial today, at the crossroads between fascism and democracy, it is *Swatantra* that is on trial at the crossroads between malicious propaganda and honest journalism. The tirade you have been consistently carrying on through your journal against the Congress High Command as it is constituted today is both disgusting and unworthy of a journal of *Swatantra's* standing.

As the Indian National Congress, as it is constituted today, is the only organisation that can deliver the goods and its leadership has been facing boldly the situation created by Mr. Jinnah's intransigence, you are doing a positive disservice by being vindictive. What the Congress is doing is the best under the circumstances.

As it is the inherent right of a people to determine the structure of the State and the form of government, the present Constituent Assembly as well as the present High Command will go the way the Conservative Party and Mr. Chur-

chill went, if they must. I should therefore advise a little more patience, more understanding and sympathy and if possible positive co-operation with the Congress and the nation in solving the difficult problems that lie ahead of us.

V. R. SASTRY, M.A.

Change India's Capital

Delhi is an undesirable capital for India. It has a bad tradition behind it. It is situated on the highway between Morocco and Mandalay, and on the plains too, without any natural defence. Moreover nearly two-thirds of the new Indian Union now lies south of the Vindhya. The South Indians are tired of rule by the North Indians for the past 5,000 years. A change in capital is now desirable and necessary too and in the interest of the new Indian Republic, the capital should be on this side of the Vindhya.

T. H. M. CHANDRASEKHARA
SASTRY.

Bellary.

Jenghiz Khan And Islam

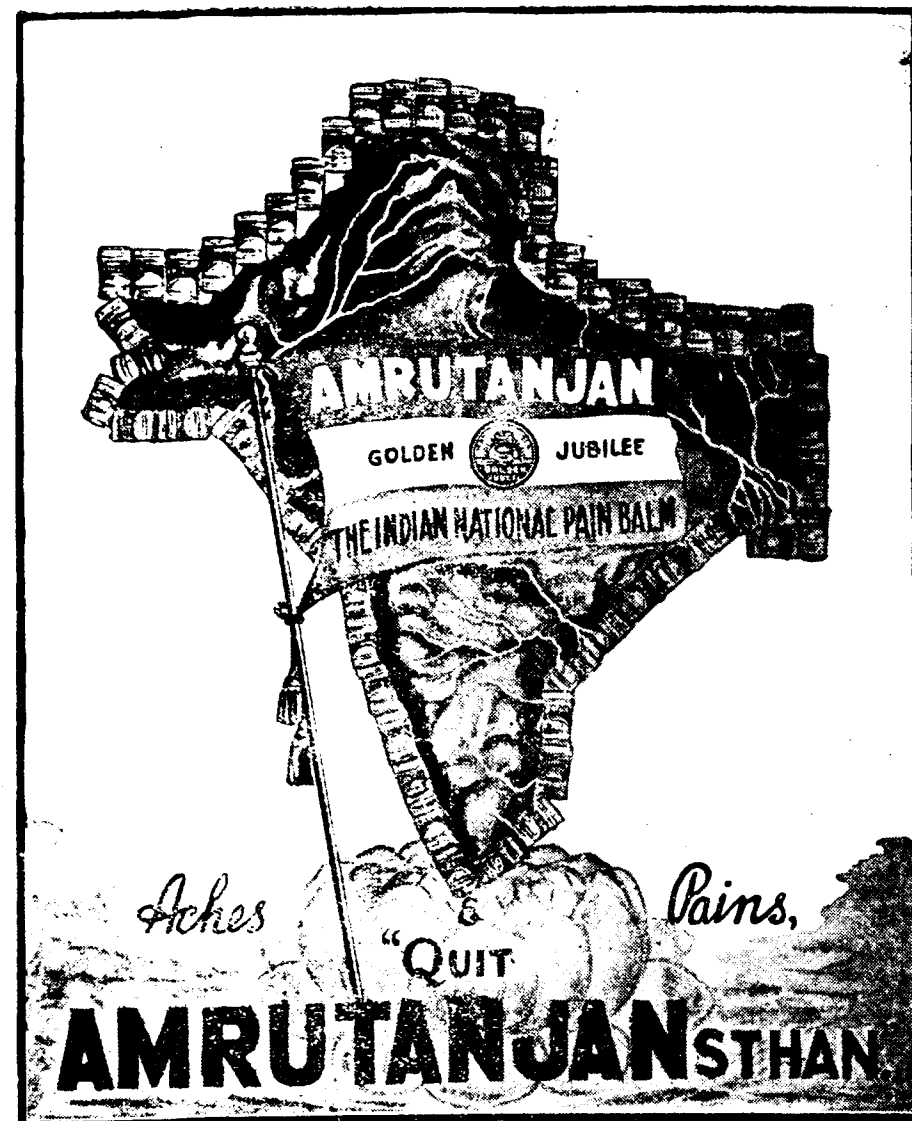
The reference to Jenghiz Khan in Chitragupta's letter has provoked me to correct a popular misconception widely prevalent. It is said that the League leaders have urged their followers to emulate Jenghiz Khan and some Hindus also couple the name of Jenghiz Khan with Tamer-lane, Mahmud of Ghazni, etc. It is time that the elementary facts of history about Jenghiz Khan are told.

Jenghiz Khan was the leader of Mongol hordes from East Asia and Mangolia and neither he nor his followers were Muslims. Jenghiz Khan's conquests and massacres broke down for ever the power of Islam, depopulating Central Asian Muslim countries, Persia, Iraq, etc., and his work was more than completed by his sons and grandsons who broke up the irrigation system of Mesopotamia and Persia and wrecked their economy to such an extent that till now they have not recovered from the blow. Generations later, the Western Mongols embraced Islam, and the Eastern Mongols in China became Buddhists. The Mongols in Russia took to Christianity.

As tyrants Jenghiz Khan and Ghazni Mahmud were perhaps much the same, but the fury of Jenghiz Khan and his followers chiefly spent itself on Islamic countries, and the Mullahs called him the "Scourge of God." It is really strange that Muslim Leaguers should choose Jenghiz Khan as their idol.

V. SUBRAMANIAN.

Trichinopoly.



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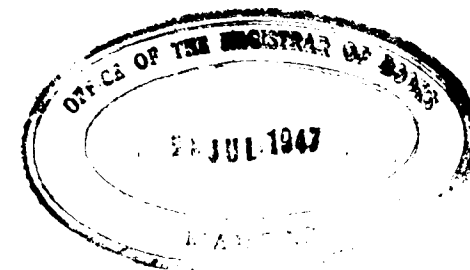
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SWATANTRA

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ISSUED
WEEKLY

WHAT SORT OF FREEDOM?

THE lugubriousness with which prospective celebrations of independence on August 15 are being planned by the Congress Working Committee is appropriately reflected among the people themselves, supposed to be beneficiaries of the great event, in a complete lack of rejoicing. No country in the world ever received its freedom with such an utter absence of enthusiasm as is being witnessed in India to-day. Experience of Congress in office would seem to have cancelled out mass enjoyment of the thrills of freedom. Office-holding is thus now revealed to be a great psychological blunder. For one thing, it has destroyed unity of purpose in the Congress organisation and converted it into a hot-bed of intrigue among rival groups of Congressmen for capture of the various offices connected with control of the administration. As a result, there is more internal hatred between the successful and the unsuccessful in the wild quest after jobs, among the Congressmen themselves, than among members of parties traditionally at daggers drawn. Instead of rendering public service, hatred propaganda has become the main pre-occupation of outstanding Congress personalities. Recently, for example, Sri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, indulged in Tinnevely in an exhibition of warlike temper against the Andhras that was as uncivilized as it was

totally uncalled for. Tamilians, he declared, would shed the last drop of their blood to prevent Andhra attempts for possession of their well-beloved Madras City. If he had an iota of commonsense he would have perceived the gross folly of subjecting the future of any part of the province to the outcome of a violent sanguinary struggle between the component sections of its citizens. This question of internal division on linguistic lines of the area comprised in India is not due for settlement by means of blood-thirsty battles between roughs, it is to be taken up by the Congress High Command who will appoint at the proper time a boundary commission for examination of all the relevant data and authoritative adjudication on all the conflicting claims. Sri Kamaraj Nadar ought to know that no boundary commission to be set up in connection with the Andhra Province can ignore the views of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee of which he himself happens to be the President. Why then does he rush in public places with incitements to war and violence that are wholly unnecessary and will certainly have no effect at all on the determination of the boundary question? It is a pet tactic of leaders devoid of beneficial justification for their leadership, to seek to ward off rebellion in their ranks by providing them with easy scapegoats for the absorption of their discontent, anger and ill-will. Confronted



ROADSIDE LIQUOR ADDICTS IN MADRAS Drawn from Life

with increasing proofs of his diminishing hold on the esteem of Congress-minded people in Tamil Nadu, Sri Kamaraj Nadar would seem to have struck on the desperate expedient of an anti-Andhra drive to rehabilitate himself in the guise of a gallant defender of Tamil interests. Nor is Sri Nadar alone in the matter of manufacturing ill-will as a method of political consolidation. He has his counterparts throughout the Congress organisation, in Andhra no less than in Tamil Nadu, but it is when they figure as administrators that their mischief is most potent.

In the province of Madras, at any rate, Congress rule has degenerated into a rancorous communal war on Brahmins. The Brahmins are sharp-witted and may be left to take care of themselves. But the vendetta against them has injured the whole spirit of the administration and given it a cheap negative character. In educational institutions, zest for hounding the Brahmin out has taken the place of providing increased facilities for all. Under a mistaken sense, apparently, that merit is a Brahmin monopoly, the anti-Brahmin dispensers of authority in the Government have made themselves responsible for a deliberate policy of exorcising merit in educational institutions and other fields of Governmental activity. Their crusade against merit must result in the progressive enthrone-ment of incompetence in positions of vital public responsibility, and already they have succeeded in disintegrating the morale of the departments in their charge. Nobody is any longer sure of recognition and reward in Government service on the basis of the quality of the work done—nincompoops, provided they belong to a favoured caste, are set above geniuses belonging to unfavoured ones. It is no wonder the constructive purposes associated with government have suffered

enormously as a result of the prevailing communal hatreds, and no headway at all has been made under the present ministerial rule in the direction of giving the people a better deal in respect of things that are of vital importance to them, such as food, clothing, shelter, education and civil liberties.

The content of independence has been spoiled for the people by the record of Congress rule as already exemplified in practice. The publicity being given to the arrangements proposed for filling the new grand offices to be created for the Indian Republic has fallen flat on people in general to whom it promises no new enjoyment of hitherto absent rights and privileges. There is public depression at the prospect of the present provincial regimes continuing undisturbed till the end of next year. There is disgust at the series of manipulations by which a virtually nominated body of men is to usurp the grand title of Dominion Legislature without any reference to the wishes of the people tested at the polls. It is no secret that many figuring now in important positions as legislators or ministers have by their recent acts lost public goodwill and are sure to be ousted if public opinion had any effective means of asserting itself. Their retention in their present positions burdens the young Republic with the repugnance of the masses, and invests the independence celebrations with an artificial and forced quality. Something more has to be added, and a great deal subtracted from the pattern of actually subsisting Congress rule if the people of the country are to be enabled to hail it with hope and joy as the beginning of a new era of liberation and freedom. We would like to see an end of all petty harassments of individuals on the score of their belonging to this or that caste, and if indeed there is to be a common citizenship in

India, it should be made a punishable offence for any official of Government to regulate any exercise of State power, for good or evil, with reference to caste. All citizens must have equality of access to all benefits provided by the State, and a new standard of public morality must be insisted on making any denial or violation of it as culpable as theft or bribery. The responsibility of the State itself to the citizen must be clarified constructively in such a way that political freedom should not stand divested of economic benefit—it should be part of the content of freedom that all admitted to it should as a matter of right have work to do and enough income for decent living. To start with, independence deserves to be written on a clean slate with amnesty to all now under incarceration on political grounds.

The Doctor's Dilemma

HUNDREDS of doctors who volunteered for war service and were demobilised at the end of the war still continue unprovided for. It is open to them to set up independent practice in urban areas, but these areas are fairly well provided with doctors, and can absorb only a very limited number of additional practitioners. In the rural areas, private medical practice is not a paying proposition. There is very little scope for unemployed doctors on any large scale to make a living in the villages with the aid of fees from patients alone. If the attractiveness of the medical profession is to be maintained, town and country should both be drafted into the field of service, and in the case of the latter, the State should step in either directly as employer or with well-planned forms of remunerative aid to make up for the general financial barrenness of the poverty-stricken masses of the countryside. There is need also for

the accepted role of doctors as healers of the sick being enlarged in other ways if employment is to be found for them substantially. If doctors exist only to cure disease, a stage will come when more doctors will not be needed unless the quantity of sickness itself is increased. As this cannot be the objective of any State, the curative function of doctors will require to be supplemented with preventive vigilance and positive duties for the promotion of public health in order that employment without limit may be found for them. Once it is realised that we need doctors not only to cure illness but also to promote the health, strength, efficiency and physical well-being of the members of society, then no limit need be set on the employment of doctors as there can never be indeed too many of them. The integration of the curative work of medicine with research for the elimination of diseases and with environmental sanitation for the promotion of public health is an indispensable necessity if doctors are to take their right place as benefactors of the community and not merely exploiters of its many ailments, and if they are to be assured of opportunities for service and self-expression to an unlimited extent.

Unfortunately in this province, many of the war-retained doctors with valuable experience and very high qualifications find themselves already cast adrift with no helping hand from the State for effective utilisation to social ends of their talents and services. Such being the case, what is the good of turning out more doctors and opening more colleges to turn out more doctors? The surest way of degrading a profession is to cheapen it economically by multiplying its entrants without corresponding enhancement of the volume of employment open to its members. Bitter frustration and disillusionment will await the

aspiring youth who with such avidity are rushing forward to qualify themselves as doctors unless the present apathetic indifference of the authorities is replaced by an intelligent policy for the swift absorption of the doctors already in

the field into useful constructive work of expanding scope. This is not too hard a task for human brains. It is evaded here because of supineness and lack of energy on the part of persons elevated to administrative control.

Sotto Voce

The Bow Of Ulysses



IT Is not often that one feels like giving thanks to God that one is no longer young. But the imminent threat of universal and compulsory scouting at school has made me hug myself for my blessed deliverance from the wolfpacks and the jamboorees. I shall no doubt be told that most normal children like scouting and that I must have been, well, peculiar as a kid if I had felt an aversion for such a bracing pastime. To be dressed in motley and to have to carry a stick a cubit taller than your head can hardly strike the very young, who are peculiarly sensitive to ridicule, as being something to be proud of.

And then the kotowings and the genuflections, the loud avowals of loyalty to all and sundry, the deification of the Leader, the camp fires and all that solemn mummery excited in me emotions the very reverse of the devout and the edifying. The teachers in particular, some of them past their prime, were rigged up as for a fancy dress ball and apparently felt they must act the part. So unnatural, almost indecent, was their assumption of hilarity and agility that I should not have been more shocked if they had cut capers and stood on their heads. You see I had been brought up in the country where teachers

were teachers and not gilded popinjays. We had our own games, crude but satisfying, which required no expenditure except that of our own abundant energy and knew neither rules nor organisation. We were healthy young animals, not little prigs.

Scouting was as definitely political in its own way as Hitler's Nazification of German youth. Indeed all attempts at organising youth would have them conform to an idea not laid up in Heaven but in the bosom of the Party boss. And so, when our popular Governments talk of training youth for social service, I am not enchanted. The U.P. Government says that no graduate shall be given a job unless he secures a social service diploma first. Manual labour, training in agriculture and in adult literacy work, all within twelve months, are apparently expected to produce a cross between Arnold Toynbee and St. Francis of Assisi.

Our doctrinaires don't seem to realise that social service is something for which one must feel a vocation—which is very different from the effervescent enthusiasm of youth. Teaching people to read and write seems a grand lark—till

you try it. And if you must produce a number of scalps for a diploma, it becomes about as easy as getting to the top of a greased pole. And, let me ask you, are not the illiterates entitled to consideration? Could anything be more insufferable than an amateur teacher who hasn't got his heart in the job?

People who are long past their school-age should feel at ease with you before they can learn from you. And few young men have the natural faculty for getting strangers to confide in them. Most of them are afflicted with an intolerable shyness which provokes good-natured ribaldry if not positive rudeness among those whom they would serve. I vividly remember the tragic-comic experiences of a young man who, as a very minor cog in the Government wheel, was impressed to serve as an enumerator in the census.

He was set to work in a poor locality which had a rather evil reputation for its goings-on after nightfall. Reckoning the gosha women is a ticklish job when you have a rough distinctly the worse for liquor glowering over you in a dark doorway; he might slap you or answer with ferocious pleasantry.

"None of your lewdness here, you young scamp." Trying to keep track of the innumerable children was a heart-breaking business. Buxom matrons would wave him away with the flourish of a broom shouting, "The good God has given them; who asked you to come here casting your evil eye on them?" Others were embarrassingly and misleadingly communicative. Those were benighted times when it was thought important to ascertain a man's caste; and every man felt he was in honour bound to claim a place at least one step higher in the social ladder.

A certain thickness of skin acquired in the rough and tumble of life is indispensable for those who would do honorary service. And as men are moved by what you are rather than by what you say, Ulysses who has drunk life to the lees is sure of a readier hearing than the young man in a hurry who speaks by the book. They talk of conscripting youth; it is as thoughtless as the monkey's prank in shaking down the unripe mango. Conscript, rather, the old by liberating them from the thralldom of particular affections. So may service begin where serfdom ends.

VIGHNESWARA.



We are sure that, by and large, the members of the non-Brahmin Hindu community do not prefer to be killed by a second-rate non-Brahmin doctor than be saved by a first-class Brahmin doctor, though it might be that non-Brahmin politicians have other views on the matter.—**People's Health.**

American society is not exactly classless, but privilege there is kept down. I once travelled by train with a United States Senator. At lunch-time, the diner being crowded, I asked innocently: "Didn't they reserve a table for you, Senator?" He looked quite surprised. "Why should they?" he asked. If you attempt, in America, to by-pass the man who stands in line before you, you will soon be called to order. "Who do you think you are?" Everyone expects you to be a citizen, nothing more, nothing less; to stand on your rights but to claim no immunities. One of the great lessons of my life in America was that democracy, in fact, works very well. I found that it is possible to have both democracy and discipline.—**Andre Maurois in REDBOOK.**

SIDELIGHTS : :

We have to analyse the character and composition and the incalculable future of that great instrument of power, the Indian National Congress. It is a matter of great interest and equally of great anxiety.

—NATIONAL HERALD.

THE latest Congress Bulletin contains the text of Sri Shankarrao Deo's circular to Provincial Congress Committees defining the Congress attitude to Socialists. It says that "the Socialists collect funds for their own party organisation and not for the Congress" and "the Congress therefore cannot and should not help in collecting funds for another political organisation." It says further that "for similar reasons it is equally undesirable for Congress Committees to present addresses and to otherwise take part in welcoming Socialists." The importance of these directives consists in the breach with precedent that they prescribe. From the high altitude of the position that the Congress seeks nothing for itself, that it wants power not for itself but for the whole country and its people, the Secretary of the organisation has pulled it down to the level of non-co-operation with all other parties, of refraining from helping any of them with collection of funds or even with a welcome.

From the language of Sri Deo's circular it would look as though Congressmen are to be taught that the separate existence of a party apart from the Congress is a thing to be looked askance at. Evidently the Congress bosses feel that the time has come not merely for a parting of the ways with the Socialists but for an actual fight with the Socialist Party. They want to see the party put down. In their anxiety to put the Socialists down, they appear to be drawing closer even to the Communists who till the other day were the target of vehement attack by Congress leaders and most of whom are even

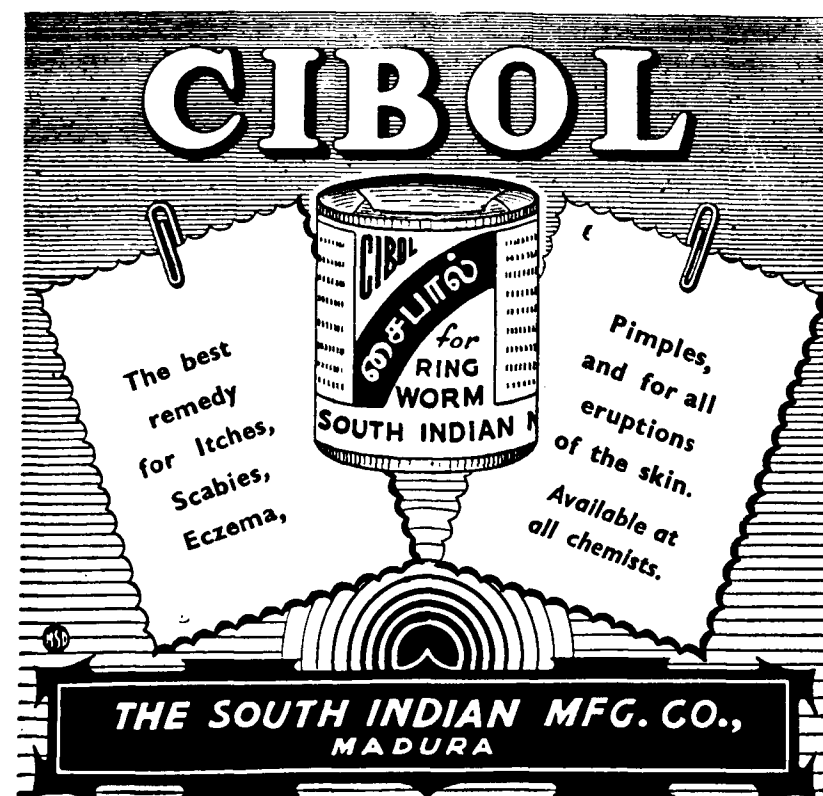
now held under detention in Congress-administered provinces. Sardar Patel is credited with confidence in his own ability to keep the Communists in order under any circumstances. He is not so sure of the Socialists, and Jai Prakash in particular seems to have become for him a recurring headache.

Jai Prakash Narayan is the glamour man of Indian politics at the present moment and the Socialist Party's biggest asset. A Bihar peasant's son brought up in a village, it is said he saw a tramcar for the first time at the age of nineteen. Then the thirst for western learning took possession of his soul and he went to America where he stayed for eight years and studied in five universities earning his keep all the time by working as a farm-labourer. In the 1942 movement he was listed as Public Danger Number One and rose to eminence with the concentrated attention that the authorities then bestowed on him. He has high mettle and immense popularity but the purpose of his striving is uncertain. It wavers between the methods of the revolutionary and the dialectic excitements of the academic intellectual. The Socialists' service of labour is hampered by the party leaders' addiction to middle class modes. Socialist policy in any given crisis is apt to resolve itself into a series of dilemmas left to be solved by the drift and pressure of circumstances rather than the conscious exertion of a directing will. Just now they seem to be torn between the lure of power and office under the shadow of Congress patronage and the desire to play a heroic role as the common man's champion against the swiftly developing Congress-capitalist alliance and authoritarianism.

In the early days of the Socialist Party Jai Prakash Narayan lost his best workers to the Communist Party. In South India, at any rate,

the C. S. P. was almost bodily transformed into the C. P. and the most energetic and prominent of Andhra, Tamil and Kerala Communists happen to be erstwhile Congress Socialists. All the discontents in the land and the disaffected of other parties have made their contribution to the rank and file of the Communist Party which therefore holds the palm in the whole country for energy, executive efficiency, propaganda drive, organisational thoroughness and skill—and fanaticism. While misery stalks the land, the fascination of Communism cannot but grow in India. Stamped as it is with the lure of the worldwide vogue and immortal renown of Lenin's great name, it might have become the biggest of Indian political forces, but wrong leadership on recent crucial occasions inspired by slavish clinging to the coat-tails of Lenin's adminis-

trative successors in Russia, has sadly impaired the growth and prestige of Communism in our midst. It is however being swiftly redeemed from the past blunders of its own leadership by the still worse blunders of the Congress leaders now. When the passion of Communists is released from thralldom to the gospel of text-book dogma emanating from Moscow and is applied to the service and direction of popular urges, when its present rigidity is replaced with a broad humanitarianism, the resulting power and influence might well make Communism, in the wake of the coming adult suffrage, the most formidable of India's political forces, and not the least potent of international influences with all the energy of Russia *minus* that military expansiveness of the Soviet which is being dreaded so much elsewhere in the world.—SAKA.



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FROM CHINTAMANI TO CHALAPATHI RAU

THUMBNAIL SKETCHES OF ANDHRA EDITORS

by K. ISWARA DUTT

(This article is published in full including the references to the editor as it was insisted on by the author that no deletions should be made.)

INDIA is not particularly rich in editors, when we talk of what E. T. Raymond would call, real, if not great, editors. For, he asks, 'What is a great editor?' and defines him as a man who manages to imprint his personality on everything permitting of the expression of personality, that appears in his paper. Surely, it is not every editor that is worthy of the appellation, whatever be the salary he gets—or takes.

Andhra editorship, is however, no apologetic affair. It has illumined the journalistic landscape far beyond its (undefined) borders. It has claims to recognition, even to eminence. Here is my gallery of Andhra editors, from Chintamani to Chalapathi Rau—from one who was my Chief to one whose Chief I was; or, to put it differently, from the most famous to the most brilliant of Andhra journalists. In between Chintamani and Chalapathi Rau, we have Mr. Prakasam who strayed into journalism and remained defiant till he was stampeded into a crash; Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who surrendered the gifts of a vivid journalist to the pre-occupations of an active politician; the distinguished Kotamaraju brothers—Mr. Punniiah whose hold on Sind is next only to Chintamani's in U.P., and Mr. Rama Rao, who 'subbed' his way all over India, blazed in Lucknow and returned with laurels to the home-province; Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rao who brought to periodical journalism the pure breath of art and culture; Mr. C. V. H. Rao, most academic of journalists and least pugilistic of controversialists; and that indomitable pair discovered and fostered by Mr. Prakasam, Mr. G. V. Krupanidhi and Mr. Khasa Subba Rau, who jointly waved the banner of *Swarajya* and are now respectively starring in

the North and stirring the South. These constitute no dim constellation.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani: Can Chintamani be portrayed in a paltry paragraph? He was one of the most outstanding editors in our annals; he was, indeed, much more than that. He was for thirty years an editor, and too, the editor of one paper. The *Leader* was his first and last love. He made an indifferent newspaper an organ of opinion, respected all over the country. He made it a potent instrument in the building up of the public life of the United Provinces. His amazing industry, encyclopaedic knowledge and phenomenal memory, his powerful eloquence and ready pen, his political acumen and parliamentary gifts, his flair for controversy and genius for conversation, his rigid opinions and fierce convictions and his fundamental regard for the higher things of life, established him—to use Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's inimitable phrase—as the Pope of Indian Journalism. It would be easy to deride him, as 'Gentleman With A Duster' did Asquith, that 'he acquired scholarship by rote, politics by association and morality by tradition'. And one might legitimately say that he lacked the finer graces of style—and of life. But who can deny or dispute his eminence as an editor with something of the mellowness of Spender and much of the vitality of Stead? How true, indeed, of Chintamani what was said of W. T. Stead?

Whether you liked him or disliked him, agreed with him or disagreed with him, you would never be indifferent to him. There was that about him that could not be ignored—a certain chivalrous uncalculating fearlessness, a joy of battle, a fervour of conviction.

There were no half-tones, no subtle romances and delicate nuances in his equipment. Everything was broad as the day, indisputable as the multiplication table, emphatic as the thunders of Sinai.

Never had Chintamani expressed an opinion that was not his own. His moral authority was unquestioned. Of all our men he answers best Raymond's description of a great editor. He was our only giant.

Mr. Prakasam: If Chintamani was, as the phrase goes, a born journalist, Mr. Prakasam stumbled into journalism by accident. He was an editor who never edited, and it was just like him that he had no pretensions. Political events in the wake of Mahatma's arrival brought him on the journalistic stage as the founder of *Swarajya* and he lent it the weight of his honoured name. He showed great courage in making it the mouth-piece of the Congress in the South, and made a rare sacrifice in running it against overwhelming odds. He rallied intrepid youth round him, and gave his men stone—not bread, toil—not rest, and made it physically difficult for them to get on and psychologically impossible to get out. He inspired them with faith. These were certainly no mean achievements. His services to journalism in the South were striking, if incidental. Who can ever forget that Krupanidhi and Subba Rau were his gift to India's Fleet Street brigade?

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: One of the individual intellectual forces in the country, Dr. Pattabhi resisted journalism as an occupation, and brought to it, however intermittently, the fervour of the crusades. It was on the eve of Amritsar, when the Congress was coming under the spell of Gandhiji, that Dr. Pattabhi, who was then, though politically a Congressman, temperamentally an iconoclast, launched a weekly in English—*Janmabhumi*, in the style of Mohammad Ali's *Comrade*. Week in and week out, he produced it single-handed—and at a stretch, and enlivened our journalism by his sparkling comment and unmistakable individuality. Though the development

of his ego was stifled by the obsession of Gandhism, he had not ceased to scintillate. His life-long study of problems, uncanny powers of observation and penetrating presentation, his mastery of facts and figures, his analytic mind which occasionally functioned like a surgeon's knife, his prowess as a debater, his fluent, if mordant, pen, and his versatile gifts made him a force to reckon with. It was a loss to journalism that he declined to edit the *Bombay Chronicle* and failed to revive *Janmabhumi*, and robbed it of his copious eloquence and colourful personality. If he settles down in Madras as the Chief Editor of the *Morning Star*, the journalistic horizon will certainly be brighter, but one dreads to think of his fatal flair for missing opportunities.

Kotamaraju Brothers: The Ghose brothers—Shishir Kumar and Motilal—were the most famous brothers in Indian journalism. In Andhra we have the Kotamaraju brothers as in Western India there are the Natarajans. Mr. Punniiah and Mr. Rama Rao had none of the advantages of the junior Natarajans. Self-made men, they are a study in contrast. Physically Mr. Punniiah is tallish and Mr. Rama Rao short; politically the elder is a smoother and the younger a stormy petrel; temperamentally the former is a 'settler' and the latter a 'globe-trotter'; and from the worldly point of view one does not miss the ground under the feet while the other does not allow any grass to grow under them.

1. Mr. Punniiah:

After early struggles which he faced with a calm mind and a cool nerve, Mr. Punniiah gravitated to Sind which has for thirty years been his adopted homeland. One morning he found himself saddled with the editorship of *Sind Observer* since when he has remained in the saddle with remarkable persistence and imperturbable equanimity. Not that there are no stormy episodes in his career. Once there was a hitch; it developed into a crisis, he had left the paper—and within a short time he returned to the post of duty with a bang. There he still is, with a moral authority which is unquestioned, and all to his

credit. Mr. Punniyah's journalistic gifts are substantial, though by no means spectacular. He is a practised writer who can use his pen without flourish but with telling effect. In a most difficult province he has held his own and occupied his position with grace and dignity and brought honour to his profession.

2. Mr. Rama Rao:

Mr. Rama Rao's journalistic career reads like the story of a voyage on the high seas under stormy skies. It is so typical of the uncertainties and thrills of Fleet Street. With the solitary exception of Mr. Pothan Joseph, no journalist in India has changed more papers, or gone through the vicissitudes of this most precarious of professions with greater fortitude or courage. After a brilliant academic career and an year's tutorship in the Pachlappa's College, he proceeded to Sind and plunged into journalism. At several places—Karachi, Allahabad, Bombay, Larore, Madras, Delhi, Lucknow—and at a few more than once, he lighted his torch, but at none for a longer period than at Bombay. It was in the Western Capital that he made a big name as one of the top men on the technical side of newspaper work. He served on almost every English daily in Bombay, not excluding the prosperous *Times of India*, and time was when he walked in trousered dignity, waving his hat on the pavements of Bori Bunder. Delhi knew him as an expert news-editor while Lucknow hailed him as the fearless editor of *National Herald*. It was a revelation to find the vigilant news-man shaking the editorial rafters and acting as the sleepless sentinel of Congress fortunes in U.P., when the Government of Sir Maurice Hallet launched an all-out offensive. With a most frenzied pen in hand, he became the very symbol of editorial defiance. He braved the wrath of the bureaucracy and became a popular hero. As a journalist with a passion for sub-editing and page-making, he has perhaps no equal in India. As an editor, however, he has the limitations of his virtues. Love of the grand manner excepted, he is the nearest approach to Garvin's 'heat without light', volition without direc-

tion, and passion without purpose. His future is always a problem. But one thing is certain. He is the knight-errant of Indian journalism, and one of its formidable, if incalculable forces, while on the personal side, he is one of the most generous, upright and lion-hearted men in our ranks.

Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rao: Of scholarly disposition and refined tastes, gentle, affable and lovable, Sri Ramakotiswara Rao is one of the few high-souled men that have brought distinction and honour to Indian journalism. One of the earliest to be caught in the maelstrom of Gandhian politics, he became a renegade to the bar and a recruit to journalism. The daily press, with its hurly-burly and feverish excitement, offered no real solace to Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao who had a longing for creative endeavour. So, in his seventh year as a non-co-operator, he summoned courage and sponsored a high-class periodical which is a sheer delight both to the eye and to the mind. If *Triveni* meant for him the triple-stream of sorrow, suffering and sacrifice, he refused to lower the flag. If his taste was expensive, he minded not the cost. I remember how, when so generous a patron as the late S. Srinivasa Iyengar felt exasperated by the fastidiousness of the journal, Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao nated to trifle with the standard he had set for it. No journal more truly mirrored or marked the Indian Renaissance for which it stood. India applauded his effort, but failed to give him support in an adequate measure. He showed unusual persistence and superb courage in fighting a losing battle, but not even when the sky seemed darkest, had he allowed himself to be overcome by despair. *Triveni* is still alive though in other climes and in friendly hands; Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao is, though a recluse in the homeland, still the source of its inspiration. Like a small window that opens a large landscape, this journal of art and culture promises a brighter day for higher periodical journalism—and it is to its illustrious founder-editor that we owe the glory of its existence and the sweetness of its memory.

Mr. G. V. Krupanidhi: Fleet Street has its Casabiancas. Mr. Krupanidhi was one such in the earlier—in fact the earliest—stages of his career as a journalist. His record was all the more creditable as he had no passion for journalism when he emerged as a law graduate. As an apprentice under Mr. Prakasam, he flung his ambitions to the four winds and followed his master on the perilous paths of non-co-operation, and when the Chief founded *Swarajya* he dabbled for a while on the managerial side and, without any effort, drifted to the editorial line. It did not take him long to become a full-fledged editor, with heavy work on his hands and heavier responsibilities on his shoulders. Was it not C. R. Reddy who called him the Bayard of Indian Journalism? That was the first phase of his career. The second opened in a prosperous setting in the capital of India where, after a spell of special correspondent's work, he shared editorial authority with Mr. Devadas Gandhi on the *Hindustan Times*. More recent developments have led to his presence on a new stage, as the Associate Editor of *Indian News Chronicle*. Mr. Krupanidhi is a self-taught journalist and a self-made editor. He seized opportunities without surrendering his loyalties. His imperturbability is an asset. His neatness of work, lucidity of exposition, elegance of manner and subtle sense of humour have always stood him in good stead—and he knows Spender's secret of "expressing extreme views in moderate language". His main virtue is reliability; his supreme gift is for friendship. In a profession torn by bitter jealousies he exudes a charm all his own.

Sri Khasa Subba Rau: Morley was reported to have once remarked that he found it easier to rule Ireland than to manage Stead. I shouldn't be surprised if on occasions Mr. Prakasam felt that it was less difficult to run *Swarajya* than to manage Mr. Subba Rau, who confronted him, as it were, with the presence of a 'moral skyscraper' and tried to overwhelm him by a glittering array of first principles, whether the issue was one of higher politics or of mere office routine. Mr. Subba Rau's

sterling character was his sheet-anchor; it still is. Other virtues come but next. He could have been a lawyer and made more money; he could have been a teacher and moulded the youth better. He has stuck to journalism and brought to it the lawyer's skill in argument and the teacher's gift of exposition. Like a lawyer he would not, however, argue any case—and for any fee. He is the inveterate foe of the barristerial frame of mind in journalism. What does it matter if he changes his views or heroes? His attitude at a given time is governed by intellectual convictions and moral considerations, and by no sordid motive. He serves no paper on which he is not in full possession of his soul. Did he not leave the *Indian Express* one fine morning with no thought of the morrow? He spares no men who have, in his view, violated the code. Has he not thrown his dear Rajaji overboard on the recent ministerial issue in Madras? He has no fear of the men that rule the roost. Look at the way in which he is going for the present Madras Ministry and even the Congress High Command, hammer and tongs. As the founder-editor of *Swatantra* he is at the top of his form. To the scholar's equipment and the craftsman's excellence, he brings the thinker's original approach and the crusader's fiery zeal. There is in his writings that rarest of things—character. One hears in them echoes of Chintamani's political vigour and vitality and Natarajan's moral earnestness and austerity. To the cause that is dear to his heart, he is both an intellectual and a moral asset. The highest standards of journalism are safe in his hands, and among the present-day editors in India he has few equals and no superiors.

Mr. C. V. Hanumantha Rao: Mr. Hanumantha Rao as a journalist reminds one of Ramsay MacDonald's trite saying that while all men cannot be famous, any one may be useful. It is no small thing to render good service without trying to dazzle the world. Mr. Hanumantha Rao has worked his way up by a record of solid, silent work in a line where one may be solid but cannot remain

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silent. His first innings were on the *Indian Nation* of Patna, where, leaving behind him the humble school-master's copy-books, he browsed on blue-books as a careful student of public affairs, and made an academic approach to the discussion of current problems. A good assistant, he found himself in the editorial chair which had fallen vacant a trifle abruptly. He made a wise use of his opportunities while the paper which changed nine editors in its first year, found itself lucky in the discovery of a man who combined efficiency and loyalty. Even his steadiness and earnestness were not unassailable when plotters arrived on the scene. A small daily in Lahore—*The Daily Herald*—came into his hands and he put up a good show with resources none too adequate for his requirements. The shades having again closed in on him, he diverted his attention and activities from journalism in the Punjab to publicity in Madras. Mr. Hanumantha Rao is a journalist of the assiduous type. No subject is too dry for him—he assembles his material with care and writes profusely. The pen in his hand is the day's tool and no aesthetic instrument, and he employs it conscientiously striving after no effect, but seeking to inform, to educate and to convince the reader. As an editor he is in the line of Pandit Krishna Ram and Mr. M. Subramaniam, safe and reliable men who believe in sober and responsible journalism.

Mr. M. Chalapathi Rau: It is a joy to me that I launched, among journals the T.C. and, among journalists, my friend M.C. It is a pleasure to acknowledge a just obligation, and let it be said in fairness to Sri Ramakotiswara Rao that young Chalapathi Rao was his discovery. In November, 1936, when I agreed to pilot the *People's Voice* and desired to have him by my side, M.C. readily joined the crew, though neither he nor I had any illusions about the fate of the vessel. On the very first day, he started as a leader-writer. The *People's Voice* was a short-lived affair, but it was his association with it, more than anything else, that made it memorable. It was a happy

circumstance that I successfully persuaded him to cross the Vindhya and go with me to Allahabad. When I floated the *Week End* he was my chief associate. It also happened to be a short-lived affair, but it was his hand again that gave it a literary tone and staggered the younger intellectuals of U.P. Later began his association with the *National Herald* of Lucknow, which continues still under happier auspices, but for the interlude on the *Hindustan Times* during the period the former ceased publication. In the first phase of his connection with the *Herald* when he was an Assistant Editor and leader-writer, M.C. was its brain and soul. Today, he is its honoured editor and all-pervasive force. History will record that two men read dangerously at Bangalore in their earlier years. One was Mr. Winston Churchill and the other is our own Chalapathi Rau. He read everything he could lay his hands on—literature, history, politics and what not. We have learnt to respect his knowledge, but it is his style that has made us captive. He is steeped in the classics. He believes in the *Manchester Guardian* school of journalism, and swears by the Scott-Montagu tradition. Among British editors he prefers Spender to Gardiner, and the former's self-discipline to the latter's vivacity. As a leader-writer, he created a sensation by his articles on War—the best in India since the days of the late S. Rangaswami. As a columnist—he wore the mask of Magnus—he gave Delhi and Simla the shivers. As an editor, he is developing a new personality. Of all his virtues I prize his loyalty most—loyalty to friends and loyalty to principles. I doubt, if in the long run, he will settle down on a paper like C. E. Montagu and weave his spells, or go round the globe with a pen in hand like Henry Nevinson or Philip Gibbs. Whatever he may choose to do, he is the one man in our journalism today who can, by his rare craftsmanship, refute his own opinion that 'in India, journalism is too distant from literature'. He can at least establish that 'journalism is literature written in a hurry'.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



I WONDER whether anybody who has not lived in Lahore during these present times will ever be able to imagine what it is to see a magnificent administrative system literally crumble and disappear before one's eyes. The situation is one without a parallel in history. A century-old structure of government, alive and vitally organic till the other day, is being simultaneously duplicated and split up into two (does that sound funny?) and, in the process, is being destroyed without hope of resurrection.

That is to put it broadly, almost euphemistically. The actual facts, the day to day details of the partition, are gruesome indeed. Gruesome, and disgusting, and really disheartening. Try to imagine a state of affairs where every Government department and office, every public institution and enterprise, is at war with itself, where every single worker, from the director down to the humblest peon is preoccupied with the need of keeping an eye on the activities of men of the other community, and of frustrating their designs and intrigues, real or fancied. And it is being reciprocally watched and shadowed the same way.

The trouble starts when an expert committee is set up to work out the details of an office or department. If the personnel of the committee are chosen for their ability and knowledgeableness—as they usually are to start with—there is soon a hue and cry that the majority community has been under-represented. The local League takes up the matter officially and of course succeeds in getting the committee reconstituted and men introduced into it on the grounds of religion. Then the committee starts working,—but working as a committee within

a committee. And since its task is to divide and partition the organisation on a communal basis, it leads to the growth of an intense communal feeling that tolerates no exceptions among members of either community.

When every person in a department is all the time acutely conscious of his community and of connected grievances, there is an end to efficiency. No single question is then considered on its merits, but only from the point of view of advantage to one's co-religionists. Irregularities are condoned in subordinates of one's own community, and sometimes even encouraged.

Then there is the very serious matter of the filching of secret information and sometimes even of files by clerks eager to be of service to their community. Just now both the Congress and the League are preparing their cases for the Boundary Commission. Officially, neither party has any access to information contained in Government files, but in fact each is as well posted with such information as it could ever hope to be—Government clerks see to that. The minutest facts and figures, and the latest to boot, are reaching party offices every evening—to help them build up stronger cases for presentation before Sir Cyrils' Commission.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the administrative machinery of the province should be at a complete standstill. The pity is not that the present machinery is about to vanish, but that in the process it is unavoidably creating tendencies that will be a source of inefficiency to the new Governments for a very long time. As it is, our bureaucracy is not exactly famous for quiet efficiency or freedom from corruption—I shudder to think what its successor agencies will be like.



EARLY in June I moved into a new house. After hanging the family portraits on the walls and groaning over the loss of a chair leg here and a torn cushion there, I turned anxiously to my old carpet bag which bulged with the many knickknacks, things which I had the right to call my own, which I had packed inside. Sure as a sea wave dashing to spray, I found my old watch again injured, its fortnight-old glass smashed and the works jammed. That old watch had a history behind its every tick since it started keeping time for my granduncle. It would make interesting reading—but the story I then have to tell, would so run like an intimate spider across the gossamer web of my life, that I do not propose to tell it. It is enough if I say that it was a Sandow, 14 jewels Swiss watch, unusually large with a gold fob and a heavy gold chain.

Seeing it broken I did not know for what time, I groaned aloud and rushed downstairs to admonish that fellow Venkatappa—he was always dropping something. My landlord who was supervising and busily counting how many things were being stacked away in his old house—he appeared to have a fear that perhaps his house would be disproportionately overburdened with furnishings for the fat rent he received—pointed an accusing finger at me. I immediately dashed my old watch in his face and asked him to take note what happened because of moving into his house. Perhaps it was my agitated countenance, perhaps the prosperous look of the watch, looking sullen with the glass broken, I cannot say what actually touched him—but he took the watch in his hand and asked me to take it to Baba Miyan. "Baba Miyan who?", I said. I was informed that he was the best watch repairer on the east coast, and with a wizened old servant who sentinelled our block of houses stalking before me like a pointer, I went to Baba Miyan's shop.

I never for a moment then expected that my short acquaintance with Baba Miyan would mean to me in after life

more than the 14 jewels, the gold fob and the chain of my granduncle's Sandow wrist watch, but it really has come to mean that and much more. The memory of his small face, chin folding up into his moustache, whiskers curling into his ears, his beaked nose and curved eyebrows, with large lustrous eyes conveying a remarkable impression of attention, the whole scenario crossed and recrossed and painted over with crawling crow-lines, comes back to me with the freshness of jasmine fragrance after a summer shower. He wore a much faded brown bilbo cap, a threadbare waistcoat with all the buttons missing flung over a remarkably clean snowwhite shirt, his pyjamaed legs finishing in old type conservative 'chhaddows'. For such an old man he wore no spectacles, and the first time I sat before him holding out my wrist watch I looked round the speckless glass topped worktable—on which under a hood encasing watches under repair, a light gleamed—for his gold rimmed, I expected no less, spectacles. The whole thing comes back to me with the wonder, suspense and admiring inquisitiveness of the childhood memory of my first journey in a train.

His shop front I do not seem to remember, for I noted it first time only after it was wrecked, but I crossed a high threshold, flung aside a thin curtain, and immediately I was in his presence. Round the walls, hanging from the ceiling, in glass cases and mahogany bureaux, on shelves in trays and china bowls, were watches and clocks and watch parts, most of them highly polished, and pervading it all was a low hum of ticking like busy bees working. In spite of that the shop appeared busily silent, except for the deep ticking of a curious Big Ben in a glass case, its works showing. It was on a high chest behind Baba Miyan and the gleam of the lamp reflected from the glass of his worktable shone on the Big Ben. Everything in the room to me appeared

animate, busy, working and alert. Perhaps for the first time the impression was not so profound as I picture it here, or so clear, perhaps I am mixing my many moments with Baba Miyan, but to me, as in a garden after many years' tending when all the plants are well grown and the blossoms bursting, all those impressions remain indistinguishable in a sensitive perspective of my reaction to the man.

As I entered, shuffling my feet on the carpeted floor, Baba Miyan beckoned with his left hand, curved forefinger with long nail drooping, to a boy. I did not notice him till then, sitting on a low stool in a tidy corner. The boy who had a very understanding face which suggested muteness, pushed a chair, I noticed it stood on wheels, towards me. "Sit down, Saheb," said Baba Miyan. His low voice curiously mingled with the hum of the many tickings of the watches. "You have a watch for repair, let me see it." And he took it with the same left hand that he beckoned the boy with, his long forefinger curving round the watch chain. I noticed how soft his touch, and how well the large fob rested in his much creased palm, while he lent a listening ear to it. Then he turned it both sides, looked at it for a long moment and then lifted his eyes to mine. I had the strange feeling of looking into a glass bowl with water and gold fish in it as I gazed into his face.

"Allah meant watches to keep ticking. It is a sin if they stop," he said, and his words sounded odd in my ears. "Your watch has given you long service, Saheb, but an old servant should be more faithful and it has to serve you better now. It is disgruntled with your treatment, Saheb, but we have to coax him back to good feeling. He is sullen like my grandson over there. Is it not so, old man," he said turning to the boy, "when he is asked to stay in the shop and hear the watches working. I have many watches here, whom I know very well and helped after many a clash and ill-temper", and so on he continued. I did not interrupt his monologue while he pointed out a watch here and a clock there and revealed to me their idiosyncrasies and ailments—but I listened with rapt attention. He never spoke of jewels being worn out, springs snapped, fly wheels twisted, hairsprings losing tension, or wheel teeth getting blunted,—but he told me—this watch here has not been fed properly, her master is a rough man, his owner shook him roughly one day, or dropped him from a height, or of another, he was abused day and night, her hands got chafed with hard work, his face bears

marks of long suffering, his insides have been starved out and so on. I never worried to unravel his metaphors, for his words can only be metaphors, but for him and to me while I sat before him the watches and clocks in his shop were a large family of brothers and sisters. I would have given anything to have heard him speak, while alone, to them lovingly as a guardian angel. Affectionately patting one or kindly rebuking another or congratulating still another for having kept good time.

"Allah meant watches to keep ticking," he said, "they keep a nation working. They have no reason to stop and the nation has none either. They are a regiment, Sir, and should march in step," he said, and I saw watches marching in columns and phalanxes, alert foot soldiers with their arms shouldered and their feet clamping hard on the roads, like watches ticking. Baba Miyan made the watches live things for me with their hearts throbbing to the same symphony as mine.

I returned from the first encounter with Baba Miyan slightly dazed. But after that since his shop was but a few minutes' walk from my house, I stepped into it many times to look at him and listen to his talk. He never seemed to be working as watch repairers usually do with an eyeglass pushed deep into an eyesocket, and face contorted into a gob of disgust while they pull down pieces of watches or put them in with long thin instruments. Whenever I went in to him he used to put down the watch he was handling and rest his long palms on the desk, cross his feet and talk to me. One day he told me how he came to set up in watch repairing. . . "When I was a young rascal of 19 years my father was ailing and in bed with a serious illness. I loved my father and revered him and was his only son. He never kept me out of money and was an Inspector of Police; I was born rather late in his life and was in my adolescent years when he retired and immediately afterwards contracted a disease which finally killed him. I waited on him during his last and long sickness, compounded his medicines, prepared his hookah, for he never left it till he died, and fanned him. One day I had an unusually long vigil and he was sleeping and I could not. My attention turned to an old clock on the wall, which within my memory never had a glass on its face. My father insisted on handling it himself, winding it and dusting it; every night he used to wait under it and hear it rhythmically strike ten before he retired to bed.

While he was ill, he used to sit up in bed and watch while somebody wound it and cleaned it. He used to say that for the last thirty years it never once gave trouble or stopped or failed to strike the hours. But that day when I continued gazing at it I found it had stopped. I really jumped out of my skin then for I was afraid what father would say. Somehow I expected him to burst into a paroxysm of rage. I do not know why I felt so but there it was, the feeling that he would react so. Hence while he snored brokenly, I stepped up to the clock and carefully took it down, prised back the face, for it was that type, and looked into the works. I found it had still a lot of winding left in both the springs, for I tried the keys, but it had stopped. As I was peering closely into it I heard a cry, father was up in his bed and there was fear, actually fear, in his eyes. Why I could not understand but I turned to him with a face full of guilt. Immediately he was upset and began roaring at the top of his voice, his palms beating down on the bed, you rogue, you low thief, you want to ruin me while I am alive, you hound, and so on. I was thunderstruck and tried to explain to him but he would not listen; finally I had to leave the room and two days later he died. All the time the clock was lying where I left it." Baba Miyan stopped in his narrative and was silent for a long time. Then with a sigh he continued, "Afterwards when I tried to put back the clock on the wall I found in the place where it hung, behind a cleverly pasted cardboard concealing a hole in the wall, a lot of money in currency. Then I could understand father. I never worried why he kept his money so much hidden away. But afterwards I somehow thought of getting that clock of his repaired and in my efforts to get it done through regular watch repairers I finished up by setting up in watch repairing myself. There you see it in the glass case, the self same clock," and he showed me that Big Ben on the chest of drawers. "I have given it new apparel and now it keeps watch for me over my hoard," and he looked at the immense number of watches in his shop and smiled at his own pleasantry.

That was Baba Miyan. I do not know whether I have conveyed to you the deep impression, his affection, his simplicity and naivete, and I do not know by what name to call it, a quality, something in him, which sparkled and seemed to coil itself and settle down like a serpent in his personality, made on me. But there it is, I cannot find words to talk of him. He repaired my

watch all right and it is going well ever since. I do not wear it now but keep it on my study desk to keep watch, I mean over my affections.

But I have to end my story and it ends in a way I would otherwise not like to tell any one. One day in this old city of ours with its Hindus, Moslems and people of many faiths, living cheek by jowl, in it some trouble arose. Clouds of political dissension, misunderstood religious differences and bad faith blew over the city from God knew where. While going to office I heard that a gang of hooligans grown berserk, were at the moment running over to our part of the city. I at once turned back and hurried first thing to my house, and gained entry through locked gates. Back in my portion of the tenement I heard a huge commotion, shouts, and Heaven knew what. It was over where the shops stood with Baba Miyan's among them. As soon as I could, I rushed out to Baba Miyan's, I felt that anxious for him. I did not know who the berserkers were, but that was a Hindu locality, with Baba Miyan's, practically alone, a single Moslem shop, amongst the others. Both ways he might be unwittingly injured. My fears I found were well grounded.

Behind a shop front hopelessly ruined amongst many another wrecked shop, with the light curtain with flowers and butterflies on it, torn and flapping over the signboard, I looked into a heap of ruins, watches smashed in heaps. There in a corner on his customary stool sat the grandson weeping his heart out. Turning to the worktable, I kept my eyes averted till then, I found it pulled to pieces, and Baba Miyan—he lay where he used to sit, in a high backed chair, on his face—his chair was nowhere seen—and he was dead.

That glass cased Big Ben that kept watch for him, over his little brothers and sisters, his community, was smashed over his head and was all in pieces. Reverently I turned him over to feel his heart and I found something ticking. It was his old pocket watch with long chain, worn on his shirt front, over his heart in a tight pocket—and it was ticking. Tears welled out in my eyes. All his affection, his philosophy that Allah meant watches to keep ticking, his simple heart must have communicated in its last beats to the pocket watch worn over it. And the watch kept ticking. For a brother who meant the nation to keep working, the nation's watches regulating its work, and timing it, to keep alive that brother's pragmatic vision of a nation at work—that pocket watch kept ticking. I have it now—it keeps ticking.

DIFFERENT COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENT TIMES BUT . . .



Top: The Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
Lower picture gives an artist's impression of
King George's Medical College at Lucknow.

2:48 a.m.

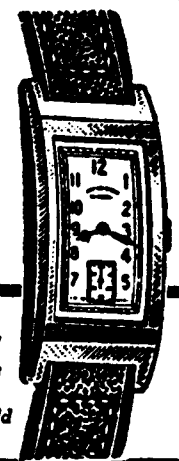
8:18 a.m.
(by your 'West End' Watch!)

While London Sleeps, Lucknow awakes! Different Countries the World over have different times, but there's one thing that never varies—the reliability of the 'West End' Watch. You'll find good looks and long wear, too, in any 'West End' model.

Most orders can be met from stock, but we are still having considerable difficulties in obtaining supplies.

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SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE decision of Dutch authorities to launch military action against the Indonesian Republic is a most regrettable one. It is fraught with serious consequences not only to Netherlands East Indies but to the whole of South-East Asia. It may be a prelude to the outbreak of a general war for the freedom of the millions of people in this part of the world from the domination of Europeans.

INDONESIAN SITUATION

In following the course of events in Indonesia it is necessary to keep in mind certain points of a noteworthy character. In the first place this resort to military action indicates the triumph of the reactionary parties—the Churchillians in Holland. From the very beginning they were against entering into any negotiations with the Republicans in Indonesia whom they accused of having been pro-Japanese and communistically minded. It was they that were responsible for the delay in the Dutch Government finally signing the Lingardjate Agreement. Even after it was signed they induced the Government to send more and more troops into Indonesia even though such a course was contrary to the terms of the agreement. It was also they that created the States of Eastern Indonesia and Western Borneo to dispute the claims of the Indonesian Republic to control the whole of the Netherlands East Indies. Having strengthened themselves from the military point of view they are now fighting out the issue on the battlefield expecting an easy victory over the Republicans who are not as strong as the Dutch in respect of their military, naval or air forces.

In the second place the Republicans are prepared even at this stage

to refer the whole issue to arbitration and abide by the award of the arbitrators although they are determined to carry on guerilla warfare and resort to non-co-operation and "scorched earth policy" if arbitration fails. The British have expressed their willingness to arbitrate but the Dutch are confident of a military victory and they have not accepted the British offer to mediate.

In the third place the Republican authorities are anxious to have the issue brought before the United Nations Security Council immediately. There can be no two opinions on the need and desirability of this question being taken up by the Council as there is a danger of the peace of South East Asia being disturbed if it is left to the sole decision of the Dutch Government. It is in this connection that India has to play a prominent and leading part. A free India has to lead the peoples of Asia to freedom and independence. This is her legitimate role and expression to this idea was given by our country's leaders on several occasions especially during the sittings of the last Asian Relations Conference. It may not be possible to give active military help to the Indonesian Republic at this juncture but there is nothing to prevent India bringing up the matter before the Security Council. This is the psychological moment for India to give a lead and direction to the course of events in this part of the world.

In the fourth place one has to note in this connection that the United States is adopting a rather dubious attitude on this question. She does not show any enthusiasm

in the cause of upholding the independence of the Indonesian Republic. She has on the other hand advised the Republican authorities to accept all the conditions demanded by the Dutch. This lukewarmness on her part is responsible for the Republic not having approached her to mediate in the matter. A determined step on the part of the United States would have changed the whole situation. It was only last week that she sent a factfinding commission to China and Korea. She could have done a similar thing in regard to Indonesia and averted the war that is now going on there. If she continues to be indifferent in this affair the Asian world will have every reason to conclude that it is only to Communistic imperialism that she is opposed and not to Capitalistic imperialism. Whatever it be, the situation in Indonesia is now grave.

THE BURMA TRAGEDY

The assassination of General U. Aung San and his six colleagues in the Cabinet by some terrorists has plunged the whole of Burma in confusion. It is too early to say what its outcome will be so far as the freedom movement in the country is concerned. There is now a real danger that the forces represented by the Communists and the parties opposed to the Anti-Fascist League of which Aung San was the leader might try to create more disorders in the country and give the excuse for the British to maintain their troops and strengthen their hold. Although Aung San was in the habit of taunting that India was weak and disunited and that she might not have a bright future the truth is that conditions in Burma are in a highly deplorable condition. The Japanese occupation has released a number of forces which threaten the country with some kind of civil war. The British, like all imperial nations, used to say that it was their mission to prepare the peoples of colonial dependencies to become fit for self-government. It is now clear that an alien nation can never accomplish such a task. The art of self-government cannot be

learnt through instruction from an outside authority. Self-effort alone can teach it. What is now needed is that all the constructive forces in Burma should rally together and put an end to internal disorders and see that the British adhere strictly to their policy of withdrawing from the country. The real testing time for Burma has come now.

INFLUENCE VERSUS POWER

It is not only for Burma but also for India that the present is a testing time. With the passing of the Indian Independence Act by the British Parliament the foreign domination in India has come to an end. The people of the country have now the opportunity to show that they have the patriotism, the ability and the intelligence and wisdom to use their new freedom to keep the internal unity of each Dominion and destroy all disruptionist forces. The communal problem has still to be solved. There is also the problem of right relations being established between the Dominion Government and the Indian States. There is also the question of utilising the freedom for promoting the welfare of the common man. All these problems have to be solved with Britain still watching over India and curious to see whether Indian statesmen will be in a position to deal satisfactorily with the various complications which intentionally as well as unintentionally she has created in the country. As Viscount Halifax observed in the House of Lords, Britain is now parting with power in order that she might achieve her commercial and strategic aims through the exercise of her influence and in the present situation in which Britain finds herself in the world influence is a more potent factor than power. That she is determined to use this influence has been made clear by the observations which the official spokesmen made during the debates in the House of Commons on the question of the future of Indian States which are anxious to keep out of either Dominion and declare themselves independent. It looks as if she would enter into fresh treaties with them and exercise on them the

same kind of influence as on Iraq, Transjordan, etc. The Government of free India should keep a careful watch to prevent developments like these. There is no doubt whatever that the achievement of freedom by four hundred millions of people and that through negotiation instead of through the use of force is an event of momentous importance. But let it not be forgotten that freedom brings its own problems and responsibilities and that if the world is to become enriched through what India has won today Indian leaders should show their capacity for initiative and display the highest kind of statesmanship combined with wisdom.

AFGHANISTAN

Among the questions that the Government of India will be called upon to solve is the attitude it has to adopt towards neighbouring nations like Burma in the East and Afghanistan and other Islamic countries in the Middle East. Recent events have shown that Afghanistan is taking a keen interest in the affairs of the Indian frontier and that she is anxious to back up the claims of the Pathans in the North-West Frontier to independent nationhood. Much of this interest is based on the fact that the Pathans belong to the same race

to which the Afghans belong and from this some are prone to draw the inference that a move might be started in the near future to establish a united Afghan national state. There is nothing farfetched in such an inference. It is from this point of view that significance has to be attached to the second note recently handed over by the Afghan Government to the British regarding the right of the Afghans across the frontier to form their own state. This is not merely a move from Afghanistan. She has the diplomatic support of Soviet Russia behind her. In the view of the Soviet the Afghans are only a section of the Tadjik people who have in Tadjikistan (now included in U.S.S.R.) an autonomous republic of their own. There will be nothing surprising if the Soviet attempts to create a bigger Tadjikistan and include in it Afghanistan as well as Pathanistan just as she has been trying to incorporate the Iranian Azerbaizan into the Soviet Azerbaizan Republic. The partition of India carried out to satisfy the whims of the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah has created a "power-vacuum" in the North-West Frontier and it will be no wonder if Soviet Russia makes an attempt—it may be a slow one—to fill in this vacuum.

BHARATI MEMORIAL BUILDING AT ETTAYAPURAM

Sarojini Devi Opens And C. R. Presides

Mr. T. Sadasivam, Managing Director, KALKI, writes:

The people of Tamil Nad living all over India and abroad will be happy to know that the Bharathi Memorial Building at Ettayapuram built by public subscription to commemorate the memory of Sri Subramania Bharathi, the great National Poet of Tamil Nad is now nearly complete. Srimathi Sarojini Devi, the poetess, patriot and distinguished daughter of India, has kindly consented to open the Bharathi Memorial Building at Ettayapuram on Monday the 15th September 1947 and our revered leader Sri C. Rajagopalachariar will be presiding over the function.

It may be remembered that about Rs. 45,000 was collected by public subscription in response to the appeal for the Bharathi Memorial by KALKI. Out of this sum, Rs. 10,000 has been set apart as fixed deposit in the Indo-Commercial Bank Ltd., Madras and the interest accruing every quarter is being paid to Srimathi Chellammal, the wife of the immortal Poet. The balance of Rs. 35,000 is already spent over the construction of the massive memorial building and more funds are required to complete the structure with a 'GOPURAM' on the top. Members of the public who are interested in perpetuating the memory of the Poet are requested to remit their donations earmarked for the Bharathi Memorial Building to the Manager, KALKI, Madras 10.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

by N. R. BHUVARAHAN

"When a nation ostentatiously turns away from God and concentrates on worldly success and prosperity, it meets with its doom. What is essential today is not so much the rehabilitation of schools and libraries or shops and factories as the rehabilitation of man; we must re-create man if we are to re-create a new world community."

—S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Few philosophers in India have so interpreted in meaning terms Western thought to the East and Hindu metaphysics to westerners as Sir S. Radhakrishnan. What is striking about this most political of philosophers is his arresting personality. His head is grey, his eyes eloquent, his face alert and his physique frail as that of an oriental ascetic. His mind is astonishingly fertile. It stirs our emotion and excites our expectation. We hear the sound of the beautifully modulated voice expounding the intricacies of Hindu metaphysics in polished and crisp sentences. An accent of finality stamps his utterances. His neatly turned phrases are coined out of metal quarried from deep study, constant reflection and wide contacts. His wit sparkles as the drive and energy of his thought seek their logical and appropriate expression. A brilliant and polished lecturer, he has perfected lecturing into a fine art and always holds his audience spellbound. He has a cultural refinement, which many of his contemporary intellectuals lack, and he is extremely polite towards his adversaries.

H. G. WELLS'S DINNER PARTY.

An interesting anecdote by Prof. Joad about Sir S. Radhakrishnan reveals the character of the man:

"I shall not easily forget dining in company with Radhakrishnan, at H. G. Wells's flat. Besides Wells and myself there was only one other person present, J. W. N. Sullivan, the well-known writer on scientific subjects. The talk was continuous and eager; it included science, philo-

sophy, the state of the world, the possible collapse of Western civilisation. Radhakrishnan was for the most part silent. He sat there, refusing one after another the dishes of an elaborate meal, drinking only water, listening. We others, knowing his reputation as a speaker and a conversationalist, were, I think, a little surprised at his silence; surprised and impressed, not so much because what he did say was always to the point, but because his silence in such a discussion was a richer and more significant thing than any positive contribution he could have made. It was the silence of a completely integrated personality deliberately absorbing an atmosphere. To suggest an idea to the ordinary man is like dropping a stone into a deep well. One hears the splash of the impact, and then silence. What happens thereafter is unknown; so far as any evidence to the contrary goes, the idea has been completely buried in the bowels of the personality. Certainly it never re-emerges. To talk to Radhakrishnan is not like that. The idea sinks in but only to re-emerge re-clothed and transfigured by the alchemy of a very subtle mind. Assuredly, a fruitful and significant experience. I was not surprised at the warmth of Mr. Wells's leave-taking despite the silence of the guest.

"Such in general, is the effect of Radhakrishnan upon a typical western mentality. He is, one notices at once, at his ease. He has assurance; he steers effortlessly an even course between the scylla of self-assertion and the charybdis of undue humility, yet never for a moment does he cease to be a Hindu."

SPIRITUAL ODESSY.

Born on September 5, 1888, at Tirutani, of Hindu parents who were of conventional religious outlook, Radhakrishnan had neither the advantages of birth nor wealth. His early years were spent at Tirupathi, a pilgrim centre, and from that time he had a firm faith in the reality of an unseen world behind the flux of phenomena. His social timidity and withdrawn nature have made him neither cold nor strong-willed. A pleasant and human man, he is capable of strong and profound

emotions, nervously organised; he is sensitive and extremely high-strung. He had a brilliant academic career at the Madras Christian College (1905-09) where he became familiar with the New Testament and the criticisms levelled by Christian missionaries against Hindu beliefs and practices.

From April 1909 he was attached to the Department of Philosophy in the Madras Presidency College. His occasional contributions to standard publications like the *International Journal of Ethics*, *The Monist* and *The Quest* had for their objective the establishment of the ethical character of the Hindu Religion. He published a book "The philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore" which was warmly praised by the Poet. Radhakrishnan was then appointed professor of philosophy in the University of Mysore. He wrote a series of articles in *Mind* on Bergson's philosophy pointing out that he was an absolutist. From a similar standpoint he critically examined the philosophical views of Leibnitz, James Ward, William James, Bertrand Russell and Lord Balfour. This was set forth in the book "The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy". Acute critics of philosophy hailed it with much sympathy and enthusiasm.

When Radhakrishnan was appointed as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Science at the Calcutta University, he was called upon by Prof. Muirhead to write a book on Indian philosophy for the Library of Philosophy Series, and he readily complied with the request. This resulted in the publication of his two monumental volumes on Indian Philosophy. Here he endeavoured to take Hindu thought into the general stream of human thought. Subsequently, the Editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* asked him to write an article on Indian Philosophy. He came into contact with Dr. L. P. Jacks, Principal of Manchester College through his articles in the *Hibbert Journal*, when he was asked to deli-

ver the Upton lectures on "The Hindu View of Life."

Radhakrishnan had the privilege of delivering the Hibbert lectures on "An Idealist view of life" to crowded audiences in London. It is remarkable that his lectures expounding the religious view of life were delivered entirely without notes to a generation which has largely lost its religion. The lectures state his views on some of the ultimate problems of philosophy. They take into account the changes in the intellectual climate of the world, the crisis through which religion and social life are passing. He served with distinction on the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Later, as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, he revealed admirable traits as an administrator. His inaugural lecture on his appointment as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, Oxford, on "The world's unborn soul" is characterised by deep study and acute insight. This essay and his writings on Eastern religions have been published in a volume entitled "Eastern Religions and Western Thought." His recent appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University has been warmly welcomed in university circles.

WORK AT UNESCO

Throughout his Convocation addresses Sir S. Radhakrishnan has hammered home the need for real freedom and the scientific pursuit of true culture. Occasionally he utters a note of warning to the rulers that the basis of the present association, the assumed racial superiority of one people over another, must go. The British connection should not be interpreted in a "sordid way". "Empire," in his opinion, does not mean "markets for the central power, men, money and munitions for planting the flag in the extremes of the world. The massing of troops in a variety of colours against similar groups in battle-fronts . . . the exploitation of the weak and the backward." Chosen to lead the Indian Dele-

gation to the UNESCO at Paris, Sir S. Radhakrishnan hit the headlines by his stirring speech which won high praise from Mr. J. B. Priestley who said: "For the explanation of the aims and ideals of the UNESCO, the palm should be given to the Indian Delegation." Sir S. Radhakrishnan said: "We are a priesthood of the spirit. No false word should escape our lips, no wrong thought should enter the mind. I am concerned that we in this body should stand above politics and for universal values."

As an instrument of liberal education, philosophy is a living and vital force elevating man above the worldliness, making him superior to circumstances, liberating his spirit from the thralldom of material things. Those who want to free themselves from the "suffocating routine, from the masks and mummeries of existence, and cleanse their thoughts and create within themselves a mind will find in Sir S. Radhakrishnan a guide, philosopher and friend.

PAKISTAN AND PAN-ISLAMISM

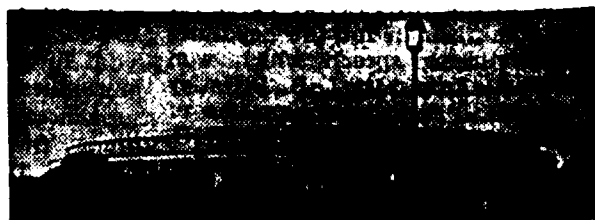
by B. SIVAKOTA REDDI

THE recent Pakistan dinner and the speeches made by the representatives of the Islamic countries have got a lesson for the Hindus if they want to learn from mistakes. Being helpless witnesses to the fate of the Islamic countries, like the crushing to atoms of the Indonesians, the swamping of their holy land by the Jews in spite of what we hear about the British-Jewish fights and the continued subjugation of Egypt, it is natural that they (Islamic representatives) should feel some consolation at even this mockery of a sovereign Islamic State formed under the aegis of the very power which plays a leading part in imperialist politics and which is one of their main enemies. But what is the duty of the Hindus? Having felt shy of appealing to the workers of all communities and thereby failed to forge a real anti-imperialist front, their clear duty was not to drive Britain into a desperate alliance with the League. Any stick was good enough to beat the British with. What concern is it of ours whether Palestine is partitioned or not, whether the Arabs are reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, when we are not able to keep our own house in order? The net result of Indonesia Days and Palestine Days was to make a laughing stock of ourselves before the world and to cement An-

glo-Muslim friendship. From this point of view, the holding of the Asiatic Conference also was inopportune even as the declaration of the verbal war against England by Pundit Nehru was inopportune. The declaration of war on the English language by lesser lights like our Education Minister, who while admitting in private that we would not have been what we are but for the English language, want to play to the gallery by declaring their super-patriotism, is inopportune.

After all it was Christendom and not Rajput or Hindu valour that successfully barred the progress of the Crescent. Our valour, except for a few bright interludes, consisted in bending and bowing before the bully and the aggressor and in reducing to dust and to lifelessness men—useful members—of our own faith. Situated as we are, is it not the better part of wisdom to come to some sort of alliance with the British and not to rely on people with an extra-territorial outlook? But then to play roles on the international stage is the chief concern of Pundit Nehru. Even the sufferings of the people are more than offset by the shaking of hands given to Mrs. Pundit and the congratulations showered on her for her masterly speech by Field Marshal Smuts! Heaven help India!

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

HOW little we know about our nearest neighbours! How many of us know of the unique educational experiment in Ceylon, whereby education is completely free from the nursery to the University stage? How do the Islanders propose to make themselves less dependent on the outside world for food?

Mr. M. W. H. de Silva, Special Representative of the Government of Ceylon in India, patiently explained to me and to Shri Phanindra Bajpal the advantages of a small country like Ceylon over a big country like India in the march of progress. Mr. de Silva pointed out that fifty per cent of the people of Ceylon were at present literate, and within the next five years there would be ninety per cent literacy in the Island. He was justly proud of his country's brave and unique educational scheme. He said they had a number of Central Schools all over the country, and many more were being built. These schools were somewhat like Public Schools and some had about a thousand or more pupils on the rolls. A hundred exceptionally bright children in each school were provided with free board in addition to the universal facility of free education. The parents of these children did not have to incur any expenditure on their account.

Whether a young man or woman wished to enter the College of Medicine or Engineering, said Mr. de Silva, he or she could do so, and would not have to pay any fees. The study of Law, however, was still under the Council of Legal Education, and Law students still had to pay fees: but it was likely that this too would come under the general scheme of education in the near future, and legal education would become free

like all the other branches of knowledge.

One of the legal luminaries of Ceylon, Mr. de Silva held all the most important positions in the legal field in the Ceylon Government, including that of Acting Legal Secretary to Government. He was Crown Counsel, Solicitor-General, Attorney-General and Supreme Court Judge. "I was no politician," he said. Mr. de Silva proceeded to explain that in Ceylon the Executive and the Judiciary had been completely separated. Fifty years ago Revenue officials used to hold magisterial positions as well in the lower courts, but that system was gradually eliminated. Recruitment to the judicial service was made from among practising lawyers who had at least put in five to six years in the profession. Asked whether in the recruitment of judicial officials like munsiffs, appointments were made directly from graduates who had distinguished themselves at the law examination and who were fresh from College, as in certain Provinces in India, Mr. de Silva replied: "No".

The Ceylonese Representative went on to refer to the various systems of law that operated in Ceylon. The Common Law was the Roman-Dutch Law which mainly applied in the maritime districts. There were also the Kandyan Law and the Muhammadan Law. In matters of divorce, for instance, the Kandyan Law was very liberal, and the Buddhists could obtain divorce if both the husband and the wife desired it. Under Roman-Dutch Law they had to go to the law court and prove that there was sufficient ground for obtaining a divorce, even though both sides might desire it. For instance, they would have

to prove that there was adultery or some other reason strong enough for the court to grant divorce.

Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon by Mahinda, the son of Asoka, said Mr. de Silva. The Sinhalese people were themselves descended from Vijaya, the King, and his seven hundred followers, who were said to have come to Ceylon from India about 500 B.C. It was not known which part of India they had come from—whether it was from Bihar, Bengal or the Punjab. Sinhalese was a language which belonged to the Indo-Aryan group of languages, and its script was probably derived from the Brahmi script. Even now, when a Sinhalese heard Hindusthani without ever having learned it, he would be able to understand about twenty per cent. of the words. Like Tamil, Sinhalese had borrowed a great number of words from foreign languages. Sinhalese was said to have a greater affinity to Pali, but it was all in the realm of theory, said Mr. de Silva.

The Ceylonese Representative said there was no such thing as a pure Sinhalese, just as there was no such thing as a pure Englishman or a pure German. The English were a mixture of Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Normans and so on. Similarly the Sinhalese freely inter-married with the people who came into contact with them. Only the Veddahs, who had not come into contact with civilisation, did not have mixed blood in them to any great extent. There was a story that when King Vijaya married Queni, a Yakka Princess, he had two children by her who became forefathers of the present Veddahs. King Vijaya later married an Indian Princess, and drove away Queen who was put to death by her own people as a traitress.

On several occasions, the Sinhalese people had put their Rulers to death, said Mr. de Silva. The Ruler was frequently elected, and was anointed by the people. The people never recognised the King as the absolute owner of the land.

They always regarded the King as holding the land in trust for them. There was therefore no feudal tradition in Ceylon. Some times the King gave some land to noblemen, who gave it to the peasants who had to give in return either service or money to his landlord, but this system did not take root. There was no land-tax in Ceylon, and even two thousand years ago, the entire island was full of efficient irrigation systems. These exist even today, but the inhabitants of the localities seemed to have abandoned those areas from time to time. At present these tracts were malarial. It might be that these lands were abandoned because of malaria. Besides, the capital of Ceylon shifted from one place to another quite often. Colombo became capital comparatively recently. Whenever the capital was transferred most of the inhabitants too went with the King. The Ceylon Government were now trying to improve these irrigation systems as part of their land colonisation schemes. The Government cleared the marshes and the forests, built houses for the colonisers, made arrangements for water, schools for the children, and so on, and then invited citizens to colonise those areas. Mr. de Silva estimated that the Government spent about Rs. 15,000 on each coloniser; but it was well worth the while to do so.

The Ceylon Representative pointed out that the island produced only about twenty per cent. of its rice requirements. One of the benefits of the colonisation scheme would be that the island's rice requirements would be met to a greater extent. The main products of Ceylon like rubber, tea and coconut brought in so much money that food crops had hitherto been neglected. About 70 per cent. of rubber plantations and 50 per cent. of tea plantations were now owned by the Sinhalese themselves, as also the entire coconut wealth, which was not planted on a plantation basis. Formerly practically the entire tea industry and 50 per cent.

of rubber belonged to foreign capitalists. The island was also rich in various kinds of fruit, but there were few orchards. Industrially, Ceylon had a good glass factory, a plywood factory, a factory for leather-making and a not-so-good ceramic factory. The Government had started their own cement factory, but they had not yet actually gone into production. They expected to meet the entire needs of the island in cement. Mr. de Silva stated that they had a number of post-war schemes for the industrial development of the island. They had at present just one textile mill, but they had eight thousand handlooms, and they planned to develop various other cottage industries. During the war, the island could not get cotton from America and India, and Ceylon itself did not produce any cotton. Now they were able to obtain cotton both from India and America.

In reply to questions, Mr. de Silva briefly touched on politics. He said that the people of the island had accepted the present constitution for the transfer of power as a step towards Dominion Status. In less than two years they would be a full-fledged Dominion. There was no question of disappointment in the island, because they knew that Dominion Status would be theirs in a couple of years.

Asked whether there was any party in Ceylon which corresponded to the Indian National Congress, Mr. de Silva said there was no corresponding party. He also said that there was no Socialist Party as such, but there was not one party which did not subscribe to the Socialist programme. The Communists and the Fourth Internationalists sometimes worked together and sometimes separately. They had influence with organised industrial labour in the cities, but he did

not think that they had popular support in the villages.

Mr. de Silva also referred to the recent strike of Government employees in Ceylon, and said that it had failed because it lacked popular support. The Government had promised that the question of the extension of Labour Union rights to Government clerical servants would be sympathetically considered when the new Constitution came into force in October. But the clerks wanted recognition rightaway, and struck. The public feeling seemed to be that the clerks could have waited for another three months for recognition.

Mr. de Silva said that a clerk in Ceylon received a minimum of about Rs. 100 including all allowances. An elementary school teacher too received about the same pay. A peon or *chaprassi* received about Rs. 80. Mr. de Silva said that increments in pay and allowances were so frequently given by the Ceylon Government that it was difficult for him to keep pace with them and remember all the scales. But this represented a fair estimate, he said.

Mr. de Silva pointed out that though Ceylon had a population of only six and a half million, the present revenue of the Island was about Rs. 38,00,00,000. He also said that of the population about 800,000 were Indians and about 400,000 were Muslims. Communal questions fell under the special responsibility of the Governor. Under the new Constitution Defence and External Affairs would be in charge of a Minister subject to the overriding powers of the Governor, and all other matters would be dealt with by the Ministers. But even in these matters the Governor would accept the advice of the Ministers, it was expected. For many years now there was not a single occasion when the Governor used his special powers, said Mr. de Silva.

What has become of the American and British food surpluses which the Government of India purchased for nearly Rs. 10 crores? How have they been sold, to whom, and at what prices?—
The Statesman.

NO GOVERNMENT IN VILLAGES

(From A Special Correspondent)

I HAVE just returned to Madras after a few days' stay in my village. One question that has been put to me by the villagers is, "Is there a Government to-day?" They know in a vague manner that the British have decided to quit. They also know that for nearly eighteen months a Congress Ministry has been functioning in our Province and that at Delhi there is an Interim Government presided over by Pandit Nehru. But they do not feel that there is any real Government. Their argument is that if there were a real Government they would not have become subject to all those evils from which they are suffering. There is none to whom they could make an appeal for relief, none who sympathetically listens to their grievances and none at all who is anxious to help them. It is in this atmosphere that they have been persistent in putting me the question whether there is any Government at all.

The village from which I come is an agricultural one. It is in the deltaic tract. Ordinarily there is no failure of crops as the land is irrigated from one of the biggest reservoirs fed by the neighbouring river. All the same as producers the villagers are suffering a lot. Most of this is due to the scarcity of agricultural implements. The cultivation season is fast approaching. Land has to be ploughed but no ploughshares are available. There are no spades, no crowbars, no levelling instruments. There are no cart-tyres. The list can be multiplied. How on earth can they be expected to commence the agricultural operations for the year in a situation like this? Men at the top speak of "Grow More Food Campaign." But strange to say the villagers here are not in a position to grow the usual food crops.

This is not the only trouble. Wages of agricultural labourers

have considerably gone up—from 4 annas per day which was the pre-war rate to Rs. 1-4 per day which is the present rate. Thanks to the Communistic agitation even at the new rates the labourers are not prepared to turn out the usual amount of work. They demand an eight-hour day as if agriculture can be carried on with hours fixed arbitrarily like this. They want holidays with pay and so on. It is not correct to assume that agricultural operations are carried on by peasants without need of hired labour. As a matter of fact transplantation, removing of weeds and cutting the crop require a large number of labourers. The demand for such labour comes simultaneously from a number of peasants and lasts for about two or three weeks. Labourers naturally take advantage of this situation and lay down all sorts of conditions. The peasant proprietor as well as the tenants are in a hopeless situation. The labourers have become dictators influenced by agitators. Agriculture suffers. The ryot feels that there is no Government to rescue him from the clutches of the agitators.

The cost of cattle has gone up by five to six times. Very few ryots are able to replace the old ones. This affects agricultural operations in two ways. There is first the scarcity of draught animals and in the second place the scarcity of farm yard manure. Government officials talk of supply of groundnut cake, green manures and chemical manures. It is all talk but so far the village has not had the benefit in practice of all this talk. No officer belonging to the Agricultural Department ever visited the village.

This is the lot of the villager as producer. What about him as consumer? His lot as consumer is much worse. Informal rationing prevails in the village. It was only with difficulty that the villagers

could get ration cards for food, clothing, sugar and kerosene. There is a village committee which is expected to supply food, cloth, etc., but it is managed in a hopeless manner. Malpractices are common. The president of the committee is all-powerful. Appeals from his decision have no effect. There is no official to whom such appeals may be made. There are families which did not get even a yard of cloth during the last two years. They are virtually in rags. Transport has come to a standstill as owing to the scarcity of cart-tyres several of the country-carts in the village have fallen into disuse.

The ryot is asking himself whether there is really a Government in the country. In towns as well as in villages rich persons are able to get all the steel they want for building their palatial houses; but no steel or iron is available for ploughshares, car-tyres and spades. What is this paradox due to? How explain it?

Among the officials of all grades—from the highest to the lowest—there is indifference though not positive neglect. No one feels that he has responsibility. If ryots go to them they merely direct them to village committees. It has all become a cry in the wilderness. This does not mean that the officials are non-interfering. They do interfere. They are making hay while the sun shines. Those who are in charge of irrigation, of civil supplies, and of the distribution of money for sinking wells are in a better position to make fortunes. Many of them have grown richer.

The ryots asked me what the M.L.A's are doing? They know that they now receive a regular salary of Rs. 150 per month. They never make their appearance in the villages.

The blackmarket is in a flourishing condition. Any thing can be got in it. Even ryots prefer to buy in it because they are saved from the worries accompanying transactions made through village committees and other recognised channels. They laugh at the whole system of procurement. Does the Government know how much paddy has been produced by each ryot in the village and how much stock actually exists? All calculations are based on the fictitious estimates made by the Karnam who rarely goes out of his house to find out the exact amounts. Correct statistics are the foundation of all rationing. Honest and efficient officials are the instruments for putting it into effect. We have neither. The villager understands this. And he smiles when he occasionally hears that the trouble is due to producer-cum-consumer societies or to the millers.

Chaos and confusion are ruling in the villages. There is really no Government. The people are crying for help but there is none to pay heed to their cries. Men with influence, friends and relations of Ministers and Government officials have no difficulties whatever. It is the common man that is acutely suffering. The Government that appears to exist to-day is government through influence and personal recommendation—the Government of self-seekers for other self-seekers.

THE NEW NATIONAL FLAG

One of the highlights of India's attainment of Independence on August Fifteenth will be nation-wide hoisting of Free India's tricolour flag of freedom. This new flag, which will be a slight variation of the Congress Tricolour, will have a Wheel instead of the Charka inscribed in the central white strip. This Wheel, which will be an exact replica of the one on the top of the Asoka's pillar at Sarnath, will be in blue. Mr. K. R. V. Pathy, Proprietor of the Hindustan Fabrics, Gudivatam, has arranged to print the free India Flag in various handy sizes on pure Silk and distribute them all over India for the use of school-children, students, cyclists, motor-car owners and public bodies.

CRISIS IN OUR MEDICAL WORLD

by Capt. K. SOMAYYA

THE crisis in our medical world has its own characteristics and peculiarities, in relation to the profession, the people and the Government.

Although the medical profession has really assumed all the usual traits of a business, it is not yet regarded as a trade.

As for the people, the vast majority of them are poverty-stricken, two-thirds of them being condemned to a bare existence or under-existence. This explains the heavy incidence of disease among them. They are also custom-ridden, with a feudal outlook which regards all scientific invention as foreign. They would like to go back to a pre-scientific, medieval civilisation. This is a direct result of our *Revivalist movement* which paints all that is ancient as golden. Hence the love for the so-called Indian systems of medicine—Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha, although these are unable to meet some of our vital needs like surgery and preventive health. Shelter is being taken behind this controversy by our popular Ministers, to suit their own needs.

This brings us directly to the role of the administration. Until now the foreign bureaucracy has been spending a mere pittance on our health (4.7 per cent. of the revenue) and was robbing not only our wealth but also our health.

A hundred million people (a quarter of our population) annually suffer from malaria and 2 millions die of this easily eradicable disease. (In Panama and Philippines, this disease has been eradicated successfully by a determined Government). That 5 lakhs of deaths take place yearly from tuberculosis, while there are less than 1,000 beds (hospital accommodation) for this disease, is enough to condemn the administration. Now the foreign bureaucracy is gone, thanks to our

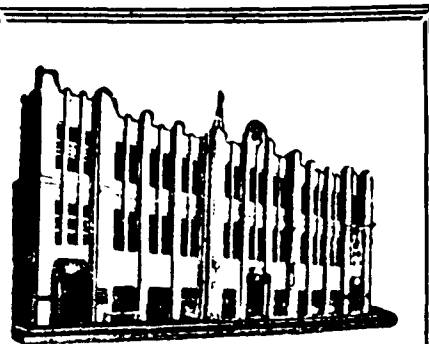
national movement. Popular Ministries have been ruling in the provinces for fifteen months. Apparently there was no hitch between the Governor and the Ministers, and the latter had full powers in all financial and administrative matters. Yet there has been no move for substantial improvement of public health. On the other hand, the artificial problem of Eastern and Western Medicine has been raised and lack of finance has been pleaded. The various methods followed in other countries, such as health insurance and manufacture of drugs, have not been considered. But the need for more doctors has been recognised and the administration seems to be content with this.

It may be interesting to know that there are well over two thousand doctors all over the Presidency, war-retired and others. So at the moment the problem is one of employing the available medical men and distributing them evenly all over the countryside, and not waiting until fresh batches of doctors are manufactured. The programme of rapid demobilisation has resulted in more than a thousand doctors and several thousands of auxiliary health personnel being thrown out of employment. A full year has gone to waste, without any sincere attempt at rehabilitating them. In October last, 500 army-retired medical officers were interviewed by the Provincial Service Board but the results have not been announced till now. As to the thousands of demobbed health personnel there is just no mention of them. In this connection, the Bhore Committee's recommendation is emphatic and unequivocal: "In our view, it is essential, having regard to the urgency of the health problem in India, that no one, whether a doctor, nurse, or medical technician should, on demobilisation, be faced

with even temporary unemployment. Both medical relief and preventive medicine have been practised at their best in the Indian Army. We therefore consider it important that employment of every member of the medical personnel and health services now being demobilised except in cases of proved unsuitability, should be secured for the civil medical health service in the country. If this opportunity of providing trained personnel for the carrying out of our proposals is allowed to pass without full advantage being taken of it, it may materially delay the implementation of a nation-wide health programme for the country which we contemplate."

What of private practice? Let it be frankly recognised that private medical aid is not within the easy reach of the common man. The poor man has to part with money he can ill-afford to get cured of a cold. Reliance on drugs manufactured abroad adds to the cost of treatment. The vicious foreign monopoly has to be broken and drugs manufactured in our own country. Turning to the doctor, it will be a mistake to view him (in the present social set-up) as an entirely useful social being. He has got to live. Only when the basic demand has been met by the State will the social role of the doctor become evident. Although in terms of rupees the average doctor now makes more money than in pre-war years, allowance has to be made for the post-war rise in the cost of living. The real income has actually gone down. The volume of practice for the individual doctor is decreasing as competition among urban doctors increases. The villagers, being too poor, cannot yield a living wage to a doctor. So the doctors crowd in the cities and towns. The doctors cannot be blamed for not distributing themselves in the villages. But the fact remains that the helping arm of the doctor does not reach the helpless villager struck with a paralysis.

The imminent crisis in the medical world can only be solved by recognising the crying needs of the



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dumb millions (and not just attending to the needs of a tiny paying section of the population). We have to evolve and implement a *nation-building health programme*. This demands a vastly increased expenditure by the State. The Bhore Committee on Health Survey and Development recommended in their programme an expenditure of 1-4-0 per capita, amounting to

358.85 crores for the first five years, which envisages doubling the present hospital accommodation. It is clear that *immediate and full* employment of all qualified medical men and *nationalisation* of drug industries to yield funds for expansion of health services, are essential for solving satisfactorily the crisis that is threatening the medical world to-day.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

by C. JANARDANAN, M.A.

A NEW Indian Administrative Service is already in the process of creation; the uselessness of the old for the new purposes being recognized. It must, however, be emphasized at this stage that mere conformity to legal forms and meticulous observance of correct rules of procedure will not be sufficient. The Services will have to enter into the spirit of a free and democratic constitution.

The great evils which have permeated our Services are: a caste consciousness, an authoritarianism and a closed mind. Such a development, inherent in foreign rule, has taken place because of the growth of Indian nationalism. In the earlier phases of the British connection with India, we do find in the administration a concern for the governed, a fair amount of freedom of thought and expression, a spirit of self-criticism and self-improvement. An example is Sir Thomas Munro who gave expression to the following sentiments in 1824: "It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people." But later we find the Services hardening into one solid frame actuated by one solid opinion. Provincialism, communalism, sectarianism, egocentricism have been the other dangerous growths.

What India needs in the Services is a deeper emotional attitude towards their struggling countrymen,

a fresh intellectual outlook, a capacity for self-criticism and self-improvement, and most important of all, a feeling of oneness with the people as against the exclusiveness of caste.

That the creation of this new tradition requires a radical break with the past is clear. A thorough overhauling of the present system is necessary. Therefore, an inquiry committee to go into the whole question of the Services should be set up immediately. It should be composed of public spirited men whose records are beyond impeachment, and its terms of reference should be as broad as possible. All questions of selection, tenure, personnel management, conditions of service, relationship with the Ministers, legislature, press and public must be brought within their purview and the soil for the new spirit created. This must be thorough and done immediately, otherwise lingering old traditions will thwart the creation of new life and make the new regime ineffective. This one inquiry will not, however, suffice. It must be repeated at fairly frequent intervals. It is constant and thorough inquiries such as these, that account a great deal for the success of the British Civil Service.

The ideal system of direct participation and direct control by the people as in early Athens being impossible in a modern national State, control by the legislature becomes essential, however inadequate it may be, due to its amateurishness

and periodic changes. Steps for this are no doubt being taken. In the matter of recruitment only those who have a broad outlook and are genuinely interested in the welfare of their countrymen should be selected. These qualities should be especially tested at the time of recruitment in the *viva voce* and later during the period of probation, a thorough weeding out of all those found lacking should be made. The principle of recruitment on the basis of merit through an open competitive examination conducted by an impartial service commission needs emphasis because of the great weakness of popular government—nepotism, its origin being the natural anxiety of Ministers to have men in whom they have complete confidence. For the same reason it becomes necessary to give the Public Service Commission a more important place than at present. The position it should legitimately have in appointment matters is that of the judiciary in legal matters.

The cardinal principle on which an administrative service should be recruited, trained and conduct itself throughout is that it shall not be a caste apart. As Laski has stated there is a great danger of members of the Services "becoming more or less a hereditary caste manipulating Government to their own advantage. The great cleavage that exists at present between members of the higher Services and the common man is to a large extent due to the great disparity in the scales of income. With the acceptance of the top-heavy recommendations of the Central Pay Commission there is a great danger of this cleavage being perpetuated. In the Services

itself the disparity between the starting point and the maximum attainable is kept as high as 55 : 2,000 or 1 : 37, and if we take into account the higher prize posts the disparity comes upto 1 : 50. Something clearly must be done to end this, otherwise the genesis of a formidable caste will have been laid again.

The spirit of self-criticism and fresh intellectual outlook in the Services demands a steady flow of young blood. Here again the Pay Commission's recommendations of raising the maximum age of retirement to fifty-eight seems ill-considered. Also, in the matter of promotions, there should be no mistaking of antiquity for experience.

To see that the Services are discharging their duties properly a system of watch is essential. This can be secured as Dr. Finer has suggested, informally by the creation of a well developed sense of public mastership; the people should have full knowledge of the rights and duties of the Services. And formally, it can be obtained by enabling public opinion to flow directly to the administration through the creation of advisory councils. The great thing is of course an educated and strong public opinion. Without this there can be no effective check on bureaucracy. Our schools and colleges should, therefore, place the highest ideals before the youth of the country and the press keep a close watch. Scientific study of administration as carried out in America, by unofficial bureaus and universities is of the utmost importance and must be introduced in India.

"Life begins at fifty. At forty you begin to lose the tensions and worries of youth. At fifty you begin to settle down and live in the present and enjoy life. Now that I have celebrated my fifty-eighth birthday, I assure you that not only have I forgotten all the troubles of the past, but I am enjoying every single little precious moment of the immediate present."—**Charlie Chaplin.**



In Calcutta, all's fair in love and trying to get on or off a tram. To board a tram you must plan your moves with generalship, for there are usually a hundred others fired with the same ambition.—"Veritas" in **The Statesman.**

SOME FAMOUS CHINESE AUTHORS

by V. G. NAIR

THE Twentieth century has been remarkably productive of literary talent in China. Since China's contact with modern Western civilization, she has undergone a period of transformation in the realms of education and literature. The decision of Western powers to utilise the Boxer Indemnity Fund for the education of Chinese students in Europe and America gave China a great impetus to send her sons to foreign countries for learning. Some of the Chinese students who went abroad in the early nineties acquired new ideas, which stimulated them to introduce revolutionary reforms and new innovations in their country's arts and literature.

Among this group of brilliant scholars who were greatly influenced by Western learning, several occupy today the highest rank in the national life of China. Dr. Hu Shih, Father of Chinese Literary Renaissance, Mr. J. James Shen, originator of the mass education movement in China, Dr. Wellington Koo, the gifted speaker and diplomat, Dr. Hollington Tong, Founder of the Chinese News Service, Dr. Lin Yu Tang, the celebrated author and mystic-philosopher, Mr. Yung Wing, a close personal friend of Mark Twain, Mr. Yen Fu, China's best translator of Western scientific and sociological works, Mr. Liang Chichao, the historian, Mr. Chou Shujen or Lu Hsun, the Maxim Gorki as well as the George Bernard Shaw of China, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, the famous story writer and Madame Chiang Kai Shek and a host of other equally talented men and women have contributed something significant in the field of Chinese politics, literature, education and religion. They interpreted old China to the outside world and new China to their own people.

The best known Chinese author in India, Europe and America is undoubtedly Dr. Lin Yu Tang. Dr.

Lin is a close friend of Pandit Nehru. As a former President of the India League of America, he championed the cause of not only India but also of Asia. A refined, witty and stoically calm writer, Lin Yu Tang became world famous after the appearance of his monumental book 'My Country and My People.' He edited three Chinese journals, of which the best known is *The Analects*, a bi-monthly of illuminating wit and humour. He is a regular contributor to the *China Critic*, *Asia*, *Harpers*, *The Forum*, the *Atlantic*, *The Reader's Digest* and other periodicals. In Chinese he is the author of four books, namely, *It Seems to Me*, *The Lone Wayfarer*, *Skirmishes* and *Philosophical Essays*. Among his best known English publications are: *My Country and My People*, *The Importance of Living*, *Between Tears and Laughter*, *The Vigil of a Nation*, *Moments in Peking*, *With Love and Irony* and *A Leaf in the Storm*. The first four are philosophical, cultural and political in nature and the last three are novels. He is also the author of two important books, *The Wisdom of Confucius* and the *Wisdom of China and India*. Unfortunately many of these books are not easily obtainable in India, as they are printed and published in America.

For a number of years, Lin Yu Tang's best seller was his *My Country and My People*. This work is partly historical and partly sociographical. It explains Chinese ideals of life and character in a most witty and exhilarating way. Chinese humanism, the author says, implies, first a just conception of the ends of human life; secondly, a complete devotion to these ends; and thirdly, the attainment of these ends by the spirit of human reasonableness or the Doctrine of the Golden Mean (Confucian ethics and morals) which may also be called the Religion of Common Sense. His book, *The Importance of Living* puts forth a vigorous plea



Dr. Lin Yu Tang (with overcoat in hand) and members of his family.

for a sane epicurianism with China as an illustration. Calling himself a pagan, the author says that he believes in God but would not like to say so, for fear of being misunderstood. All the fourteen chapters of this book beginning with his "Approach to Life" are full of thought-provoking altruistic idealism. It is a clarion call to humanity to create a better world where commonsense and reason will rule the day. The *Leaf in the Storm* introduces himself and his three daughters, all authors, to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek and depicts in vivid colours the agonies of wartorn China. *Between Tears and Laughter* is one of the most trenchant anti-Churchillian and anti-imperialistic books ever written by an Asiatic. In *The Vigil of the Nation*, Lin Yu Tang writes about Chinese leaders, the Communists, and the Army. He paints a pathetic picture of China under arms and predicts that she is unconquerable. About the Communists, he says:

"It is a party with about the same aims as those of the labour Party in a Western democracy, plus the ideology, the methods, the organisation, and the paraphernalia of a totali-

tarian dictatorship. First, it is not Communist in the Leninist sense of the word. That is, it is no more genuinely Communist than present-day Soviet Russia is Communist. Second, it is Marxist in ideology. That is to say, its whole intellectual outlook is based on materialistic dialectic; it believes in the necessity of class struggle and social revolution; it is inimical to religion and family and all bourgeois institutions. Third, it is anti-nationalist in ideas. The Chinese Communist Party and Communist literature, are for a complete uprooting of the social structure of China's past, and of all tradition. Fourth, it is a totalitarian dictatorship, and its methods and techniques are definitely copied from the Russian model."

Lin Yu Tang is also the author of nine more books in English. Most of them were published in Shanghai. They are: *Letters of a Chinese Amazon*, *Readings in Modern Journalistic Prose*, *The Little Critic*, *Confucius Saw Nancy (A Drama)* and *Essays about Nothing*, *A Nun of Tatshan* and other Translations, *Kaiming English Books*, *Kaiming English Grammar Based on Notional Categories* and *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*.

This celebrated Chinese author was born in 1895 at Changchow, South China. His father was a pastor. As a pastor's son he received the benefits of missionary education. He studied at St. John's University, Shanghai and took his M. A. at Harvard in the U.S.A. Later he specialised in philosophy and philology at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig in Germany and gained his Ph.D. On his return to China, he was appointed a professor of the National Peking University and later Head of the National Peking Women's Normal University. He returned to Europe and America in 1936 where he stayed and engaged himself in authorship. While returning from America to China on his second visit in 1945, he stayed at Calcutta for over a month. At the Calcutta University, he gave an inspiring lecture on Chinese civilization and culture. Lin Yu Tang also possesses considerable knowledge of the Far Eastern

languages and can read and write both French and German with ease. It was Pearl Buck who first discovered Lin Yu Tang after reading one of his signed articles in the *Chinese Critic*, and she introduced him to America and Europe.

Dr. Lin Yu Tang does not belong to any political party in China. Though he has been recognised as China's unofficial Ambassador in America, he is known to be a severe critic of his Government. He is now in the United States musing over the poems of ancient Chinese philosophers and perfecting his lately invented Chinese typewriter. Interpreting China to the 'red-haired barbarians of the Occident' seems to be the life mission of this witty and wise Chinese author.

I had the privilege of coming into contact with this great Sage of China in 1945 and it was one of the happiest events of my life.

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 (People's Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, 4.
 pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8).

Of all the books of the same size that have been brought out so far on Dialectical Materialism, the one under notice is perhaps the most readable, lucid and revealing exposition of the subject. Professor Hyman Levy who is the author of several other books on science and philosophy, learnt as much from his own experiences and from the daily life of the common people around him, as from the institutions which are supposed to impart knowledge. "I attended the Hebrew school, fighting my way into it through a crowd of anti-Semitic young hooligans who crowded the entrance for the evening's sport of jebalting. In these scuffles we lost our teeth and blackened each other's eyes. Even so we did not feel it was unfair. It was simply a normal part of the wider struggle between death and existence that went on all around us. . . I am not complaining. It was an education and a revelation. . . It was a hard life, but we learnt a wisdom and an understanding of human beings infinitely deeper than anything preached to us at school, church or chapel, by adults who were not of our class." This 'personal explanation' which prefaces the book explains its unique character as a book on philosophy. It is definitely 'low-brow'—addressed not to a select class but to the common man—and yet it is profound. Written in a lively and personal style, free from technical jargon, the book is of absorbing interest, yet it is anything but superficial. The reader is never entangled in the web of abstractions which is usually offered as philosophy. He is, on the contrary, invited to join the author in the discovery of a method of concrete thinking which will provide, on the basis of present available knowledge, the fullest understanding of the significance of human history.

The most fundamental distinction usually made by scientific thinkers is between Subject and Object, between mind and matter. "We look at it, the universe around us, and in doing so

separate out the activities, thinking and feeling that go on in us from those that go on outside us . . . as if we were intact unchanging beings examining the external thing. The attempt to explain the whole universe in terms of one of the categories—the object—led to the objective mechanical materialist standpoint, while the attempt to explain the whole universe in terms of the other category—the subject—led to the subjective idealist viewpoint, that denied the independent existence of everything except mind." Both viewpoints, being partial, gave distorted pictures of the complex and changing real world, in which mind and matter, man and his material environment, re-act on each other continually. "The sharp separation of matter from mind made it possible to relegate the treatment of human emotions and human values to the realm of religion and abstract philosophy. Thus on the one side stood industry and commerce, and on the other religion and church, and the relative importance attached to these is manifest from the fact that the one occupied human attention for six days of the week and the other for the seventh. The sharp dichotomy between mind and matter was reflected in the dichotomy between weekdays and Sunday, and the refusal to mix religion with business." The truth is, says the author (drawing upon the dialectical materialist method and conclusions of Marx and Engels) that "We are in it, growing and expanding with it and transforming it as it transforms us and our ways of thinking." This conception of a dialectical process which underlies all change is illustrated by the author with numerous applications of the method of analysis to recent economic, political and military developments.

Among the most interesting portions of the book are the two chapters which provide answers to miscellaneous questions, like "Are not materialists self-seekers, and idealists self-sacrificing?" and less naive enquiries like "Does Marxism ignore the existence of the middle class?" To the latter question, the author replies: "It is perhaps true that Marx did not envisage such a large growth of executive and administrative officers who would be employed as wage earners to carry through the administrative work of capitalism. But the presence of this body does not constitute a new class. The middle class is only a section of workers with specialised function . . . acting as a cushion in the class struggle

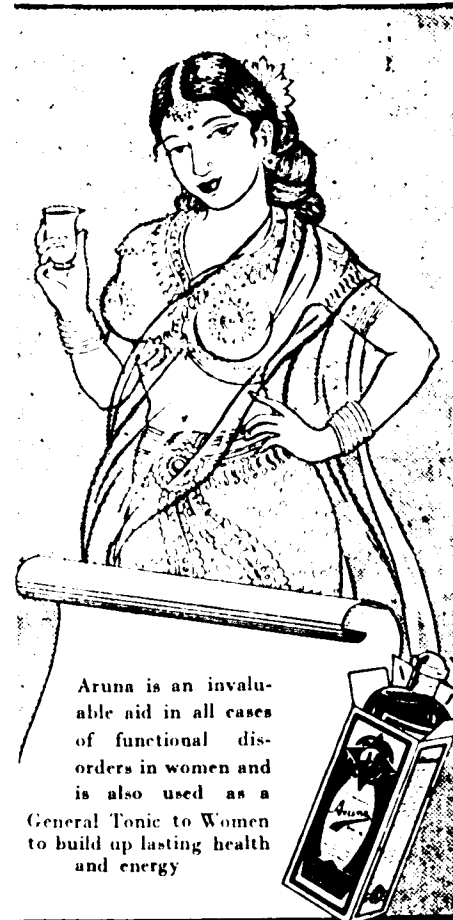
during times of well-being and thrown on the scrapheap like the unemployed during times of depression." Dealing with the question whether Marxism has any ethical basis, Hyman Levy brings out the significance of the insistence of Marxism on unity between theory and practice: "Cannibalism, slavery, polygamy, human sacrifice, child slavery, serfdom, usury, murder and war have all in their time been approved and condemned. The Marxist denies that there is any basis for maintaining abstract, unchanging ethical principles that have a universal validity unconditioned by the social situation in which they have to be applied. Such principles as 'turning the other cheek' and 'loving your neighbour as yourself' are to-day completely negated in world war. Those who preach them deny their validity in practice. While the Marxist therefore in as much concerned as anyone else with justice and injustice, right and wrong, he sees these always in a historical and social setting, and insists on reading their meaning in relation to actual practice."

Dialectical Materialism has become the accepted philosophical method of millions in the world and yet little or no attention is paid to it in our universities. This Indian edition of Professor Hyman Levy's book is a welcome attempt to fill the void. We commend it warmly to readers.

Investors' Hand Book, 1947. Compiled by C. M. Srinivasan, B.A., B.L., for Aiyar & Co., Stock and Share Brokers, Cathedral Post, Madras.

Investors are apt to be misled by greed, and share market transactions in the case of very many tend to be a mere gambling with chance. Mr. C. M. Srinivasan has sought in this compilation to save investors from the perils of bull-rigging and bear raids to which so many frequenters of the share market fall victim for lack of proper defensive equipment. This he has done by providing as approximately correct a picture as possible of the intrinsic worth of the principal companies in operation on the basis of a careful study of their balance sheets in the past. The boundaries of safe investment for would-be investors are in this way expertly and scientifically demarcated. No investor armed with the contents of this Hand Book will come to grief in the share market.

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Letters

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

"Better They Walk Out"

The Government are not ashamed to tell us that production this year is better than last year but that procurement has failed! If the Government can only induce the producers by bonuses and higher prices and cannot force them to yield all the produce available, better they walk out and make room for the Communists.

S. K. SUBRAHMANYAN, B.A., B.L.
Calicut.

The Proper Way

It is a healthy sign that the Omandur Ministry has decided to grant a bonus of one rupee per maund of paddy to producers. But the proposed procedure for the assessment and payment of bonus is so framed that it is sure to mar the benefits of the grant of bonus. The half-yearly assessment and payment of bonus half in money and half in kind, after satisfying a series of unnecessary and troublesome conditions, will make the whole thing completely ineffective. The proper way is to offer bonus immediately to the ryots in cash.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.
Rajahmundry.

English, World's Lingua Franca

The English language at present is the least inflexional of all languages and it has got one of the richest literatures of the world. It is the lingua franca of the whole civilised world. The majority of the nations of the world use it as an international language. Hence undoubtedly we would be ruining ourselves if we do not take to the study of the English language with eagerness and avidity.

I do not plead that English should be the medium of instruction. The mother-tongue or the regional language ought to be, from the very nature of things, the medium of instruction in our schools. But we cannot afford to neglect English altogether. One and a half centuries of intimate contact with England has enabled us to make quite an

earnest effort in the study of the English language and we cannot change it without injury to ourselves, for English is, according to Robert Bridges, a universal language, and our country, if it wants to establish successful political, economic and commercial relationships with the leading nations of the world, must try to foster an efficient knowledge of this world language.

A. K. SETHU RAMAN, B.A.

An Indefensible Ban

The poor folk residing in the upland taluks and zamindari areas of Nellore district were consuming dyed cloth for their requirements since many decades. More than 75% of the population in the district are Harijans, Yanadees and other backward classes and all were wearers of dyed cloth as the cloth was durable and could be worn for a longer period than white or grey cloth. Further, dyeing was a home industry since a long time and gave work to numberless labourers.

Since June 1947, dyeing in Nellore district was banned by the Collector under the advice of the District Committee whose members were all rich landlords who owe allegiance to the aristocratic Minister Mr. Gopala Reddi and do not know the real needs of the poor. The poor consumers are starved of dyed cloth which is most essential in these days of cloth famine.

We are at a loss to know why production of dyed cloth is banned only in this particular district while the poor people in all the other 24 districts in the province enjoy the privilege of having dyed cloth for their requirements. Is it not wise on the part of the Congress Ministry to adopt a uniform policy with regard to cloth-dyeing in all the districts and see that the Collector of Nellore revokes the banning order?

M. VENKATARAMAN.

Sullurpeta.

Communalism Run Riot

The communal favouritism and partisan outlook betrayed by Ministers in the matter of recommendations for seats in technical course, are distressful and shocking. It is an open secret that nowadays the Secretariat is invaded by a troop of M.L.A.'s who parade round the Hon'ble Ministers' rooms, knocking at their doors for favours for their 'pet' boys. Since merit reservation for seats in technical courses has been scrapped, recommendation and influence have taken the place of talent and merit. "You are an unfortunate Brahmin boy and that is it; if you had been Yenadi, Erukula, etc., I should have

Pakistan has been created. There is an external danger from it in future to Hindustan. Pakistan would be a medieval theocracy. Economically it is not self-sufficient. As such it will fall a prey to foreign intervention. In Hindustan the independent States might join hands with Pakistan and thus endanger our peace. A strong Hindustan should be built up to save the country from Pakistan onslaughts. No one except a dictator can do that. Nation-wide militarization and planned industrialization with full employment should be our objectives.

G. S. B. SOMAYAJULU, M.A.
Bapatla.

Minorities In Pakistan And Hindustan

It is a pity that the Congress leaders insist on calling India minus Pakistan as Indian Union. This means they will continue to offer the same privileges and rights to the Muslims as they were enjoying before the division of India. In Hindustan all the minorities will receive the same rights and privileges as in other States in the world. All but Muslims. The minority of Muslims in Hindustan and Hindus in Pakistan present a separate problem. In the event of a war between Pakistan and Hindustan, is it to be expected that the Muslims in Hindustan will fight against their brethren of Pakistan? All the world knows that the Muslims consider everything next to their religion. It is time that the Congress High Command gave this matter their attention. One solution is that all Muslims in Hindustan should be treated as foreigners and they should be denied the right of franchise, the right of enlistment in the army, police, etc. But in any democratic State the minorities cannot be denied their legitimate rights. Another solution is that all the Muslims in the Hindustan area should migrate to Pakistan and all Hindus (including Sikhs) from Pakistan to Hindustan. From all points of view the latter seems to be the best solution.

M. KRISHNAMURTHY, B.A.

Chitrugupta On Gandhi

Chitrugupta's devastating criticism of Gandhiji and his technique of political action has shocked me, as it might well have done many others, who look to Gandhi for the salvation of the millions of India.

Gandhi is a great democrat and happiness of his people is his paramount concern. He is the great leader who feels the pulse of his people intimately and he interprets it to the world as no one else can. With what correctness of perception did Gandhi say that the

Pathans want a homeland for themselves unhampered by any outside intervention and how truly did that statement reflect the feeling of the Pathans. Independent Pathanistan is a people's need while the call for an independent Travancore is not. You cannot weigh these two demands by the same standard. Chitrugupta has confused the issues. The call for an independent Travancore is raised by the autocratic Dewan of the State who has no perennial interest there. The sons of the soil demand that Travancore should merge with the Indian Union and they want to shape their destinies in common with their brothers in the Greater India. Now what did Gandhi say? He endorsed the claim of the people that it is their right to decide whether they should be cowed down, subdued and enslaved or whether they should live as free citizens in a free India. It is the situation that determines Gandhiji's conduct in such circumstances as it is with every great statesman.

Why does Chitrugupta exhaust his vials of vituperation on Gandhiji for conceding Pakistan? What is Pakistan? Is it not simply a homeland for the Muslims where they are in a majority? Should they not have the right of self-determination in the matter of those areas where they constitute an overwhelming majority? Gandhiji saw that it was the people's will, and great democrat that he is, he had no other choice but to concede their demand!

Chitrugupta may not require the Mahatma, but the people at large, the poor tillers of the soil, workers in the factories and the humble and the lowly require him. Chitrugupta may denounce his non-violence; but the day is not far off when the great powers will realise that Gandhian non-violence is the only panacea for the turmoils of this world. It is he alone who can raise our land to its pristine glory.

Quilon.

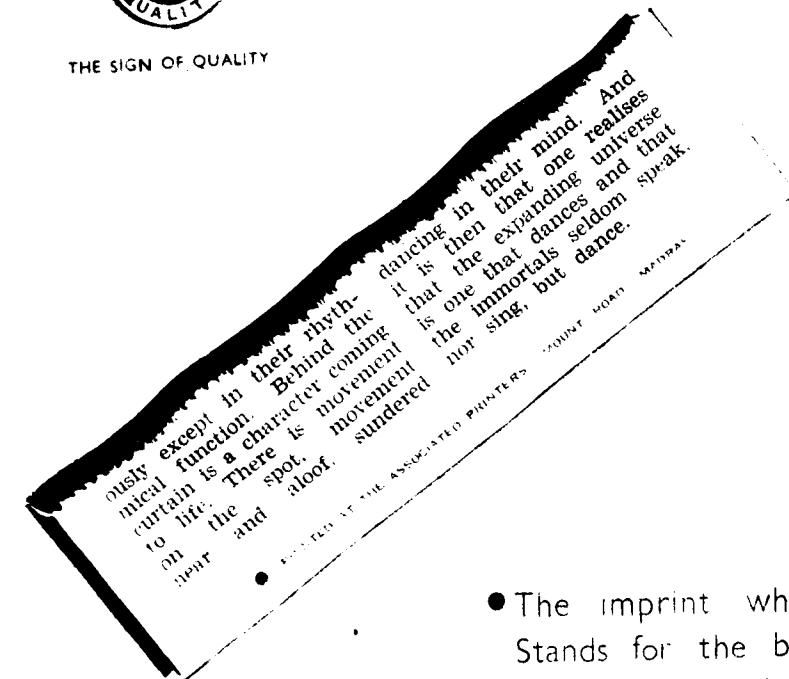
P. M. ISAAC.

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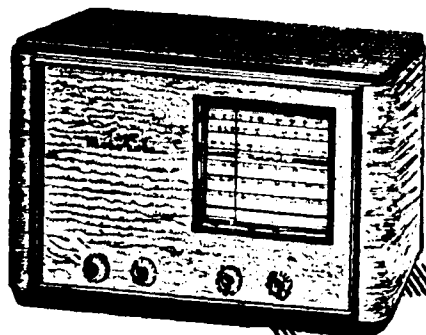
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fought for you"—this is how a Minister
consoled a student.

P. S. MANI.

Whither, Education?

Two youngsters were seriously dis-
cussing in the bus their prospects of
getting accommodation at college after
their recent success in the S.S.L.C.
examination. "You see, . . . College
has fixed a minimum of 375 out of 600
marks as the requisite qualification for
admission. So I am doubtful of getting
a seat" said one. "My luck is still worse.
I have applied to Anantapur College
having tried all Madras Colleges" said
the other. I was surprised to hear that
while the University had prescribed a
minimum of 35% for eligibility to
college courses, any college affiliated
to the University should be allowed to
have its own minimum for admission.

What with every college trying to
pick up students from the top ranks,
prospects have become very gloomy for
average students, as well as for some
intelligent ones too who possess unfor-
tunate disqualifications such as being
Brahmins or lacking the support of
wire-pullers.

It is regrettable that the popular
Government should have slept over the
problem though it knew three months
back that it was going to send a record
number of 43,000 students to the S.S.L.C.
examination. The Government should
take this problem more seriously with-
out becoming louder than necessary
over the regional language controversy.
That we are going to reorganise the
whole system of education should not
be an excuse to shelve the present-day
urgent demand for education.

M. VENKATAKRISHNAN.

Anti-Brahmin Drive

The drive against the Brahmins has
spread into the educational institutions
also. The ultimate target may be to
reduce Brahmins to illiteracy in two or
three generations. The Congress Gov-
ernment in Madras is playing no mean
part in this movement.

Is it just to ask the Brahmins to live
in an atmosphere surcharged with hate
and spite? We cannot put the clock
back and ask the Brahmin to become
a beast of the jungle. While the Non-
Brahmin improves himself intellectually
the Brahmin cannot, with any amount
of effort, be made to stand still, much
less retrograde.

G. SURYANARAYANAMURTHY,
Kovvur.

Expunge Caste

The first duty of the Constituent
Assembly is to abolish forthwith all

distinctions like Brahmin, non-Brahmin,
Harijan, Christian, etc. All should
henceforth be known as "Indians" and
by no other nomenclature. All Indians
should have the same opportunities in
all walks of life without any special
privileges or weightages for any parti-
cular class or section.

V. NANNARAO, B.A.

Anakapalle.

Pay Commission Injustice

Under the Central Pay Commission,
it is observed that no benefit has been
provided in respect of employees on the
lower rungs of the ladder, who have
put in long years of service extending
up to 20 years and more in certain cases.
There is only one method of curing
this anomaly and that is by fixing the
pay of the employees already in service
at such an amount as would be allow-
able if the employee had been started
on the new scales of pay originally from
the date of his appointment. In other
words, a clerk with 10 years' service
should get Rs. 55 plus 10 years' incre-
ments and not Rs. 55 only as allowed
by the Pay Commission. If this is not
done, the injustice, especially to low
paid clerks in the South Indian Rail-
way, will be heart-rending.

Trichy.

R. SRINIVAS.

Unwise

The Government of Madras have not
acted wisely in dissolving the Aboriginal
Enquiry Committee. The members of
the Committee have already toured a
number of districts and have collected
some data. The Government have in-
curred some expenditure. In these cir-
cumstances, it would have been appro-
priate and proper if the Government
had allowed the Committee to tour the
remaining districts and complete the
work.

P. C. REDDY,
Secretary, Dakshin Bharat
Adivasi Sevak Sangh,
Madras.

Wanted: Dictatorship!

Congress acceptance of the Mount-
batten plan cuts across its age old de-
mand for Swaraj in a United India.
Conservative elements among Hindus
show signs of discontent and progressive
opinion in the country views this as
the road to Balkanization. Provincial
administration by the Congress has
won the disfavour of the people due to
the high-handed dealings of power-mad
Congressmen. The very prestige of the
Congress is at stake and most likely
it may go down in future. At this
period of a possible civil war, leader-
ship must pass on to a dictator.



Of course we should all eat so much of this and so much of that so as to balance the essential food-elements—proteins, vitamins, minerals, fats and carbohydrates. What really happens? We go on eating what we are used to—though we know there will be a deficiency somewhere!

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