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SWATANTRA

EDITOR: KHASA SUBBA RAO



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SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1947.

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*Kabuli Moneylenders In Madras.
Drawn from life by H. V. Ram Gopal.*

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 30

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

NAZI CULT IN A NEW FORM

THE brutalising effects of communalism on human nature are revealed in the Punjab horrors. They were inevitable in the atmosphere of League politics as developed by Mr. Jinnah. His championship of Muslim interests has created a psychology of exclusiveness incompatible with good neighbourliness. It is remarkably similar, in pattern and character, to the championship of German interests by Hitler. Millions of Germans adored Hitler as he seemed to have no other interest in life except promoting their welfare. But he brutalised them by his method of serving them. They were taught to believe that the non-German world was bent on their destruction. Self-defence therefore lay in averting destruction by destroying the would-be destroyer. Unity and aggressiveness marched hand in hand. Nothing by way of human standards in dealings with non-Germans was encouraged or tolerated.

A phenomenon similar to the one that caused the second world war is being witnessed now in Asia, with the Muslims inspired by Mr. Jinnah playing the role of a sort of Asiatic Nazis. Merely denouncing it is a poor way of meeting it. Those who denounced Hitler only added to the strength of the German loyalty to him. The world would have been spared immense suffering if the isolationists who kept aloof thinking that Hitler's doings were no concern of theirs, had got together earlier to fight the Nazi terror. The

League terror in the Punjab is identical in quality with the Nazi terror. It is nurtured in the same fashion—a leader adored by millions, with the millions hanging on his words devotedly, with Muslims backing Muslims right or wrong, and no pity or other human consideration for non-Muslims.

Germany under Hitler was a secular State made theocratic by the impetus of the fanatic Nazi cult, with Hitler elevated to the position of an Arch-Christ. But Pakistan is in its very origin theocratic. Its non-Muslim people are shut out from its Islamic aspirations. If the United Nations Organisation had learnt the lesson of the Nazi holocaust properly, it would have lost no time in perceiving the threat to world peace gathering momentum on Asiatic soil with the rise of Mr. Jinnah's theocratic State in Pakistan. World peace is linked inextricably with freedom of the individual, and eventually a stable foundation for world peace can be built only on universality of citizenship rights, with no exclusive privileges for any. Such rights have to be built into the framework of the constitution of every State as part of the obligations of membership of the UNO, to mark it off from others not belonging to the organisation, and not conforming to the right international level of democratic culture and civilized existence. When membership of the UNO becomes effective as a pledge for promotion of international peace, the member

States would be governed by common standards of administration in accordance with a universal bill of human rights that would naturally admit of no discrimination between citizens on racial, religious or communal grounds. The United Nations Secretariat would seem to be already engaged in the preparation of such a bill, and among the rights incorporated in it are included the right to life, to the political power of the vote, to education, employment and freedom of peaceful assembly. When these rights are fairly established through the collective influence of the UNO, it may be assumed that the viciousness of disruptive creeds like racialism and communalism will stand divested of political power, and the empire of heads of States like Mr. Jinnah built on separatist creeds, would have tumbled. The clash that has begun between the UNO and South Africa is symbolic of the conflict between old and new methods, between the spirit of exploitation of the racial fanatic and the aspiration of the insurgent democracy of the common man all over the world. The international arena has become valuable for the mobilisation of progressive forces on the side of democracy as an aid to the liquidation of the various forms of sectional dominations responsible for aggression, strife, human suffering and war. If these forces combine properly and act with vigour and wisdom, much time and distress will be saved in humanity's march towards peace, prosperity and a decent way of living.

The glamour surrounding Mr. Jinnah is not unlike the glamour that surrounded Hitler at the zenith of his power, and to statesmen desirous of peace, he presents the same problems. The victory of violence exemplified in the division of India has concentrated in the State of Pakistan ruthless elements devoted to the exploitation of religion for aggrandisement purposes, that can-

not be allowed to overflow and play their mischief in neighbouring territory. It is inevitable, after going through so much misery in the effort to get saved from Hitler, that the world should act with a quickened sensitiveness towards other forms of the menace it has survived. Meanwhile, the Government of India have a heavy responsibility that will tax to the utmost all their resources of practical statesmanship and sagacity. Mr. Jinnah's appeals to peace have a queer way of provoking illwill while they seem to plead for abstinence from violence. They ask for the forbearance of the ill-treated rather than change of heart from wrong-doers. They are therefore useless for the cultivation of goodwill. While their formal correctitude masks a persistent policy of rousing communal passion, Congress leaders at the helm have to temper their idealistic desire for a non-communal State with the hard requirements of safety as against a thoroughly unscrupulous neighbour. In view of the drive to the Pakistan spirit given by Muslims now left in India, the risks of Sudan behaviour on their part is one not lightly to be ignored, and the real problem is how to ensure the safety of the State without impairing the integrity of its citizenship. One way of dealing with the problem is to treat communalism as an offence for which no penalty is too high and to deal with it in the severe way in which the Russians dealt with every manifestation of the counter-revolutionary spirit after the establishment of the Bolshevik State. We favour this view as it will be also helpful to check the play of the disruptive forces that have begun to spread havoc in South India under shelter of the Congress organisation.

Dollar Crisis

PERHAPS the most important pre-occupation of the civilised world during the last few weeks has been

the 'dollar crisis.' It is intimately related to the international economic situation and illustrates most forcibly the truth that prosperity like peace is indivisible. The crisis has been precipitated by the lack of economic balance between the United States of America and Canada on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other. The dollar crisis means that the world finds it difficult to secure enough currency of the U.S.A.,—dollars—with which the goods of the United States could be bought. In this connection it should not be forgotten that though the population of the U.S.A. is only about 6 per cent of that of the whole world that country commands more than 50 per cent of the productive capacity of the world. The rest of the world looks to the U.S.A. not only for food and raw materials but also for a very large quantity of high grade manufactured goods. While the exports of goods from the U.S.A. have, during the last few months, been assuming very large proportions, the U.S.A. is not buying enough goods from other countries which, on account of the disorganised condition of their economic systems, are not in a position to export goods on an adequate scale to the U.S.A. Vicissitudes of nature have also appreciably increased the disequilibrium in the world economic structure. Though the western hemisphere has had bumper crops there is an admittedly severe world shortage of food grains because the crops of Asia and Europe have been much reduced. This has served to raise the price of grain to abnormally high levels and distort further the international economic situation. The rest of the world requires the currency of the U.S.A. for buying, among other things, foodstuffs at high dollar prices.

In the international economic set-up, Britain fills a key position. The volume and composition of her foreign trade, combined with its

wide distribution, invests her economic condition with a world-wide significance. Heroic efforts are being made by the United Kingdom to restore her economic condition to a state of health so that her high standard of living may be sustained. The deterioration in her international economic position, brought about by the heavy loss of income from overseas investment and shipping, she has endeavoured to mend by hard work, austerity measures and improvement of her export trade. The goodwill of the U.S.A., Canada and Australia finds expression in the credits placed at her disposal. These credits are being used up at a faster rate than was contemplated about some time back by Britain. This is due to a number of causes. Firstly, the dollar price of foodstuffs which Britain has been forced to import from the U.S.A. has shot up during the last one year with the result that the real purchasing power of the American Loan to Britain has considerably diminished. Secondly, floods, a severe winter and fuel shortage have combined to bring about an unforeseen deterioration in Britain's economic situation which has found expression in her export trade—the life blood of the country—not expanding up to the schedule already drawn up. Thirdly, her commitments in respect of the costs of occupation of German territory constituted a drain on her dollar resources. Lastly, the severe food crisis through which India has been passing during the last eighteen months has led to our importing foodstuffs from hard currency areas which, while reducing the sterling balances lying to our credit in England to the tune of about 100 crores, constituted in the first instance a drain on the dollar resources of Great Britain.

The implications of this rather unsatisfactory situation for sterling convertibility, are worth noting. According to the terms of the Anglo-

American Loan negotiated in 1946. Great Britain consented to make sterling arising from current transactions in international trade multilaterally convertible after July 15, 1947. This condition was insisted on by the U.S.A. since that great country is interested in removing the shackles that throttle the free flow of international trade and thus expanding world trade. This condition in the loan agreement was laid down so that it might be open to those countries who come into possession of sterling through exports of goods to Great Britain to use it for buying American goods without being tied down to purchasing goods only from the sterling area. It furnishes also a testimony to the faith that the U.S.A. had in the ability of the United Kingdom to restore equilibrium in her balance of international payments by July 15, 1947 so that the channels of international trade may be used freely by the different countries of the world resulting in an increase of human welfare. The clause in the Anglo-American Loan agreement relating to the scaling down of the sterling balances is an expression of the concern on the part of the U.S.A. for securing as early as possible equilibrium in the British balance of payments so that the much needed impetus may be furnished to the expansion of world trade. It is the failure on the part of the United Kingdom to make headway in the matter of stimulating her export trade to such an extent that the position of sterling may be considerably strengthened, that has been responsible in a considerable measure for the emergence of the Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of European economy. Though the United Kingdom has been harnessing her financial genius for the last

one year to the task of entering into payments agreements with most countries so that the status of sterling in the international exchanges may be made secure, the deterioration in her balance of payments brought about by causes already referred to made her on August 20 most reluctantly to suspend convertibility of sterling arising from current transactions into dollars. The United States which took the lead in promoting the Bretton Woods Agreement and the International Monetary Fund according to which most of the countries expressed the value of their currency units in terms of gold has a great responsibility for promoting conditions necessary for the functioning of what may be considered virtually a universal gold standard. Having had experience of various devices like devaluation, exchange clearing, payments agreements, quotas, subsidies, etc., which clogged the free flow of international trade in the thirties bringing in their train economic nationalism and universal distress, the United States should have followed up the virtual establishment of a universal gold standard with actively promoting conditions in which trade between nations and the international exchanges would be in equilibrium. The dollar crisis could be got over only if the United States displays constructive economic statesmanship. Her tariff policy will have to be considerably modified and loans for productive purposes should be freely but judiciously made to stricken countries if in the plenitude of her economic strength she along with other countries is not to be engulfed in a slump the dimensions of which are likely to be greater than any the world has yet experienced.



Sotto Voce

David And Goliath



OUR religious history is full of verbal jousts and dialectical duels. Who has not heard of the historic encounter between Acharya Sankara and Mandana Misra—that wordy Mahabharata in which the penalty for defeat was *sannyasa* for the householder and *samsara* for the sannyasin? And our own Tamil country was the scene of many a mortal combat between the Salvites and the Sramanas. For their convictions they literally went to the stake, being impaled alive and invited in grim jest to contemplate the truth from that high altitude. The protagonists of Dravidistan are following precedent when they challenge the Aryan to defend his heresy if he can or to confess his error.

Our striking advance in humanity is, however, registered in the forfeit, which is laughably small. All that you need do to show that you have shed the original taint of Aryanism is to give up the caste mark, discard the *upaveeta* and disown the Gayatri; and forthwith all true Dravidians will take you to their bosoms. So we are assured by one of the numerous sheets which the Press has spawned in the past few months for spreading the gospel. The only thing that puzzles our advanced Brahman friends is that so much fuss should be made over shibboleths which they had no difficulty in dropping long ago.

Others, more matter of fact, may point out that these things are no Brahman monopoly; the other "twice-born" are equally entitled to

their use and are, on the whole, more faithful to them still. But, our Dravidian will not rest content till he has laid the axe at the root of Brahmanism; and so he chivalrously invites the Brahman, conformist and rebel alike, to commit hara-kiri. It seems the campaign has commenced auspiciously. Mr. X, described as a clerk in some office, has had his eyes opened as the result of a debate with an evangelist of the new faith; and he has solemnly renounced the trinity of superstitions.

Peace be on his clerical soul! And I wish the fisher joy of his catch—though it doesn't look like being a prize haul. But supposing it was a whale that he had landed, and not a minnow, would that have made any difference to our estimate of his prowess? Might we not have still regarded it as just a fluke—attributing it to Leviathan's misfortune rather than to the harpooner's strength and skill? It has been said that Homer nods. But we do not expect the piddling grammarian who picks holes in the *Iliad* to cap it with a better epic.

It is the mark of little minds that they cherish their chance victories and make a mountain of a molehill. In the oft-told tales of our music fans David is always meeting and vanquishing Goliath. Only, unlike the Biblical hero, their David is no more heard of, after that legendary triumph which they recount with such circumstantial, unconvincing detail. And Goliath, all unconscious of the furore, goes his way and pre-

sently forgets the little gnat that had persistently buzzed about him for a while and perhaps implanted a sting in some exposed part. I recall how an obscure *mridanga* player, the hero of a coterie annoyed Thirukodikaval Krishna Iyer for a season by his guerilla tactics.

Parochialism is the amber that preserves many an unmerited reputation. In a part of South India particularly noted for its clannishness, an apocryphal account of a mighty victory won by a lad of eighteen in debate over a giant in the field of Vedanta hailing from another region is still piously cherished. The truth perhaps was that the youth was not so much a scholar as an unscrupulous heckler. The story always reminded me of a young advocate of my college days who, by his unmannerly interruptions in court which resembled nothing so much as the impudent yapping of a cur at the heels of a thoroughbred, often succeeded in bringing his learned adversary to

a standstill,—not by his knowledge of law, nor by his eloquence, but by his purposeful vulgarity.

It is style, not the score, that counts. Kumbhakarna had it—as surely as Indrajit had not. Both had humbled the King of the gods in battle. But note the tremendous difference in how they take their success. Kumbhakarna tells Lakshmana, who would measure swords with him, “Never before was anyone known to make a stand before me—not the Lord of Hosts, mighty Sakra himself, mounted on his Airavata and with all the immortals gathered about him. Thou art a foeman worthy of my praise, O Sowmitri.” But his upstart nephew boasts of his conquests like a huckster and behaves like a cheat. In the upshot Indra outlasts his captors—as will Sanatana Dharma its present detractors. Meanwhile, let them emulate, if they can, the nobler Titan; better far to sin magnificently than to lie meanly.

VIGHNESWARA.

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SIROLIN

“ROCHE”

SIDELIGHTS : :

Power, like the diamond, dazzles the beholder, and also the wearer; it dignifies meanness; it magnifies littleness; to what is contemptible, it gives authority; to what is low, exaltation.—COLTON.

IT is now over five months since Sri Omandur was elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The election of leader under the Party rules is for a year. For more than five months out of the year, the Party has had no executive committee. The executive committee is as much an integral part of the Party machinery as the leader and it is an unheard of thing that such an integral part should be allowed to be missing for so long a time.

Now at last a meeting has been arranged for election of the executive committee. The meeting is fixed to take place on the thirteenth. The legislature is to meet on the fifteenth. If the leader had intended that the Party meeting should be attended by the smallest possible number of people, he could not have pitched upon a more favourable date. Travelling allowance is not paid to legislators if they arrive in the city more than a day prior to the meeting of the legislature. It follows that except at the cost of their T. A. members of the Congress Legislature Party cannot attend the meeting scheduled for the thirteenth.

It would appear that it was pointed out to the leader that by postponing the date of the meeting by one day a far larger attendance could be had. But the date remains unchanged evidently for the simple reason that a large attendance is not desired. The smaller the meeting, the easier the manoeuvring so as to get ‘safe’ and acceptable members packed into the executive committee. The Premier seems to have studied his legislators at least to the extent of knowing that the majority of them are not likely to forego any

allowance due to them in order to attend any meeting. Honest man that he is with a far from flattering opinion of the honesty of others, he has taken to capitalising that greatly self-advertised virtue of his to political ends in ways novel and unique unrecorded in history as ever having been thought of previously by others in a similar position.

The establishment of a Premier's Secretariat is a stroke of genius on Sri Omandur's part that secures for Madras an innovation not found elsewhere in India. Other Premiers are content to treat the whole of the Secretariat as their own and the attractions of a secretariat within a secretariat are lost on them. Exercise of power by proxy is inevitable when power is greatly desired but the knowledge and experience required for exercising it competently is lacking. One of our publicists with a very big reputation found at an early stage of his ambition that his brain was not equal to his opportunities. He loved to deliver addresses and have them well thought of and reported in the papers the next morning with commendatory comments. But on his own resources he could never prepare a speech. Secretaries were therefore engaged. He had a regular secretariat at work collecting ideas for future speeches, and when occasion arose they would put up drafts of speeches, but the great man who had to deliver them was hard put to it when it came to deciding which speech to choose. So he appointed another secretary to select one out of the various speeches for actual use.

Advisers tend to multiply as high offices are occupied by persons lacking capacity to discharge their responsibilities properly with their own resources of judgment. An economic adviser is an inescapable adjunct to a Minister for Finance when the

Minister on account of ignorance gets lost and has to be helped out. There is an adviser in the office for every Minister not knowing what to do with the power that has come to him. The dispersion of administrative control among innumerable known and unknown advisers has led to a veritable chaos of cross purposes, in the midst of which food has become scarce despite plenty of production, corruption has become rampant, communalism a flourishing political gospel and blackmarkets established institutions in the economy of the day.

The limits of Sri Omandur's capacities for leadership stand unfolded before the public in a record singularly barren of any good to the people governed. He was supposed to be a saint indifferent to material inducements who could be depended upon to renounce his title of leader at the appropriate time at the bidding of the makers of his fortune.

He has sorely disappointed those that banked on this assumption. And as the Congress High Command themselves were among those that shared such an assumption, he has become a problem to the High Command who want to get rid of him but do not know how. Power has gone to his head and become an intoxicant, as it is naturally bound to do in the case of persons unfamiliar with it and not endowed with the largeness of vision required for sustaining its strains without loss of equilibrium. What with prodigious concentration of effort over small things he has brought a great office down to a comical level. Most of his colleagues must by now be feeling him to be an extremely irritating and impossible leader to get along with. He seems to have placed reliance in the rousing of communal passions for maintaining his position—a Justicite in Congress garb. A misfit if non-communalism is to be the sheet-anchor of Congress politics.—SAKA.

INDUSTRIALISATION ON SCIENTIFIC LINES

by K. V. SUBBA RAO

FOR the development of industry, the following items are necessary: (1) agricultural raw materials, industrial raw materials and subsidiary industries; (2) plant and machinery; (3) administrative and technical personnel; (4) skilled workers; and (5) a distribution organisation to enable the products of the industry to be marketed at the least possible marketing cost.

In addition, when we think of developing any particular industry, statistical data must be available as a preliminary to planning the industry.

Such statistical data should enable the planner to know how many factories are already there in the country, and what is the total production; what is the exact total demand and what is the exact quantity being imported from foreign countries; where exactly the raw materials necessary for the industry will be available; and whether the country is prepared for the development of industry on scientific lines and if not as to what should be done to prepare the country and its people to shoulder the responsibilities of industrialisation.

At present, crops are being raised on lands on the basis of the amount of money that the ryot can get and according to the ryot's whims and fancies. If planning is to be done on a provincial basis, a committee of experts should be appointed to investigate; (i) the total acreage of land under different crops; (ii) the extent to which we should raise food crops according to the demand in the province with a view of making the province self-sufficient in its requirements of food; (iii) the extent of the land which can be utilised for other money crops needed by industry; and (iv) the extent of waste lands which can be brought into cultivation.

Depending then on the availability of raw materials and the demand for finished goods, the type of industries that could be developed in the province should be scientifically planned. Different locations can be decided for the growth of the different agricultural raw materials required for industry. The provision of water for irrigation will be a primary factor. At present, we are planning long range irrigation projects by building dams across rivers.

Short range plans may also be thought of. One such plan will be to repair all the tanks which are already available in the villages so that the rain water can be stored to that extent to provide facilities for irrigation. At present, the tanks, particularly in zamindari areas, are in a very bad condition and the water that is collected there mostly runs away to the sea. The storing of this water will be a valuable asset to agricultural operations. The next problem that affects industry as far as agricultural raw material is concerned is the very small holdings of land by agriculturists, resulting in the purchase of his raw materials by the industrialist from the market and not from the producer. This system gives rise to a number of middle men, increasing the cost of raw materials and consequently the cost of production. Co-operative marketing societies may be employed with success for collection of this material so that the producer can get more and the industrialist pay less for raw material. Consolidation of holdings will also be of much advantage. If a multi-purpose co-operative society is available for a group of villages where modern agricultural implements are kept and given on rent to the various agriculturists growing agricultural raw materials suitable for industries on

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dry lands, it will also enable agriculture to be carried on a larger scale and production of larger quantity of raw materials. This multi-purpose co-operative society may also be utilised to collect the produce from the various smaller societies and supply it to industries and in addition to purchase the requisite consumer goods and agricultural implements required by the agriculturists. Agricultural credit can also be provided by the multi-purpose co-operative society. An agricultural credit bank may be floated with the necessary finance. As far as the development of industries is concerned, the raw materials must be available from agriculturists at economic prices.

Whenever main industries are started, a number of industrial raw materials are required. For instance, for the Vanaspati industry, we require activated carbon, caustic soda, nickel formate and various other chemicals for laboratory use. Subsidiary industries should be established to produce such industrial chemicals on a large scale. Activated carbon is not produced in this province. An economic plan may, therefore, be thought of, for being worked from a central place where the raw material could be collected and the industry developed. If we take the pharmaceutical industry, we require a number of fine chemicals most of which are obtained from foreign countries. The industry is taking the role of compounders rather than pharmaceutical manufacturers. The pharmaceutical industry itself is highly technical. It should not be expected to manufacture fine chemicals also. There should be a subsidiary industry which concentrates on the manufacture of fine chemicals alone and supplies the same to the pharmaceutical industries. Suitable investigations must be made and the industry must be developed on scientific lines.

Packing materials constitute a wide industry including tins, cartons, bottles, ampoules, packing

cases, etc. At present, in the province, the main industries are finding it very difficult to obtain packing materials. There are only a few companies which produce these, situated in Bombay and Calcutta. Owing to difficulties in transport and short supply, packing materials are not easily obtainable at economic rates, the result being that production is hampered. A separate company should concentrate on the manufacture and supply of packing materials as is the case in more advanced countries like England and America. The subsidiary industries required for development of main industries are numerous and they should be investigated carefully by a committee of experts.

The main difficulty today is that if an industry is started every minute thing required for the industry has either to be manufactured by the industry itself or to be obtained from foreign markets or from long distances in India. When we envisage the development of industry in this province, subsidiary industries should also be developed. These are all small scale industries which can be developed either by individual private enterprise or by co-operative societies.

Plant and machinery are now obtained mostly from foreign countries. The prices are extremely high. Certain things like compressors, hydrogen cells, engines, alternators, high power motors, may have to be obtained from foreign countries, but other types of equipment such as tanks, juice heaters, sulphur furnace, etc., could be easily fabricated in India. The difficulties that are now being encountered in the manufacture of such equipment are: lack of knowledge of the total equipment required for the industry; lack of designing personnel with practical knowledge about designing; lack of well equipped workshops suitable for the fabrication; and lack of skilled personnel.

In colleges, engineers and technologists are taught designing, but

only in theory. We should provide in the designing section experts from foreign countries who have not only theoretical knowledge but also practical knowledge. Boys trained under such experts will be able to pick up practical designing. Industrial workshops could be established as an independent business for fabrication of certain equipments required for the main industries.

In the sugar industry, for example, barring the milling plant and the boilers, we should be able to make practically the entire equipment within the country. So also in the vegetable ghee industry, barring the compressors, hydrogen cells and motor generator sets, we should be able to make the entire equipment here. The only thing that stands in our way is lack of technical experts and designers with practice. We should now make an effort to remedy these defects and arrange for fabrication of these items to start with so that gradually we may be able to manufacture and supply the entire machinery. Items such as electrical machinery which could not be manufactured immediately should be undertaken at a later stage when the demand for such machinery increases so as to make the manufacturing plants economic units.

At present, industries like the pharmaceutical industry which carry on research here are faced with the problem of securing pilot plants. There is no firm which produces pilot plants for the laboratories where researches are carried out by such industries. There should be suitable highly skilled technical personnel for supplying the necessary pilot plants for research and then on the results obtained, designing and fabricating machinery for large scale production. There are several institutions like this in Western countries such as George Scott, Fraser and Fraser, Bennett Sons & Shears in England. The machinery industry should also be encouraged and the Chemical Engi-

neer's course in the Guindy College should be reoriented and manned by expert professors, with practical experience so that we will have the necessary personnel in due course to undertake designing and fabricating machinery to help the development of the main industries. At present, a student who undergoes the chemical technology course cannot design even an ordinary vacuum still, fabricate, test and show how it works, as he has not been given any practical knowledge.

Today in India, we do not have production managers and we generally put an engineer to be in charge of engineering, a chemist to be in charge of chemical operations, a general manager to be in charge of the factory. An engineer feels a sort of headache when he hears of chemistry and the chemist when he hears of engineering. The general manager being usually a layman, does not understand either of the subjects, but only exercises authority. In Western countries, the production manager is an important key person and there is a specialised training for the same. If he is an engineering graduate, he is given training in the chemical aspect and also in planning and in the economics of the industry, organization of labour and so on. The success of the industry depends on the total knowledge in the manipulation of the total operations for the ultimate purpose. We lack such technical personnel. We should have a post-graduate training course for technical personnel and practical training should form a part of the study. We do not have skilled workers today. They need not have any academic qualifications. It is enough if they know how to read, write and talk. But they should have the skill to operate the particular machine given to them. Usually it takes three to four years' time to train the workers and the efficiency of the machine depends more upon the skilled workers than upon the production manager or the planner. The immediate need today is to start a number of skilled

workers' institutes, one for each district or group of contiguous districts. Wherever there is an existing factory, there should be a skilled workers' institute. The skilled workers will be able to find employment practically in any factory. In the national interests, the Government should introduce legislation compelling industrialists to train a certain number of skilled workers every year.

At present there is no large scale planned distribution organisation to distribute the goods, and the cost of marketing is so heavy that in a competitive market, it will be found difficult to compete with foreign manufacturers who start industries

on a very large scale with a very large capital. For instance, in the pharmaceutical industry, the marketing cost is practically 150% over the cost price. As such, if we have to face competition, we have to reduce the marketing cost rather than the production cost. Private enterprise may be encouraged to start large distribution organisations, or alternatively, co-operative enterprises to co-ordinate village co-operative societies side by side with a statistical department to market the goods. Here again it is the trader who has got the experience and who is to be drafted on to the society, as without suitable personnel, the organisation is bound to fail.

PERSECUTION OF PEDESTRIANS

by S. R. VENKATARAMAN

The Madras City Police have for some time past have shown a zeal worthy of a better cause, in arresting pedestrians who for obvious reasons are unable to use the footpaths on all occasions. This kind of harassment of the public should cease immediately for the following reasons.

The population of the city during the last decade has doubled itself without any corresponding civic amenities to the people. Naturally people have to resort to the busy shopping centres like Mount Road, Esplanade, Triplicane and other places. Secondly, the pavements, especially in the Triplicane area, are taken up by the sunshades of the shops and the petty vendors of flowers and odd things. The footpaths are kept in such a bad condition that a pedestrian is forced to use the road instead of the footpath. The pavements are broken up in many places by the Corporation either for repairs or laying pipes, or they are filled with piles of rotting rubbish which are not removed in time. Whenever a pedestrian has to negotiate these obstacles he has to walk on the road. He has to walk on the road also while crossing the road from one foot-

path to the other. It is at this moment that the minions of power and authority catch the poor pedestrians and prosecute them. The magistrate fines them or sends them to jail for four days. The fine ranges from one rupee to five according to the mood of the magistrate. And who are the people that are thus prosecuted? The ordinary workman who goes to his job, the student who returns from the school and the poor vegetable and fruit vendor—none of whom has the means for putting up a defence. The average number of such pedestrians prosecuted daily ranges from fifteen to twenty or twenty-five before each magistrate.

What is the remedy for this? The authorities should issue orders not to prosecute the people but only to warn them. Secondly, a panel of lawyers should be immediately organised for the defence of the pedestrians. The Corporation which is responsible for the civic amenities of the city should be asked to remove all impediments from the footpaths and keep them in good repair. No pedestrian should be prosecuted for crossing the road from one footpath to the other.

Axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulses. We read fine things but never feel them to the full until we have gone the same steps as the author. Until we are sick, we understand not.—Keats.



SIDHRAJ Jeysingh Dev, king of Gujarat, had returned to the Raj Pathceka, or royal castle at Anhulwarra after his morning's chase in the royal preserves. As the sun, gilding the richly carved turrets and towers of pure white marble, approached the meridian, the royal nakkarras, or kettle-drums, struck up, proclaiming to the citizens of the vast metropolis, twelve coss in circuit, that the Maharajadhiraj (Supreme among kings) was about to hold his daily Durbar. The kettle-drums were still rolling and the conch-shells blaring when the king entered the Suryamandal, the great Audience Hall of the Sun.

Amidst the benedictions of the monks and priests and the panegyrics of the minstrels and bards, who stood at the edge of the circle of the sixteen Samunts (paladins clad in ringed mail), the sovereign took his seat upon the gem-encrusted gadi of gold. His was a stately figure in the full bloom of youthful vigour, bearing in his countenance the impress of his illustrious extraction.

The serious business of the day despatched, the ministers retired and the pundits and bards presented themselves before the king. One of the bards, who had newly arrived at court from his wanderings in the contiguous kingdom of Malwa, enchained the king's ear with a ditty which painted the matchless beauty of a young damsel of Malwa. She lived with her parents in an obscure hamlet, the daughter of a wudder, the wudders or ods being excavators of wells and tanks by profession. Although she belonged to a humble and poor community occupying a low place in the scale of caste, she was a queen among beautiful nymphs as the rose is the queen among flowers. She was a padmini among women: wherever she moved she left the imprint of her feet in rose-colour! It were a pity if this rare flower, full worthy of a royal bower, should be left to waste its fragrance on the jungle air!

A burst of applause from the assembly greeted the Bhat's song. The applause was led by Sidhraj, whose wistful eyes

and suffused countenance plainly revealed the amorous fancies awakened in his breast by the jongleur's song. It had captivated his heart.

"Sabash! If such a padmini as you have conjured up, O Bhatji, breathes on earth and is not merely a creation of your genius, I shall know no rest till I obtain her," declared the king smiling archly.

"Maharaj!" said the bard assuming a solemn air, "by my sacred office I swear that as rain shows that heat has existed, so my song shows its subject exists in the flesh. I have used fiction only as salt is used to season food." He added that he was prepared to prove the existence of Jusma, the wonderful nymph of his song, by pointing her out to any of his trusted ministers whom the king cared to send along with him.

"Well said, O Bhat!" I shall accompany you myself, disguised as one of your own profession," said the king who, as history records, was in the habit of moving among his people incognito like another Haroun al Raschid. He then took off one of the ropes of pearls that glistened on his breast, garlanded the minstrel with it, promised to fill the latter's mouth with gems if he succeeded in satisfying the king, and commanded the court chamberlain to see that the Bhat was comfortably lodged and fed in the palace as an honoured guest.

The conch-shell sounded announcing the hour of the afternoon repast. The king rose and, dismissing the Durbar, retired to the Chandrasala, or royal refectory.

While her praises were being sung in the palace at Anhulwarra, Jusma was busy helping her mother with the household work in a tiny village that lay on the eastern side of the spurs of the Aravulli hills forming a boundary between the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa. She had just entered her fourteenth year, was tall and slenderly fashioned with the light-gold complexion of the



"I am quite well, thank you, gracious sir," Jusma answered respectfully.

(See opposite page)

champak blossom. Pouting red lips, that suggested the rose to the poet, abetted the dreamy black eyes in creating a rare charm.

Her parents had fully realised that a girl so uncommonly beautiful as Jusma, was a great responsibility, and were eager to be rid of it by sending her away to the man whom she was married to when she was about nine years of age, and from whose house she had, as custom ordained, returned to her parents after a month's stay. Her husband lived on the other side of the hills in a village a day's journey away, but within the frontiers of Malwa. The only road to it led through a gorge in the hills inhabited by the wild Bhils. The inevitable astrologer had been consulted and a day fixed for the bride's departure. Preparations for the journey were in train, and Jusma, the only child of her parents, was already as sad at heart at the prospect of parting from them as a school girl leaving home for the first time for a distant school.

"Bapuji! who will look after you both in your old age when I am gone away?" she would say to her father with tears in her eyes. He would console her as best he could by assuring her that they were able to look after themselves although they would miss her grievously.

"But, Bapuji, when will you come and see me in my mother-in-law's house? Do come quick!" she would insist, and when he promised compliance, just to soothe her, Jusma would make him swear and, turning to her mother, say, "Maji, mind you send him, . . . and, Maji, please don't give my dolls and toys away when I am gone."

Sometimes one or other of her girl friends, who had been through the matrimonial mill already, would drop in to comfort her and say, "Never mind, Jusma! Look at me, I've been and come back, haven't I? We are all destined to part with our parents, so why make yourself miserable?"

So the days sped by for Jusma, and she grew sadder as the day of departure approached. It was the morning of the last day she was to spend with her parents, and Jusma tripped off to the village well as usual to fetch water in her brass pot. The thought that she was to perform this function for the last time before she left her childhood haunts, aggravated her grief and made her look sadder still. There was the usual group at the well, but squatted some distance away from it, under a tamarind tree, were two men who, to all appearances, were wayfarers resting after a long journey. Their eyes were

steadily fixed on the people at the well while they conversed in low tones.

"There, O Maharaj, is the object of our quest, the rose of my song, in the bright red sari, polishing her pot with sand," said one of the travellers, who was none else than Bhugud the Bhat, to Sidhraj Jeysingh seated beside him disguised as a Bhat.

"By Mahadev and his blessed consort! Thou hast not exaggerated a whit, O Bhat. In fact, her beauty far excels your Portrayal of it," crooned the delighted king, keeping his gaze riveted on Jusma. "She's indeed the incarnation of a goddess, if ever there was one!"

"Not so fast, O Maharaj!" rallied the Bhat. "Wait till I draw her into conversation and you have a closer view of the Rose."

"Why, every movement of her is sweet poetry, and her voice must be divine music!" exclaimed Sidhraj. "My life on it, but I will wear this rose in my bosom and you, my good Bhugud, shall have a gem-studded kutar (dagger worn by bhats), besides having your mouth filled to bursting with gems!"

"Thank you, O Maharaj! but please to remember the Rose is still to be wooed and won, my lord," bantered the Bhat, as he and Sidhraj sauntered up to the well where the crowd had now thinned considerably. The Bhat managed to draw Jusma, who had filled her pot and was about to leave, into conversation by asking her for a drink of water for him and his companion whose throats, he said, were parched after their long journey.

"So young and so sad, my child," lisped Bhugud sympathetically, throwing out a subtle feeler, after drinking the water the girl had poured into his cupped hands from her pot. "Or perhaps you are not feeling well?" he added on seeing the girl wince and remain silent.

"I'm quite well, thank you, gracious sir," Jusma answered respectfully as she poured water into Sidhraj's hands.

"Then my friend has guessed correctly; sorrow surely sits in your bosom where joy should dwell, young lady," ventured Sidhraj after thanking her profusely for the water.

"I will not deny it, good sir; who would not be sorry to leave parents and friends as I am about to do?" said the girl naively, glad to enlist the sympathy of even strangers.

The Bhat saw the opening and tactfully drew from Jusma the whole story

of her marriage and the cause of her grief, Sidhraj punctuating it with deep-drawn sighs of pity. Sympathising profoundly with her sad plight, Bhungud insinuated that a girl endowed with such superlative beauty and charm, as she manifestly was, deserved a far better home than the one she was being consigned to. He offered to instal her in a palace, the darling consort of a prince with all the wealth and pleasures she could desire at her beck and call. But in spite of all this cajolery and Sidhraj's seductive nods of approbation, Jusma refused to swallow the bait so temptingly dangled before her. Her innate sense of modesty, reinforced by the religious teaching she had imbibed almost with her mother's milk regarding the dreadful fate awaiting violators of the marriage bond, made her shrink in horror from a suggestion that implied nothing less than eternal damnation.

"Oh, Sir, how can I, a humble wudder girl and a Sudra dare to aspire to the rank of a princess and adorn a palace?" she objected.

"Tut, tut, what matter caste and rank when your peerless beauty, lovely girl, entitles you, like the royal tilak, to accept the offer we make you?" interposed Sidhraj suavely.

"Yes, and be reborn a reptile for playing false to my wedded husband whom I am bound to reverence and honour as my lord and master, nay, to worship as my god on earth," rejoined Jusma throwing back the sari with which she had veiled her face when Sidhraj made his flattering remark.

"I am a Bhat and as good as a Brahmin, and so can protect you from that curse, my child," said Bhungud reassuringly.

"No, sirs," said Jusma, after thoughtful pause, shaking her head emphatically, "much as I feel beholden to you for your kindly-meant offer, and sympathy, I prefer to remain content with my present lot to tempting the high gods. Forgive me, sirs, I have perhaps spoken more than I ought to have done to perfect strangers, and must leave you now and go home where I am surely being looked for."

And bowing reverently to the strangers with joined palms, she hoisted the pot, which Sidhraj helped her refill in spite of her protests, to her hips with a deft movement and strode away most gracefully, leaving Sidhraj and the Bhat gazing after her in amazement.

"Well, well, Bhatji!" twitted Sidhraj, breaking the silence, "she's not so simple as she looks, is she? She's beaten us to chutney, hasn't she? But, by Mahadev,

she's made me more determined than ever to get her. I'm a Rajput, and so am allowed the Rakshasa form of marriage, which in plain terms means plucking the Rose, and this is a case that justifies it."

"Which in plain terms means making a virtue of necessity!" glibed the Bhat, but added as a salve: "What need you any justification, since you, as king, are the fountainhead of justice? It makes no difference whether you shoot like Kamadev with flower-tipped darts or as a warrior with steel-tipped ones, so long as you hit the target, and all's fair in love and war!"

"So, cheer up, Bhatji!" Sidhraj went on, ignoring Bhungud's patter, "I shall still have my rose and you shall have your guerdon even as I had promised. Come let's to horse and speed homewards, only baiting a few moments in the ravine to commission my friends the Bhils to pluck the rose tomorrow and deliver it fresh and intact to my address at Anhulwarra!"

The king thus unfolded his plot for abducting Jusma as they walked towards a clump of bamboo behind which they had tethered their horses, and mounting quickly, they galloped off towards the hills.

After a long journey confined in a closed litter, Jusma found herself installed in a luxuriously furnished apartment in the zanana portion of the Raj Patheeka at Anhulwarra. Asha, the Bhil chief, and his wild men, had executed Sidhraj's commission to perfection, and were handsomely rewarded. One of the maid servants attending on Jusma brought in a golden salver loaded with a variety of savoury dishes, sweetmeats and fruits, and placed before the abducted girl with the compliments of Sidhraj. Naturally in no mood for presents or for eating, Jusma pushed the tray away with disgust, and sat down brooding morosely. She obstinately refused either to eat a morsel or receive Sidhraj, who frequently sent her messages couched in the most endearing terms and breathing passionate love.

When Jusma's hunger-strike had lasted three whole days and the girl remained adamant to all appeals, it was reported to Sidhraj that Jusma's life lay trembling in the balance. He grew greatly alarmed and uneasy, and decided to take Meynul Devi, the queen-mother, into his confidence and enlist her sympathy to plead in his behalf.

"Alas, my son! I would never have believed that you were capable of acting so cruelly as to separate a young

wife from her rightful husband if I had not heard it from your own lips," remonstrated Meynul Devi, gently but firmly. "Now I greatly fear that the sin of abducting this innocent girl will be a thousand times magnified should she die, and lie for ever heavy on your soul," she added.

"Mother, forgive me, I have only my ineffable love for Jusma to plead in extenuation," mumbled Sidhraj repentently, touching his mother's feet with his hands. "I am sure, mother, that it fully lies in your power not only to have her life with your winsome, loving ways, but even to turn her heart towards me, if you'll only try," he entreated.

"Promise to send the girl back to her husband, should I fail. He may be induced to take her back if suitably compensated," she counselled, anxiety for the girl plainly writ in her face. Sidhraj stood silent and irresolute, his head bowed and his hands folded, before his mother. She spoke again and again and said: "Well, my son, I shall try my best to win her over, but should I fail she must be granted her freedom and safe conduct to her husband."

Meynul Devi had so endeared herself to all sections of the people, even to the lowliest and poorest, that she was

familiarly called Maji, and virtually worshipped as a goddess of benevolence by all. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that she succeeded in casting the spell of her genial personality over the deeply aggrieved girl, and at last prevailed upon Jusma to divorce her husband and espouse her son. But Jusma yielded only on the condition that the downtrodden Sudra class to which she belonged, and who were compelled by cruel caste prejudice to live outside the city, should be permitted to take up their abode within a quarter of the city to be apportioned to them, and that several other disabilities under which they groaned should be mitigated if not entirely removed.

Needless to say how joyfully and readily Sidhraj accepted and fulfilled these conditions; how he went further in his generosity for the sake of his beloved and ordered the excavation of a beautiful tank in Anhulwarra Patun, which he named the Sahusraling (Tank of a Thousand Lingas); how he thus provided work for thousands of waddurs, and how the fame of Jusma's noble and selfless act spread throughout the country and was recited and sung by wandering minstrels. All this needs no repetition here, because her fame still lives in folk-lore and song among her countrymen.

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WANTED A NEW DEFENCE POLICY FOR INDIA

by P. S. NAIR

UPTO now, we were constantly hearing the cry of retrenchment in military expenditure as one of the planks in the nationalist opposition to British imperialism. Now that the opposition has become the Government, the old cry must be replaced by one of expansion of the army, navy and air force. India was considered to be so impregnable by old standards of strategy that one writer called this sub-continent "a great fortress." But aeroplanes and atom bombs have revolutioned warfare and no place can now be considered invulnerable. The Pakistan scheme further complicates the situation. Pakistan, I fear, may prove to be the Belgium of the Middle East. Future wars will be more of an industrial and economic nature than purely military. In the future press-button wars, more will depend upon success in industrial and economic mobilisation than on personal gallantry or heroism.

The possibility of Pakistan allying itself with the Arab League for defence cannot be ruled out. In fact that will be the logical outcome of the two-nations theory of Mr. Jinnah if they are prepared to oblige him. If this happens the Middle East countries will turn into a replica of the South American States with the controlling influence with Russia instead of U.S.A. The future of Pakistan does not seem to be as rosy as its protagonists dream, if they have no idea of swallowing the whole of India through intrigue. The leaders of India should be careful and not be caught napping.

India will have to maintain a ring of military fortifications from Kutch to the Himalayas and the strength of these will have to be the greater on account of the loss of India's scientific frontier at the Khyber. In the East we will have to maintain a military alliance with Burma and the other countries of the East by-passing, if necessary, Eastern Pakistan.

If Britain with her insular position was practically bombed to partial destruction from the air, what would be India's fate in a future war beggars description. The immediate problem for India to be tackled on the dawn of independence is the expansion of her defensive fighting power. Have the leaders of India thought over this? Have they arrived at any conclusions? The public should be taken into confidence regarding this matter of life and death. The principle of non-violence on which our struggle for freedom was based has no application so far as our defence policy is concerned. A State is based on force and once it is withdrawn the State will disintegrate due to internal disorder or external pressure. No state can exist without police or military force and India is no exception. But India will not and shall not have any design against her neighbours. No idea of non-violence should stand in the way of India preserving herself with sufficient military strength against invaders either from the north or from the sea. The success of the Pakistan movement should open our eyes to the fact that high ideals will not have much value without material strength to back them up. If our youth cannot withstand the hooligans that create riots, how can they fight their tougher enemies? A sturdy race can be built up only with Spartan discipline and organisation. A programme of mass physical education and military training can bring about this desired result in our national character. The work of Babu Purushottam Das Tandon in North India and Sri Prakasam in Madras deserves active encouragement and support from the public. Congressmen in particular would do well to concentrate on this question instead of wasting their energies in pelting stones at each other in ministerial rivalry and factious warfare.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



THE Russian veto on the recommendations made by a majority of the Security Council's Balkan Inquiry Commission gave rise to much criticism. It was condemned by Anglo-American spokesmen as one more instance of Russia's obstructive and dictatorial use of her veto power. The U.S. State Department has promised to issue a White Paper which will 'establish' the complicity of Greece's northern neighbours in the anti-Government activities of the Greek 'rebels.' We present our readers with the other side of the case, the side which is far too inadequately presented, if it is not entirely suppressed, by *Reuters* as well as the American news agencies which are the main sources of the international news and views found in the Indian Press.

GREECE AND HER NEIGHBOURS.

Writing as "one of the few people in this country (England) who has read the Report of the Security Council's Inquiry Commission in the Balkans," Pat Sloan says: "I find rather startling the way in which practically the whole Press suggests that the whole Commission (barring Poles and Russians) finds Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia guilty of aiding the Greek guerrillas. In fact only six out of the eleven States represented on the Commission give unqualified support to the thesis. Two States, Belgium and Columbia, said it was not for the Commission 'to give any decision as to the possible responsibility' of the three accused States. France said the conditions of the inquiry 'were not, probably, such as to allow us to draw from it any conclusions based on sound juridical principles.' Poland and Russia, of course, wash-

ed their hands of the majority report. The dubious character of some of the witnesses examined by the Commission, and the contradictory statements made by other witnesses, are instanced by Pat Sloan as the reason for the French view that the conclusions drawn by the majority could not be said to have been based on 'sound juridical principles.'

Of even greater interest are the findings, on this subject, of Aylmer Vallance, who recently completed a tour through Yugoslavia. He writes: "In the course of a month's random journey through much of Yugoslavia my wife and I were repeatedly implored, in towns and villages alike, to take back to England the message that peace is the passionate demand of the people of Yugoslavia. Certainly I could find no evidence in Macedonia or elsewhere that Yugoslavia is contemplating any adventures in the direction of Greece. Fairly exhaustive inquiries on the spot satisfied me that the American newspaper story of an International Brigade concentrated at Split is a pure fabrication; the only overt supporter of the Greek partisans whom I could find in Split was an obese, middle-aged confectioner who had a portrait of General Markos (leader of the Greek partisans) pasted up on his window. As for Macedonia, though no restrictions were placed on my movements, I am naturally not in a position to testify that no single Greek partisan crosses the frontier and is succoured by sympathetic villagers; but, after careful cross-checking of statements from official quarters and from quite unofficial peasants, I am firmly persuaded that no

organised Yugoslav military assistance is reaching the Greek 'rebels'. On the contrary, there is a widespread fear, not only in Macedonia but throughout Yugoslavia, that, failing to defeat the partisans, the Greek Government may adopt the desperate expedient of provoking a frontier incident in the hope that U.S. forces can be dragged into a war against Yugoslavia. Irrational? Perhaps; but while I was there, Greek aeroplanes crossed the frontier and machine-gunned a group of Yugoslav soldiers." Indeed, as the rest of Aylmer Vallance's report shows, the Yugoslavs are too busy rebuilding their houses and factories and increasing their national production, to be able to spare either the time, the resources or the men for any other purpose, much as they would like to see their Greek neighbours freed from the monarchist Right-wing dictatorship that prevails under Anglo-American protection. One must look to quarters far from the northern frontier of Greece to spot the men who are really intervening in the affairs of Greece. Field-Marshal Viscount Alexander, Governor-General of Canada, let the cat out of the bag when he addressed the American Legion on August 27. Holding an important office which calls for a greater degree of restraint than he exhibited, Viscount Alexander made a remark on Greece which carries the palm for irresponsibility and mischievous suggestiveness: "If America sends aid to Greece, even if it means war with Russia, America has an obligation to do so. We should stick to our friends, you know." The tragedy of the Greek situation is that America's friends in that country are the enemies of democracy.

INDONESIANS LET DOWN

It has been given to France to make a bit of unpleasant history by preventing the Security Council of the U.N.O. from justifying its existence by enforcing the Council's 'cease fire' call to the Dutch and Indonesian forces. This itself had been wrung from reluctant dele-

gates, mainly as the result of the continuous and firm pressure exerted by Russia inside the Council, and by the Indonesian and Indian representatives who were busy lobbying at Lake Success. The united front of the colony-owning Powers has ultimately defeated the efforts of the progressive-minded elements in the Security Council and 'supervision' of the Indonesian situation has been left to be performed by the foreign Consuls at Batavia—most of them representing the very countries which blocked prompt action by the Security Council. From the beginning of the renewal of Dutch aggression in Indonesia, the attitude of the Western countries has been one of unconvincingly perfunctory verbal disapproval of Holland's aggressive colonialism, and of less than half-hearted support to the Indonesian Republicans. The Indonesians have finally been badly let down. They have to derive what comfort they can from the vague offers and routine hopes of settlement (without any backing of the U.N.O.) which, for all we know, might not prevent the Dutch forces from occupying Jogjakarta.

It is distressing to find the French Government, which has a Socialist at its head, taking upon itself the role which it has chosen. But the reason is not far to seek. The French Premier Ramadier continues to hold his office, not on the strength of an independent Socialist majority in the National Assembly, but on the sufferance of the Right-wing political groups who believe in holding France's colonies by force. Nothing different from the present French foreign policy could have been expected after the Communist Party (the biggest single party in France) was excluded from the Government four months ago. The Ramadier Cabinet, pursuing a colonial policy which is indistinguishable from that of the Dutch, is apparently anxious to keep its own skeleton carefully locked in the cupboard. If the Security Council

concerned itself actively with Indonesia to-day, it might ask awkward questions about Viet Nam tomorrow. Further, there are those badly wanted American dollars. French Socialism, like British Socialism, has made itself dependent on dollars from capitalist America. Contradictions between Socialist professions and actual practice are only to be expected in such a situation.

THE DOUBLE-EDGED VETO

An interesting feature of the French veto on the Security Council's direct intervention to stop the fighting in Indonesia is that it is the first occasion on which any Power other than Russia has exercised the veto power (vested in the Big Five who are permanent members of the Security Council). It will be remembered that Russia has been much abused for her alleged abuse of the veto power. A constant theme of loud, if dubious, champions of democracy and of the rights of the small nations has been that the United Nations Charter is defective inasmuch as it empowers the Great Powers to nullify the decisions of the majority of the United Nations. At the General Assembly of the U.N.O. which met towards the end of last year, there was much ado about this matter. The delegate from dictator Peron's Argentine expressed himself heartily against 'the cursed veto.' Field-Marshal Smuts, then under fire from progressive quarters for his treatment of Indians in South Africa, expressed himself to the same effect, though he naturally employed more refined language, appropriate to the philosopher. He said "the spirit of disunity and the strange use of the veto have raised grave doubts about the Security Council." Holland's delegate—unaware that his country was so shortly to benefit from what he was then condemning—hoped that the veto power would soon be eliminated. Great Britain and the U.S. lent an entirely sympathetic ear to all this hue and cry. All of which suggested that the real target

of attack was Russia, and not any 'principle' regarding the sanctity of majority decisions.

Defending the veto power at that time, M. Molotov said that its abolition "would mean the victory of the political orientation of one group of States, headed by the strongest of the Powers, over the other States which would then be left in the position of the minority." Russia's argument has always been that the Anglo-American group, commanding as it does the votes of dozens of satellite and dependent countries, would always be in a position to outvote Russia and her East European younger sisters on any issue of importance and that, therefore, Russia should be able to protect herself with the help of the veto. But this argument can cut both ways. Quite apart from the rights and wrongs of the particular occasions on which Russia has so far resorted to the veto, it is clear that the veto can operate as much to the advantage of the imperialist Powers as to that of a democratic minority. M. Parodi has demonstrated that the veto is a weapon of defence as much for a wicked minority outvoted by a less wicked majority, as for a virtuous minority surrounded by less virtuous countries.



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TIMEWORN NOSTRUMS

by BHIKKU

SOME at least of the straight waistcoated dogmas which canalised emotion in slogans during the period of struggle have ceased to confine the Congress which is now perceptibly slipping through their hold when forced to conform precept to action and reality. The Charka and Khaddar acclaimed with song and cymbals as talisman of universal applicability for all ills is one such. Hindustani as the official universal language whether in twin or mono script, separation of the judicial and executive functions and abolition of the zamindari system are all apparently resting in the provincial cold storage at least for the time being. Prohibition has evidently got out of hand dragging in its stride the rueful Ministry which seems to be wondering whether the evangelical crown is worth the financial martyrdom. Some of these were dissident purposes pressed into service by the Congress as occasions arose: Reversion back to village economy on the one side and rapid industrialisation to attain parity with the tallest of nations on the other; a strong and powerful Centre on the one hand and complete autonomy and freedom to units and provinces on the other. The Charka with its transformation into the Asoka wheel is tacitly lapsing into a reminiscence. Ahimsa as a basic tenet has receded into a nervous background equated as it often was with cowardice when assayed in the fire of Hindu-Moslem ordeals.

There is one slogan however which still retains glamour: Democracy and the village panchayat. Partly this is because of its sentimental affinities with the past. The conceit as apotheosized now is that in all the thousand years of the chequered history of India whilst marauders pillaged, emperors fought and gloried on jewelled thrones, courtesans and slaves intrigued and whilst great luxury and great

misery dwelt in companionship in towns and capitals, the people of the innumerable villages lead an even, insulated, peaceful life not affected beyond resilience by the onslaughts of the political upheavals in the world outside. They tilled the land and harvested; gave of the produce at harvest time to the prince who held sway for the time, as well as to the village smith, carpenter, potter, barber and dhobi, each according to his degree, according to usage. The Brahmin chanted and taught. The temple bells rang and the temple bull ate of the fat of the land unhampered by rope or restriction and sired innumerable progeny; the elders sat in conclave and settled disputes, judged offenders, organised joint efforts for cleaning clogged channels, digging ponds or repair of temples. Altogether a golden aura dwells on the picture. A reversion to this pastoral bliss as a cultivable possibility has poetic and even puranic attractions. But the appeal to the younger is in its possibilities as a remedy for the desperate shortage in all the necessities of life: food, clothing and all raw materials; for allaying unrest in its very infancy by parochial adjustments; for reducing wants and dispersing slums. But how far the artificial boosting of rural democracy by devolution of power into the hands of manufactured panchayats will be a solvent for immediate ills and will yield dividends of urgent utility is more than questionable.

The historic village economy and self-sufficient harmony has been corroded out of recognition by the ignorance and antipathy of the British imperialist. How could he see in this encystment the self-protective mechanism of the Hindu hierarchy which circumvented time and adverse conditions and even if he did, it was not to his interest to shield or foster it. It was not useful

to him and was possibly an aggravation and a challenge in its exclusiveness and strength. Subtle derision of caste and creeds, customs and taboos by a super Brahminism of western brand aided cheap inroad of British goods and implements in dissolving the cement of village structure and economy. The authority of the village commune for settling disputes and punishing miscreants depending as it did largely on social sanctions ceased to have any terrors with the loosening of caste ties and the introduction of British jurisprudence and concept of evidence. The organic set-up based on interdependence yielded ground with ever increasing momentum until it brought about a life of clamant individuality and competition so fissiparous that Government and its authority has now to be invoked for everything. The Ma-Bapism of the Sircar and the chronic beggaredom of "the dumb driven masses" are necessary culminations of setting up class against class, beggar against beggar, Non-Brahmin against Brahmin, Harijan against caste Hindu in all manner of stratification. This tragic disintegration of rural life is a much greater loss than all the drain of wealth during the previous thousand years. Infidelity can be imposed with comparative ease against any social set-up but instillation of a new faith is a matter of sustained effort over a long time, probably through a whole generation—not an easy matter, nor one that can be produced by a fiat of Government even though it be a national one. In latter days it is this waste land of warring unprofitable elements that was being ploughed by Government in the pretence of raising self-governing institutions: the district boards, municipalities and panchayats.

Few of these bodies have exhibited any sense of responsibility or constructive effort for common good. On the other hand they have been the training grounds for that adroit nimbleness necessary for wriggling through the safeguards of law for

preventing misuse of public funds and for invention of techniques in camouflaging issues, drawing red herrings across trails and misapplication of unexceptional principles, with the single aim of safeguarding vested interests in their preserves at whatever cost to public good. They have as a rule been sedimenting up only those elements of graft in society which are loud and blustering and which are least representative of its culture and tradition marked as it was by humility and broad humanity. Whether it is a public contract or control of a nuisance or reservation of public right, common well-being is the last consideration that comes into play. Even when a competent officer is employed, his is a thankless task of daily bickerings with the members even in matters of routine administration. He can be popular only to the extent of his willingness to show the blind eye wherever necessary. This state of local self-government politics is within the knowledge of every one who has had anything to do with it. That the nationalist had also fished in its troubled waters along with the others and had tried to use it as a weapon in his fight with the ruling power does not alter its essential crookedness. One of the handicaps that the nationalist Government in the land is suffering from is the company of the strange bedfellows it has gathered in its struggle who are clamouring now to cash in on their claims. However much it may go against the popular cry for all-round democracy, it is no use pretending that the brand that will emerge by its artificial manufacture at the present juncture will slake our imperative needs to any extent when vested interests stalk and infest every crevice and corner of vantage, assuming any colour or camouflage that would seem useful for holding up essentials to ransom and bribing the watchdogs. The cancer has crept far into the inmost furnishing of society and black markets, profiteering and corruption will have the added smoke screens

of privacy, incompetence and irresponsibility.

What is of the first importance in the present devastatingly serious context is singleness of purpose and authority in the governance of the land and strength and reach of arm to enforce findings, studied and worked up to all the roots and ramifications of our starved needs and oppressive handicaps—from efficient scavenging to protect health to the ultimate and economic conversion of collected refuse to precious manure; from scotching incipient inroads into grazing grounds by village plutocrats to securing of maximum efficiency in breeding and upbringing of cattle; preventing overcrowding of houses and disorderly extension of slums and unlovely surroundings in villages to the high task of reversing the flow of population from rural to urban areas; securing the cleanly and orderly amongst the community from the illhealth and infectious diseases that arise from the lazy, selfish and insanitary habits of the neighbours whether in the same or adjacent villages, taluks or districts, and erasing indifference and incompetence in public service nurtured by nepotism, insufficient pay and inefficient control in concealed foundations in the villages, winked at as being of the inescapable order of things, right up to the massive range of corruption

in the ceilings of official hierarchy. All these and every other activity of organised human life cannot be severed from each other or divided into parts without perpetuating wastage, epidemics, bottlenecks, and vested interests everywhere. Only by such unified and detailed study and enforcement in detail of the results can the vicious cycle of soaring prices, discontented services, rising wages and diminution of production be reversed.

Experiments in political philosophy are singularly out of place in this wartime-like emergency. This is the time for clearing the ring of all inessentials and placing the panchayats on the shelf along with the other unhandy bookish nostrums that did service when the Congress was a rebel in the Cave of Adullam but which now hamper its effectiveness. The psychological, educational and moral change involved in revival of the panchayat rule requires time, prosperity and tranquillity for its success. Once a reverse turn is given to the present fiercely disruptive centrifugal forces by direct, if forceful measures, a full stomach, a decently clothed body, a healthy roof and a knowledgeable mind will lay out natural and firm foundations for evolution of that modern version of the pristine glory which is the dream alike of the thinker, the poet and the political philosopher of India.



AN INGENIOUS REPLY

A senior staff member came upstairs and asked a junior assistant whether he would be correct if he replied to a party in a particular way.

The junior, said, "You should have asked your section head, instead of coming up all the way."

The senior replied, "I am ashamed to ask him, with all my record of long service."

"Then, are you not ashamed to ask me?" the junior asked.

The senior paused for a while and said 'No.' The next minute he was confronted with a big "Why?"

The senior replied: "You are an youngster. Your age is perhaps less than my service in the office. Just as an elderly dame will bathe naked in the presence of children (which our women do) without feeling shy, so also I do not feel any shame in asking you."—M. C. Chari.

THE FINANCES OF PAKISTAN

by V. SUBRAMANIAN

IT would appear from the elaborate figures published by Mr. Birla in the Press that Pakistan by sheer force of economic starvation would soon go on her knees. Mr. Jinnah claimed long ago that these prophets of disaster would be thoroughly disillusioned. (Of course the Pakistan of his imagination included full six provinces, with an industrious and thrifty Hindu minority building up the economic structure of Pakistan for the ruling Muslims to lord it over). But even recently, after the truncated Pakistan became a settled fact, League spokesmen have been painting pictures of a land of milk and honey. Sober economists of the League have produced literature to prove that Pakistan will be economically quite well off.

The size of a State is no measure of its strength. It is the quality of administration and the amount of sacrifice that the people exhibit that count. League spokesmen have claimed that the present top-heavy administration would not be the model for Pakistan, but a simpler and Quranic one will be instituted. Pakistan may be able to achieve a substantial reduction of expenditure in this way. Muslim peasantry is prepared for great sacrifices to make Pakistan a success.

In the matter of foodstuffs, Pakistan is certainly well off. Sind being a surplus province; and in the West Punjab, Pakistan may snatch some valuable canal colonies. The Frontier Province is a deficit one, while in East Bengal the pressure on land is very high. It is also a problem whether the surplus of Sind and the Punjab will easily reach Eastern Pakistan in times of need. But against this must be set the fact that the panicky flight of Hindus from the Punjab and Bengal has left much land free for the Pakistani peasants to cultivate. Leaguers like Anwar Hussain Hidayathullah have not been slow to point out the superiority of Pakis-

tan in food, and flaunt it in the face of Hindus saying that food is more important for men than coal and iron. Even if things may not turn out to be so rosy as the Leaguers imagine, there is no room for anxiety about food in Pakistan.

The flight of Hindu capital from Pakistan has, in some quarters caused needless jubilation as if the industrial future of Pakistan were almost doomed in consequence, the sufferings of Hindus in the process being forgotten. The rumour that the Nizam, the richest man in India, may invest a large amount of his personal fortune in Pakistan is not without foundation. Purely for selfish reasons, if not for love of Islam, the Nizam may invest his capital in 'safe places' to provide for all contingencies. Another consoling fantasy raised is that Pakistan, governed by Islamic Shariat, will be no fertile soil for the growth of banking. After having invited the Ispahanis and Muslim capitalists, Mr. Jinnah will certainly not allow such medieval restrictions to hamper them. In fact, the pious Pakistani, lending his savings without interest, will prove a cheaper source of capital and labour. Also, what about foreign capital, American and English? An undeveloped country is better for investment and the strategic importance of Pakistan is a standing invitation to America and England to have a stake in it. Such foreign investments may not make the average Pakistani any the happier, but it will any way provide an imposing facade of industrial achievement.

The Birla statistics are apt to lead to self-deception, in their attempt to cover up the defeat of the present leadership over the partition issue. It may be generosity to yield in the hour of victory, but it is wise to be frank to oneself in the hour of defeat. The wanton underestimation of a possible and potential foe is full of dangerous consequences.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



NOW that I think of it all, I am convinced that those of us who refused to give in to the prevailing panic all these months were fools, and that those who ran away in time were wise men. And yet I should have no cause for complaint, for all my people are safe (thanks to a dare-devil of a cousin who drove them over the Sutlej at the height of the trouble on the morning of the 16th), and as for material loss—well, who has not suffered it during these bloody days? We are homeless, but homes can be rebuilt—so at least one consoles oneself!

The full story of these latest disturbances has not yet been told and will perhaps never be told. Carnage on the biggest possible scale began in Amritsar long before it effected Lahore. Foolish press restrictions as well as Hindu control over the press agencies helped to keep from the public the enormity of Sikh excesses in Amritsar district till they had begun to see their reaction with their own eyes. For let it be recorded that the brutal and organised attack made on Muslims in Amritsar town and district during the week preceding the outbreak of trouble in Lahore, was, speaking in an immediate sense, entirely unprovoked. Hell was let loose on an unsuspecting community, and many hundreds killed (seventy thousand is the number made homeless to date) by men who had not forgotten the crimes of Rawalpindi and Multan earlier in the year. Retribution as a form of justice may be primitive, but it appeals to unsophisticated—I would even say vigorous—minds and Tara Singh is by no means a decadent intellectual. And thus it was that he avenged the memory of Rawalpindi in Amritsar.

But this game of communal vengeance is one at which two can play, and Lahore has more than made up for indignities suffered at Amritsar; and as has now become familiar to us all, the balance of persecution is once again in favour of the Muslims. I am saying this not with any desire to see this balance redressed, but merely to point out that it is quite futile to play this game with the Muslims unless every Hindu is prepared to become a Sikh (fearful thought!) into the bargain, and face perpetual strife of this barbarous sort.

And yet it will not do to shut one's eyes and ostrich-like, forget that danger exists. For danger does most definitely exist, and it is more serious than most men can ever imagine. I had occasion to remark in this very column, soon after the June 3 declaration was made, that a very real possibility existed of the new State of Pakistan continuing to exploit religious sentiment for purposes of internal solidarity and freedom from criticism. The first acts of the Pakistan Government show how true these fears were. Quite apart from the recitations from the Holy Quran which one has begun to associate Pakistan Radio with, and which belie protestations that the State is secular, I have in mind the indecent haste with which the new Government has set free all those thousands of detainees who were in prison in connection with communal crimes committed since March last. Such exaggerated clemency is surely not disinterested and should be taken note of. Is it that common murderers and dacoits are going to be lionised as *ghazis* by a party come into its own?

There is one other order I would like to mention. The West Punjab Government was sworn in on 15th August. On the 16th it removed all restrictions on the carrying of sheathed swords, and thousands of Muslims could be seen wearing swords next day. Is this meant as an attempt to make the non-Muslims conscious of the new strength of the herrenvolk, to make them feel small and insecure?

Whatever that might be, India would do well to take note of all these developments and not ignore them. It will not do to continue to believe in an ineffective ahimsa the while a hostile border State arms its citizens and preaches a forward policy. Happily, there is evidence that the Congress will be made to discard some of its outmoded notions by pressure from below. Gandhiji was greeted with black-flags and with GO BACK GANDHI slogans when he passed through Amritsar a few weeks ago. And now Jawaharlal Nehru, who visited refugee centres in Lahore on Independence Day plus three, has been hooted and booed for the first time in the town's history. I wish he will find time from his international preoccupations to ponder over the significance of these demonstrations and do something about the disease of which they are the symptoms.

I have intentionally omitted to mention any details of the recent holocaust in Lahore. Such details serve only to create prejudice and senseless hatred. But I must pay a tribute here to a Muslim gentleman with whose name I am still unfamiliar but who will always remain in my mind as the embodiment of all that is best in Indian—and that includes Hindu and Islamic—culture. At the risk of his life and his own property, this gentleman kept a heroic guard over the empty houses of his Hindu neighbours and repulsed with a show of force, five separate attempts at arson and loot. That was on the 14th. On Independence Day, he was visited by local League bosses, asked to explain his attitude, and the absence of a Pakistan flag over his home. But he refused to render account to these men for any of his activities and drove them out of his house. Later, I learnt that he is an old and loyal Ahrari, and had been to jail on more than one occasion.

Such men are the salt of the earth. They should be honoured and prized. For a Hindu to be a nationalist means little; for a Muslim to be a Pakistani means less. But for a Muslim to believe in one India and risking his all to actively stand up against the tyranny of a party flushed with power and drunk with success means a great, a very great deal.



WORTH NOTING

When young John Clerk (later Lord Eldon) first appeared in London, his rustic speech and manners amused and intrigued his new-found acquaintances. When he was examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, he had occasion to use the word "water," and pronounced it in his native Doric as "watter."

The noble lord, the chairman, had the rudeness to interpose with the remark: "In England, Mr. Clerk, we spell water with one 't'."

Young Mr. Clerk flushed with embarrassment, but his native wit reasserted itself very quickly, and he rejoined, "There may na be twa 't's' in watter, my lord, but mark ye, there are two 'n's' in manners!"

SIR BOMANJI, A HUMANIST VICE-CHANCELLOR

by K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A., D.Litt.

SIR BOMANJI WADIA passed away on 17th August 1947 at the age of sixty-five. It was in the summer of 1939 that I was privileged to meet him first. Under P.E.N. auspices I had to lecture in the rooms of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on "Modern English Poetry"—and Sir Bomanji (He was then Mr. B. J. Wadia) presided over the meeting. He was then a Judge of the Bombay High Court, and a Fellow and Syndic of the Bombay University. Our acquaintance slowly ripened into friendship. On my side there was respect, gratitude and affection and on his side there was affection, sympathy and generosity. He watched my literary labours with a tender solicitude, and encouraged me with judicious discrimination. We came a little closer together when, in 1942, he retired from the Bench and became Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. Throughout the stormy years of the 'Quit India' conflagration, the Sophia College controversy and the Matriculation scandal, Sir Bomanji managed the affairs of the University with sureness and steadiness, never sparing himself, never tampering with weights and measures, never losing sight of the ideals for which a University should stand. Sir Bomanji's tenure was renewed in 1944, and again in 1946, but already his health was failing. He fell seriously ill towards the end of 1946, but recovered sufficiently to attend to his duties, and when I met him in March last he seemed to be very nearly his old self. A little later he wrote to me: "I intended to work out my full term of office, but the strain of the work got the better of me. . . . God has willed it otherwise." He resigned in April 1947, on doctor's advice, and was succeeded by Mr. Justice Chagla who had just then returned from Lake

Success with an international reputation. We all hoped that Sir Bomanji would enjoy the twilight hour with a lingering ease and serenity. But as he himself would have put it, "God has willed it otherwise," and we must accept the event, whatever pain it may cause us.

I have called Sir Bomanji "a humanist Vice-Chancellor." It may sound odd to emphasise the fact that a certain Vice-Chancellor happened also to be a humanist. But in our degenerate days it has become necessary to emphasize it because, in our country especially, one is a Vice-Chancellor, less because one is a humanist, than because one is either a successful businessman or an ambitious politician or an electioneering strategist. The Vice-Chancellorship of some of our Universities is almost a sinecure for inept, unwanted or superannuated politicians. But there are notable exceptions who redeem the time and give dignity to the office. There is Dr. C. R. Reddy of the Andhra University, a born Vice-Chancellor if ever one was, one on whose ample shoulders the mantle of the great Sir Ashutosh has properly fallen and remained; there is Dr. Radhakrishnan, the man of words and wisdom, the intrepid engineer busy bridging the chasm between the East and the West; there is Dr. Tara Chand of the Allahabad University who, like his predecessors the Jhas, is also an inveterate humanist; and perhaps there a few more besides.

Sir Bomanji was a firm believer in the humanizing influence of the humanities. A diligent and enthusiastic student of English literature in his college days, he preserved that enthusiasm till the very end of his life. Three decades of legal and judicial exertion nevertheless left

his love for literature uncontaminated. Busy as nearly his whole life had been, he somehow managed to snatch an hour every day to return to the cherished company of the great masters of literature. He read, besides, the 'new' poets, although he was not quite at home in their midst, and reviewed their work occasionally, in that serene judicial style of his, in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly*. And he was convinced that "poetry is the only art that has preserved for us the best of what men and women have thought and felt—the drama of life, that has a universal appeal for all time." He once declared: "The world of the poet is after all the spiritual world. It is the poet's business to lift us into the realm of the spirit. He cannot guide us in the realm of fact. He can save human hearts, without which, perhaps, nothing is worth saving."

Sir Bomanji was widely read in classical and modern literature, his responses were quick and genuine, and his essays in literary appreciation were invariably couched in a language of extreme simplicity and clarity. Year after year, over a period of forty years, he contributed an illuminating essay to the "Sanj Vartaman" Annual, and several of these essays are included in the volume *Random Thoughts and Recollections*. After his retirement from the Bench, he surrendered himself more completely to his first love and contributed frequently luminous little essays to the columns of the "Hindusthan Review," the "Aryan Path," the "New Review," the "Indian Review," and other journals. These essays, broadly speaking, were of two kinds. Some were essays in criticism like "Swinburne and Meredith: Shaw and Chesterton" written in 1909 or "The Universality of Robert Burns" written a few years ago. And Sir Bomanji's tastes were truly catholic. He readily responded—though not to an equal extent—to Shakespeare, to Omar Khayyam, to Byron, and to

the major figures on the contemporary literary scene.

But there are also other essays, and these are not, properly speaking, literary but meditative and philosophical. Sir Bomanji's was a humanist's philosophy. Like all humanists, Sir Bomanji believed that the proper study of mankind is man. The partisans of science and technology—especially the humourless ones—are never tired of declaring that the proper study of mankind is inanimate Nature or at best living creatures like the earthworm and the lobster or abstractions like price trends and tariff walls. These have their thrills and their uses no doubt, but what shall it profit man if he knows everything about rocks and stocks and gases and asses but very little indeed about his own dear and dogged self? The humanities—the Arts Faculties—of what use are they? We want vocational instruction; we want exhaustive courses on everything except human nature. It follows therefore that bifurcation should begin in the first year of the University course (if not earlier), and the so-called science students should be asked to divorce poetry from their lives for ever! With the screams of this mad-house fresh in our ears, it is good to remember that Sir Bomanji declared as early as 1924: "The weight and dignity of tradition is all on the side of the humanities; they stand for the ancient manner, the exquisite grace, the mellow light and the softer shadows of time. The poet alone of all men can lift the veil from the hidden mysteries of creation, trace the origins of being, and reveal the uncommon glory of common and familiar things. The future is still before him. His is 'the vision and the faculty divine'."

And more recently, in his Convocation Addresses, Sir Bomanji restated this faith with unflinching steadfastness:

"We all believe in the high value and importance of vocational education, but there will always be a need for education in the higher

sense of the term which Newman described as 'liberal'. Let us not look upon knowledge as useless unless it can immediately be turned into cash."

"A University is not the place for professional education. Its object is not to produce skilful lawyers or physicians or engineers, but capable and cultured human beings. We have facilities for the study of the professions, but that is not our primary object. What professional men should carry away from a University is not mere professional knowledge, but the general culture which provides the background, and throws light on the technicalities of a special pursuit."

In short, University education should aim at inducing in its beneficiaries a sense of "value" more than an eye for the main chance.

It is a pity that education is being sought to be put under political tutelage. Mr. Guy Boas, writing about conditions in England, says:

"Neither stability nor satisfaction will ever be achieved so long as our education is tied to the revolving wheel of politics. 'The foundation of every State,' says Diogenes, 'is the education of its youth.' That is true, but the foundation of educa-

tion should not be the State. For party politics must render tribute to Caesar, whereas the training of youth should render tribute to God."

This is substantially true of our own country as well. Political fads should not be allowed to infect the springs of education. And the determined ignoring of the humanities that the purblind scientist and the pseudo-modernist politician advocate is the surest means of precipitating the imminent disaster. Busy evaluating the prices ruling in the market-place, let us not in our folly lose sight of the values that give a meaning to life. The late Sir Bomanji did well to reiterate the ancient humanist ideal at a time when siren voices and false cries were distracting us. They are distracting us still, and so we too are on trial. Freedom has come indeed, but it is a fissured and fractured freedom, and many anxious years must pass before this freedom can become flawless and whole. Sir Bomanji said that education is a means of "producing a noble race"—and education in terms of a new and virile humanism can alone bring about the desired consummation. It is for us now to choose aright and determine the structure of the coming years.



LOTUS—INDIA

O I have seen a lotus bloom as gay
As any other flow'r of which I'm fond,
And then it nearly caught my breath away!
And still this lotus in the light of day
Crowns with a rosy light a limpid pond
Where under floating leaves for long it lay.

Now, in the blooming of the lotus see
The symbol of a land for ever ours,
An India that we can love as free.
And if for long she has endured to be
Concealed beneath another nation's powers,
She now reopens in her majesty.

For other lands the lily or the rose:
For India the lotus ever blows!

IAN HOYLE, S.J.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

HENRY Francis Grady, Ambassador of the United States of America in India, proved to be one of the best spokesmen of the U.S. Government when he met the Press soon after his arrival in India. He dealt with subtle points in economic theory with ease, and was a contrast to another American Ambassador of the United States—Paul V. McNutt who visited India a few months ago on his way home from the Philippines. I was told by American Press Correspondents that McNutt was pretty high in the Democratic Party and that if Truman himself was not standing for election, he would probably have been the Presidential candidate in 1948. Even now there was no knowing that he might not be the Vice-President. We were however not impressed with McNutt and had given him a pretty bad time about Philippines.

Grady discounted the suggestion that America would be overtaken by a depression. He pointed out that the employment level in his country was higher than at any time during the war. America produced 60 per cent of the industrial wealth of the whole world. Mr. Chari of the People's Age drew the Ambassador's attention to "a certain gentleman called Henry Wallace" who was criticising American Government policy, economic as well as foreign, saying it was against the interests of the American people themselves and of world peace. Could Mr. Grady say why Wallace imputed that the American Government's programme would lead to disaster?

Mr. Grady: Do you want me to make a Henry Wallace speech

(Laughter). Henry Wallace is a life-long friend of mine but he is now in the opposition and I am in entire disagreement with him. It is an honest disagreement between friends.

It is well-known that if there is a depression in the United States, Henry Wallace would be elected President in the 1948 contest, because the Americans will then look to him to help them out of the muddle. The prospects of a depression have unfortunately increased since July. If a depression is to come at all, it is better it came before the Presidential election than after it. Then America will at least have as President the man who will be able to inspire their confidence as Roosevelt did.

Mr. Grady struck an optimistic note in reply to a question on this subject, and he had ample justification for his view. We don't know whether he still feels just as confident. The question and answer were as follows:

Question: There are some signs of an economic crisis overtaking India and China. Do you see signs of an economic crisis overtaking America or the world at large?

Answer: I will be glad to answer that question because it does have a bearing on India and the world. I think there are those who would not be unhappy if we had a depression. We had a meeting recently to which we invited eight economists to report on the probable trend of prices. Four said prices were going up and the other four said they were going down, so even economists find some difficulty in agreeing and certainly on making

absolute prognostications. We have had a rise in our index of prices which has been disturbing. I think perhaps we took controls off prices too quickly and did certain other things that were inflationary. During the war we had a remarkable indication of the effectiveness of control on prices. Some felt that if controls were taken off prices, prices might go up but they would come down again because of the stimulus to production. But that hasn't happened as yet. Prices rose and have come down somewhat, and the President has asked business and industrial interests to reduce prices further. There is the danger that if further increase in prices got substantial momentum, it almost certainly would lead to a depression later. But if there is not an increase in the price level and if it continues to sag down, and I think it will with the large crops of this year, we may well be able to avoid a serious depression. We have a demand for goods which is tremendous. We have also to replace our consumer and capital goods and all kinds of equipment, and the demand for production from abroad is such that there is no reason why our economy should seriously sag. The latest reports indicate that our employment is now about 59 million people, higher than the war-time peak, which is the highest number we have ever had in history—there is no evidence of a falling off in employment as yet and I think that if prices go down slowly it will not affect that employment. It is only when there is a rapid drop and falling market that production is slowed down. I think that the fears of a serious depression are not well founded. I think we are going to weather the storm and have quite a long period of good business in America and, I hope, throughout the world.

The philosophy of the American State Department was further explained by Mr. Grady in reply to other questions. He referred to America's own economic problems—which we non-Americans are apt to

forget. "While our country was not overrun," he said, "our whole industrial equipment was converted to war production. We had priorities for everything to make the maximum effort for war production, and we helped our allies through liberal shipments on lend-lease. As a result we had no replacement of capital equipment during these years and after the war was over we were short of consumer goods and production goods. It will be sometime before our railroads are rehabilitated and there is enough equipment to meet our peace-time needs.

Question: While we have not been able to secure agricultural implements from America, tractors and other farming machinery have been made available to Europe. There is a feeling in India that there is some discrimination made in regard to requests for even innocent implements like tractors from America. What is American policy in this regard?

Answer: There have been, and have just been renewed, both import and export controls in America. Export controls are over certain foods in order that they may be conserved and allocated on the basis of the countries needing the food most, specially those foods in short supply. Export for the year ending June 30, 1947 was 18,005,000 long tons of grain. That has been controlled through an international pool regulated by the International Agricultural Conference and it has been done in an attempt to conserve the food resources of the world for their distribution according to the greatest need. That applies also to fertilisers and various industrial materials. On the import side we are definitely restricting imports of fats, oils and rice so that we will not be taking them from countries in the world which need them more. With regard to uncontrolled goods, I am certain there will be no discrimination if you have the funds with which to purchase. It may be that we are in short supply ourselves but I think it is on the basis of the allocation to countries that need them most.

Question: As writer of the Grady Report and in the light of your investigations, do you think India needs aid?

Mr. Grady: I think you have a great many able political and industrial leaders. When I was here in 1942, I was very much impressed with the industrial capacity of India. If you could develop in this country a fine plant like the Tata plant, if you could develop very excellent textile industries and air services, if you can do the various things you are doing, what is there to stop you going very much further?—because I think you have indicated the capacity. Now as to assistance, perhaps you don't need it. Sometimes, however, even competent people find they can get help and advice from others. That is entirely a matter for your people to decide. If you want advice and technical assistance from American industrial leaders and you ask for them, then I will try to get them to come out here to assist your leaders. I think, and I say this with all due modesty, we have gone pretty far industrially.

Question: Considering that the dominant sector of American industry is in private hands—trusts, combines and so forth—if India approached America for a loan in the form of heavy machinery (machines to produce machines) could you give any guarantee that the American Government would prevail upon American concerns to make such loans?

Mr. Grady: As a rule the procedure in getting machinery of any kind is to go to the producers and, when the producers have made a contract, to go to the banks for financing. Many institutions of banking have financed contracts between buyers and producers of equipment. I sense that you feel that the industrial interests of America would not want to see a development of industry in other countries. I have never seen any evidence of that narrow attitude on the part of American industry. During the war, through the Export-Import Bank, there was financed a steel industry in Brazil which is

prospering and growing. We have financed industrial equipment in many countries. I do not think you will find many leading American industrialists taking a narrow view. They want to see markets developing. It has been our experience that as the standard of living of people is raised their purchasing power becomes greater and certainly there are plenty of markets for all the industries which you could develop so there need be no competition.

Question: While we believe the American Government is friendly some of us feel that American industrialists are no different from industrialists in general. It has been the experience of undeveloped countries up to now that those in possession of heavy machinery do not feel very enthusiastic about heavy industrial development in other countries.

Mr. Grady: I think that is a narrow point of view to which I do not subscribe and have never heard it uttered, in responsible quarters in America. I have, for a number of years, been a member of the Advisory Council to the Department of Commerce on which many leading industrialists are serving, and I have never heard any such sentiments expressed. It is true that in the early days of the Industrial Revolution the conception was that of undeveloped countries being supplied by developed countries. That is a very narrow and, I think, antiquated philosophy which no longer guides the policy of our industrialists or the Department of Commerce. Our trade has always been largest with the most advanced countries. The more a country advances, the more prospect there is of trade for our industries. I will give you an illustration. The International Shoe Machinery Company is the company in America that makes the most machinery for the manufacture of shoes. They are the dominant producers of shoe machinery and they are selling machinery all over the world, wherever there is a demand for it. The best way to test this is for some of your industrialists to approach them."

We can have no hesitation in agreeing with the last sentence.

PROS AND CONS OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

by C. R. K.

THERE is a great controversy going on in the American press on the pros and cons of Universal Military Training (UMT) led by Fiorella H. La Guardia, the Congressional member, for the protagonists, and by H. W. Baldwin, a former naval officer and non-military expert for the *New York Times*, for the opponents. The points raised by both of them are worthy of consideration by our Government and our leaders.

La Guardia states "I was part of the legislative party back in 1919 when as a member of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives I sat behind closed doors and listened sceptical and hostile to an appeal by the then Secretary of War for a million American soldiers. . . . I helped my country make one of the most serious mistakes in history. That is why I make this public confession." Once again, "From bitter experience, I happen to know that had we followed the Secretary's service plans (which I helped to kill) and Woodrow Wilson's peace plans (which others destroyed) Hitler would not have dared to move beyond his boundaries."

But Baldwin is equally emphatic against UMT. "I do not speak alone. Many army and naval officers who cannot publicly take a stand against the declared policy of their superiors declare that UMT will not produce a single unit ready to fight." As the theme is developed, he does not sound very convincing. He deprecates the six months universal training plan as a "horse and buggy policy" in an atomic and missile age and holds that it is like trying to erect a Maginot Line of bodies which is futile. The National Guard which was sent on active duty proved ineffective according to him till the well trained first division got into action. The deduction which he draws from this example which he

quotes is wrong. He himself admits that they had defective training and were manned by inefficient officers. If correctly trained and manned by efficient and well-disciplined officers they would certainly have stemmed the tide at the first onslaught. It was because of a want of realistic modern military policy that the Polish cavalry was helpless against the German tanks in 1939. If UMT is not carried out efficiently and enthusiastically it will only put millions of quarter-trained "bodies" into uniform on any future mobilization day when they will be ineffective against well trained hordes, while in the meantime it will lull us into a false sense of security.

Another objection to peace-time conscription is its great cost, its diversion of funds from far more important military requirements and diversion of officers for manning these mass reserves from their regular routine.

How then does Baldwin propose to combat any threat to national safety? His first line of defence is an efficient foreign service which will give timely warning of the coming danger, and his second line of defence is the development of industrial plants to such a pitch of efficiency as to bring about mass production of materials needed during a military crisis. While none will disagree with him as to the necessity for a large quantity of materials during war-time, the necessity of man power to run the ground defences cannot be gainsaid.

La Guardia is very much more realistic: "To advocate preparedness is not at all incompatible with a consuming desire for peace. Until all nations agree to disarm we must keep ourselves strong." No country ever strikes at another, according to a great military expert, until its leaders believe they can win. That

is why it is a good thing that those that do not want war, make themselves invincible. "Essential to that is universal training. In addition to its benefits to the nation as a whole and to young men as individuals, it will help keep recalcitrant nations in line." The defect in the previous American plan was that the training was only for six months. This is proposed to be rectified by La Guardia by a 15 month training in the age period between 18 to 21.

It may be objected that in the international field, conscription has never tended to promote international understanding and peace.

It may also be objected that as no military organisation can be democratic, conscription is a step on the road to totalitarianism. Democracy has run amok in our parts. Everybody talks of his rights and privileges but few appear to realise their responsibilities as citizens of a common State. Selfishness and self-interest without relation to the State are rampant. Character is at a discount. This is the result of mouthing the much abused word "democracy" in season and out of season without knowing its full implications. A little bit of authoritarianism will not be out of place to bring recalcitrant elements to order. Democracy is a slow lumbering weapon. We want a faster vehicle to carry us to the point where we will be in line with other nations.

Arguments for and against UMT can be developed *ad infinitum*. But so far as our country is concerned, there can be no two opinions on the subject that this is urgently needed. "Proper discipline is not humiliating, oppressive or demoralizing. It is simply mutual recognition of authority in civilian life, in the family, in the office, the

factory, in sports as well as in the army and navy."

If ever war comes again, the protection of our homes alone will require several million men and women. They will have to be specially trained in countless disciplined tasks ranging from anti-aircraft gunnery to fire fighting, decontamination and panic control.

Furthermore, we have been emasculated for centuries under foreign rule and our coming generation needs a little pepper.

In the gruesome atmosphere of West Punjab and other places our immediate neighbours appear to be running amok with slogans like "Laughing we got Pakistan, fighting we will get Hindustan." This cannot be brushed aside as the mad cry of stupid people. It is a manifest symptom of a corruscating disease that is running through the adjoining body-politic. Ahimsa and non-violence may have been effective weapons when a foreign power was ruling over you but will never be of any avail in the international field. Will our leaders realise these facts and rise to the occasion instead of hugging outmoded and sentimental shibboleths? It is pathetic to see some of our publicists clinging to the fond hope that the country will be one complete whole once again. They may object that any suggestion of UMT in India will produce repercussions in Pakistan. Let it. When once our opponents realize that two eyes will be lost for one eye and two teeth for one tooth, they will never jeopardize either their eyes or teeth.

From whatever angle we view this question, we are led to the conclusion that for our country UMT will do good in many directions.

Imagine a fire department of five where each man reserves the right not to go to the fire and can stop the other four from going. If the men in the streets of the world were asked how they felt about the veto, the veto would be blown away in a gale of indignant repudiation.—Sir Carl Berendsen.

THE BLACKLEG?

by K. BHUPAL

IT was one of those dreary summer nights. The wind was dry and hot and seemed to carry the warmth of the sunny day. The city's lights were on—rows and rows of them brilliantly lit. From a distance it looked as though the Milky Way had descended down as a huge canopy over the city. With the dry winds and the dazzling lights the night was more like day.

The usual inexplicable crowds moved along the main roads, the streams of cars and buses and the noisy electric trams rolled their way to and fro. It was all so common, so typical of an overpopulated, congested city. But there was something wrong somewhere, something very usual missing.

There was not a single rickshaw plying on the road. That rickety two-wheeled vehicle drawn by man, filling every road and lane, was strangely absent. Not one could be seen. The rickshaw-pullers had struck. The vehicle owners had been extracting from them a heavy sum as hire, a sum which on most days the rickshaw-pullers were unable to make up. The rickshawmen had all lined up their vehicles in a manner that resembled a mobile column ready to advance. Some sat on the vehicle—a rare privilege! Some leaned athwart and some collected in groups, smoking and chatting. It was a great day for them; the strike was a great success. The object would be achieved, the two-day strike would come to an end and the morrow will be the dawn for them of better wages and better life. They had so far stood as one man, though the lack of earning made it impossible for them to keep the wolf from the door. Strong minds there were which revolted against the very idea of compromise or taking the capitalists' terms lying down. Weaker minds there were, too, the minds of an emaciated and famine-stricken peo-

ple. Some of them felt that sacrifice of principles for the sake of one's home and hearth was justifiable, and they talked of compromise and coming to terms with the masters.

Gopal was weary of soul and body. The forty summers that had passed by, had made him view life from a very different angle from that of his companions, the younger 'bulls.' To him his ailing wife, his famished children, his theory of acceptance of the whims of Fate meant more than standing on a principle and putting up a fight against his old master, the rickshaw owner. For years he had toiled, pulled and sweated, and had not protested. It had never struck him that things which the all-powerful Fates had designed could be changed. "It is Goddess Kali's wish and what can we, frail things, do?" he used to ask. But the end of the war brought before Gopal strange sights. There were reports of strikes and strikes everywhere. Last month the bus workers had struck. It meant an unusual demand for his ramshackle vehicle and it was a great day for him. But he also remembered having witnessed the smashing up of a 'blackleg' bus that tried to run the blockade of the picketers, the police lathi-charge, etc. For the past fortnight strange people had come to him. They used very high sounding words and talked of the workers' rights. They said mighty wicked things about the master who hired out the vehicle. They said strike was the weapon, the atom bomb which would blast all their woes. They referred to the magnificent achievements in a far off country, which was the workers' Utopia.

As he sat smoking his 'beedi' which he had lighted up again, Gopal was thinking of his youth, the glorious part of his life. A dark cloud passed over his furrowed face and the wrinkles ran one into another

making weird patterns when he thought of his wife, the woman who patiently bore him children. Years back his neighbours were jealous of him as he came home with his rustic wife, a buxom beauty of the countryside. Time had left its indelible impression on her, and in her parched-up face and sagging breasts not a trace of the old charm remained. Constant child-bearing and eating a rat's gruel every day had broken her completely. This day, she would not have that gruel. His thoughts lived mostly with his mate, her patience, her devotion and her occasional fits of temper. He was restless. In a moment he was away, breaking from the line of vehicles, darting towards the beckoning soldiers! The barracks three miles off was the destination. The soldiers had to get back and there was no other conveyance. A handsome wage of two rupees was arrived at after the usual higgling. As Gopal trotted along, his old legs bending under the burden, he heard the booing, the cat-calls and the threats from down the line. He remembered the smashing up of the bus and quickened his pace.

The soldiers stretched themselves and started talking. Gopal understood very little of what they said, but they were good he knew, the whitemen, the Sahibs who pay well. The soldiers talked of their home, their 'gals,' about the Indians, the problem of India. They solved the Indian problem within the scope of their mental orbit. The native must revolt, they thought, and refuse to do the jobs they do now. They have no guts, one of them remarked. Gopal too, was talking to himself. He saw the two silver coins, dangling before his eyes.

An ominous looking sentry indicated the entrance to the barracks. "Aye, you stop here" shouted the

soldiers as they jumped out. As they hurried in, one of them flung a four-anna bit at Gopal. In a moment it was clear to Gopal what had happened! The old trick again! "Oh, master, you promised two rupees." Gopal advanced a few steps, only to be stopped by the sentry who heroically pointed his bayonet at him. His entreaties were in vain, the barracks was a prohibited area and he could not enter. As he pulled back his vehicle and walked at a snail's pace, he thought of the cruel Fates. He walked mechanically and was coughing frequently, an old man's cough. In his life as a rickshaw-puller for twenty years he had been duped on many occasions, but those were normal times when he could have another customer and forget the loss. Now he was tired, and there was the strike. It was no use thinking, the best thing was to go home.

He diverted his course and went through foul smelling dark lanes. There was an all-pervading stench of putrefying matter and the sound of consumptive coughing came through the air. He took the turn and with it came a stunning hit on his head. It must have been a stone; he caught it badly. He stumbled as he heard many voices shouting, "Shame" "Traitor," and "Blackleg." A further volley of stones hit his shrivelled up, writhing body. He felt dizzy. With great effort he climbed the one step that led to his house, stumbled and fell. The noise brought his wife to the door. She had been half-asleep and started grousing, "Ah, once again drunk! What is this? Blood, a drunken brawl? The Devil take you!"

Gopal parted his lips, he wanted to tell her what had happened, but he was too weak with the loss of blood and lacerations all-over. He never said what he wanted to.

We teach our children manners, so that they can greet their aunts and uncles with joined hands and polite words. We seek to elevate the infant, not knowing in our confounded pride that no exalted talk can reach the depths of the child's psyche, that, however consciously it might obey, its unconscious nature is far more dynamic and powerful factor in the development of the child than outer hypocrisy.—M. R. Anand.



BOOKS & AUTHORS



India Divided. By Rajendra Prasad (Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay. Third Revised Edition. Price Rs. 10-6).

The value of this book has not, we may affirm, in the least been affected adversely by the failure of its central argument to carry conviction to the protagonists of the partition of India. That value derives from the mode of treatment adopted by Dr. Prasad. We shall say nothing of the patient, unremitting industry employed in the gathering of the vast quantity of accurate information in the book, or of the scholarly thoroughness with which fact and argument are sifted, or of the literary ability that lies in the very readable presentation of so enormous a mass of material. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has brought to his task other qualities not usually found in the contemporary discussion of urgent controversial issues. There is a philosophic dispassion, a grave sobriety, right through the argument and a scrupulous fairness in the presentation of the case for partition. In discussing the part of the British in fomenting dissension among the communities in India, there is a meditative sadness—no trace whatever of natural resentment or bitterness. And when Dr. Prasad deals with Muslim complicity in the conspiracy against Indian freedom and unity, there is more sorrow than anger in the tone of the discussion. Indeed, every page of this book bears evidence of the singularly gracious and lovable personality of its author.

Part I of the book is an assessment of the progress made since the advent of the Muslims into India in the evolution of a sense of common nationality and cultural harmony in all branches of the people's life. It shows how patiently the seers and artists, and the more farsighted even among the rulers, laboured amid heart-breaking discouragements, to make India a single strong nation. Their labours would seem to have been in vain. Partition seems to be a settled fact. But history is full of the unsettlement and reshaping of a multitude of so-called settled facts. States carved out by force or by the threat of force have seldom long endured. Pakistan was the result of the skilful operation in India of the technique which Hitler employed with such apparent ease in bringing about the dis-

ruption of Czechoslovakia. There is no parallel in history, unless it be Hitler himself, to Mr. Jinnah. Both rose to supreme power in their community by the unscrupulous manipulation of minority grievances. Both employed the threat of force to gain their ends, while professing pacific intentions. Nothing failed so disastrously in the end as the almost continuous sequence of successes that Hitler won. Mr. Jinnah's ultimate fate is in the womb of the future. He has meantime had an enviable record of triumphs.

The sober narrative in Part II traces the growth of communal disunity in the country. The story is at once distressing and disturbing. It shows the steady development of Muslim aggressiveness, the successive attempts made by that community to hold the nation to ransom and levy blackmail at every crucial step in the country's hard and difficult march to its freedom. It reveals also the patient large-heartedness and sympathy with which the leaders of the Congress met these attempts at demanding a price for bare neutrality in the country's struggle for freedom. But in the later phases of this story, the record of the Congress is far from satisfying. 'Peace at any price' would appear to have become the policy of the Congress. The price was paid repeatedly, but the goods were hardly ever delivered. Every concession granted was turned by the Muslims into a springboard for fresh concessions. The saboteurs of Indian unity have had a continuous run of luck and exceptionally able, if unscrupulous leadership. But what a lurid light it throws on Congress leadership! We do not think it as other than thoroughly discreditable to an organisation that it should have allowed itself to be so systematically outplayed, outmanoeuvred and outstripped. Dr. Prasad lays bare the story, from unimpeachable British sources, of the contribution made by British officials and non-officials alike, directly and indirectly, to the growth of estrangement between the Hindus and the Moslems. The tragic failure of Congress leadership to grapple with these forces will long bedevil the march of this country to its destiny. That failure is also a warning to the Congress. The

organisation has so far functioned without the bracing stimulus of constructive opposition to its leadership at the top. The A.I.C.C. has been playing the role of an obedient, and by no means imposing or charming, male chorus of the High Command. This situation calls for immediate and radical alteration. Also, Congress leaders should recover at all costs the initiative that they lost when, after the clumsy mismanagement of the issue of the War Aims of the Allies in the second world war, they bungled into an absurd and fatuous renunciation of power in the Provinces and missed a momentous opportunity of seizing power in the Centre under the Act of 1935.

Another of the grievous forces still allowed to be at large in the country is the princely order. This 'order' is a curious survival into the modern age of something utterly rootless and medieval in its quality and function. It is a great pity that Dr. Prasad, beyond making casual and incidental allusion to the position of Hyderabad and Kashmir in the communal tug-of-war, gives no serious thought to this matter of the place of the native States in the future set-up of India. The picture of the dangers of division of the country would have been complete, and far more convincing to the Moslem and to the detached observer, if frank account had been taken of the Indian States and their absurd and pretentious claim to independent sovereignty. We venture to hope that we shall not see an absurd tact, a maladroitness non-interventionism, and cowardly incompetence masquerading as a 'policy' any more in the matter of the States. Having fought a two-front war already—against the British and the Muslims—the Congress should beware of the dangers of giving other forces of internal disruption any kind of quarter.

On the question of the policy towards Pakistan, Dr. Prasad has little to say, though Pakistan was a practical certainty when he wrote the last few sentences of this book. He concludes: "It may well be that when the actual division has been accomplished, the result may turn out to be a veritable Dead Sea apple, or a Delhi ka Laddu which the man who gets regrets as much as he who does not." It may not be altogether useless to cherish this hope. It would be best for us, however, to be prepared for the worst. Pakistan takes birth at a time when its leaders are in a mood of giddy conceit. They may overreach themselves. On the other hand, they may not. But we must keep our powder dry at all costs.—S.R.

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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.

Future of the Congress

It would appear that there is no unanimous opinion about the course that should be taken by the Congress to solve the immediate problems of food and clothing and the ultimate problem of raising the standard of living of the masses. Some hold the view that the Congress, being a multi-class organisation, cannot serve the interests of the weaker section of the population. Others feel that it can be dissolved as the aim of its founders has been achieved. I disagree with both. Congress has a programme which, if honestly implemented, would alleviate the distress of the masses and also dispel the popular fear that the Congress is tainted with capitalist bias. Of course, implementation involves careful planning and hard work. Scuttling is easy. But it will be a colossal waste of national energy.

Others hold the view that a change in the constitution will set matters right. But I am sure that mere change in the rules cannot disengage the existing group tendency in the Congress. A change in policy is welcome. But a compromise in the principles for which the Congress stood, cannot be tolerated.

The Congress should give up the idea of encouraging this or that Trade Union and 'Kisan Sabha' leader. That would create factions within labour and Kisan ranks and infuse confusion into the Congress ranks. As the Congress is a multi-class organisation it cannot afford to take sides. It must serve the people as a whole from whom it collectively draws its sustenance.

C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Masses And Independence

I was very glad to go through your editorial under the caption "Independence." Political freedom has released gigantic internal problems, stresses and conflicts that have accumulated under foreign domination. The masses can evaluate independence only in terms of food, clothing and shelter. A sense of frustration and despair has overtaken them. If they should repose any faith in the present Central and Provincial Governments, they will do so only if the Governments immediately launch upon a progressive economic policy towards raising the standard of living of the

poor people. Such a step would be the acid test of their professions of democracy and economic equality. To quote your words, "Since, in the ultimate valuation, the people are the masters in a democratic system, no modern democracy can be efficient, if the people that are its masters are ignorant, undernourished, badly housed or subject to depressed conditions of living." Conflict between Socialism and Capitalism is of the essence of Indian politics today. And there need be no doubt that our salvation lies through the former. Would this independence mean only a change from White to Brown bureaucracy or progressive government in the interest of the people? This is the question that is agitating the minds of people.

V. V. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

Bombay.

Pertinent Questions

Is August 16 any way different from August 14? Is the Congress able to drive away the exploiters and black-marketeers from its ranks? Is it going to identify itself with the sufferings of the underdog? To whom does the Congress belong? These are some of the pertinent questions that have already begun to agitate the man-in-the-street, and the awakening of August 15 has added in so small measure to this eventful and historical curiosity?

V. RAGHAVIAH, M.L.A.

Nellore.

Elected Executives

Under the new constitution for the provinces passed by the Indian Constituent Assembly, two elected executives are provided—the Governor and the Premier. Perhaps no other constitution in the world provides for such an ambitious plan of incorporating the important features of both the English and American systems of government. The diffidence that is being expressed now is not so much because it is a novel experiment but because of the probable difficulties that may crop up in the actual working of the constitution in view of the prevailing trend of ideas among Congress circles. The possibility is that the Governor may look to his counterpart in the American system of

government, and insist on his rights while it is natural for the Premier to look to the position of his prototype in the British governmental system as the leader of the majority party in the legislature.

Under the new constitution envisaged for the Indian Republic, to make the Governor a nominal executive head of the province, especially when he is endowed with powers analogous to those laid down in the 1935 Act, it is very important to set up a convention right from the beginning that the leaders or prominent people of the parties should aspire to become not Governors but Premiers.

But the tendency in Congress circles—the majority party in the country—seems to be for the local leaders to aspire for Governorship rather than the leadership of the legislature.

Bh. V.

A Constitutional Impropriety

Under Section 68 (2) of the Government of India Act 1935, the principle of which is extremely sound and is even now applicable, no person shall be a member both of the Federal Legislature and of a Provincial Legislature. Hence after the 15th of August, 1947 no Minister or a member of the Provincial Legislature who is a member of the Constituent Assembly, could constitutionally be member of both the bodies. It was for them to have made elections as to in which House they would act as members. When the members of the Constituent Assembly attended its sittings on and after the 15th of August, 1947, they should be deemed to have elected to continue as members of the Constituent Assembly (of which the Federal Legislature is a component part) and hence all the Provincial Ministers as well as members of both Houses of the Madras Legislature, who are members of the Constituent Assembly must resign their offices and seats forthwith.

B. BHIMA RAO, M.L.C.

Bellary.

Congress And Municipal Elections

It is regrettable that the Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board should choose to set up its official candidates for the ensuing municipal elections. Talent and individual merit should be the basis on which future administration should be built up. We have arrived at a stage when freedom of voting, untrammelled by party prejudice and manoeuvre is more essential than ever. The attempt of the P.C.P.B. to

set up its own candidates in the coming elections, tends to place the electorate between the horns of a dilemma.

In very many cases the voters cannot but vote for Congressmen because they happen to be—worthily or unworthily—the nominees of an organisation which fought for the achievement of freedom for the country. But by ignoring non-Congressmen as a class, they cast away many men of integrity, administrative experience and knowledge. To that extent Congress will be doing a disservice to the country.

K. CHOCKALINGAM.

Shiyali.

Ministry Groping in Darkness

The province of Madras is passing through a food crisis unknown in recent history. Food, clothing and accommodation are the imperative necessities of every individual. The present Ministry is groping in darkness. Your constructive editorials regarding the affairs of Madras are an eye-opener to the readers.

P. M. D.

Bangalore.

Cause Of Food Crisis

One should expect that an appeal by popular Ministers to the electorate would be successful. On the other hand, it is painfully evident that the presence of most of the Ministers of the present Madras Cabinet in the plentiful food-growing areas, particularly of Andhra Desa, causes resentment and bitterness in the hearts of the ryots who express their feelings against the present Cabinet by refusing to give the paddy which they would otherwise have parted with. Rightly or wrongly the people who grow food do not want these gentlemen as Ministers.

If democracy is truly government of the people, by the people, for the people, the moment any democratic Minister realises that his continuance in office would cause further starvation and suffering to the people, his sacred duty would be to resign if only to save people from famine. It would be strange were the Madras Ministry to pretend ignorance of the fact that the cause for the failure of procurement is the personnel of the Ministry. If the Ministry are true to the oath to the Indian Union they had taken on 15th August, their duty is to avert the acute famine threatening South India by resigning their office forthwith.

C. S. RAMAN.

Procurement Methods

The other day during the course of a discussion Dr. T. S. S. Rajan ridiculed the village committees and said they are not helpful in procurement of paddy. He evidently forgets that these village committees were approved by the Government only after they were scrutinised by the M.L.As. and M.L.Cs. of the respective areas.

The instances I give below will give an idea of the present method of procurement and the attitude of the Tahsildar towards village committees:

In Maduramangalam firka, Sriperumbudur taluk, the cooly hire for paddy brought from a distance was not paid to many by the procurer. Cash due on account of paddy supplied was not paid immediately. Arrangement was not made by the procurer for immediate transport, and the stocks were lying in the open for weeks, exposed to the rain. Some of them germinated. False measures were used and a free extra four measures demanded for every bag.

Notice of a meeting of the taluk committee posted on 8th August at Sriperumbudur reached me on the 9th at 10-30 a.m. while the meeting was to take place on the 9th at 11 a.m. The letter was signed by the Tahsildar on 2nd August.

SANGU GANESAN.

Ban Communal Organisations

If Hindu-Muslim unity in Madras Province is to be preserved, communal organisations like Rashtriya Swayam-Sevak Sangh must be banned immediately.

M. M. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Tuticorin.

Caste And The Communal G.O.

If the State cannot provide sufficient educational institutions to meet the demand in full of the bulk of the population—the Non-Brahmin community is justly entitled to its proportionate share in the existing institutions. Sardar Patel declared recently, "Every community must get what was its due but if a community which formed 15 per cent. of the population had 60 per cent. representation, say in the Police Department, it undoubtedly created a problem." When the present Madras Ministry attempted to do this barest justice of giving proportionate, and therefore equal, opportunity to all communities for admission to colleges and schools, the Brahmin came down with the cry

that even the temple of learning is defiled by the communal G.O.

A Brahmin communalist has now introduced a bill for the immediate elimination of caste distinctions from public records. A safe way indeed for preventing protests against communal mis-rule hereafter!

Communal jealousies in South India, which had their origin in the Brahmin's monopoly of the services, will stay with us as long as Hinduism remains caste-ridden; neither community can trust the other. We devoutly pray for the early abolition of this pernicious system by the first National Government at the Centre not merely from public records but from society itself. Until then, in the best interests of all sections of society, statutory provision should be made to enable all communities to develop their innate talents in the field of education, both general and technical, by retaining the present G.O. with such modifications as may be suggested by a representative committee appointed for the purpose.

S. ABRAHAM.

Rajahmundry.

A Walking Encyclopaedia!

Turn where you will in the writings of almost any author of repute, there are a host of names, names of writers, dead and living, obscure and unknown, whose convictions the author shares, and to whom he appeals. Go to Newman or some classical scholar, he will talk to you of Livy and Tacitus and Quintilian. He will scare you with a list of Greek and Roman scholars.

Now one doesn't much mind having to refer to a select few like Shakespeare, Cervantes, Johnson and Keats or Shelley. But when it comes to Marcus Aurelius or Sir Thomas Browne ! If I racked my brain I could perhaps tell you that Marcus Aurelius was not a painter, nor sculptor, he 'must be a writer bloke.' For my younger sister at school Marcus Aurelius may as well be Michael Angelo. Now who's Quintilian? Who cares to know who is Quintilian? What you and I want to know is the idea behind the army of words, what exactly the author is trying to get at. Is it not enough labour to sift the grain of truth from the chaff of words, that you needs must add sand and stones in the form of references to authors dead and dying? Must you buy ready-made clothes from these tailors of old, to dress your thoughts in? If they are pilfered thoughts, can't you dress them yourself? Poor souls!

Living, they had no respite; dead, we keep pestering them in the peace of the grave.

Of this class of offenders "Vighneswara" is one of the outstanding. He is pleasant reading but I confess I don't understand him as much as I should. And worse is his passion for jaw-breaking words. His words partake of the appearance of his elephant's head, with those frightening tuskers, that long trunk and that massive head. If he isn't a walking Encyclopaedia, I'll eat my hat.

B. GOPINATH.

Our Real Rulers

Money talks. It is strange that a 3 per cent. minority of capitalists rule the destinies of nations throughout the world except perhaps Russia. Our real rulers are the Birlas and the Ispahanis. I visualise the shape of things to come in the two Dominions as the speedy establishment of benevolent despotism of Mr. Jinnah in Pakistan and of iron man Patel in the rest of India. The travail of the middle class in times of trouble and transition is an appalling historical fact. These are the innocents who emerge worst in every upheaval recorded in history despite the fact that theirs is the steady sober influence which creates a well ordered society.

Mr. Jinnah created the frankenstein monster of communal hatred and let it loose and is now unable to control it. He is on trial so far as his promise to preserve law and order and assure security of person and property in his Dominion is yet to be redeemed.

N.

Rationing Should Continue

The Madras Cabinet is said to be considering a proposal to withdraw food rationing by stages. What will be the position of the landless consumer in such an event? The well-to-do and the rich will welcome the withdrawal. Though they are able, in the large majority of cases, to buy in the black market now, to supplement their ration-supply, they have to pay heavily for it at the present black market prices. Due to the restrictions in transport and otherwise the black market prices in deficit areas range from 2 to 3 times the controlled prices. In a free market the prices are bound to come down. What about the poor consumer who now buys his ration-supply at the con-

trolled prices? He will have to face a dual problem under no ration: (1) reduction of his present meagre supply or even scarcity now and then, and (2) an increase in prices from 50% to 100% nearly. As the poor consumer forms the large majority, the balance of convenience lies in the retention of rationing until the supply position improves. A premature withdrawal of rationing means, for the poor consumer, much lesser and more costly food than the present meagre quota of 8 ounces on top of four years' semi-starvation.

A. S. KUPPUSWAMI.

Tinnevely.

Worthy Example

Independence will not be complete till the teeming millions of India settle peacefully devoid of fear of internal disruptions, fratricidal slaughter of men, women and children in communal fights and indiscriminate destruction of property.

There should be no community in India except the Indian community. There should be no caste distinction in official or private records, no weightage or safeguards except for the weak, the oppressed and the depressed. In this regard the action of the United Provinces Government is worth emulation by the Governments of India and Pakistan and the Provincial Governments under them.

SINHA.

Musical Bombing

Let me appeal to the Secretaries of Gana Sabhas to banish seven-stringed or fourteen-stringed violin instruments from their music concerts. The cumulative effect of the multistringed violin, the grating noise it makes, the jump from one string to another and the total effect amount to a sort of aerial bombing on the ear. There is no continuity of sound, the melody of Carnatic music receives a rude shock, the mind is upset with jerks and joltings and the total effect of the recital, be it solo or with accompaniment, is lost in a wandering maze. An artificial atmosphere is created by the multistringed instrument and the calm severity of the divine flow of music is completely marred.

I request the organisers of Gana Sabhas to banish the multistringed violin from South Indian concerts and adopt only the four-stringed violin.

Berhampore. N. SRINIVASA RAO.

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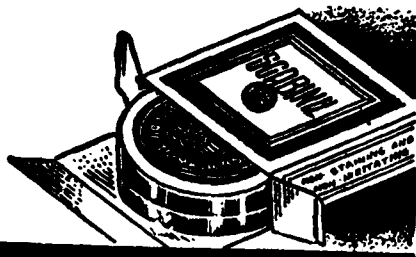


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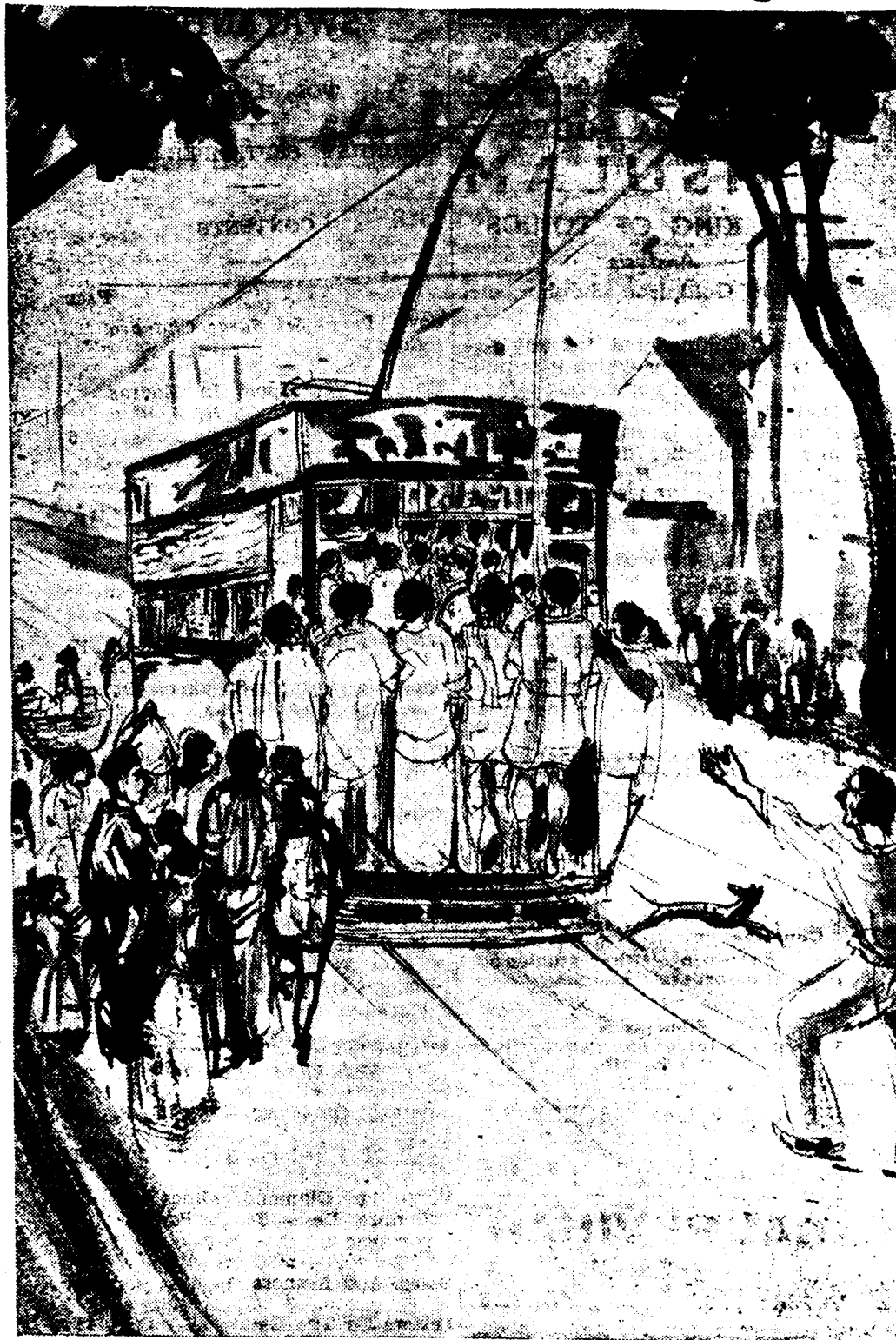
SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1947.

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—by H. V. Ram Gopal.
STATE OF TRANSPORT IN MADRAS CITY.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 31

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

ANTIDOTE TO ANARCHY

THE sorrow and suffering that has come to the people of the Punjab will spread to the whole country unless it is traced back to its original cause, and the removal of the cause is taken on hand forthwith as the first task to be attempted. It is communalism that is the cause of the brutalities in the Punjab. The Muslim League, taking its stand on communalism, taught Muslims that they were a separate nation. From the concept of separateness, antagonism grew against those excluded. From antagonism, hatred was but a short step. Hatred dehumanises people and dissolves all sense of duty towards the hated. The influence of League communalism has thus helped to make large masses of Muslims impervious to human considerations in their dealings with non-Muslims. It shattered the character of Muslim administrators and made them incapable of discharging their responsibilities justly. Muslim police and military officers would not take stern and effective measures against wrong-doers belonging to their own community. Often they joined with the wrong-doers in persecuting their non-Muslim victims. In the Punjab area of Pakistan, the very custodians of law and order merged with murderous mobs in killing and looting the minority community and subjecting their women and children to indescribable atrocities. The administration therefore broke down

completely and cruel chaos worse than any jungle life has become the order of the day.

We are far from suggesting that the horrors of the hatreds nursed by communalism have come from Muslims only. It has brutalised Hindus and Sikhs no less. It was Mr. Jinnah that gave an exalted place to communalism, made it fashionable and respectable and forged out of it a political weapon of ruthlessly inhuman potentiality. After the unavailing struggle of the Congress against League communalism ended in defeat, and the true character of a so-called Islamic State was revealed to its non-Muslim citizens in the form of organised butcheries, rape and abduction of women, forced conversions, burning of houses and the like, retaliatory movements of counter-communalism have sprung up among Sikhs and Hindus which gave as little quarter to the Muslims as the Muslims had done to them. What with the repercussions of original atrocity, retaliation, counter-retaliation and so forth, the area of carnage is getting widened, while seeds of hatred are carried far and wide by refugees with blood-curdling accounts of their gruesome ordeals.

Such happenings as have taken place in the Punjab will move hearts of stone. They cannot be listened to without deep pity and a burning

indignation. If the excitement engendered by them were to result in campaigns of retaliation, the innocent would be forced to pay the penalty for the misdeeds of others a long way off, mass brutalisation would grow apace and there would be no end to orgies of inter-communal killing and maiming all over the land. Only the redeeming power of commonsense and rational thinking must come to the rescue of the nation in the present crisis to save its soul from the consequences of hatred on communal lines.

If communal peace is to return to the country, communalism must be stamped out. Communalism is nothing but the indoctrination of collective selfishness without reference to duty or justice or the rights of others—a sort of banditry worked into a political creed which requires an enemy to attack and harass. In proportion to the size of the multitude that it manages to enlist in its support, it loses the restraints of culture that tend to keep alive fraternal relations between man and man. It exalts wickedness and cruelty in dealing with outsiders. The most terrible of all oppressions are given glorious names and flourish without check or hindrance when communalism gets established as the active way of thinking of a majority community as it did in Germany under Hitler, as it has got established against Negroes in America and as it is rapidly getting established against Hindus in Pakistan. We give below a remarkable account by "Critic" in *New Statesman* of the coarsening of the social conscience in America as a result of the vogue of communalism among the majority White population, so that our own communalists, especially those with minorities in their midst to persecute, may see mirrored in it a reflection of their own eventual destiny if they do not pull

themselves up in time against the soul-destroying communal cults spreading their fatal fascination over them. "Critic" is the pen-name of Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of *New Statesman*, a journalist of worldwide renown for rectitude and honest objectivity. Here is what he writes of the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of U.S.A., symbolic of White American communalism at its worst: (We had it reproduced in a former issue of *Swatantra* but it will bear repetition in the present context).

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. Was that a usual pattern? Well, there were many variants. More often, the Negro would be strung up over a slow fire, but, if he was lucky he'd die before he was completely roasted because some maniac in the White crowd would let off a revolver and the tortured body would be riddled with bullets. 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 even 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.

Mob-rule with no law, no justice, and given to savage cruelties that will throw the lynching of Negroes by Whites in America into the shade, will be the pattern of life in India if the saner elements do not act in time to extirpate the grow-

ing hold of communalism within the Congress itself, the most powerful of all political organisations in the country. Nothing is more incompatible with true patriotism than the present communal mentality of not a few Congressmen that have worked their way to the helm. Real patriotism actually needs the protection of the law against the incitements to violence of communalists in power in their selfish quest of scapegoats for appeasing the passions of mobs, sidetracking their attention from the barrenness of their own regimes. Realising that the discriminations of communalism lead to strife, bloodshed and civil war and constitute a threat to social welfare and political freedom itself, patriots should combine to put down communalism in everyone of its pernicious forms and strive to build universal institutions to unite people in common ideas and common interests capable of bringing them peace, security, happiness and prosperity on basic foundations of all-round human justice. The new State of free India should be developed as a non-communal institution with equality of citizenship rights to all, and communalists should be treated as public enemies offering the gravest threat to the common safety and should be removed from all responsible positions.

The Punjab having become the plague-spot of communalism, we plead for some measure of commonsense to restrict the spread of the scourge's infection. Nobody shows his sympathy for victims of plague by arranging for their being spread over the whole country. It is the very first principle of sane fight against decimating epidemics like plague that the sources of their infection should be confined within a cordon sanitaire and that the maximum of relief and attention should

be organised within a minimum of space. There is need of a similar cordon sanitaire round the already infected areas of the devastating communalism of the Punjab if the rest of India is to be saved. The Madras Premier's offer to house 10,000 refugees from the Punjab must be ranked as an exhibition of well-meant generosity that is really an emblem of sheer lunacy politically and administratively. Kindness is not a mere matter of gesture with no expense involved to oneself. With an appalling food situation and the bleak procurement prospects, the Premier can ill afford the luxury of such a large-scale tender of hospitality except at the cost of further privation to the already grievously mal-administered people of the province, and he has no right to expose them recklessly to it, for all the value that Premier Nehru's approbation may be expected to carry as a political asset, to the arid balance sheet of his administration. Nor is he fair in subjecting the peaceful life of this presidency, as yet free from Hindu-Muslim hostility, to the exasperations inseparable from the influx of a large number of refugees just escaped from a hell on earth in a broken and disintegrated condition naturally hungering for demonstrations of retaliatory sympathy.

"If, in despotic statecraft, the supreme and essential mastery be to hoodwink the subjects, and to mask the fear, which keeps them down, with the specious garb of religion, so that men may fight as bravely for slavery as for safety, and count it not shame but highest honour to risk their blood and their lives for the vainglory of a tyrant; yet in a free State no more mischievous expedient could be planned or attempted." These words of Spinoza aptly characterise the tragic perversity of the politics of our time, with the noble patriotism of

the Congress not only subdued to the level of the League's communalism but also riddled and shot through with a maze of imitating communalisms of no less ruthless a character. In the Punjab, the sanctions for government as such collapsed completely because the police and the military who form the ultimate sanction for the authority of Government, would not punish their own co-religionists when they broke the law. The collapse of the authority of the Government through a breakdown of moral foundations, of the universal sense of right and wrong in the personnel running its machinery, replacing ordered administration on just lines with mob-rule and lynch law is the inevitable consequence of the supremacy of communalism when other supervisory checks are removed, and it is not limited to Hindu communalism or Muslim communalism. It extends to the whole range of communalism in whatever form manifested. Although in South India, Hindu Muslim goodwill has not been lacking, other forms of communalism that have captured the very citadel of Congress authority have been setting in motion forces not very dissimilar to the pernicious urges of League communalism in the Punjab. The disruptive anti-social effects of communalism being so marked and patent, it behoves the architects of new India to annul the harbourage they have already given to certain renowned communalists, expel them from political power and public life, extirpate from social usage and State documents all forms of recognition to communalism, and treat every application of communalism to political ends as a major offence punishable with deterrent penalties. A purge of communalists from the Congress organisation itself is urgently called for.

Andhra-Tamil Controversies

TEN thousand visitors from Andhra districts attended the Andhra Provincial Conference held in Madras during the week. The holding of the Conference in Madras is evidently an answer to Sri Kamaraj Nadar and others who have been threatening bloodshed to resist Andhra claims to the city. Of course it is others' blood and not one's own that is generally shed when minatory utterances of this kind succeed in their objective of filling the atmosphere with ill-will. People have therefore to be very wary when they are egged on by fomenters of illwill to draw themselves into warring camps to cut each other's throats over disputes that could well be settled without heat and bickering in a civilized way. It often happens that when leaders lose ground and find themselves on the eve of being thrown out for having failed to render any benefit to their followers, they fall back in desperation on the expedient of diverting attention from themselves and turning it on some scapegoat or other with aggressive and provocative appeals to sectarian passions. Something like this is apparently happening now, resulting in ever-increasing intensification of Andhra-Tamil bitterness in misguided vindication by each party of its respective claims over Madras City as against the other's. That the problem is not quite so simple as the exclusivists would have us believe is shown by the close inter-relation that has sprung up between the various component sections of the city's population, making any sudden severance of it on arbitrary lines extremely difficult and a strain to all concerned. To cite an example, out of the four representatives of Madras City on the Provincial Legislative Assembly, the right of selecting two has always been conceded to the

Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Traditions of mutual adjustment of this sort that form the very essence of our common inter-linguistic nationality cannot be uprooted in a day, they cannot be undone with threats, nor is it desirable that they should be too abruptly disturbed. Fortunately, there is perfect agreement among all parties over the main issue of the formation of an Andhra Province. With so much conceded, the disposal of all incidental arrangements connected with division peacefully with the aid of a boundary commission should present no serious difficulty. This commonsense view was wisely upheld by the leading figures of the Andhra Conference such as the President, Professor Ranga and Sri Prakasam. Their suggestion of an interim arrangement for undisturbed continuity of the multi-lingual governance of Madras City along with the immediate formation of the Telugu districts into a separate administrative unit, pending the final decision of the boundary commission was carried with acclamation by the Conference, and should commend itself no less to the people of other areas in the province.

Recent increased zeal for separation of the Andhra Province is accounted for by the parliamentary intrigues that have helped to promote to office as Ministers persons wholly unacceptable to the bulk of the Andhra public. In the composite Cabinet, Ministers belonging to each linguistic area have come to their positions more with the aid of allies in other areas than with the backing of popular support in their own. Popular support in Andhra Desa belongs overwhelmingly to Sri Prakasam. The emergence of extremely unpopular Ministers in displacement of a greatly idolised leader has accentuated the demand for the Andhra Province as the nearest

means of unsettling the present unwanted ensemble of administrators. Having regard to this background, it is remarkable that the campaign for separation from the platform of the Conference should have been conducted with so few lapses into bitterness and such exemplary dignity. The presidential address of Sri Duggirala Balaramakrishnayya was a model of perspicacious thought that dwelt with deep insight on the difficult problems which no division of territory could solve, and which would still remain to tax the statesmanship of leaders in power. Deeply moving was the account he gave of the wretched spectacle witnessed by him in the midst of the jubilation and feasting of Independence Day, of a man and his wife and children, struggling with the pigs of the street, right in the centre of civilization at Bezwada, for a morsel of food from the leavings thrown into a drain from a hotel. On this experience of the shameful condition of the miserable millions in our land of plenty, he bases a drastic examination of the whole scope and purpose of government. In the course of the survey he wants caste to be effaced, social democracy based on economic equality to be established, the shielding of black-marketeers and dishonest officials to be put an end to, production to be accelerated under Governmental control, and the 8 crores of Andhras now undergoing horrors in the Nizam's dominions to be allowed to join the Andhra Province. Unless these and similar problems are satisfactorily solved, "unless everyone is happy, every stomach is fed and every person clothed, there is no use singing the National Anthem in praise of our land, there is no joy in the freedom we have got." The voice of the common man has found expression in language of

gracious beauty in this forthright address of singularly kind sensitiveness to the sufferings of the poor.

Is This An Answer?

We have received the following from the Director of Information and Publicity, Madras:

Comments have recently appeared in "Powrasakti" of Calicut, and in "Swatantra," Madras, alleging that the M.S.P. had removed some 10,000 tapioca seedlings on 15th July 1947, in some villages in the Tellicherry division of the Malabar district. It was further suggested in the course of an article in 'Powrasakti' dated 24th July 1947, that this could not have been done by the M.S.P. without the orders of the Government.

The Government desire to point out that the reports of alleged removal of 10,000 tapioca seedlings is highly misleading and incorrect. The facts of the case are that last year certain persons alleged to be Communists encroached on a plot of land Mangathapramba, without waiting for its being leased out, fenced about 21 acres and planted some portion of it with tapioca. They openly announced that they would resist by force any attempt to evict them from the land. Orders were issued by the Government for evicting them, though actually the eviction was not intended to take effect until the crop was off the ground.

This year again, there was an attempt to cultivate a further extent of land in the Paramba, and in spite of orders under Section 144 issued by the Sub-Collector of Tellicherry the encroachers planted tapioca and chilly seedlings. The District authorities considered that such deliberate flouting of prohibitory orders should not be countenanced and the seedlings numbering 800 were removed

by the police on 15th July 1947. It may be pointed out in this connection that the tapioca raised last year is still on the ground and will be harvested shortly by the Government. The allegation that the Government are countenancing destruction of a food crop at a time of food shortage has, thus, no justification in fact. The only loss from the food point of view will be the 800 seedlings planted this year and removed, as stated, on 15th July, 1947, and even this is the result of unauthorised and illegal encroachment.

The Government say that the Malabar police have not removed 10,000 seedlings of tapioca as alleged, but only 800. Comments on the quality of an act are not affected by reductions in terms of quantity. If theft is bad, the smallness of the value of the article stolen, will certainly not make it good. After the official admission as to the removal of the 800 seedlings, it is difficult to follow their claim that they have "not countenanced the destruction of a food crop." They are entitled to say that they have not countenanced it to the extent alleged. The antecedence of "unauthorised illegal encroachment" is totally irrelevant as an answer to allegations inviting attention to destruction of crops as such under official auspices. We have no objection to the Government dealing in their own way with those whom they regard as wrongdoers, without exercising their powers of destruction on the harvest.



Ruskin abhorred the ugly in all its shapes; he discerned the beautiful beneath every disguise. Once, when travelling in England, he had taken a seat in a railway car opposite a man whose harsh features much troubled him. Presently his fellow-traveller chanced to drop the newspaper which he had been reading, and Ruskin, picking it up from the floor, handed it back to him. As he did so, his companion thanked him with a smile of such radiant kindness that Ruskin exclaimed to himself, "Merciful gods, what a glorious face—and what a fool I was!"—(From 'Giants in Dressing Gowns'.)

Sotto Voce

The Jackdaw



MAHATMA GANDHI has been taken to task by a Bombay columnist for a *faux pas*. It seems he recently sat through the rendering of Bankim's *Vande mataram* at a public function attended by thousands all of whom stood reverently. And he made matters worse, according to this critic, by explaining that "he had been told that Indian culture did not require the standing up position as a mark of respect." The Bombay writer suggests that this deference to Indian culture is just sloppy and sentimental thinking. With a fine show of scorn he asks, "Did Indian culture account for the celebrations and flag hoistings of August 14-15? Did Indian culture make allowances for salutes taken by the leaders, not squatting on the floor but standing rigidly to attention?"

The nationalist of the Gandhian era is an easy target for this kind of sniper. He does many blatantly un-Indian things in the pathetic belief that that is the way of progress. At the same time he flaunts his preference for certain pseudo-Indian practices as a proof of his independence. The symbolic allegiance to Khadi, the ostentatious use of costly and not very attractive hand-made paper for correspondence and the discarding of tables and chairs in favour of bolsters and cushions only too often serve to heighten the artificiality and the hollowness of the private life of many of these neo-ascetics. But whereas most of them are solely concerned to make an impression, the Mahatma has a sincere if muddled regard for culture.

Of course it is a ludicrous simplification of the Indian attitude to suggest that in no circumstances need one stand up as a token of reverence. The fact that even in these egalitarian days the son gets up instinctively when the father comes into the room should dispose of this belief. Those who are curious about these things will have noticed in Smartha Brahman marriages that at the time of the Asirvada, the assembled company, which has remained sitting even when the "Hari Hara sambhavana" is made, rises up in a body and stands respectfully when the ancient mantra "Yo Vedadau" is chanted to invoke the blessings of the Paramacharya Sri Sankara and the pontifical succession.

We reverence our kind; we adore that which is above us; and we cherish that which is below us. "In what direction shall I bow to Thee in whom all directions are?" said the mystic overwhelmed by the Immensity of which he was a particle troubled by I-consciousness. It is to the *devatas*, the *pitrs* and the *mahayogis* rather than to the Supreme Spirit—to man perfected, in short, and to the principle of perfection in all things—that we commend our all too imperfect selves, "touching the ground with all the eight parts of the body". The act of standing is symbolical aspiration. It is consummated in the self-surrender of prostration.

It would have been alien to our traditional thinking to accord to flags and buntings the homage that we reserved for the children of

immortality. It would have been regarded as rankest fetish worship. And that may explain why we haven't had anything corresponding to a National Anthem. Armies had their marching songs composed in such heartening modes as our *raga* Nata. They were led into battle to the mighty blowing of conches. Every solemn act of dedication in civil life had its appropriate invocation. But it would have never occurred to our ancestors to sing of God, Crown and country as a trinity of equal powers.

We were no strangers to that sense of exaltation which it is the object of an Anthem to kindle. The Nasadiya Sukta and the Hymn to Ushas, the Aditya Hridaya, Arjuna's song of adoration after the Viswaroopa Darsana, and above all those litanies of the Divine Name, the Sahasranamas, are calculated to induce in the devout intoner a mystic fervour which neither the sound nor the sense taken by itself can explain. There is in them an over-

plus of energy which you can only attribute to their universality. In their exaltation there is no rancour, in their love no egotism; it is no tribal god to whom they sing paeans of praise. Set by their side, the *Marseillaise* and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," Kipling's "Recessional" and "The Star-spangled Banner" seem vainglorious and blind.

In our new-found pride of nationality there is more than a hint of intolerance. "The Mahatma must conform to certain rules of the National game, as must every other Indian," says hypercritic. "Must" was not a word used to mahatmas in this country or to monarchs in others before the Democratic Deluge. To elevate points of punctilio into a new Decalogue is not the Indian way. It may be pleasant to strut about in borrowed plumage. But jackdaw never moulted yet a peacock feather.

VIGHNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS: :

We cannot live only for ourselves. A thousand fibres connect us with our fellow-men; and along those fibres, as sympathetic threads, our actions run as causes, and they come back to us as effects.—MELVILLE.

WHEN two persons live together for long, each takes on a little of the characteristics of the other. The morose man is made jolly by contiguity with the cheerful—and the cheerful one is made dolorous by the company of the dismal. We all act and react on each other to such an extent that to live together is barely possible without a substantial exchanging of one's qualities with another's. Imitation is an unconscious human trait. It takes place through all antagonisms, unbeknown even to those passing through the process. It has been so between the Andhras and Tamils and Malayalees inhabiting Madras City. Amalgams in rich variety of the separate collective virtues and vices of the three categories can be seen therein in consequence of their being thrown against each other in schools and colleges, offices, workshops, buses, trams, streets and cinemas.

There is charm in the fraternisation of dissimilar units. For all purposes except war, the attractions of heterogeneity are superior to the advantages of homogeneity. Variety is the spice of life in capital cities which have grown out of visitors from far and near taking roots in them often without loss of contact with their original homes. As there is going to be no war between province and province, no dire necessity is involved calling for a change in the present multi-lingual pattern of cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi. Like great leaders who outgrow provincial stature with their greatness and attain national status, they belong to the whole country and to no province. Their life will be impoverished if they are forced administratively into the narrower dimensions of linguistic uniformity.

The wide diversity among persons and groups in art, philosophy, religion, language and the like constitutes the very essence of culture—a thing to be not only cherished but to be protected in every possible way. It will be profitable to all concerned if the principle of linguistic unity in administration should bypass the three or four big multi-lingual cities situated on the border between different language areas. So they can serve as microcosms of the vast variety of the nation's life and cultures, hospitable homes for all present residents, with no section appropriating rights of exclusive sovereignty over the rest.

Andhras in their pristine condition in their town or village homes are very different from Andhras abroad. They are given to outspokenness and emotionalism. Fervour comes to them more easily than to Tamils with their genius for caution. There is a dash of defiance to established things in every Andhra heart. They are incorrigible nonconformists. They love to march in the vanguard of revolution. Their collective heroism is of a high order. While they lack tenacity they are endowed with an abundance of the pioneering spirit. They wear their hearts on their sleeves. The reserves and restraints dictated by considerations of conventional propriety are comparatively less effective in their behaviour as also the strains that belong to social sophistication. The generality of them have a happy go-lucky temperament. Their susceptibility to kindness and grateful expressions of demonstrative affection is as marked as their capacity for organising black flag processions and boycott campaigns against disliked individuals at short notice. Personal identification with public affairs is habitual with them—so that their attitude to leaders eminent in public life is one of personal obligation. Conversely they react resentfully with a sense of personal

injury towards those who in their opinion have let down the public and not acted worthily in public matters. Their sensitiveness to affronts is acute and is apt to lead them into manifestations of reckless vehemence. Unpopular leaders are only too well aware of the advisability of keeping at a safe distance from them and the danger of getting too near. Premier Omandur, for example, recently ran to Tanjore in order to hurl a threat of prospective coercion against defaulting Andhra producers.

The Tamils are the world's inveterate rationalists. They are hard to bluff. They excel in organisation and executive capacity. A silent contemptuous disregard of frothiness in any form moves them to shift substance from shadow and concentrate on pursuits of effective benefit ignoring the lures of mere vainglory. They will endure much in the present for the sake of a benefit in the offing. Their practical sagacity, added to their flair for the consolidation of small gains to ulterior ends, has marked them for success in business and administration, but the inroads of infectious communalism of a virulent sort in their midst, have latterly been making havoc with their powers of combination for social and public purposes. They need a little of the lovable imperfections of the Andhras, just as the Andhras need

something of the admirable practicality of the Tamils for evolving into a higher order of citizen, and the intermingling of the two classes in a common capital would seem to have rendered this inestimable service to each except in the political field where, through some inscrutable malevolence of fate, neither has copied the virtues of the other. It has been given to the Malayalees to combine in themselves the gregariousness of the Andhras and the sturdy realism of the Tamils.

I regret an error in last week's *Sidelights* and sincerely apologise for it to readers of *Swatantra* and all others concerned. It was stated that travelling allowance is not paid to legislators if they arrive in the city more than a day prior to the meeting of the legislature and the holding of the Congress Legislature Party meeting just two days in advance of the legislature session was for the reason that a large attendance was not desired at the Party meeting. Actually, under the scheduled arrangement, it was not T.A. (travelling allowance) that the Party members have to forego but D.A. (daily allowance). There is a world of difference between the two and the substitution of the one for the other mars the value of the whole argument and was grossly unfair to the Premier. I do not know what amends to make for so inexcusable a blunder.—SAKA.



Special affinities between the Moon and Woman:

Her antiquity in preceding and surviving successive tellurian generations; her nocturnal predominance; her satellitic dependence; her luminary reflection; her constancy under all her phases, rising, and setting by her appointed times, waxing and waning; the forced invariability of her aspect; her indeterminate response to inaffirmative interrogation; her potency over effluent and reflux waters; her power to enamour, to mortify, to invest with beauty, to render insane, to incite to and aid delinquency; the tranquil inscrutability of her visage; the terribility of her isolated dominant implacable resplendent propinquity; her omens of tempest and of calm; the stimulation of her light, her motion and her presence; her splendour, when visible; her attraction, when invisible.—James Joyce, in *Ulysses*.

Short Story

"They Escaped, Unhurt...."

by Santha Rungachary

Eight people boarded a passenger plane at Madras one fine summer morning. The craft was bound for New Delhi, but it never got there. There was a forced landing and a crash. Engine trouble, said the pilot. A young sub-editor in a local 'daily' who handled the copy, ended the account thus: "Three of the eight died. Two were seriously injured, the rest escaped, unhurt." A senior, looking over his shoulder, interposed a single word in the last sentence. It now read: "The rest, fortunately, escaped unhurt." Fortunately? One wonders, and there hangs a tale

MR. MANILAL threw a couple of thin muslin 'jubbabs' on top of the clothes he had already stuffed into his travelling leather case, and viciously pressed the lid down. Of all the annoying things which persisted in happening in an emergency like this, this surely was the worst. It was indeed ironical that Marathe should have rushed out to buy him warm shirts for a holiday in Ooty, while here he was now packing to go to Delhi at exactly an hour and a quarter's notice. Thank goodness for that reservation on the plane, anyway. He was lucky to have secured that.

He rushed to the top of the stairs and leaning over the bannisters, shouted to a servant below:

"Ila," he called, "come up here, and help pack my valise. I can't find a thing here."

Silently and unobtrusively Ila packed while her master absently glanced over the sheaf of papers on his desk. Yes, they were all there—all the business accounts proving in so many figures how "Manilal's," well-known manufacturers of Nuts and Bolts and Motor Spare Parts had been losing their business steadily and consistently these last four months. And there were papers also to prove why. They would speak for themselves. All he had to do was to put them on the table and wait for his Agents to speak and defend themselves—if they could. The liars, the cheap,

treacherous, disloyal mercenaries! Of course, he ought to have stopped it three months ago when, he suspected, their scheming and plotting had started. He could take a safe bet that upstart firm Chandulal & Co., had something to do with it. But that wretched paralytic stroke had laid him up for ten whole weeks. Indeed, for seven, he had not been able even to speak. It was then he had to authorise Patel to take decisions on his behalf till he was well again. He didn't want to but he had to. There just was no other way. And then the swindling had started in right earnest. Mr. Manilal's lips set in a grim line. They wanted to ruin him, did they? Well, he would show them who was cleverer. He would attend the annual meeting, first see that the new contract with the Government for two lakhs of rupees which had been hanging fire now for six whole days, was safely in his pocket and then—then he would lay his cards on the table and ask them to lay theirs. That would expose them. He would tell them to get out—all of them. He would get new men, fresh blood into his business.

Thank goodness again for that reservation. It would take him to Delhi just in time. If something happened to upset his plans now, he was as good as ruined

He rose wearily and with hands which trembled a little, picked up the papers. He walked over and stood looking at Ila as she folded his shirts neatly and put them on the top.

"Anything else to go?" he asked, smiling.

"Your tooth brush, Master."

"Oh, yes" he said. "I had forgotten that."

Ila frowned worriedly as she opened the small built-in cupboard in the dressing room. Tooth-brush, comb soap, hair oil Master had forgotten everything!

"I think you are mad".

No answer.

"I refuse to believe a man has to do foolish and impractical things to be able to write poetry".

"I am wondering" said Krithipathi, "which of these two books I am to take on my journey. Shelley or Masfield? I like them both, you know." "You fall from say 1,500 feet?"

"I suggest you take a book which will tell you how to pick yourself up if something happens to the plane and

A pause.

"You don't like my idea at all, do you?"

"I do not".

"But think of the beauty of it, the unutterable loveliness of the feeling one has when one is flying near the stars and one has only to stretch out one's hand and grasp the clouds . . ."

"Alright. What do you do with the cloud? Eat it?" Krithipathi shrugged.

"Have you got enough money for the journey?"

"No. I haven't. But my publisher is paying my fare. I suppose I would need some money for my stay there, but I am—I mean I really haven't thought about it."

"What do you propose to do then? Stand on the Delhi station platform and whistle?"

"Not at all. I will walk. I will walk through the streets and look at the vast panorama of humanity moving about. You cannot imagine what a lot of food for thought people can provide one with."

"Will they also provide food for the stomach?"

"I know. It is so sad. I wish one could do without eating."

"But as one can't, have you any more ideas on that subject?"

(Thoughtfully) "I suppose I would have to ask my publisher for a loan".

"Do you expect to pay him back?"

"Of course. But I am afraid he will have to wait till my second book of verse comes out."

"The first didn't bring in much money, did it?"

"You know what the publisher said. That sort of heavy, serious stuff is no good these days. The people want something lighter, gayer, more modern . . ."

"Where does the plane come in?"

"Oh, I just want to know how it feels to fly."

"Which means, I suppose, you are going to write a poem on it."

"It is as good an idea as any other."

A pause.

"Have you packed everything?"

"Every blessed thing except a book."

"Your tooth-brush?"

"Trust you to ask about the one thing I had forgotten!"

"I suppose you have forgotten to pack your comb and soap?"

"Well, I was an ass not to have put them in with my aspirins."

"Your mirror . . ."

"I think it is on that shelf over there. Be a good fellow and dump it in, will you?"

"Towel . . ."

"Oh, stop worrying, Vasant, and listen to this. I wish I could write lines like these:

To get the whole world out of bed
And washed, and dressed, and
warmed and fed,

To work, and back to bed again,
Believe me, Saul, costs world of pain.
I think I will take Masfield, after
all."

"You are madder than I thought."

"All poets are mad. Hasn't anyone ever told you that?"

(Extract from a letter from Mrs. Sugunavathi Baladia to her sister Padma).

" . . . I am really quite angry with him. I think he is letting his perversity run riot and is doing things just to shock people. What else would you call this, Padma, I ask you? I can understand a little boy wanting to fly but what I cannot understand is a grown man of fifty, taking it all as a joke. And not a word to me, that is what hurts most. You could have knocked me down with a feather when Babu called me long-distance and said I was to let Mani go by air. I couldn't make him change his mind, of course, but I did insist that I accompany the boy. Flying to New Delhi at my age! You will laugh. Mani is delirious about it, as you can imagine. But I often wish something would happen and upset our plans. I don't mind for myself, but, if anything happens to Mani. . . . I think sometimes Babu forgets Mani is the only thing left to us of almost thirty years of living together. When Radha died, I thought the end of the world had come. It almost seemed so except for her little son she left in our care. He is all that we have or ever will have. If anything happened to him, Padma, I wouldn't want to live any more . . ."

The sub-editors' room in the "New Star" was tense with excitement. The four senior sub-editors avoided each other's eyes and pretended to be absorbed in their work. The new recruits banded jokes as usual, but their voices were low and they didn't laugh loud as they usually did. Every time the door opened, there was a start and a dozen heads looked up alertly.

Bhadradi was the only one who didn't look up at all.

From early in the morning he had been saying to himself just this. He was not going to be excited no matter what happened. Nor was he going to hope for anything. He would be a fool if he did. He was the youngest of the four seniors, for one thing, and for another, there was no reason on earth why they should choose him over Ramakrishnan's head. It was true Ramakrishnan had no style and his reports lacked animation. But style and animation weren't everything. The man had twelve solid years' experience behind him.

Young Bhadradi shifted uneasily in his chair. There was no denying it would be a splendid chance if only he got it. One chance in a million. To 'cover' the Constituent Assembly proceedings. He wouldn't get it, of course. He wasn't big enough. But if he did—mark you, if he did—it would be up to him to prove his worth and he could do it. He knew he could. He could prove to them he was good enough to handle a special representativeship instead of sitting in this stuffy room doing 'copy' day in and day out.

There was no use making himself miserable over it. The Editor and the Assistant Editors were in conference and he would know any minute now. He resolutely went back to his 'copy' and started correcting it. The red pencil moved with sure and swift strokes, deleting, adding . . .

Some minutes later, the door was suddenly pushed down. The Editor's peon stood there. His gaze swept the room and he was grinning.

"Well, what is it?" shouted Ramakrishnan, unable to bear the suspense. "Mr. Bhadradi is wanted, Sir," said the peon and grinned again.

"I wish Mother was alive," said Sakunthala. She was lying on an easy chair, relaxed and happy, swinging her legs.

Her father looked up from the floor where he was packing her things. What was she up to now? Unpredictable,

that was what she was, her moods changing swifter than lightning. He sighed. It was her age, he supposed. If one was nineteen and damned pretty and had about 50% more brains than one had a right to have at one's age, well, that clearly spelt trouble.

"Why?" he asked.

"She could tell me a thing or two."

"About what?"

"Oh, about Life."

Her father laughed.

"What new phase of Life is bothering you now?" he asked.

She didn't hesitate. She had never been taught to.

"I am beginning to think about men," she said, gravely.

"Don't tell me you are beginning to have intentions!"

"Dangerous, isn't the word for them!" said Sakunthala, darkly.

Her father looked at her fondly. She looked such a child, lying bundled up like that, dreaming and building her little castles . . .

Suddenly Saku sat up, her softness gone, her voice indignant.

"You know what Santha said she would have done if she had won the prize instead of me?"

"What?"

"She said she would have grabbed the Rs. 750 and bought herself dozens of lovely sarees. She said I was a fool to have chosen the free flight to and from Delhi with a week's expenses there!"

"She hasn't got much imagination, has she?" commented her father, deprecatingly.

She laughed. Already her mind had raced to something else.

"I wonder what the pilot is like," she said.

"I saw him. He is short, dark and has a moustache."

"What about the Co?" she asked hopefully.

Her father shook his head. "Worse," he said.

"There must be some one among my travelling companions," she said. "Some one tall, dark and handsome, without a moustache." As her father opened his mouth to say something, she rushed towards him and put her hand on his mouth.

"Don't say it," she begged. "I must have some one to hope for." She

opened her box and threw another pile of clothes at him. "You chuck them also in, will you, father? I am going to dream."

She snuggled down in her bed. Her eyes were like stars.

All was commotion in No. 6, Devaji Road. Rangachari banged out of the house, his mind in a dither of fury. How *dared* she? How *dared* that old fossil of a woman interfere with his life and mess up everything with her superstitions and omens and God knows what not. What was worse, of course, was the way Father and Mother knuckled down to her as if she was God Almighty. And there was nothing he could do about it. *Nothing*. If he were older and settled down at a job, he could snap his fingers and do just as he pleased. But that wouldn't happen for quite a year at the least. And now when he was leaving home for the first time for that interview with the F.P.S.C. she must come up with her old-fashioned notions and say 'No.' Who was she to say 'Yes' or 'No', anyway? It was his life, wasn't it?

Rangachari walked towards the beach trying to remember what exactly had been said at home so as to find a loop-hole somewhere, some excuse which could stand up against his grandmother's superstitious nonsense? The whole thing was so fantastic, it could happen only in a middle-class, Vaishnavite Brahmin's house. He had packed his clothes, bought the plane ticket, done every blessed thing and everything had been going just fine till this morning. And then his grandmother had suddenly rushed into his father's room and said something about omens and had peremptorily said he was not to travel by the plane the next day. It seemed the 'karpuram' she had burnt in front of the deity had slipped from the bowl in which she was holding it and set fire to the dress on the Deity. With such an ill omen, she said, surely something horrible would happen if he made the journey the next day. Rangachari didn't remember what he had said when he had been told that. He only grew angry, furious words had bubbled from his lips. No one had replied. But his father had taken his ticket and reservation slip away.

He walked over to the beach and sat down on a catamaran near the water. Some of the waves came almost to his feet. He looked up at the sky. Yesterday, he had sat in the same place and looked up at the sky and said to

himself that in less than 24 hours, he would be up there with those white clouds . . . and now . . . Rangachari dropped his head into his hands and wept like a little boy.

Sunder Padhi sat in a corner of the waiting-room at the aerodrome quietly waiting for his reservation to be checked. At last! He was going home! Four years of hell in Africa and here he was back again and everything was just the same. The same friendly people. Friendly voices. Peace. He had spent a week at Calicut with the family of a friend of his who now lay buried under Africa's burning, unfriendly soil. It was a little unbelievable that he should be alive now while so many had died. He wanted to get home quickly to his green land, his quiet village life in Kashmir. Tomorrow this time, God willing . . .

Extract from the "Morning News" (Karachi) dated April 14, 1947:

"News of another air crash has just reached us from Sidhila, a village about eight miles from here. It is understood a passenger plane travelling from Madras to Delhi developed engine trouble while on the last lap of its journey. The pilot, in order to avoid a complete breakdown, made a forced landing soon after he had taken off from Bhopal, his last stopping place. The plane, however, got out of control and hit the ground, tilting on its side, and caught fire.

Of the eight passengers which it carried, three are reported to have died, among them Master Mani, grandson of Sir Sindulal Kabadia, the well-known industrialist. The other two are Mr. Krithipathi, a young writer whose book of verse was published last year and Mr. Sunder Padhi, an ex-Serviceman on his way to his home in Kashmir.

Two of the other passengers, Mr. Bhadradi, a sub-editor in the "New Star," a Madras daily, and Miss Sakunthala, daughter of Mr. Srinivasan, engineer, attached to Tripp & Co., at Madras, were seriously injured and have been admitted in the General Marwar Hospital.

The rest, fortunately, escaped unhurt."

Rangachari, sitting alone in a second-class compartment in the Delhi Express the next morning, read the report and wondered.

SPEAKERS AND SPEAKERS

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

SOME write like an angel, but many speak like poor poll. While the speaker is half the speech, the writer does not necessarily reflect himself in his writings. It is easy to be an Aeschylus or Virgil, but difficult to be a Demosthenes or Cicero. Without preparation and persistence of some sort, no one can be a finished speaker, much less an orator. Orators sometimes may be born, but able speakers are made. Gladstone says, "The work of the orator from its very inception is inextricably mixed up with practice. It is cast in the mould offered to him by the mind of his hearers." When C. J. Fox was asked how he developed from one of the worst to the best speaker, he replied, "by speaking every night on every subject."

Demosthenes said: "The important thing in public speaking is neither the diction nor the voice. What is important is that the speaker should have the same predilections as the majority, and that his country's friends and foes should be also his own." A speaker may have the external advantages of a voice of singular fulness, depth and variety of tone, a falcon's eye, expressive features and an actor's command of gesture. But, for the witchery of words, for the glory of eloquence, he must, as Cicero observed, reach the height of "zeal, toil and knowledge." "Diction and voice" count as much as the "predilections" of his hearers. Sir Robert Peel, for instance, borrowed Kinglake's peroration which had failed to produce any effect on his audience, and made a very great impression.

Blatchford succumbed to his timorousness in public speaking and refused to clear even the first hurdle of 'mere obstinacy'. He attempted to speak twice or thrice, stopped short, pulled out of his pocket his pen, held it up and said, "I cannot speak, but I can write." A shade better than him was Bagshot's friend who was a parliamentary

candidate and who knew at least the tricks of the speaker's trade. When he was asked how he got on with his constituencies in spite of his bad speaking, he answered, "Oh, when I do not know what to say, I say 'Gladstone', and then they are sure to cheer and I have time to think."

There are speakers who are really readers: they rely upon the manuscript to perform the function of the memory. Sir William Harcourt, Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Gibbon belonged to this class. Henry Richard habitually read his speeches on the floor of the House of Commons in spite of the prohibition of the Standing Order. Once he was called to order for this offence and he palliated by replying that he was ready to hand his manuscript to his censor and challenged him to read a word of it. When a speaker had his speech written out in his hat, Daniel O'Connell who replied to him compared him to Goldsmith's village schoolmaster and repeated the lines with a change:

"And still they gazed and still the wonder grew,

That one small 'hat' could carry all he knew."

An improvement upon Henry Richard was the fifteenth Lord Derby. He sent in advance to the press the written speech. On one occasion he dropped his manuscript on the road, and that, being picked up, was found to contain such remarks as 'Cheers', 'Laughter', and 'Loud Applause' culminating in "But I am detaining you too long" (Cries of "No, no", and "Go on.").

Certain speakers rely on notes or written hints to refresh their memory. John Bright used to have an entire synopsis hidden between the palm and fingers of his left hand. His method resembled that of the schoolboy who wrote the dates on his palms for answering the history question paper and of whom a poet-friend wrote:

"And we found in his palms, which were hollow

What are frequent in palms—that is dates."

Bright arranged his subject under three or four heads and each head had what he called an "island", by which he meant "a carefully-prepared sentence to clinch and enforce it." The best "island" he reserved for the peroration and as soon as he uttered it he sat down, and no power could induce him to go further.

Bonar Law never used notes, but had a clear outline in his mind of what he intended to say. Occasionally he drew from his waistcoat pocket a scrap of paper and read a devastating quotation from a Liberal speech and put his enemies in the wrong or to shame. His conception of a successful speech depended upon the degree to which he irritated and embarrassed his opponents.

Balfour, Hume and Dr. Jacobson relied upon neither their manuscripts nor their memory, and yet their improvised speeches were a failure. Balfour wrote: "My want of verbal memory has always made verbal preparation impossible." G.W.E. Russell says of him, "he shambled and stumbled and clung to the lapels of his coat, and made immense pauses while he searched for the right word and eventually got hold of the wrong one." O'Connell wittily observed of his contemporary Hume that he would have been an excellent speaker if only he would finish a sentence before beginning the next but one after it. Of Dr. Jacobson it was said that he always looked as if on the point of saying something extremely piercing and shrewd, only it never came. It was of the same Doctor that Wilberforce remarked: "I have often heard of the milk of human kindness, but never before did I see its cow." In the same manner, of Francis Horner it was said that he had the Ten Commandments written on his face and looked so virtuous that he might commit any crime with impunity.

Verbosity, harangue and long-windedness have spoiled the effect

of some speeches. Asquith's father, when he heard the philosopher Herbert Spencer talk of the 'law of increasing heterogeneity', "saw no sense in it", and remarked to his daughter, "Words, my dear, words". On another occasion when Spencer, for the benefit of Grote, descanted upon "the equilibration of molecule", Fawcett asked John Morley whether he understood anything, adding "I do not". In the House of Commons when a member in the midst of a tedious harangue paused to take a glass of water, Sheridan immediately rose to a point of order. Every member wondered what the point of order could be. "What is it?" asked the Speaker. "I think, Sir", said Sheridan with studied seriousness, "that it is out of order for a windmill to go by water." Bramwell, Lord Chief Justice of Appeal, to check the forensic loquacity of counsel, which was mistaken for oratory, remarked, "You never shorten anything by attempting to shorten it: on the contrary you lengthen it by the length of the attempt."

Ill-tempered and ill-timed speeches can never rise to the level of oratory. Peter Mackenzie, when asked the cause for the nakedness of his language notwithstanding his office of a churchman, answered: "Praise the Lord! The words rush out of my mouth before I have time to put their shorts on." Peter Smythe and Joseph Cowen would work all Tuesdays and Wednesdays at a point which had been exhausted by discussion on Mondays and then on Thursdays they would burst into the debate of the House of Commons and deliver the cascades of prepared eloquence without minding the time, the occasion and the appropriateness.

Mannerisms have stood between the success and failure of a speaker. Palmerston was noted, on the floor of the House of Commons, for the anti-climax of his sentences, 'hum' and 'haw', clearing of throat, flourishing of handkerchief and sucking of oranges. Peel was in the habit of turning round towards his adherents at given periods to ask for

their applause and emphasise his points by often striking the box before him and repeating hackneyed quotations. Of great speakers there are two classes: those who memorise their speeches and those who deliver theirs impromptu. John Bright, Randolph Churchill, Asquith, Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and probably Sir S. Radhakrishnan belong to the first; and Bonar Law, George Wyndham, Snowden, Joseph Chamberlain, Salisbury, Lansbury and the Rt. Hon. Sastri to the second. Winston Churchill's speech that gained him his greatest reputation as a speaker was written out six times and memorized. His retorts, like those of his father, are pre-meditated, planned and camouflaged. Bright was invisible and

inaccessible in his house until the rehearsal of his speech was over to the minutest detail to his own satisfaction. Disraeli advised two models of style for the House of Commons and the House of Lords respectively, 'Don Juan' and 'Paradise Lost'. He himself perfected these models.

Gladstone is an instance of an orator making his speeches the possession of the hour; Burke's speech is an instance of oratory becoming the literature of all times. The difference between oratory and first-rate speaking is the difference between noble poetry and finished prose. Every one can be a first-rate speaker, for perspiration and inspiration mark out speakers and speakers.

THE STRUGGLE IN HYDERABAD

by KRISHNA

THE struggle in Hyderabad is not merely a communal one but, to some extent, it is a struggle between goondas and citizens, between a strong and well-entrenched Government that has its roots in mediæval feudalism and a helpless people dissatisfied with existing conditions. Many people have fled for refuge and, for the rest, every hour looms with danger.

Surprisingly enough, the Muslim Majlis, a communal party, seems to have assumed sovereignty in the political sense. It has for long been trying to assume this role and was progressing unhampered and unmolested. In fact today, the Majlis is the Government and the Government is the Majlis.

The popular movement in Hyderabad is no gladiatorial show for the rest of India to watch. One cannot say that the heart of India is un-

moved; but the situation is grave. The premier State of India has assumed sovereign independence. The Central Government cannot directly interfere without far-reaching consequences. Indian independence was raised on sandy foundations by the leaders who accepted division; they committed another Himalayan blunder when they ignored the fate of the States' peoples. Meanwhile, what of the heavy toll of lives that is being taken day after day? If we are not able to control the situations at home, what front are we going to present against any alien aggression, and what concrete contribution are we going to make towards the furtherance of world peace and progress? Are these the fruits of Independence, the independence that is the culmination of the sufferings and sacrifices of hundreds and thousands through decades?

EDITORIAL POLICY

In McCall, Idaho, Editor M. O. Brown increased his paper's page size, told readers why: he was getting too many complaints that the "paper was too small to wrap a bottle of whiskey in."

—Time International.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



THE successful conclusion of the Inter-American Conference, sponsored by the United States for the purpose of integrating the military 'defence' of the Western hemisphere, marks an important advance in the preparation of the New World for a possible third world war. The first step was taken when, following the announcement of the Truman doctrine, President Truman's Advisory Commission recommended peacetime conscription as part of a plan for universal military training (UMT). The Commission made the remarkable assertion that UMT would inculcate "spiritual and moral ideas in support of the American democracy"—a hope that has little chance of realization at Fort Knox, where no Negroes are allowed, and where students get discussions on world developments which last 15 minutes a week.

Commenting editorially on the proposals for militarisation, Henry Wallace's *New Republic* said: "Hopefully, the Commission asserts that UMT will 'enhance the influence and authority of the United Nations. If it were proposed as part of a collective-security system, designed to implement a strong United Nations policy at a time when a government outside the U.N. threatened peace, then this assertion might stand. Today UMT is proposed in the context of another world: the world of the Truman Doctrine, in which the U.N. stands weakened and in danger of desertion by the nations which founded it. This plan is not and cannot be related to the needs of collective security or the U.N. . . . Throughout the tragic and bloody centuries millions have died to prove one terribly big and single fact: that preparation for war leads to war."

With the signing of the Rio De Janeiro treaty on September 2, this preparation for war has been extended beyond the frontiers of the U.S. so as to cover Latin America (the name given to the Western hemisphere minus Canada and the U.S.). What are the implications of this military alliance with the twenty countries that constitute Latin America?

LATIN AMERICAN SCENE

In answering this question, it is necessary to remember that after the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492, Latin America was conquered and colonized by two countries, Spain and Portugal, whose Church never went through the liberalising process of the Reformation. Hence, Catholicism in undiluted form has dominated the Latin American countries through the centuries. In every new settlement the clergy took a large share of the best land and acquired important vested interests in the community. The great archbishops ruled like princes, and the Church had no competition, since no other religion but Catholicism was permitted. The upper clergy grew fabulously rich and correspondingly decadent. In several countries the Church owned as much as one-half of the total land. Paraguay, which is even today one of the most backward and reactionary States, was practically a Jesuit colony. Most of the present liberals and revolutionaries are, therefore, anti-clerical. Equally, the conservatives and anti-popular politicians stand by the Church. As in many other countries, some of the upper clergy have definite Fascist sympathies, and especially with the Spanish Falange brand of Fascism.

Another important factor, which partly explains the instability that

has always characterized Latin American politics, is the comparatively late emergence of these countries from feudalism. From the days of the Spanish freebooters and conquistadores, right until 1821, Latin America was little more than a feudal appendage of feudal Spain. The Spanish rulers permitted no development of free speech, education, public health or liberal institutions. They did not even allow the colonies to trade with each other. The illiteracy and general backwardness that were part of the colonial heritage still press heavily on Latin America. The most backward section of the people are, of course, the natives. Somewhat better off are the *mestizos* (of mixed blood). Only about 25,000,000 out of Latin America's population of over 120,000,000 are pure whites.

It was only after 1800 that Spanish feudal rule was destroyed. Under the stress of the intolerable decadence of the rulers, and with the impetus given by the ideas underlying the French and North American revolutions, a series of national revolutions swept through the land. Spain, weakened because of Napoleon's invasion, was unable to hold her colonies. By 1825 all countries in Latin America, except Cuba and Panama, became free republics. But the feudal shackles on society have not everywhere been destroyed, so that every stage of political development, from the extremes of progress and backwardness, are now represented in these twenty republics.

Compare, for instance, Uruguay and Argentina. Uruguay is a tiny country of 72,153 square miles with a population of just over two million (capital Montevideo). It has been called a 'geographical accident', squeezed in as it is between the two biggest South American nations, Brazil and Argentina. But geographical accident or not, Uruguay is one of the most advanced nations in the Western hemisphere, politically and culturally. Education in Uruguay is free, from the first grade to the University; medical services are up-to-date, and the Government

is an example of the healthy functioning of democracy.

What of Uruguay's big neighbour Argentina? With an area of 1,078,278 square miles and a population of some 14 million, Argentina (capital Buenos Aires) is the richest and most powerful State in South America. Brazil (biggest country in all Latin America) is thrice the size of Argentina, but the superior development of Argentina can be judged from the fact that in 1942, its budget stood at about £40 million, not much smaller than Brazil's budget of about £44 million. What is more important, Argentina is one of the world's leading exporters of beef and wheat—two commodities that are in desperately short supply today. In short, due to its economic and financial strength, Argentina holds the same dominating position in South America as the U.S. does in North America. This important country is not a democracy today. It is ruled by the notorious quasi-Fascist dictator, General Juan Domingo Peron.

MEET GENERAL PERON

The bulk of the people are radical, and the radicals will win any honest election. The conservative ruling oligarchy kept itself in power by preventing fair elections from taking place. As *Time* put it in 1941, the conservatives were able to govern at all "only through *coup*, coalition, accident, or coercion". In June 1943 a military *coup* was effected by the United Officers' Group and Peron became an important member of the "Government of Colonels" which took over the country. Three years later, after months of systematic bomb strike and gunplay, Peron was elected President by a narrow margin. The opposing Democratic Union candidate did not dare to question the voting loudly. One of the outstanding events during Peron's reign has been the impeachment of four of Argentina's five Supreme Court Justices. One of them, Justice Roberto Repetto resigned. The other three, Justices Antonio Sagarna, Benito Nazar Anchorena and Francisco Ramos Mejia were packed out after

impeachment. Only the fifth member of the Supreme Court, Justice Thomas D. Casares, a new-comer, remains. If Peron wants a Peron-stuffed Court, he knows how to get it.

It will be remembered that Argentina's record of aiding the Fascist powers under cover of neutrality was so shocking that diplomatic relations were broken off by Britain and America. Then, when the victory of the Allies became a certainty, Argentina jumped on the band wagon in 1945 and declared war on the dying Axis. It is today the refuge of many Fascists. For instance, Ludwig Freude led the Allied list of wanted Nazis in South America at the end of the war. In October 1946, a Peron decree formally cleared him of all charges of Axis activity "for lack of evidence". Then, in April 1947, Vittorio (son of Italy's late dictator Mussolini) came out of hiding and addressed an open meeting of Italian and Argentine Fascists at which he expressed his "fervid adoration for my father and Il Duce". One of Argentine's newspapers, *Critica*, editorially "extended a hand to Vittorio in his search for peace and forgetfulness".

PERON FRIGHTENS SMALL NEIGHBOURS

This is Peron's Argentina which the U.S. appears to consider good enough for membership of the hemisphere defence club presided over by President Truman. U.S. encouragement of Peron is leading to the weakening of the democracies in South America. Uruguay, for instance, has had to give up her open campaign for boycott of Peron. Only last year, as Uruguay's foreign minister, Dr. Eduardo Rodriguez Larreta was boldly speaking up against Peronism. He has been replaced by Mateo Marquez Castro who keeps mum about Peron. The reason was frankly stated early this year by a leading Montevideo newspaper: "It is dangerous for us to keep on talking tough to Argentina when it looks as though the United States will soon back down and make peace

with Peron. We are too small to take such a chance. We would be the first to get hurt if Peron became an aggressor. From now on, Uruguay must pursue a less noisy foreign policy..." Writing after a tour of Uruguay and talks with the country's politicians, the American journalist Graham Hovey wrote in April 1947: "Uruguayan leftists... believe that we will soon sit down with Peron to draft the Pan American military defence treaty. They say that the conclusion of that pact and the adoption of what is known in South America as the 'Truman plan' for standardization of arms, equipment and military training in the hemisphere would have two results: It would pull the American republics into an anti-Soviet bloc when most of them have nothing against Russia; it would enable the United States, as a 'big brother', to push the Latin republics around at will on the grounds of a Soviet threat to the hemisphere or for other political reasons." The Pan American military defence treaty which the Uruguayans feared has now been signed. They cannot do anything about it, since Argentina can ruin them by stopping her wheat exports to Uruguay and by restricting tourist traffic into Uruguay, which makes considerable income from the tourist trade. The expansionist ambitions of the Peron regime are a head-ache to many South American States—Paraguay is already Argentina's colony—since Argentina is the only country in South America which can afford an armaments race.

THE VATICAN IS PLEASED

Peron is conscious of his power as the head of a wheat-exporting country in a wheat-starved world; he is also aware that he has friendly dictators and Fascists in the Old World. So he sent an ambassador to Europe in the person of his own wife—the glamorous, bejewelled, dazzlingly clothed ex-actress Maria Eva Peron. She made a triumphal tour of Spain and Italy. In Spain, General Franco gave her a great reception and she addressed cheering crowds of Falangists—some reporters say she gave them the

Fascist salute, while others insist that she merely waved her hand! At Rome, Senora Peron spent twenty minutes with the Pope who praised the generosity of Argentina (in selling wheat) and her "Illustrious President." The Peronist regime it must be added, is friendly to the Catholic Church. One of the ways

in which Peronist officers demonstrate this friendliness is to hang the ribbons and trappings of an army general on Argentina's holy images, proclaiming each virgin a *generala* or 'Generaless of the Argentine Army'. Peronists are so different from those atheistic Bolsheviks whom they hate.



THE GRIP OF WALL STREET

by PRATHAPA RAMASUBBIAH

IT IS an interesting commentary on the policy behind the Marshall 'Plan' that the first three nations to accept the invitation to participate were those who "distinguished" themselves in the war against Fascism, Ireland, Portugal and Turkey.

It is relevant to recall that after the first world war, a certain American, General Dawes, came forward with a plan to rebuild German industry as "a bulwark against Bolshevism." It was in 1924. At that time Philip Price, a labour M.P., asked: "Does our Labour Government realise what an appalling power is being put into the hands of an international financial syndicate to control the economic life of Europe?" German industry was rebuilt, and it was the great German industrialists who financed and supplied Hitler's war machine. The "bulwark against Bolshevism" of American General Dawes took a different shape—the shape of hundreds of German bombers over London and every English city.

Once again the plan is to rebuild the industries of the Ruhr. As the Berlin correspondent of *The Times* put it on July 16, "Germany's industrial contribution is now widely recognised as relevant to the success of the Marshall proposals for the economic recovery of Europe." The Americans and the British have now decided to raise German industrial production, without nationalisation

of those industries. America has effectively vetoed the British proposal for nationalisation. The same old story. Once again the Ruhr. Once again private enterprise. Once again an "offensive against Communism."

All the things that the British fought for are now threatened by the dollar offensive of American imperialism. Mr. Bevin, British Foreign Minister, is acting as Mr. Marshall's agent and allowing Britain to become the junior partner of the U.S. in the latter's scheme of world domination. American bankers brought down the Labour Government in 1931. If given the opportunity, they will do so again. They are against nationalisation, price control and planning in Britain, just as surely as they are against these things in their own country, in Russia or Yugoslavia. Yet, the dollar offensive can be halted.

To avert the impending disaster the British Government should bring back a substantial number, as many as a million men, from military adventures to peaceful production. The Government must be reorganised; Bevin and others responsible for the sad plight of Britain have to be ousted and replaced by men of the labour movement determined to carry out a policy of alliance with the Soviet Union and the democratic Governments and peoples of Europe and Asia—an alliance that will free Britain from the grip of Wall Street.

FOOD PROCUREMENT MUDDLE

by K. R. KARANTH

(Formerly Minister for Revenue, Madras)

AS the Government are considering the question of reviewing and overhauling the food administration, it will be worthwhile to recall my own impressions and experiences in the district of South Canara wherein I have been seeing things at first hand for some months now. Conditions obtaining in different parts of the province are so dissimilar that a uniform treatment is not desirable. The centralisation involved has led to much harm. What happens in Andhra is not the same as what would happen in Tamilnad or Malabar. The crops, rainfall, agencies for procurement, all these are so dissimilar that it would be better to know the conditions in the different areas and then consider what best could be done.

It has been said in official quarters that there is no cause for alarm yet, and that all has been well so far. This is not at all true or correct if one takes into consideration what has been happening in my district (South Canara). Even in the month of June last, rationing broke down in the Hosdurg sub-taluk. This area is predominantly Malayalam, and is similar in conditions to Malabar. Actually in several ration depots, there was no rice and people had to starve for a week and more. Immediately, I brought this to the notice of the Food Minister and the Premier at Madras. Neither of them even acknowledged my letters. Again in the month of August, there was widespread breakdown of rationing in most of the rural depots of the district. There are depots in which for three weeks together, rations had been given for only three days in a week, followed by another three days in another week, or none at all. There has been widespread starvation during the last three weeks of August in the whole district and lakhs of people have gone without food. There are places in which they have had recourse to

eating roots from the neighbouring jungles. Even now, the situation can be saved only if the supplies which have been promised come regularly to the district. There has been no mention of all this suffering in the Press till now.

And yet it cannot be said that the district has not done what it should have done with regard to procurement, unlike what is alleged about some Andhra districts, or, for that matter, Tanjore district. Even from official reports, it is seen that the crops in the year 1946-47 were worse than the crops in the previous year 1945-46. Whilst the procurement in the whole district from 1st November, 1945 to 31st July 1946, was 52,587 tons, for the same period in the current year (1946-47) the procurement has been 52,340 tons. That shows that the procurement has been even more intensive than what it should have been.

Out of the aforesaid procurement in the year 1946-47 5,650 tons were exported to Malabar. The district as a whole has been all along deficient and the official estimate of the deficiency is 20,000 tons per year. In the year 1945-46, there were net imports to the district from outside of 18,000 tons, whereas in the current year, the imports were only 8,548 tons. Against this should be set off the abovementioned export to Malabar. An additional allotment of 7,749 tons till the end of August was promised, but was not received. It will thus be seen that the help given to the district is quite inadequate compared with what was done in the previous year. Breakdown in rural rationing is apparently taken very lightly. I fail to see any difference in the degree of responsibility of Government to feed the rural areas as against the so-called statutory rationed areas. If you take from the people all, or practically all, that they have and try to ration them with cards in the rural parts, it cannot be said

that if rural rationing breaks down, the Government owe no responsibility to feed the people. And yet this seems to be the view held in official quarters.

It is certainly necessary to take the surplus from all who have it. The talk of "persuading" such people and only threatening them with coercive measures, evident in ministerial and other pronouncements, seem to me to be wrong and inadequate. It signifies too much sympathy with the rich landlords. What has actually happened in my district is that in the name of procurement, the poorer classes and particularly the cultivators, have been obliged, under police searches, to give even what they badly required for their own living and for cultivation. Procurement rules require that the needs of cultivation and of subsistence of the grower and his family, should be reserved and not taken away. But this is just what has not been respected in practice. Surpluses were taken from the people earlier in the year, in March and April; now, in the last one or two months, the very same people are harassed again and are forced to part with what they badly require for the next sowing and also for their own consumption. Even in the first instance, the whole work of estimation of the surplus was done in a random way and no fixed principles were adhered to.

Much has been said in condemnation of village committees. I must say, from actual experience in South Canara, that these committees have never been given the chance to prove their worth. It is quite true that they were all formed in haste under great stress, and that the members were nominated by the Tahsildar at short notice. If the members had been properly elected, they would certainly have done better. But even as they are, they have in many cases done good work. It is not true to say that in all cases, they have reduced figures of procurement given by the karnams. What really happened is that in most cases these estimates were not given to them in time. Long after the crops were harvested, they were

suddenly asked to decide about these estimates, and sometimes given not even an hour to scrutinise them. And in most cases they had simply to approve the official lists.

Under present methods of procurement, the actual cultivators of paddy have been the worst-hit. I have actually gone into these areas, questioned the cultivators and made notes of what they said. I will give only a few instances here to show that the cultivators have not been left with enough even for their subsistence or for the next sowing. The attitude of the procurer towards them is that of treating them as if they were robbers or thieves. They are even told in some cases, "Let your fields go to the dogs. Don't cultivate the next crop. Give what you have now. And if you don't have anything to eat, take a ration card!"

Here are the instances:

(1) Hukrappa Rai, Aletti village, Puttur Taluk.—He pays Rs. 200 as assessment and is a cultivator himself and has areca plantations. Prior to June he had given his surplus. In June 47½ muras of paddy kept by him for areca cultivation, by permission under a G.O. passed by the previous Ministry but wrongly and unjustly cancelled by the present Ministry, was taken away from him. After this was taken, he applied for and got 39 ration cards for 18 coolies working in his areca gardens and 21 persons working as his tenants and coolies. In July his house was raided. Eighteen persons have to be fed in his family. He had a stock of 4 muras of rice, 12 muras of paddy and 11 muras of seedlings for the next crop. Out of this 6 muras of paddy were taken away.

(2) Shanker Naryana Baipadithya, Aletti village.—He pays Rs. 300 as assessment. Prior to July his surplus was shown in the demand for procurement as 40 muras of paddy but actually 42 muras had to be given away. In July there was a stock in his house of 6½ muras for seeds, 2 muras of rice and 4 muras of boiled paddy for food. There are 5 members in the family, all adults. Out of this little stock, 2 muras of seed were taken away. When he protested against the removal of seed, he was told, "Don't cultivate your fields!"

(3) Ramappa Gowda. — He pays Rs. 18 as assessment and also cultivates as a tenant for others. He delivered the total rent as surplus. In July he had a stock of 8 muras of seeds and 3 muras of paddy. Out of these, 5 muras were taken away. There are 9 adults and 2 minors in the family. He had nothing to eat when I saw him on 18th August 1947 (the day after Independence!) He had applied for a ration card and it took him a month to get it. He had to walk four miles four times to the fiska supply officer to get it countersigned.

(4) Subbalya Gowda, tenant, Jalsor village. He gave all the rent to the store. There are 7 adults and one minor in his family. In the beginning of July he had only a stock of 5 muras of seeds. As he had no food he had applied for and got a ration card for a month. The taluk supply officer came and cancelled the card. At the time of my seeing him, he was living on the seed paddy!

(5) I shall give a few more instances, in brief, regarding Ujre village of the same taluk where requisition with police aid took place between July 20 and July 25.

	M.	S.H.	R.	B.
Mera Choma ..	2	3*	2	1
Kunha Pujari ..	6	5* 6†	3	3‡
Angara ..	3	2*	1	1
Amnunhi ..	5	5‡ 5†	2	3‡
Yenktu Gowda ..	5	3‡ 4†	1‡	2‡‡
Hukra Shetti ..	4	4‡ 2†	1	1‡

M., members of family; S.H., stock held at the time; R., requisitioned; B., balance.

*muras of paddy; †muras of rice; ‡muras of seed; ‡‡muras of rice and seed.

All this little stock was at the time of requisition. Since then, when I visited the place on August 17, they were either living on the seed paddy or going through starvation. And these are cultivators who form the backbone of the nation, for whom all of us are professing so much sympathy and shedding so many tears!

Powerful landlords with a majority in the food councils have insisted that the cultivator should give his entire rent in kind. In fact, the Government has now become an agency for collection of rent for the landlord. The bulk of these tenants, who cultivate small holdings have never been able, in the past, to pay the rent entirely in kind. They used to pay a portion in kind and the rest by way of cash by raising some commercial crop like chillies or

grams or, sometimes, even going and working in the Mysore coffee estates as coolies. To-day, thanks to the policy followed during the past three or four years, every bit of the rent is forced to be given to the Government by way of procurement, whether or not the land has yielded sufficient to pay the rent and leaves enough for the subsistence of the cultivator and his family.

How unjust this is and how it ruins agriculture! The cultivator has to part with practically all he has, without even leaving enough to eat for himself. Unlike in the East Coast districts the residences of the cultivators in the West Coast are spread all over, so that each man has to carry over his head the paddy which he is required to give, sometimes for five or six miles. There he has to wait for a day or two, at the whim of the depot keeper. Very often he has to give 44 or 45 seers for a mura (82 and two-thirds lbs.) whereas the strict measure is only 42 seers. If he grumbles, he will have to wait *ad infinitum* until it pleases the depot keeper to measure his paddy or rice. Then, after three or four months, when the little he had is eaten up, he has once again to go to the depot, this time to buy his own requirements; often paying much higher rates than what he got for his own rice or paddy.

In South Canara to-day, the cultivator gets only 8 ounces of rice, whereas a mere rentier landlord gets 10 ounces. The theory that heavy manual labourers should be given 16 ozs. is not followed in practice. The result is that the whole class of these cultivating tenants, who form the bulk of the population of the villages, are disgusted with the state of affairs and the condition they have been reduced to in the name of procurement. They are compelled by force to part with what they have produced, and they are driven at great expense and trouble week by week to have recourse to the depots for their ration. Even this ration has failed in many places.

I have found that in several of the villages, fields are actually lying fallow. Lands are going out of cultivation because the raising of a

paddy crop has become uneconomical due to Government's procurement policy, described above. Paddy is fast giving place to money crops like sugarcane, sweet potato and black or horse gram. I have found in my tours that the position has simply become unendurable for the bulk of the cultivating classes, particularly those who are poor. There is not the least sympathy from the procurement officers. All this is going on under the name of a Congress Government. It is impossible to stand before the villagers and justify this policy. I had convened large meetings of the cultivators at Vittal, Sullia and Ujre. Hundreds of them came and related their grievances to me. Very strong measures are needed to overhaul the present system and to save the fair name and prestige of the Congress. To-day, however, people are very bitter and they are not likely to forgive us if we go on in this manner.

For the implementation of proper food policy, the need for a strong Government is evident. But there is no point in namby pamby mea-

sures which try to placate the merchants and the big landholders at the cost of the masses of poor cultivators for whom the Congress has been professing so much lip sympathy. The procurement methods described above should be scrapped wholesale and no grower should be driven to the necessity of having to part with what he has and walk for his own requirements to the ration depot. Next, a heavy and penal assessment should be put upon the commercial crops. A weak policy on the part of the Government cannot at all save the situation. It is fairly certain now that the food problem is not going to end or improve for the next 2 or 3 years. In fact, the coming year is, from all accounts, gone to be worse than the present one. Hence cash crops should be either partially or wholly prohibited, or heavy assessments should be imposed upon such crops. All this increased revenue should be utilized in helping the producer of rice and millet, whether by way of bonus or by way of a slightly increased price.



PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN

by T. R. VISWANATHAN

IN some quarters it is still believed that after all only tiny bits of India have been chipped off as a result of the creation of Pakistan. It is also believed that these tiny bits will have to struggle hard and many look to a change of heart on the part of Pakistan, consequent on the trials and tribulations she may face, and the ultimate reunion of the two Dominions. It is imperative that the hollowness of these pet ideas should be brought home to people so as to enable them to take stock of the reality and shed illusions. Pakistan, territorially and in population, is easily one of the biggest States in the Middle East. It will be interesting to attempt a comparison of Pakistan with her neighbours.

Country.	Area in sq. miles.	Population in millions.
Afghanistan ..	250,000	10
Egypt ..	363,200	16
Iran ..	630,000	15
Iraq ..	116,000	3½
Turkey ..	295,000	16
West Pakistan ..	284,000	27
East Pakistan ..	51,000	41

Next in importance to population and territory are the resources of a country. Pakistan is a surplus area with regard to food grains, the area under wheat and rice cultivation being 9,646,607 and 19,108,760 acres respectively. Her monopoly in the production of raw jute is unquestioned. She produces some cotton (the area under cotton is 3,793,825 acres). For the rest she is definitely a deficit country. Though in some

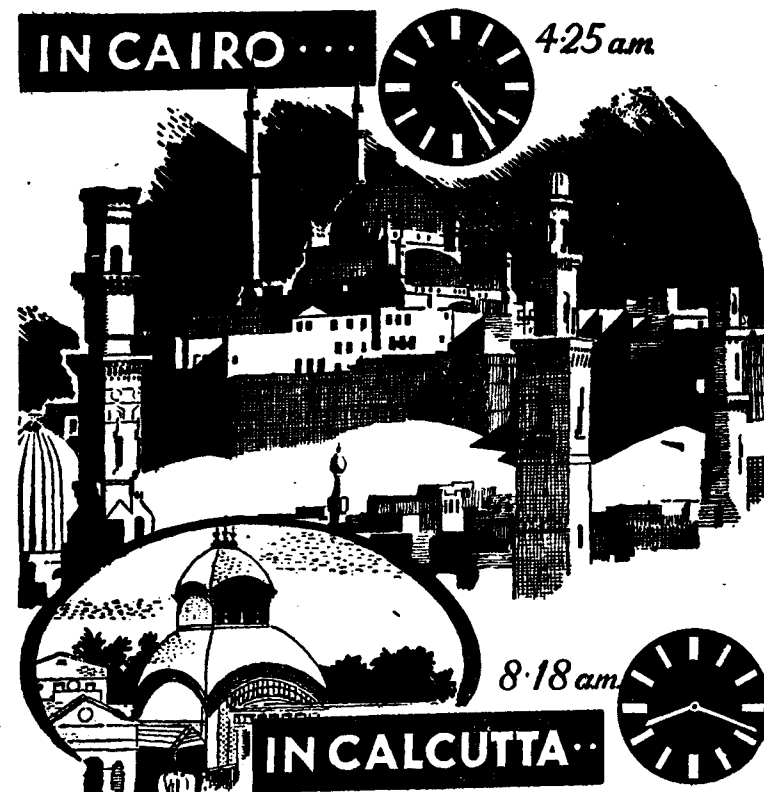
respects Pakistan is agriculturally stronger than India, her industrial position in the world context is very insignificant. At present she has no industries worth mentioning except a handful of cotton and sugar mills. She will have to depend on imports to a very great extent. If her economy is not to be ruined it is necessary for her to enter into agreements with India for the mutual benefit of both the countries. Agreement may involve the formation of a customs union or financial aid for the industrialisation of Pakistan. The irresponsible utterances of certain leaders of Pakistan have been mainly responsible for the flight of capital from Pakistan to India. When normal conditions are restored it will be to the interest of Pakistan to attract Indian capital by assuring security. She cannot at present look to America or Britain for capital goods since it is likely that when beginning with a clean slate she cannot have an accumulation of dollar or sterling. It is necessary to sound a note of warning regarding the possibility of an American loan to Pakistan on the lines of the loans that are being distributed to European countries. Because there is much evidence to show that butter is followed by bullets. It is uncertain at this stage how much Pakistan's share of the sterling balances of the Reserve Bank of India will contribute to her economic development. In the last analysis it will be found that the best course open to her will be to negotiate financial and commercial arrangements with the Government of India for a period of five years. There is a possibility of partition of assets and liabilities of the Ex-Government of India leading, according to one estimate, to a total liability of Pakistan to India to the tune of Rs. 200 to 400 crores. The statesmanship displayed by the leaders of the two Dominions will go a long way towards the solution of these delicate questions.

In the light of the present levels of Provincial as well as Central taxation, the revenue which will be raised in Pakistan is calculated to

amount roughly to Rs. 78 crores, whereas for India (including some States) it will be Rs. 483 crores. All the provinces of Pakistan, except perhaps Sind, will have to stand on tip-toe to balance their budgets. (It will not be a surprise if initially all of them face deficits). In consequence a great strain might be imposed on the Central Government, which itself may be running deficits.

The western frontiers of Western Pakistan have been the creation of the British policy of endless wars and treaties with India's western neighbours. Once the authority which established these frontiers disappears from the stage, thorny problems are likely to be raised. Pakistan may indeed secure a well-knit army adequate for her land defence since 57 per cent of the Indian army was provided by the Punjab and North West Frontier Province. But, comparatively, her air force is likely to be ridiculously meagre. There seems to be no necessity for her to maintain a large navy in consequence of a reduced coast line. The tackling of these problems will impose a heavy demand on the financial resources of the State.

The non-Muslims of Pakistan form a greater percentage than the Muslims of India, but the Muslims of India are larger in number than the non-Muslims of Pakistan. Pakistan has not really solved the question of minorities, since nearly four crores of Muslims have been left behind in India after the partition. The solution of the minority problem depends on whether the two Governments continue on communal lines or on party lines. Will Pakistan continue to consider the Muslims of India as her concern? The answer to this question will be evaded, for was not religion really used only as a spring-board for the political ambitions of a party? A State cannot live on religion. Political exigencies created by the changed position of the communities might lead to a re-union between the Hindus and Muslims if not between India and Pakistan.



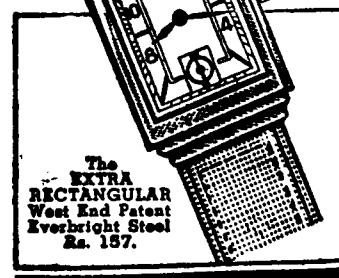
Above, at top, is shown an artist's impression of The Citadel, Cairo. Lower sketch pictures the famous Kalighat Temple at Calcutta.

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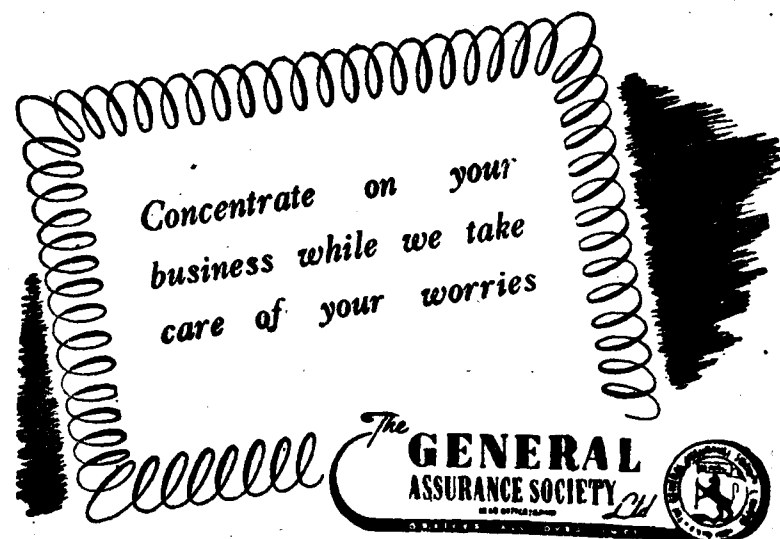
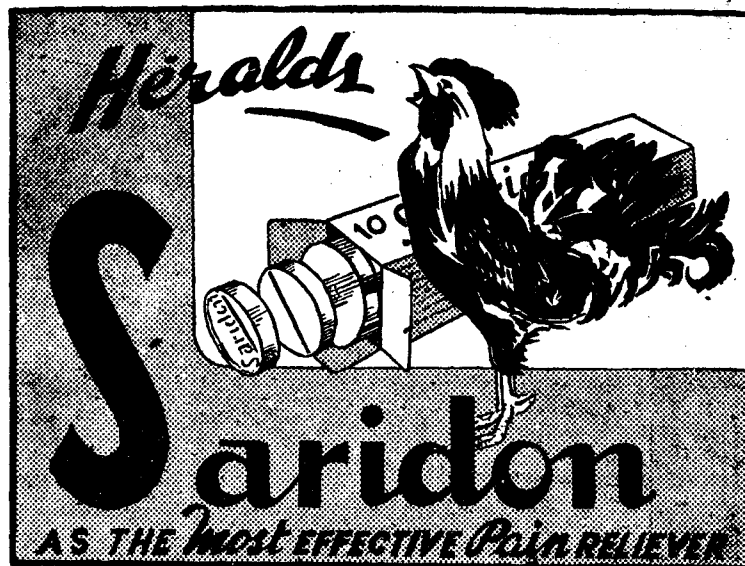
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MUSLIM LEAGUE—THE NEXT STAGE

by "MAHAKHAN ANDHRAVI"

MAY I be allowed the privilege of voicing through your columns the feeling of utter restlessness permeating the Indian Muslim youth about the political future of the Muslims, and especially about the next stage in the life of the All India Muslim League.

The realisation of the fact that we are living in an entirely new world after the momentous August 15 has brought about this change. A strange sort of feeling that something has to be done to adapt ourselves to the rapidly changing situation is gripping the minds of one and all. Quite naturally Muslims are eagerly expecting a new programme from the League. There are also quite a number of them who are sceptical about the capacity of the old leadership of the League to adapt itself to the entirely altered conditions obtaining at present. The abolition of separate electorates and weightage by the Consambly has delivered the final and crushing blow. The old leadership of the League has had its day and now it is evidently on its last legs.

A glance at the history of the League would show that from its birth in 1906, there have been only two notable actions to its credit, as a real mass organisation: one, its joint action with the Congress during the Khilafat days, and the other, its all-out effort for the achievement of Pakistan. Barring these, the Muslim masses were utterly inactive and supremely indifferent to everything around them. Most probably, such is to be the position in future, the more so because there cannot and is not going to be, from their view-point, any such soul-stirring and imagination-gripping programme from the League. A set of circumstances have made the Muslims the most religion-sensitive people in the world. Quite a lot has to be done to bring them into line with pre-

vailing political thought. We refuse to believe that there is any programme at all which the League can offer as it is at present constituted. We also refuse to believe that the League leadership would hereafter care to monopolise the Muslim masses, since their votes alone will not do in the new set-up of joint electorates. No one has any doubt about the inflexible determination of the Congress completely to do away with all separatist tendencies, especially of the hitherto League-minded.

Mr. Jinnah is a very clever strategist and a super tactician. He has said recently that, politically, Hindus cease to be Hindus and Muslims must cease to be Muslims and that religion is a private affair between the individual and his God. But then the occasional messages of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan are nothing but a kind of soothing balm in the present state of mental affliction. No one can take these statements with any seriousness. Mr. Jinnah, it is said, would really like to continue as the President of the All India Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi also seems to hug the illusion of one Congress embracing India and Pakistan. This is evidently the same kind of soothing balm intended for the Congress-minded people of Pakistan. We confess it is difficult for us to understand how our leaders can incite extra-territorial loyalty among a section of their people, while themselves roundly condemning another section of their people for the same thing. Their resourcefulness might enable them to draw a nice distinction between the two cases; but the truth is perhaps that the leaders themselves are not in a much better state of mind than the masses.

The time has now come for the leaders who have been dinning into our ears the need for the well-being of the entire nation, to translate

talk into action. We are not cynical about the burningly sincere notes in the speeches of Sardar Patel and Pandit Pant in the Consamby; not at all, but we would like to see it all faithfully effected in reality. After all, nobody is so simple these days as to depend completely on somebody else for the protection of his special interests. At least until such time, no reasonably-minded person can possibly have any grievance at the existence of a powerful League organisation.

The Muslim Leaguers in their speeches in the Consamby have made it clear that, under the changed conditions, there is very little difference between the objectives of the Congress and the League. Would it therefore be expecting too much from the League to say that they should forthwith effect a change in the constitution of the Muslim League to make it possible for their members completely to identify themselves with and effectively to contribute to all walks of life of the entire Indian community?

The resourceful and far-sighted Mr. Abdul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Muslim League, was contemptuously dubbed a "political snake in the grass," among other things, for advocating a similar policy for the Indian Muslim League,

after the last meeting of the All India Muslim League Council nearly three months ago. He was perhaps the first in the League who was outspoken enough to recommend joint electorates to the Muslims. Who can deny that this political snake in the grass is a veritable political prophet who cleverly and gracefully read aloud the writing on the wall?

Frankly, we do not see any future for the Muslim League without some revolutionary departure from its exclusive character. The League must be in a position, imaginatively and good-humouredly to tell people like Sardar Patel, "Well, Sardar Saheb, you have kicked off the bottom on which we were standing at ease. Alright, we will now wholeheartedly accept your new plank."

This is not wishful thinking. If the old leadership of the League cannot see its way to fall in line with the progressive trend which is abroad in the present day, Muslim youth will rise and seize the leadership of the Muslim League. To cite an instance, already in the United Provinces, Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawab Aizaz Rasul have been compelled to make room for outspoken Left-wingers like Zahurul Hasan Lari, Rizwanullah and Shamsul Hasan. Every other province will follow suit.

BHARATHI ON MUSIC

by T. S. P.

IT is not perhaps generally known that the Poet Subrahmanya Bharathi (whose anniversary fell on the 11th instant) the genius that he was in more fields than one, was also a discerning lover of music. Persons who have heard him sing have, of course, testified to the fact that he had a grand, melodious voice and could sing elaborate raga alapanas. He appears to have been particularly fond of the ragas Nata and Kalyani. In his national and other songs set to music by himself, he has used nearly a score of ragas, from simple ones like Ananda Bhairavi

and Bilahari to rare ragas like Saraswati Manohari, Saindhavi and Sri.

But what is surprising is that in a number of articles on music contributed by him to journals from 1910 to 1920, reproduced in his collection of essays under the title 'Arts', he has revealed himself as a true lover of classical music and a gifted musical critic. Considering the fact that, about thirty years ago, the appreciation of real music was limited to a privileged few and that there was no musical criticism worth the name, his sound views on the subject come to us as a revelation.

In an excellent article on 'Music' appearing in the publication mentioned above, Bharathi stressed at the outset the fact that 'Nada' or sound is the vital thing in music and 'Rasa Anubhava' or emotional tasting, its soul. He then proceeds to say that the mood of a raga should be brought out in its very alapana without the help of words, and while a heroic raga should animate the audience, a humorous one should make them laugh. He concludes this argument by urging that no raga which does not possess a definite emotional significance, should be sung in South India.

It is well known that Bharathi's passion in life was Tamil. He was the harbinger of the Tamil Renaissance and the most ardent lover of the language in this century. This love for the mother-tongue, has not, however, prevented him from proclaiming the musical superiority of the kritis of Tyagaraja and Dikshitar over compositions in Tamil. Between these two composers, he shows a partiality for Tyagaraja. "The compositions of Dikshitar" he writes "flow majestically like the Ganges, composed as they are in pure Sanskrit but the masses cannot appreciate their emotional aspect. Tyagaraja is a divine bard. He is a veritable ocean of 'rasas' and the very existence of Carnatic music today is due to him. In spite of numerous mutilations by our musicians, we are still able to perceive how captivating his poetry is. There is perfect integration of the music with the timing and the emotional content of the piece. Tyagaraja did not produce his songs with an effort but they flowed out of him with striking ease." Bharathi then takes three of Tyagaraja's kritis, 'Tsakkani Raja Margamu', 'Maru Palka' and 'Nannu Brova' as instances and explains the correlation of the sahitya with the music. He contrasts these pieces with the kriti 'Varamulu Osagi' of Patnam Sub-

rahmanya Iyer and points out the inferiority of the latter which lacks the ring of a genuine composition. He, naturally, concludes his arguments with an appeal to the Tamil musicians to produce equally good kritis in Tamil, taking their cue from the famous Trinity. Coming from the father of the Tamil Renaissance, these views are in refreshing contrast to the sectarian cry of a recent movement which demanded that only Tamil songs should be sung at concerts irrespective of their musical value.

Bharathi's stay at Benares for two or three years gave him an opportunity to study Hindusthani music at close quarters and he became an ardent admirer of the best traditions of that system. He was very much struck by the 'voice culture' of the North Indian musicians which, he says, produced 'silvery voices' and strongly recommends it to the vocalists of the South, who usually allow their voices to rust. He appears to have been fascinated by the raga Bhairava and made the following entry in his diary in English. "The young man's tune - Bhairava - Hindustani Todi. Majority of love songs in North India are in that tune. The meaning of that raga—Love and Despair. Despair reaches its depth in the Prati Madhyama. I must compose a song in Bhairava in praise of that raga." This raga is, however, not the one used by Tyagaraja which takes the Suddha Madhyama.

Bharathi carries on a tirade against the harmonium as a musical instrument, but in a lighter vein. He once set fire to the harmonium in his house after pouring kerosine oil over it. He pleads for making the *tambura* the standard sruti instrument and for developing the *veena*.

On the eve of the opening of the Bharathi Memorial at Ettayapuram, will musicians fulfil his ambitions by implementing his suggestions?



FEAR OF FREEDOM

by "P. M."

[T] is indeed a familiar experience with most of us to fly away from the objects which are our objective. Put that way, it looks like being the height of imbecility. But such absurdity does not rule out the truth. At bottom, we all suffer from an inability to locate ourselves contextually in the mundane predicament. We go round and round in a maze, either blissfully unaware of the futility of it, or vaguely confused by a feeling that we are making no progress. An old English poem as refashioned by D. H. Lawrence comes to my mind in this connection. It describes the frantic attempts of a dazed bat flapping its wings round a small room which is brilliantly lit, and blundering at last into an exit through a window which leads it to the outer darkness where it breathes freely again. The window was a profound discovery to the bat because of its proverbial blindness!

So it is also in courtship between male and female. Attraction is promoted through apparent repulsion manifesting itself as coqueting. The female gives chase to its pre-selected mate, the length and perversity of which are directly proportional to the intensity of its longing to promote the cosmic purpose. The art of love as expounded by its grammarians capitalises the fear of satiation as the motive of eroticism. As Christ said: We all cry God, God with our lips, but our hearts are farthest removed from Him. There is no doubt in our minds as to the prospective bliss awaiting us in a contingent heaven. But the only snag in it is that it is prospective and contingent! When Falstaff was asked to pray, Mrs. Quickly spoke for us all when she expressed the hope that the gallant knight's case was not so bad as all that. Heaven is doubtless our destination, but few of us are in a hurry to reach it! The sweetest things come last, says the poet; but as, after that, there can only be an inevitable

reaction, we subconsciously defer the moment of illumination, exaltation or enjoyment.

I am also reminded that this fear of freedom is a spiritual reality, whether you consider it according to the Indian Bhakti or the European Catholic cults. Thompson in his *Hound of Heaven* has brought it out with dramatic and dogmatic propriety. The devotee rushes away from God in the very act of going in search of Him. There is such a thing as getting one's run for one's money. Ultimately, therefore, he who fears Freedom, and so runs away from it also ends up by arriving at his destination at last. The human pursuit of the Infinite—and Freedom is one aspect of the Infinite—is thus marked by a blundering runaway from it in the very act of pursuing it.

There is the common fear of the unknown, which makes us all slaves to the *status quo*. But the revolutionary is the product of a drab reality which has touched the nadir of experience. Anything for a change, exclaims the victim, and off he goes committing murder, arson and loot in the name of Freedom. As soon as he becomes an institution, he becomes in his turn the embodiment of the *status quo*. There is certainly fun in going on a journey, but R.L.S. took care to provide himself with a few basic necessities. The only honest, consistent and logical revolutionary has yet to die peacefully in his bed. The primitive Christians, medieval anchorites and the timeless Sanyasins of our own tradition are the only true lovers of Freedom!

The moment we think of the salvation of one more person than ourselves, Freedom gives place to organisation, with organisation comes discipline, and discipline when tired provokes tyranny!

Wherefore the fear of Freedom is vicarious in the best of us. It is comparable to the fear of happiness

which fond parents feel when they marry off their beloved daughters. It is a familiar sight in Hindu weddings to behold old cronies shedding copious tears what time the wedding ritual reaches its auspicious climax. They shed preventive tears to secure the young couple from unknown calamities that may lie in wait for them in the distant future. Hardy had a glimpse of this touching human trait when he struck the joyous note (but tempered by a sense of gloom in the offing) in his *Wessex Idyll*, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

The truth of the matter is that the revolutionary goes up to a point, and then stops short for want of breath or life. When Christ underwent transfiguration, the faithful trio of favourite disciples who were by, exclaimed in their bemused state: 'Master it is good for us that we remain here; let us make three tents—one for Moses, one for Elias and one for thee!' They were unconsciously seized by the fear of Freedom.

But in contradistinction to the revolutionary, revolutions go on for ever. Wherefore, the Jacobine cried "*Ca Ira!*" Do you want illustrations of this incompatibility between revolutionaries and revolution? Macdonald fell from grace when he donned the frock-coat; Surendranath died stripped of all his earlier halo because he had made his peace with Dyarchy! When the revolutionary borrows the accents of his moderate rival, and cries: One step enough for me, his reward is to be crushed under the wheels of the inexorable Juggernaut on the move.

When compromises are brought about in the fight for freedom, they ensure a merciful reprieve to the individual without immobilising the movement itself. Gandhi and the government which he once stigmatized as Satanic are now at one. But the Satanic element has to be discovered by others in relation to their preferences and aversions. Stalin expounds the mysteries of Marxism with judicious concessions to the principle of private property. Muhammad (peace unto him!) is

quietly idolised by millions for the reason that he denounced idol-worship. Thus even negations have their affirmative value, while many affirmations have nothing else but a barren negation to keep them going.

Fear of Freedom may also be due to an aristocratic revulsion from unbridled license. One of the best sonnets in praise of the sonnet is by Wordsworth who, in his poetical youth, ran amuck and made a (theoretical) holocaust of all rules of grammar and prosody. If Gandhi does not care for a Swaraj won through violence, he is found unable to shake off security measures taken to protect his life. Plato discussed the ideal state; but we all tend to forget that his immediate environment must have been ideal enough to permit him to indulge in such a wordy luxury.

The masses are like the poor—they are ever with us. Adventurous spirits use them as stage property with varying degrees of sincerity, and power born of such sincerity. It was only from the elevation of the tumbril that Madame Roland could discover what atrocities are committed in the name of Liberty! The rabble which applauded Brutus for killing Cæsar was ready enough to crown him king. Mr. Jinnah has complacently agreed to be canonised in the Islamic way—with one foot on the stool of an imperium and the other in the vestibule of Paradise. As the common man is traversing a Golgotha from Rawalpindi to Rohtak, where is this Freedom which is alleged to have come to him?

On the whole, therefore, there seems good reason for dreading Freedom when it comes in this untamed fashion. Like its obverse, security, it has no abstract or objective significance, but has a pragmatic and changing meaning in relation to our Nehrus and Jinnahs, Churchills and Stalins. For the freedom of any one of them means the insecurity of his opposite number. The psalmist said that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom; the fear of Freedom is the beginning of political sanity!

FORGOTTEN DIAMOND MINES OF ANDHRA DESA

by P. PARASURAMAYYA

OLD diamond pits are still to be found throughout Andhra Desa, testifying to the former prosperity of the diamond industry which has been crushed by unrestricted foreign competition. Dr. V. Ball in his 'Economic Geology of India' says: "Were India wholly isolated from the rest of the world, or its mineral productions protected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that she would be able from within her own boundaries, to supply nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly civilized community." Mineralogically, Andhra Desa is one of the richest units of India, since the mineral wealth of Madras province is mainly in the Andhra area. Of the minerals found there, diamond is of immense value and importance.

Diamond is pure crystallised carbon. It may readily be distinguished from all other 'flowers of the mineral kingdom' by its adamantine lustre, and by its superior hardness, being the only one that a sapphire will not scratch. The specific gravity of pure diamond varies from 3.5 to 3.6. Its colour varies through all tones of the colour scale—from colourless through all shades of yellow, red, green and blue to intense black. The value of the diamond is dependent on its colour, size, and the finish or cut given during polishing. Perfectly colourless stones bring the highest price, followed by those with a reddish, greenish, and bluish shade, which however are rare.

Apart from its importance as a gem stone, diamond is indispensable in the industrial world for the manufacture of diamond drills, for drawing fine wire and for glass cutting; it is also used for aeroplane pistons. For these industrial purposes three varieties of diamond other than gem variety, known to

the mineralogical world as (1) Bort (2) Ballas and (3) Carbonado are used; these varieties are of inferior quality and are obtained from Brazil and South Africa.

The earliest account of the diamond fields of Andhra Desa was given by Monsieur Tavernier, the French traveller and diamond merchant who between 1636 and 1662 made six voyages to the East for the purpose of collecting gems. Another account in which several localities not mentioned by Tavernier are included, was submitted to the Royal Society of England on 25th June 1677, by Earl Marshall Howard of England; this report is the most substantial one ever written by a European on the diamond mines of Andhra. Mr. P. Venkayya, a geologist of South India, who devoted 25 years of his life to a study of the world's unsolved geological problem—'Genesis and matrix of diamond'—traced out almost all the localities mentioned in Howard's report which now lie hidden in impenetrable jungles, and wrote an authoritative article entitled "World's unknown parent-rock of diamond" in which he described the important diamondiferous localities in Andhra Desa and the parent-rock to be attacked for diamonds.

Most of the great diamonds—Kohinoor, Orloff, Daryinor, Nassak etc.—are of Andhra origin, only two or three coming from Brazil. Andhra Desa, "the Kimberley of South India," enjoyed the monopoly of supplying the world's demand for diamonds upto the discovery in 1725 of the precious stone in Brazil. If we expect the Cullinan stone (known also as 'the star of Africa') which weighed 3025½ carats or about one-third lb., and was found in the Premier mine near Pretoria, South Africa, on 25th January 1905, the mines of South Africa and Brazil cannot compare with the old mines of Andhra Desa. The richness of

these mines has become proverbial and is reflected in the fiction of Sindbad the Sailor and the writings of Marco Polo in the 13th century.

The famous writings of Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz who visited Andhra Desa in the 16th century when it was under the sway of the kings of Golconda and Vizayanagar, show that Andhra Desa controlled the richest diamond mines the world had ever seen. The diamond mines were farmed out on a royalty system and one of the conditions was that all diamonds above 24 carats, were to be sent to the king for his own personal use.

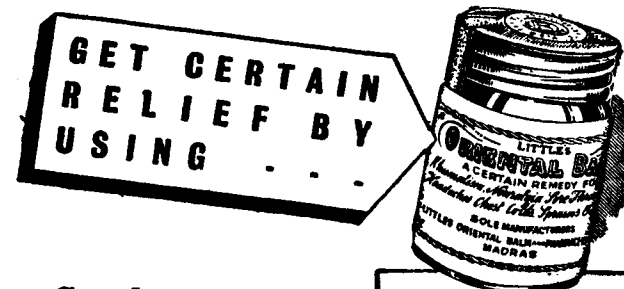
What happened to this diamond industry which was once engaging nearly a lakh of labourers? Have the diamond mines been exhausted? Or have they disappeared? The answer to this is to be found in the statement of W. W. Francis, who, while compiling the Anantapur District Gazetteer, frankly confessed in

unequivocal terms that in the interests of the South African diamond mining concerns (owned largely by British interests) our diamond mining industry was forced to close down. It is time we reverse the process and renovate this ancient and profitable industry.

The following are the important localities where there are immense possibilities for the diamond industry.

1. Anantapur District: Wajrakarur, Lattavaram and Konganapalle.
2. Kurnool District: Tuggali, Paipully, Jonnagiri and Rammalkota.
3. Cuddapah District: Chennur, Kanuparti or Kondapeta and Woblapalli.
4. Guntur District: Kollur in Sattenapalli Taluk.
5. Kistna District: Mallavally, Coddavettykallu and Partial.

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NESS, COUGHS.

BOOKS & AUTHORS

On Education. By Mulk Raj Anand (Hind Kitabs, 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price: Re. 1-4-0).

The basis of modern English education in India was laid by Thomas Babington Macaulay who, as a member of the Governor-General's Council, declared with conviction in 1834 that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." The then Governor-General of India, Lord Bentinck, agreed with Macaulay and promulgated an ordinance decreeing that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." Then began the manufacture of Babus which, with some modifications, continues to date. Free primary education was never introduced, the colonial administration naturally being nervous of any large measure of education among the masses. The effect of this system was, in the words of Mulk Raj Anand, that "for a hundred and fifty years we were to remain neither Orientals nor Westerners, ghosts wandering about in a no man's land, reaching out now to the dim past and then to the foreign landscapes of vilayats beyond the seas. And the vacuum was filled with a montage of English imagery combined to the rhythm of the Indian mind, a hotch-potch of which the hallmark was bad taste."

So much is common ground to the critics of the existing system of education. But the efforts at reform which have been made so far have already indicated the absence of a coherently thought-out and commonly accepted alternative. Much is being said and done regarding the medium of instruction. It is of course true that no real education can be given except in the mother-tongue, and every one will welcome attempts to eliminate English from primary, elementary and secondary school teaching. But, as the author points out, "there must be a balanced view about the advantages of retaining it in higher school and college education as an optional subject . . . because as a language of international exchange it is probably one of the few assets in the balance-sheet of our prolonged slavery."

The problem of education, however, would not have been solved with the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the mother-tongue. What kind of education are we going to impart to our children? It is round this question that Mulk Raj Anand's essay revolves. He pleads that we must concern ourselves as much with the social 'why' of education as with the technical 'how' of teaching. The author does not favour Gandhiji's answer to the challenge offered by the present educational muddle. Gandhiji does not merely want children to learn by doing, he expects to solve the problem of India's poverty by making our young citizens earn while they learn. This emphasis in the Wardha Scheme on the immediate utilitarian value of vocational instruction, says Mr. Anand, is spiritually harmful to the child, the motive force in whose education ought to be free development and not adaptation within the confines of a straight jacket. Further, the whole educational scheme of Gandhiji is geared to his conception of a return to the ancient, closed, self-sufficient village economy. "The dream of perfecting good little village minds on the basis of Khadi and non-violence, so that these morons vegetate within the limits of their self-sufficient communities, is impossible in an India where every village is already inundated with cheap machine-made goods produced by foreign and indigenous capitalists . . . The machine is already there, a machine which is a great improvement on the earlier tools of human society, the charkha, the loom and the plough. And the problem is not how to set about non-co-operating with it, but how best man can utilize it, without being mastered by it." There is, indeed, no sign that Indians are going to "reject the complex, rich and potentially plentiful civilization which is already at our doors, if only we can alter our social organisation in an egalitarian manner."

The author's own conviction is that the present system of education which produces "physicists who do not know any sociology and intellectuals who are supposed to be above politics," should be scrapped and a new system evolved which will develop

in its wards a capacity for absorbing useful information, will stimulate the critical faculty, train the emotions and, above all, root out the ignorance and hatred which bring about war. Otherwise our students would continue to be soaked in a welter of superficiality "whether this superficiality is taught in English, Hindustani, Tamil or Telugu."

Mulk Raj Anand's book is a timely statement, in frank and clear terms, of the urgent and fundamental problems of our education.

The Social Aspect of Crime and Punishment. By M. A. Janaki. (Published by The Madras Premier Company. Selling agents: Tamilnad Publications, 33, Broadway, Madras. Price, Re. 1)

This collection of three Bar Council lectures delivered by the author presents a broad and realistic examination of the ultimate social roots of criminality. The economic motive behind crime is the most familiar illustration of the way in which the mal-organisation of society drives individuals to crime. Inability to secure lawful occupation forces many people to turn to crime as the only kind of 'employment' that is offered to them by unplanned capitalist societies. This is true even of many crimes not directly traceable to economic causes. Thus, "prostitution has been made criminal in Madras by the Immoral Traffic Act of 1930. The great majority practise prostitution for a livelihood and deal legitimately with their clients . . . Indirectly it is due to economic causes." There is increasing recognition, in fact, that it is the environment that conditions criminal behaviour and, as a corollary, that crime can be lessened to a significant extent only through effecting the requisite changes in the environment, including the economic organisation of society.

The weight of evidence in favour of the environmentalists has naturally shaken the foundations of age-old conceptions regarding punishment. "The Mosaic idea of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth survives even to the present day in the capital punishments and to some extent in the standardised periods of detention which apply to numerous crimes." Freudian psychology, whose discoveries have established that a good deal of crime is due to some kind of mental defect hitherto undetected, has contributed to the present trend towards the subjective rather than the older objective view of crime. It is now re-

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cognised that the treatment must be for the individual, not for the crime.

Starting from the view that "law is secular or materialistic in the Marxian sense, and is the product of the material conditions prevailing at any (given) time," the author reaches the logical conclusion that "only a social system whose legislation can control environmental factors can utilise the benefits of a scientific system of penology. In this respect, forms of socialist organisation are in a much stronger position than 'free' economic systems of society which are socially and ethically, as well as economically, dominated by considerations of production for profit."

Both lawyers and the ordinary reader will get much to think about from this book which is refreshingly free from narrow legalism, though coming from a lawyer.

Three Stories. By Humayun Kabir (Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price, Re. 1-4).

There are really only two stories in this book, the first piece being more in the nature of a discussion of women's emancipation in Hindu, Muslim and Western society, the arguments being distributed between four men travelling in a train. At the end of the journey, Halim who has been expatiating on the inseparable connection between the purdah and women's virtue, nearly takes home (by mistake) the wife (who, like Halim's own wife, is in purdah) of a fellow Muslim traveller. When the proper exchange has been effected, Halim's wife drives home the obvious moral: "Haven't you always told me I must keep my eyes to the ground and never look up?" One feels that at least the discussion inside the railway compartment could have been less elementary. The author is also a trade union organiser, and the third story depicts the transformation of a cruel factory sardar into a worker on strike.

Perhaps the best thing in the collection is 'Marzeena,' the longest of the three stories, in which Mr. Kabir succeeds in creating a convincing and tender atmosphere. The happy innocence of Marzeena's childhood under the affectionate care of her enlightened father, the sudden loss of that father which compels her to find her own spiritual bearings, her experience of the first revelation of the richness of love—the way these are described is entirely gracious. Yet, at the end, the author leaves us disappointed. Deeply in love with each other, Marzeena and Mahub get married. The last two

paragraphs of the story make a laconic announcement: "And yet Marzeena was to-day leaving her husband for good... Together they had built up their home. To-day that home was shattered." When, why and how? We are kept guessing.

Freedom Come. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. (Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1353, Bombay. Price, As. 12).

Written on the occasion of India's attainment of independence, this is at once a tribute to those who have fought for freedom and a vigorous exhortation to the people on what they should do with this newly gained freedom. The lines include such fine things as:

"The whole of the sky to-day is seeking

Audience with our banner

Which is the tongue of a prophet speaking

In a very simple manner...."

But the reader must also be prepared for such lines as these:

"Salute the memory of our marvellous martyrs:

Young Khudiram, Dhingra and

Jyotin Das,

The country's burning idol, Bhagat Singh,

Creators of new conditions and new charters."

It is difficult to like such lines even for the sake of the 'marvellous martyrs.'

Sports And Pastime. Edited by K. Srinivasan and published by "The Hindu", Mount Road, Madras. Price As. 4.

This weekly does not, of course, confine itself to cricket. But, naturally, it gives pride of place to that pre-eminent game. Col. C. K. Nayudu is engaged on a noble theme, when he discourses on "Ranji", an article bound to be of great value to historians of the game. Mr. S. P. Foenander, the well-known Ceylonese writer, will puzzle many by his allusion to "our" opponents, when he is considering the possibilities of the coming Indian tour in Australia. But no one need quarrel with him that he should be catholic-minded. His essay, with all the weight of his experience behind it, repays close study.

Followers of "Pastime" will receive ample entertainment and instruction in the pages devoted to films, which are written with charm and integrity.

There can be little doubt that "Sport and Pastime" will please many by its good taste, attractiveness, and catholicity of view.

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.

Painted Grapes

India's independence should not be like painted grapes which are only seen, not tasted. The Indian masses should be made to enjoy the true relish of independence. Can the poverty-stricken Indian masses appreciate independence if it does not provide the vital necessities—food, housing and clothing? Workers want shorter hours, free medical aid, better housing and facilities for the education of their children. The day on which these facilities are extended to the masses would be the real day of rejoicing for them.

P. VEERA RAGHA VA RAO.

Congress Rule On Trial

There has been a deterioration in the economic condition of the people during the short period of Congress rule. Except for the appointment of a few 'ad hoc' committees to conduct investigations, nothing has been done to step up production in any direction to relieve scarcity. Necessities like food and clothing have been reduced to a ridiculous extent. The rise in prices this year has been greater even than in any of the recent years. Besides, in order to preserve a favourable balance of trade, a drastic reduction has been imposed on the imports of consumer goods. All these have aided in spreading dissatisfaction among the masses towards Congress rule. It is at this juncture that independence was announced to the common man.

If the dissatisfied masses are forced to take the law into their own hands to satisfy the basic necessities of existence, the consequences will naturally be grave. It is essential to stop the growing discontent among the masses and make them feel that the declaration of independence involves a real change touching every individual.

Congress can no longer retain a 'national' character, trying to satisfy every element. It has to reduce itself to a closely knit, homogeneous political body with a specified policy. An important problem is the elimination of capitalistic domination. Dr. John Mathai unequivocally stated that the presence of vested interests, is no new phenomenon but is common in every country's struggle for freedom. They should be fought out with stern determination. It is the duty of the leaders of the Congress to shape their

organisation into an able political party for improving the living conditions of the masses. People to-day are fully conscious of their power, and with their co-operation it is possible to tide over the present economic sagging and ultimately attain the cherished ambition of the greatest man of our time to "wipe every tear from every eye."

D. R. L.

Future Of Producer-Cum-Consumer Societies

The fate of the producer-cum-consumer societies is not yet decided. The Government have appointed a committee which simply issued a questionnaire to the presidents to give out their opinions regarding the reorganization of the societies on a permanent basis. Only 73 societies sent their replies. The members of the committee have not yet toured the four districts to elicit the opinion of the public and the directors in person. Except in East Godavari district where the societies are at least given the wholesaler's licence for rice and sugar distribution, the societies have no work at all. They are being starved. Meanwhile orders are being passed giving full control to the directors and presidents. The Government should be aware that most of the secretaries are men of high academic qualifications and they accepted their jobs in the hope that there will be central control and supervision by Government for the first two years at least. I hope the committee will bear this aspect of things in mind. In these days of Socialism, let the committee take the opportunity of encouraging these co-operative societies by entrusting them with procurement work, for Co-operation is nothing but a half-way house between Capitalism and Socialism.

N. K. MURALIDHARA RAO.

Razole.

Two Hundred Thrown Out Of Jobs

The Madras Government by a stroke of the pen ordered the immediate abolition of secretaries' posts in producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies in Northern Circars. This is a blunder of the gravest magnitude. Some 200 young men of promise were thrown out of employment by the Government's action. Having appointed a committee



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and ordered an enquiry, it was elementary courtesy to wait for the findings of the committee. The haste exhibited in passing an outrageous order of this kind, amounts to flagrant violation of all canons of justice and fairplay. Probably the committee headed by Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar has not got guts enough to visit the societies with the secretaries in office, as they had resolved to boycott the committee.

A. VEERESWARA RAO.

Tanuku.

Village Food Committees

There may have been a few cases of inaction, faction or misuse of opportunities; but they should not make the Government abolish the village committees. By enlarging the functions and powers of the village committees, the scope for useful service could be easily widened.

R. GOVINDARAJA NAIDU, B.Sc.
Palakuruchi.

Grave Food Crisis

The gravity of the food situation calls for the immediate resignation of the present Ministry. Its incompetence to procure the necessary quantity of rice has been proved beyond doubt. Only an iron hand with capacity to squeeze rice from hoarders and blackmarketeers can save the province from starvation. Rice is now in the possession of blackmarketeers from whom the Ministry is unable to wrest it as it is itself maintained in position by the political support of blackmarketeers and allied interested commercial classes. Several villagers have been reporting to me that the recent ministerial tours are likely to worsen rather than improve the situation, as they seem to have strengthened procurement agents in their policy of sparing the rich and using force on poor people, taking away whatever little quantity of rice they had retained for family consumption.

Unless the present Ministers are forced to vacate office immediately the food crisis will engulf us all. Sri Prakasam is the only man who can save the province from starvation. Even his enemies have admitted that even if he did nothing else for the province, he saved it from the disaster of food shortage.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.
Rajahmundry.

Bury The Hatchet

The food position in the province is fast deteriorating. The black market is rampant everywhere, and for whatsoever reason, it is recognised as a

necessary evil. All talk about tackling it ruthlessly with an iron hand is proved to be moonshine. The "popular" Ministers now ruling us are like fish out of water.

If the tragedy of famine that befell Bengal is repeated here, somebody should be there to bear the blame. So the present Ministry and its sympathisers are not hesitating to thrust the blame on others for the failure of their procurement system. Procurement requires not threats and raids. The cold receptions which are the order of the day when our Ministers go on tour leave no scope for any hope that we shall emerge safely from the peril facing us. In all earnestness I say that the present situation requires the commanding presence of our great leader Prakasam. He should take the helm and steer the ship safely in this tempest. All right-thinking men whatever might be their differences with him, should bury the hatchet and cast themselves on his co-operation.

Y. S. SASTRI.

Restore Rice Ration Cut

The Food Minister is reported to have estimated the surplus stock of foodstuffs in two districts alone at 3 lakhs of tons. It is not clear whether this estimate is in terms of paddy or rice. Supposing it is only paddy and not rice, it represents more than a month's consumption for the entire province even at 12 ounces. It is the duty of the Government to procure this quantity by hook or by crook. No action can be considered too drastic when it relates to the resurrection of the hungry millions. The buffer stock on hand constitutes another month's feed. Leaving aside the surplus hoarded stock in other districts, it should be easy to increase the rice content of the ration to 12 ounces without any strain. It is to be hoped that the Government will lose no time in restoring the cut in the rice ration which is not only sapping the vitals of the masses but is also undermining the confidence of the people in the Government.

K. NARASIMHAM.

Tirupati.

Appeasement of Communalists

It is time that the Government of Madras faced realities and gave up appeasing communalists. It is shocking to learn that Rs. 34,000 a year is to be spent on running B.A. classes for 3 Muslim girls, two of whom might marry during the next two or three months. An Education Minister who can propose such an enormity and a

Finance Minister who can approve it are not competent to be municipal commissioners of even a third class municipality, to say nothing of being members of a Government. If this concession to communalism be done owing to a sense of chivalry, it is misplaced. Even on the low plane of prosaic arithmetic, the Governmental extravagance in throwing away on three girls what could benefit 170 is understandable. No Muslim majority province in India has ever run a Government Hindu College, a Government Christian College or a Government Harijan College.

"FAIRPLAY."

Caste Distinctions

The bill proposed by Mr. T. Viswanatham to remove official recognition of caste distinctions among Hindus will serve no real purpose. It will do positive and permanent harm to all the backward communities. If Mr. Viswanatham and other social reformers are keen about wiping off the accursed caste system, I would suggest to them not to waste their precious time and brains over enactments which will merely adorn the statute-book; but to launch a social crusade against the system with the same vigour and sincerity as the Congress Party displayed before it was contaminated by power-politics. They should make Hindu society, if not the whole Indian society, casteless and classless inside a decade. If they themselves start intermarrying their children into the existing other castes, the smaller dignitaries would soon emulate them. I am afraid it smacks of insincerity to force upon the public official enactments like temple-entry of the Harijans and castelessness when no real attempt is made to uplift the less fortunate castes.

C. RAMACHANDRA RAO.
Peddapuram.

A Challenge To The Indian Union

The declaration of independence by the Nizam of Hyderabad is not an event affecting the people of that particular State alone. It is a matter of serious consequence to the citizens of the Indian Union also.

Hyderabad is geographically an integral part of the Indian Union, forming as it were, an island in the territories of the Union. Yet the Nizam has refused to accede to the Union even for such carefully defined and cautiously delimited purposes as Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Not merely that, he has made no secret of his intention that, as an

independent monarch, he would enter into treaties and alliances with States other than the Indian Union. This means that there is the possibility of any foreign Power (Western or Eastern, Christian or Muslim) entering into political and military alliance with Hyderabad and trying to undermine the integrity and independence of the Indian Union from within. The independence of Hyderabad, then, is a challenge to the safety and security of India. Are we to surrender our newly-won freedom by submitting to the recalcitrance of a Prince who is not supported by his own people?

O. SATYANARAYANA MURTY, M.A.
Bhimavaram.

Unity Among Students

Students all over India feel the necessity for one united students' organisation to carry on the fight for complete and unfettered freedom, the fight against communalism and all other legacies of imperialism and the fight for a better democratic education. The unification of the various organisations must be founded on a solid basis of unity among the ranks of students. Such unity can only come through joint action, which will eliminate our prejudices and adjust our differences.

I appeal to all students of Tamil Nad to come together for joint campaigns—on a provincial scale—on issues like States' people's and French Indian people's struggles, aid to Indonesia and Viet-Nam, support to teachers' fight for a higher pay, fight against increase of school fees, etc. I also appeal to the various students' organisations to set up joint committees for these campaigns. This is the way for unity among students and for co-operation and co-ordination among the organisations.

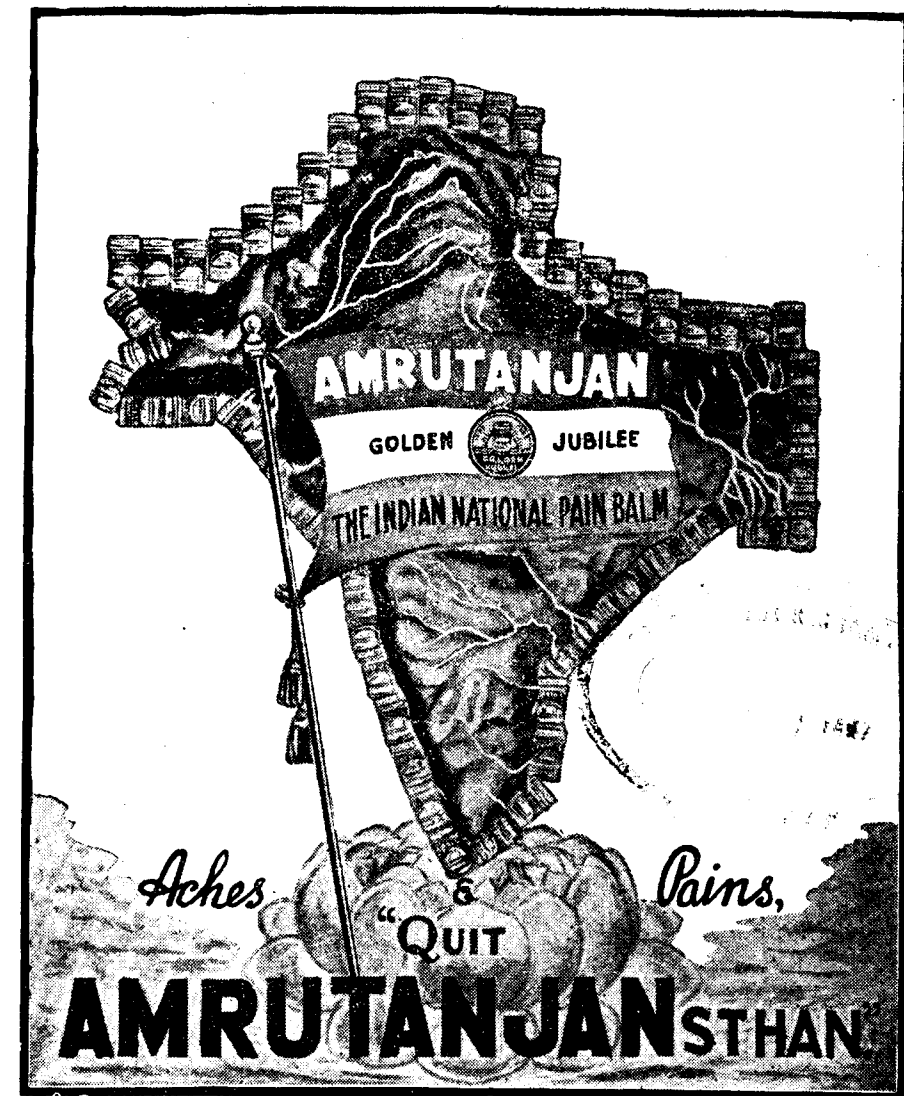
S. DAMODARAN,
Secretary,
Tamilnad Students' Federation.

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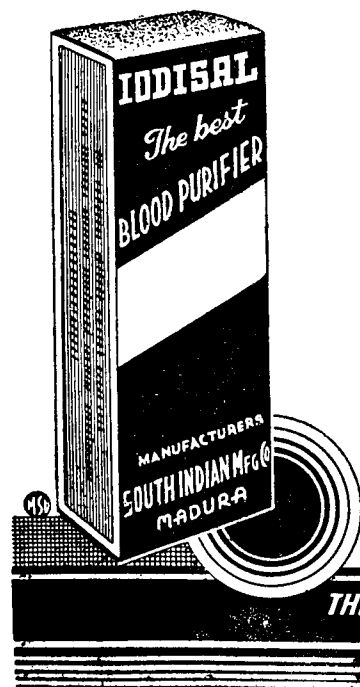
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947.

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POISE

—by H. V. Ram Gopal.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947.

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EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

THE hopes of the peace that was optimistically expected to descend upon the divided parts of this distracted country, once the longed-for division was effected, are being belied by the course of events. On the other hand, the disasters forecast by pessimists are overtaking us with a desolating obviousness which has left most of us shamefaced and silent.

The first of the fruits of partition was ripened in anticipation of it with the Direct Action Day which Calcutta witnessed a year ago. But from that blood-bathed city, a line of fire has been making a zig-zag tour of the entire country which is still being drawn with the help of a wanton aggression and calculated retaliation that have made us the objects of the scornful pity of the world at large. It is useless to apportion the blame for this lamentable chapter which is being written by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh alike in competitive rage. The whole of the Punjab has become a vast Jallianwalla Bagh with each community being both the aggressor and the victim by turns. It is not the major division of India that is the immediate cause of this furious outpouring of communal lava, but the secondary division of the Punjab and Bengal. The Mahatma has achieved one more of his miracles by bringing real peace to Calcutta. But while we concede the reality of it, we have our own doubts as to its permanence. For let it be frankly acknowledged that its coer-

cive character has explosive possibilities, since it has immobilised the Hindu where he is strongest without adding an iota of extra strength to him where he is already debilitated. To make his work complete and more enduring, he has to repeat the trick in Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore and Pindi persuade the Hindu and Sikh to stay put where they are, and with them face, if necessary, immolation through non-violence.

But the humdrum task of day-to-day government cannot depend upon the performance of miracles. What are the resources (excluding the Mahatma) which the Indian Cabinet has at its command to stem the tide of a reversion to the law of the jungle undreamt of by the worst enemies of our country in the past? It is not enough to say that violence will be put down with vigour and rigour. It almost sounds as rant when it is accompanied not by determined action but by decisions which clearly betray a truckling to violence. We refer specifically to the news-item which has stated that both the Indian and Pakistan Governments would assist in the exchange of about ten millions of the population of the Punjab. We confess that this announcement has shaken our confidence in the statesmanship and strength of our Government. To move ten millions of people across hundreds of miles and uproot them from their century-old homes in the hope of rehabilitating them elsewhere could not have been

undertaken even by that freak of statesmanship—Muhammad Tughlak. How long it will take, what will be the consolidated bill and whether it will succeed at all are not even hinted at.

However, since the decision has been taken, would it not have been sensible as well as humane to utilise the present opportunity to straighten other pockets which may well give us trouble in the coming days? To be precise, why should not the readjustment of populations in East and West Punjab be seconded by the assisted exodus of the minorities from Delhi and Calcutta? If we have to write off Quetta, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Lahore from our reckoning, let the League Laodiceans be warned to write off Delhi and Calcutta from theirs! We wonder if such a proposition had been put to the Pakistan Government. If not, why not? If they agree, well and good; but if they do not, then we will know how much of the exodus that is now being sponsored at high Government levels could have been obviated by firm action on the part of the Governments concerned.

Notwithstanding professions to the contrary, we hold the view that such far-flung and wide-spread synchronisation of scuttling by the communities could not have been completely spontaneous; that they are being maintained at fever heat also points to the same conclusion. But if the people themselves have definitely lost their heads, the Government of either dominion can hardly do anything else but behold the holocaust with pretended horror but impotent and secret sympathy. It is an argument in favour of cleaning out other pockets that are quiescent for the time being but which are potential danger-spots and may erupt any moment! If Nehru and/or Patel have not mooted this point so far, it is high time they did so at once.

Another consequence flowing from the recognition of this principle of exchanging populations would be the expatriation of the Muslim minority from Hyderabad to its spiritual home nearer Karachi than Kurnool. Sind has been offering asylum to Bihar Muslims who do not seem to be in such a hurry to avail of the hospitality. The land of Pak is extensive enough to absorb the Hyderabad Ittehad Muslimeen. Curiously enough, there is another Hyderabad in Sind already ready to welcome them in prophetic anticipation of their present needs!

Incidentally, it will mean the emancipation of the Carnatic as a whole from the mortmain hold of an incubus which has been sucking its life-blood during the last five centuries.

These are the inevitable consequences of conceding the principle of exchanging populations. If our leaders do not press for the implementation of these leading propositions, they will be only laying up future trouble for their successors.

A Strategic Plan For India

THE partition has created a state of grand emergency which we must cope with by devising a strategic plan for the Union embodying the following principles.

We must take a swift and supreme decision to scrap Delhi as the capital of the Union, and to shift it to a more invulnerable and central situation. Wardha is the geographical navel of India, and there will be an exquisite appropriateness in building up our new capital round the country rendered classic and holy by the ministration of our Mahatma. Wardha is in the heart of the land of the Maharashtrians who kept the flame from being quenched in the darkness of the Mughal era. The country round Wardha is equable enough for the

establishment of our administrative offices, our Assemblies, our supreme judicature and foreign embassies. From it as the centre of a defence system, we can reach any part of India with a fast plane in less than three hours. We can rear a subterranean city there in the true heart of India which we can illumine with the light of the sun, refrigerate to the temperature of a hill station and render salubrious with the air of pine forests, all scientifically provided.

Let the province of Delhi be incorporated in that of East Punjab, and made a cantonment for garrisoning the troops of the Indian Union. If the Sikhs become owners of it, it will give them not only a sentimental satisfaction, but by enabling them to forget the loss of Lahore make them function with a new zeal as the sword-arm of India. After all, let us remember that there was no sense in the provincial boundary lines as drawn by the improvising British power which was never sure as to how long it was going to stay in the country. We can now see that they were guilty of vivisection on a colossal scale.

Our trade and commerce can still flow in and out of the ports of Bombay and Calcutta; and with the chances of our main markets being increasingly in the East, we need not fear the coming up of Karachi. There is scope enough for both to live and let live.

With the development of our inland waterways, as visualised by the late Srinivasa Aiyangar, and the linking of the Ganges through Godavari and Krishna and Pennar to Cauvery, we may have a continuous water-transport system from Haridwar to Tinnevely. Our ports will be scouting out-posts, and with shore defences, we can obviate the need for a navy which, to be commensurate to the needs of our enormous coast-line will surely beggar us. An air force reinforced by a

submarine flotilla will give us all the security which we need under normal conditions.

The controlling objective must be that the Indian Union should nowhere be too obtrusively evident, but must also be unambiguously effective everywhere.

These are but rough outlines; details and even the contour are to be filled in by concerned departments. But who is at work evolving the master-plan, and have we a plan at all yet?

Procurement Stage Shows

SRI Omandur's threat of police action against defaulting "producers" has angered the Andhras as it was bound to do, since he so worded the threat as to give the impression that the primary defaulters were the Andhras. Since then he has with specious explanations resiled from his original offensive position. We welcome this concession to discretion on his part in the hope that it will mean a departure from his six months' career of misplaced self-righteous and self-laudatory valour. Wise procurement does not admit of territorial partialities, nor of reckless assumptions of regional guilt based on prejudice and emotion. It calls for a proper demarcation of the actual class to be treated as anti-social and dealt with severely with the aid of the State's executive powers, from others entitled to sympathy. Producers as such cannot be assumed as having committed an offence. In an article published in *Swatantra* last week, Mr. K. R. Karanth gave a disheartening account of the pitiable inefficiency of Government's procurement operations in his own district of South Kanara as witnessed by him at first hand. It would appear that in the name of procurement, poor cultivators have been deprived of stocks of paddy badly needed by them for their own use and for seedlings, and

compelled to walk long distances to purchase rice at higher prices and at times even to starve for failure to secure rations in time. Real surplus is left in the hands of the bigger landlords and of rich professional middlemen. But these constitute the political mainstay of the Ministers and are protected from prosecution and penal action by local officials. All the ministerial zest over procurement is a wordy affair, and when it gets down to action, it is expended over small producers, while the real culprits are either ignored, or if apprehended, rescued by the exercise of illicit influence by the high and mighty in possession of political power.

Concern for the richer classes at the expense of the poor has reduced procurement to a wretched farce, and is responsible for its widespread failure. The bonus plan of the Government is a psychological monstrosity. It cannot benefit the poorer classes who have little surplus to make a profit out of. To those who are already rich enough, it offers a further bribe for doing their duty. We are not impressed by proud ministerial declarations of having secured so many thousands of tons as a result of their individual exertions. Where did the thousands of tons come from except from surpluses that should long ago have been surrendered to procurement officers? If, instead of claiming them as feathers to adorn their caps with, the Ministers had dealt with the deliverers as proved hoarders, the procurement problem would have been reduced to some sort of orderliness and proportion. The very threat of the Premier to use force after twenty days is an outpouring of laughable comicality. Far less than twenty days is more than sufficient for the threatened possessors of foodgrains to bury them in hiding places beyond the reach of the scheduled inquisitors.

At the core of the food problem there lies a Ministry with no prestige, that does not know how to govern, that has no pull with public opinion, that has failed signally in promoting an honest and efficient administrative machinery, and that is far more concerned in prolonging its own miserable existence than in justifying its tenure with any rational plan for all-round benefit to people. The shows it is staging will not fill the stomachs of the starving. This is a task calling for a greater measure of ability, public service and popular support that all the Ministers put together are capable of mustering.

Sub-Communalism In Hindu Fold

THE Communal Unity League set up in Madras is no doubt actuated by a laudable objective, but we feel that its efforts are apt to fall wide of the mark unless a drive without quarter against communalism as such in any form gets into full swing from the top in the Congress organisation. In the wake of the communal teaching of the Muslim League, hatred of Hindus was inculcated as righteous political sentiment, and gangsters formed organised units for largescale systematic looting and killing. Instead of being condemned and suppressed they were acclaimed as heroes. The society that tolerated them has paid an appalling penalty for it in the form of the holocaust that has overtaken them, no less than their destined victims, in the Punjab. Now in South India, all the ferocity of the hatred cult of League communalism would seem to have got into the souls of the Congressmen in power who have abandoned the constructive message of the Congress in favour of an anti-Brahmin campaign positively putting the Justices of old to shame. The animosity exhibited by the Omandur Ministry to Brahmins as a class is

the topic of talk everywhere. The actions and exploits involved may be delicious to those who may temporarily stand to profit or imagine themselves as prospective beneficiaries. This was just the snare into which the League communalists fell. But just like League communalism, every other sort of imitating communalism will lead to brutality, gangsterdom, bloodshed and civil war. Just as freedom in the present is being imperilled by Hindu-Muslim butchery, the future of democracy in India is being imperilled by the potential savageries of the incipient communalisms raising their heads in the Hindu fold under the very canopy of the Congress. It is for the superior sort of Congress leaders to take timely action before the vicious poison of sub-communalism spreads among non-Muslims. There can be no peace or freedom in India so long as in the name of Government the wielders of political power abuse it to personal or sectional ends, waging tyrannical vendettas against this or that class and disrupting the integrity of common citizenship with discriminatory devices to the advantage of some and the hurt of others. Ignorance and backwardness constitute not a communal but a human problem. The State's measures to remove them should not be limited by communal boundaries. They must break through all boundaries and deal with them wherever they exist. We are afraid that the pampering of communalism as evidenced by the enthrone-

ment of a well-known Justice in the Central Government and the tolerance in provincial administration of Congressmen in name actually steeped through and through with the Justice spirit of rabid communalism, will cost the Congress and country no less in blood and tears in the coming days than the appeasement of the League has already done in the Punjab and Bengal. National welfare depends on the development of the State as a non-communal institution and the development of the State as a non-communal institution is impossible unless there is a drastic purge of communalists, however high-placed and seemingly important, from the Congress organisation.

Pockets Of Autocracy

SCARCELY a day passes without people being shot in Hyderabad and Mysore. Their offence is that they aspire for just the sort of responsible government that is being established in India in the wake of the victorious Congress struggle for freedom. The pockets of autocracy in the States are a menace to the freedom that the Congress has won. If for no other reason, it behoves the Government of India to lend all the support they can without further squeamishness to the progressive forces fighting for liberty in the States. Immediate help to the State people now will save a lot of suffering hereafter. Neutrality will only mean appeasement of reaction.

He was considered to be the village idiot. The people liked particularly to place a dime and a nickel on the palm of their hands and invite him to take his pick of the two. In each case he would pick the nickel, and the person, or persons present would laugh and guffaw, making merry at his expense. A kind-hearted man asked him one day:

"Don't you know the difference between a dime and a nickel? Don't you know that the dime is worth twice as much as the nickel?"

"Sure I know it," was the sly answer. "And I know they wouldn't try me on it any more if I took the dime."—READER'S SCOPE.

Sotto Voce

Ananda Coomaraswamy



NEARLY forty years ago, reading a thin paper-covered volume of essays published by a Madras firm I came upon a description of a Bharata Natyam recital which excited me tremendously. The anti-nautch crusade was then at its peak; the Philistine was abroad and the Pharisee paid him vociferous court. But here was a new voice speaking with calm authority and discovering in the graceful involutions of the dance the rhythm that sustains the cosmos. That little slip of a girl wholly absorbed in her task was, to an interpreter of genius, an authentic reminder of a tradition which, at its moment of transcendent vision, had given us Siva Nataraja.

Ananda Coomaraswamy is dead. And in the land of his birth, that land which he loved so well and expounded with such patient regard to a heedless world, he is little more than a name. Hardly a decade out of the three score and ten allotted to him were actually spent in India or in his own Ceylon. It was in far-away America that he found honour and recognition and the commerce of kindred souls. He had planned to spend the evening of his days as a *Vanaprastha* in the Himalaya. One hopes that that choice spirit found a fitting welcome in the shining company of the Vidyadharas.

Coomaraswamy must have seemed alarmingly old-fashioned in many ways to our cognoscenti (of whom he had no flattering opinion). He had no use for head-counting democracy; he believed in govern-

ment by a spiritual elite. Of the Brahmanical caste system he dared to maintain that it "is the nearest approach that has yet been made towards a society where there shall be no attempt to realise a competitive equality, but where all interests are regarded as identical." Our Russophiles will be particularly galled by his addendum, "To those who admit the variety of age in human souls, this must appear to be the only true communism."

His views on the future of Indian women were equally uncompromising. Writing thirty years ago, he told the Western world, "It would be worth while to pause before we make haste to emancipate, that is to say, reform and industrialise the Oriental woman. For it is not for Asia alone that she preserves a great tradition, in an age that is otherwise preoccupied. If she too should be persuaded to expend her power upon externals, there might come a time on earth when it could not be believed that such women had ever lived, as the ancient poets describe; it would be forgotten that woman had ever been unselfish, sensuous and shy."

All this may look like pleading for a lost cause. But Coomaraswamy, a pioneer in National Education as in so many other creative activities, did not labour wholly in vain. Thanks to him and others like him there is to-day a minority that cares passionately for our great heritage and is eager to make it a live influence again. He lamented, "A single generation of English education suffices to break the

threads of tradition and to create a non-descript and superficial being deprived of all roots—a sort of intellectual pariah who does not belong to the East or the West, the past or the future." Remember that the man who felt our cultural degradation so keenly was by blood only one half Indian.

He is among the great bridge-builders of our time. It may be that his heredity predisposed him to a lifelong devotion, to which he brought talents the most extraordinary and diverse. From mineralogy to mystical theology is a far cry, but he took it all in his stride. There are other polymaths in the world of scholars to-day; but none who have so conspicuously prized the development of personality over the mere acquisition of knowledge. There are other great classicists; but no other has striven to use language, as Panini and Patanjali did, to unlock the secrets of the Self. There are other able interpreters of the arts; but few remember so con-

sistently as he did that great art is inspired art.

From aesthetic through linguistic on to metaphysics was a majestic progress possible only to one who was firmly attached to the *adhyatmic* view of "the unity of all life—one source, one essence and one goal." He was perhaps too much a child of his time wholly to free himself from the tyranny of the intellect. What he said of Abanindranath Tagore and his school, he may have subconsciously felt was true of himself: "It has proved impossible for those who have not seen the ancient gods to represent them; and the powers to be are not yet seen or heard, only the movement of their dance is faintly felt." Nevertheless he looked forward with confidence to the day when the world should find peace and spiritual self-renewal in the Perennial Philosophy. He is the prophet of the reintegration of humanity, the herald of a new Renaissance.

VIGNESWARA

UNIFICATION OF KERALA

by S. SRINIVASA IYER

The question of creating a United Kerala Province comprising Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar has been exercising the minds of the Malayalam-speaking people ever since H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin sounded the call for unity and recalled the glory of Kerala under the ancient Perumals.

Travancore and Cochin are monarchies while Malabar district is a part of the democratic republic of the Indian Union after 15th August. Of these three portions of Kerala, Cochin is the smallest and Travancore the largest. It is inconceivable how Kerala can become united without either abolishing the monarchies of Cochin and Travancore or bringing all the three portions of Kerala under the rule of a single Maharaja. As the Maharaja of Cochin is the standard-bearer of Kerala unity, we may reasonably expect that saintly ruler to make all sacrifices for achieving the ideal and His Highness of Cochin may even agree to the abolition of the Cochin Monarchy for the

purpose. But the Travancore Maharaja may not agree to commit political suicide. What then?

Monarchies are the only form of government that we knew of in ancient India. Democracies that have recently come to the fore are fast disappearing and are struggling with Communism for power. Modern thinkers are of the view that democracies seldom promote the real happiness of the people. As stated by Bernard Shaw the election of anybody by everybody "will operate as a guarantee of mediocrity and reaction, interrupted only by paroxysms of Hitlerism". In the circumstances, will it not be wise to retain the monarchical form of government with its traditions and stability and power for good? If a British empire could be founded and retained under the rule of a monarchy, Kerala can be united and made powerful and happy under the Maharaja of Travancore. Democracy means not the rule of a C.R. or a Prakasam but wire-pulling and domination by a Kamaraj Nadar.

SIDELIGHTS : :

Ignorance is not so damnable as humbug, but when it prescribes pills it may happen to do more harm.—
GEORGE ELIOT.

WHEN Dr. T. S. S. Rajan moved in the Assembly on Monday that the food situation be taken into consideration, Mr. B. S. Murthi said "I request that the Prime Minister be present." The Speaker said "The leader of the House (Dr. Subbaroyan) is here." Mr. Murthi repeated "I want the Prime Minister to be here." Dr. Subbaroyan said that the Minister in charge of Food would be able to cope with the situation.

Nobody ever said or could have thought that in situations which the Food Minister could not cope with, the Prime Minister is the one to be looked up to. Was it because the Constituent Assembly could not cope with its work that a regular contingent of Madras Ministers rushed to Delhi abandoning the province to its fate in the midst of a daily worsening famine crisis? No other province has contributed so many Ministers to the benches of the Constituent Assembly as ours, and no provincial Ministry made such little mark there as the Omandurians did. The story is told of one of the members of the Assembly, of how when a committee discussion was going on as to whether the Centre or the Provinces should have the residuary powers, he coped with the situation by suggesting "But why not divide them on some equitable basis?" Guess who.

It is scarcely likely that any demand for the presence of a Prime Minister like Churchill would have emanated from any member of Parliament in the war period. It would have been assumed that he was unavoidably detained by urgent indispensable work elsewhere, and due respect would have been paid to the multifariousness of function of a strenuous office making simultaneous demands on the holder's

time and energy. At less momentous times Parliament did insist on the presence of absentee Ministers. And speakers have been known to uphold the view that it was the right of legislators to be listened to directly instead of by proxy by the Ministers and it was the duty of the Ministers to give personal attention to the criticisms made on the floor of the House about the administration of their respective departments.

The Russian delegate at the UNO is reported never to have been absent from any of its sessions even for a single minute. Sri Prakasam while Premier set up a very high standard in the matter of attendance in the legislature. He attended each day of each session punctual to the minute and stayed to the end of business every day, allowing himself no respite whatsoever. Only on very rare occasions was C. R. in his premiership absent from the legislature. Legislators including Ministers are paid for with public funds to attend sessions of the legislature and bestow their judgments on the topics coming up there, and evasion of attendance is a lapse from the strict code of rectitude. It is like being paid for a work and shirking it.

When Dr. Subbaroyan said that the Food Minister "could cope with the situation even in the absence of the Prime Minister," the implication conveyed is, apparently, that the Prime Minister is a tremendous parliamentary force held in reserve, to be called in only when other ministerial resources are taxed to the utmost and found inadequate to meet the situation. Why should anybody insult public intelligence by indulging in fictitious make-believes of this sort that can deceive nobody? The plain truth of the matter is that in the Prime Minister we have one whom it is hopeless to bolster up as an able parliamentarian.—SAKA.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

by S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM

(This article in commemoration of the 70th birthday of Ananda Coomaraswamy was received before the news of his death was announced.)

MONUMENTAL is the term that best fits the character of Ananda Coomaraswamy's genius. The writings of this great Indian thinker on art, philosophy and religion are well-known in India, Ceylon, China, Japan, Europe and America. He is a writer of undoubted spiritual genius, who has wrestled with every problem of Indian art, has interpreted to the world the message of the East—"that which is the Truth is also the Beautiful" (Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram).

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy was a geologist before he interested himself in art and philosophy. His father was the famous scholar and politician of Ceylon, Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy, and his mother was English. Born in Ceylon on August 22nd 1877, he was educated in England. After graduating in the London University (D. Sc. in Botany and Geology) he became Director of Mineralogical Survey, Ceylon (1903-1906). For the last thirty years he has been a member of the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. These are the main biographical details that one can gather about this great personality. For rightly did Robert Allerton Parker say in his introduction to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's most recent book *Am I my Brother's Keeper*: "Since Dr. Coomaraswamy depreciates personality and personalism, and condemns the contemporary mania for exhibitionary self-exploration, he is the most reticent of men in furnishing biographical details." Another writer says: "Never has he had time for, or interest in, presenting personal ideas or novel theories, so constantly and tirelessly has he devoted his energies to the rediscovery of the truth, and the restating of the

principles by which cultures rise and fall."

I once wrote to Dr. Coomaraswamy suggesting that he should write his Autobiography. Quickly came the reply from the savant. "I have enough work in view that I could complete in another lifetime." "The wisdom of India," he added, "should have taught you that portraiture of human beings is *asvargava*. All this is not a matter of modesty but one of principle."

Many secondary lights find it beneath their dignity to talk or write to people whose knowledge and intelligence they consider inferior to their own. With Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy it is different. Even a little boy of twelve from a far off land is assured of a reply to his letter. To any one who asks for his help or teaching he is of indescribable patience and courtesy. He has at once the dignity of a master and the humility of a disciple. He can enjoy a joke and see the funny side of things. In a letter to a little boy he details his busy life thus:

"But you have no idea how busy I am. I do not get time to attend to my own affairs, much less to answer all my letters. We get up at 6 and work at our typewriters till 4.30; then home, and work again from about 7.30 to 9.30 and even so things get done only very slowly! In the summer I have to work in the garden too, and you know, we don't have servants here to help, but do everything in the house ourselves. My advice to you is to know Tamil and Sanskrit, and read all you can."

The children in my school, who see his beautiful photograph bedecked with a garland of flowers in my study, have often wanted to know: Does he love children? How does he live? Does he sing? What does he eat? Does he display humour? What are the things he likes and hates? Is he a Yogi like Sri Aurobindo? Is he not a saint like Gandhiji? But all that I can

tell them is that he is a Hindu of Hindus, and that one can always see him with kumkum and sandal paste on his forehead like the Indian rishis of old. I read to them stories from his "Myths and Legends of the Hindus and Buddhists."

The tremendous upsurge of awakening in art and thought in India and Ceylon had its impetus from Ananda Coomaraswamy, one of the choice spirits that have made India capable of assuming the lead-

ership of Asia in cooperation with America and Europe for world progress. Along with Vivekananda, Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru and Radhakrishnan, he has presented India's contribution to the world and given India a unique place in the cultural hegemony of the world. Today, when we send him our felicitation on his 70th birthday, it must gladden his heart that the grand finale has been written to the beautiful allegory of "Mata Bharat" in his "Essays in National Idealism."

FOOD COMMITTEES: SHOULD THEY BE ENDED OR MENDED?

by K. M. SARMA

THE air is thick with rumours that the food committees will be scrapped and that the panchayats will be entrusted with their work.

It is said that the committees are dominated by exploiters who are using them for their own benefit. But this evil is the outcome of the selection of "representatives" by the Government. The tahsildars who were asked to select men to constitute the village committees, never actually visited any village for this purpose but merely "prepared" the lists of names that were submitted by the village officers through the revenue inspectors. This resulted in the selection, in most cases, of profiteers as well as close relatives of the village officers, though all the members were not of this kind.

Besides profiteers there are said to be ignorant and quarrelsome members. Here again the Government are at fault, because the members have been kept in utter darkness as to their functions and powers. The Government were issuing some G.Os. and instructions (which were often contradictory and confusing) to the officers, but these never trickled down to the village committees.

Another general allegation made by unsympathetic officialdom on

the one hand and ignorant critics on the other, is that the committee members distribute the controlled commodities as they please and are even resorting to black-marketing. The members of the committees can only prepare distribution lists. They neither get these commodities themselves nor distribute them. So, on the very face of it, the allegation that they are resorting to black-marketing is ridiculous. In rare cases they might have encouraged or connived at in such operations. The remedy lies in stricter control over the depots and resistance of such operations by the consumers.

Assuming that there is some maldistribution, should we remedy the defect or should we prefer the official agency to that of the people? We know as a matter of fact that the officials are often ignorant of local conditions and individual requirements. They are prone to cater to the needs of a few influential persons and ignore the dumb masses.

When sweeping criticisms are made against these committees, we should not forget that they are new-born and are apt to commit mistakes due to lack of experience. We had had bitter experiences of the behaviour of the local boards and provincial legislatures. On that

account we did not advocate the scrapping of these institutions but rather demanded conferment of real power which brings in its turn real responsibility. We can make a success of these food committees only if the Government and the Congress committees take more interest in them and improve their structure.

The evil system of "selection" by the tahsildar should be replaced by direct election to village committees as well as the taluk and district committees. Seats may be reserved for Harijans and Muslims where necessary. All the existing committees should be scrapped at once and elections held for the formation of new committees.

These committees should be re-elected every year and should continue as long as controls of essential commodities exist.

The electorate should have power to unseat any member three months after his election and to elect another in his place.

The official members on taluk and district committees should not take part in any voting. They should furnish information and advise the committees but not direct them. There should be a permanent non-official chairman elected for taluk and district committees.

A special officer should be appointed to supervise the village committees in each taluk. His business should be to visit periodically every committee and enlighten it on its functions and the directions of the Provincial Government, and the superior committees. He should try to remedy defects and mal-practices and should report to the taluk committee if the village committees persist in wrong behaviour. The taluk committees should have powers to dissolve any persistently erring village committee and to order fresh elections.

The taluk committee members should have powers to check the grain depots and cloth dealers' shops.

The Government should make it a rule that all orders pertaining to the committees should be furnished to them in regional languages.

If the Ministry and the Provincial Food Advisory Committee scrap the committees, they will be denying the people their inherent right to determine their own needs and fulfil them. The panchayat scheme is not yet ready. Nor should it be ushered in hastily. The scheme must be comprehensive and well thought-out if it is to introduce village autonomy. Such a change should not be effected without adequate preparation.

EASY MILLIONS

by R. SIVARAM

"WITH your boogie-woogie journalism, why don't you start a paper of your own?" asks an old boss of mine. A juicy idea and I wish I could hand him the Nobel Prize. But it is someone other than me who laddles them out and I am sorry to disappoint the guy.

Yes sir, there are easy millions in it more than in a coffee hotel in our Rationing Era and the running of a paper isn't so difficult either. It matters little whether you have a writer's itch or a barber's.

There is not much jam that can get filtered through your moustache in a monthly, and dailies give you headaches that would split you. But a weekly is a good proposition.

If you are not already in possession of the secret formula of running a weekly, here it is.

The first thing you have to do is to christen your paper. Since we achieved independence title-holders are as good as pen-holders and words like free, independent and that sort have lost their pep. When everybody's prayer is 12 oz. of ration I

think "Rotund India" should prove a good hit.

Then comes the Advertorial Department. Here you have to prove yourself a Napoleon. Like the editorial 'we' you have to fight single-handed. Don't get flabbergasted when the advertiser asks you what your circulation is. It has got nothing to do with your blood pressure. Nor the number of copies you sell. It is one of those I.Q. tests. Squeeze your conscience and shoot a big figure you can think of. 10,000 is too big a figure but 7,000 must do fine. But take care that you wear a thick eye glass lest he finds your eyes ping-ponging. You must always go hunting for advertisements in a vehicle. For if you go walking you will pant hard when the advertiser asks you questions and he might mistake your breathing and think it is the puffing of your bluff. Never mind what sort of a vehicle you have. A small second-hand car will do even if you have to push the thing while going uphill.

You have to be very careful with your advertorial policy. You must pinch an article on Vanaspathi and its harmful effect on the human system and splash it on your front page only when you have spent all your force and failed to induce one of the manufacturers to book your last cover. And you can publish the advertisements of those drugs that check breeding unwanted human species even though you know them to be harmful. Charity begins at home and if you want to serve the nation you have to begin with *atmapuja*. And the rest of the advertisement business I need not tell you, for you have enough brains and to spare.

Then you come to the articles. With a pair of scissors you can gather more articles than what the Madras Food Minister can reap with a sickle.

Pictures you must have, good and plenty. There are many 'sextras' whose photographs you can smear all over your magazine. If you find it difficult to collect photographs,

water-pictures from your school books will do but mind you don't stick them upside down.

Clothes make a woman and editorials a newspaper, they say. When it comes to the editorial the inexperienced tear their hair. But I tell you it is easy and you can get an editorial before a child can thrust its thumb into its mouth. We have plenty of political leaders and surplus too and they have to make statements and appeals. Plunge into a daily and you will find scores of them. Pick up one and begin 'Our great leader has issued a timely appeal' and then start quoting the leader in toto and then finish it with 'let us hope the appeal goes home.'

The printer does the rest and he will gladly shoulder the blame for your poor spelling if you give him his due.

Your paper is ready. You rush the copies in a wheelbarrow to the news-stands and you can see them smelling like hot dung-cakes in the streets.

Now you know how to run a weekly. Hurry up and you may be in time for a Deevai Special if not for the Dasara Number. You will strike against the first reef and if Dame Luck does not duck you, you will soon own a drain of newspapers. You become a Birla or a gorilla and no half-way Mister.

Here's one H₂O to your first issue —I mean journal.

And good luck to you!

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Short Story

A King's Justice

by S. Roberts

DURING the reign of the good king Akbar, the Portuguese sent theocratic missions into India at the request of the emperor and that noble ruler, with his insatiable voracity for knowledge, warmly welcomed the foreigners into the Mogul court, according them all the reverence that was due to knowledge and treating them with all the graciousness that was inherent in his nature and was to win him from a grudging posterity, the appellation of Akbar the Great. But Christianity as it was preached by the fervid zealots who mainly constituted the evangelical mission, and as it was practised by the majority of its adherents, with its narrowly-circumscribed boundaries and its religious exclusionism, had no appeal to a cultured mind that had drunk deep at the wells of learning; and the Portuguese who had come riding the crest of high hope and aspired to hold a kingdom in liege by the conversion to Christianity of its monarch, were grievously disappointed and the last of any lingering hopes that might have still survived in more optimistic bosoms was finally shattered when Akbar, rebounding from the pettiness of practised religions, gleaned grains of wisdom and truth from diverse faiths and propounded a new gospel which was a sort of eclectic pantheism into whose composition the principal elements of several creeds had gone.

But though the missionary aspirations of the Portuguese suffered a fatal repulse, the colonial ambitions that lay at the core of their religious affections, received encouragement in the form of trading privileges which the emperor granted them partly because he felt that an alliance with Portuguese would strengthen his hand in a kingdom that was becoming increasingly unwieldy and largely because he believed it would give a lift to commerce in the country.

Akbar's successor to the Mogul throne, Jehangir, who had inherited many of his father's traits, followed a policy that was not dissimilar. Portuguese traders received considerate treatment, worked insidiously into royal favour, induced the emperor to grant them further concessions and as their

power mounted, the Portuguese, probably intoxicated with dreams and blinded by dazzling visions, began to abuse their privileges. They became predatory, began a career of highway piracy and their crowning act of iniquity came in 1613 when, without a consideration for the kindnesses they had received, they rashly seized four imperial ships and looted the rich cargoes. It was an act of greed that brought upon their heads an emperor's virtuous wrath and the enraged king sent a punitive force which sacked Daman, completely routed the Portuguese there and culminated in the retraction of the trading privileges they had grossly outraged.

At Hughli, where there was a Portuguese settlement centering round a strong fort, their depredations assumed serious proportions and by the time Shah Jahan ascended the throne, the colony at Hughli had become a festering sore in the side of the country and outrageous crimes were committed with utter disregard for the responsibilities which the privileges given to them entailed in return. The Portuguese ravaged the surrounding country, plundered the wealth of its inhabitants and, to add spiritual insult to material injury, they kidnapped women and children, outraged virginal modesty, forcefully proselytised some and smuggled others abroad to meet the insistent demand for slave labour in European colonies.

Among their victims was a respectable girl of middle class descent, the betrothed of the son of a wellknown merchant. She was only an atom in the multitude of life and her lover, Anoop Singh, though no doubt the son of a leading merchant, was yet but a cog in the mighty wheel of commerce. A king's justice was not meant for such as they, for the rolling wheels of life grind over innumerable insignificant lives. An emperor's vision was of necessity far-sighted and in the range it had to cover, it often, not inexcusably, lost sight of many small things immediately near to the eye. Men who dreamt and thought in terms of empire and nations had little leisure to reflect on the importance of a single human

life, nor had time to weigh the gravity of a commoner's personal tragedy.

But Anoop's heart, struck grievously by the calamity that had overtaken him, racked by fears of the dishonour that might befall the one to whom he had plighted his troth, tortured by her ultimate fate at the hands of her heartless abductors, could not take so accommodating a view of his monarch's position. With the help of courtiers who had cause either to fear or hate the Portuguese, Anoop managed to win access into the king's presence and indignantly appealed to an emperor's mercy and justice.

Tall and distinguished, clad in royal raiments that enhanced the natural grace of his figure, Shah Jahan received his raging subject and not by the faintest corrugation of his heavy brow did he betray his impatience, if impatience he felt at all, at being so troubled by this rash and lovelorn young man who so undervalued the royal power that he sought a king's intervention in an affair of so little import as the abduction of a common girl for, forsooth, there was no dearth of them in the country. Inscrutably he listened to the foolish tirade, impassively he stood in his royal dignity while Anoop emptied vials of indignation over that majestically-poised head. And then Shah Jahan observed:

"My gallant sir, my heart bleeds with those grief at thy desolation. Indeed have those alien dogs in this instance out-stopped the bounds of common decency. And if rumour does not lie, contrary to practice, then thou art not alone in thy grief though that is scant consolation to offer a desolate heart. The same indignation that sways thee also rends my heart. Yet am I a king and the emperor of all these lands. My head is weighed by the crown that I wear. It's the crown of duty, though pretty to the eye, the duty of doing the greatest good to the greatest number. Individual crimes, however regrettable, must not make me lose my sense of proportion and precipitate a mass tragedy that would be infinitely more grave. What would thou have me do that would be not inconsistent with my duty as a ruler."

"Sound the bugle and march against these obnoxious bandits, expel these piratical hordes from our country since they so abuse the hospitality shown to them, so that thy loyal subjects may live in that peace and happiness which thou owest them."

Shah Jahan was not averse to the implied flattery but he made a clucking, admonitory sound and raised a long, artistic hand to stem the impassioned flow of words.

"Thou wouldst have me declare war, then, be the instrument of death to a thousand soldiers that the abduction of one girl may be avenged? Thou wouldst have me destroy the commercial intercourse between my people and the Portuguese and shatter the one power that now acts as a counterpoise to the English traders? Surely it's the heart of a stricken lover that advocate this course, not the mind of a sober man."

"It's the voice of outraged justice calling to your majesty," boldly spoke the merchant. "Only by taking royal cognizance of Portuguese infamy can their predatory incursions into our country be stopped. To protect the women and children of the country, by war if it be necessary, without letting false humanitarianism lead one to toleration of dishonour, is the sacred duty of a ruler."

A vein stood out on the emperor's forehead and throbbed agitatedly. It was the only evidence that the other's blunt speaking had aroused royal resentment. But courage was a quality which inspired nothing but admiration even when he found it in an adversary. Moreover, Shah Jahan knew the intoxicating sweetness of love, it occurred to him how he would feel if a similar outrage had been perpetrated on the person of Mumtaz, and he curbed his anger.

"By the sacred beard of Allah!" he exclaimed facetiously with just the faintest tinge of annoyance. "It's young blood that has gone to thy head. War is not so thoughtlessly to be embarked upon. A few stray acts of lawlessness do not warrant a military aggression."

Heavy of heart, torn between impotent grief and anger, with utter desolation racking his heart, resentful and furious at the monarch's summary dismissal of his complaint, Anoop backed out of the royal presence and repaired to a tavern to drown his emotions. He did not feel like submitting to what seemed inevitable. With bitter reflections he was oppressed. For a moment it occurred to him to raise a small band of sturdy men—no doubt this could easily be done in a country the Portuguese so often ravaged—and to lead them across to Portuguese settlements to force down the gullets of those alien

robbers a draught of their own medicine. Revenge would be balm to a festering heart.

But Anoop was too practical to seriously dally with the idea. Firstly, he was no soldier and deeds of valour were easier to dream of than to implement and, secondly, what would be the effect of this retaliatory lawlessness but to furnish the Portuguese with an excuse for their piracy and to aggravate the character of their depredations? Only the expulsion of the entire colony of Portuguese at Hughli could encompass the purpose in his mind and only the imperial army could achieve this. But Shah Jahan had chosen to ignore these incidents, though himself had led his armies to war in the past on less adequate warrants. How to provoke the emperor into the offensive against those pestilential foreigners was a problem, for the crafty Portuguese, aware that a King's fury was not easily to be countered, stopped short of acts that would unleash imperial wrath. Shah Jahan, as his pretentious name indicated, was, after the pattern of all monarchs, an intensely egoistic man and any injury to his pride would arouse him to militant vengeance. So Anoop cudgelled his brains. . . .

Almeido de Valquez had received the holy orders earlier in life but the militancy of his nature had found more satisfying expression on the battlefields rather than in the pulpit. A religious fanatic, he found that the sword and physical compulsion were more potent instruments of proselytisation than theological arguments and peaceful sermons. As his predecessors had dreamt of holding an empire in moral fealty by the conversion of Akbar, so Almeida de Valquez now, in his heart of hearts, cherished visions of subjugating a heathen people and bringing to them by force of arms, the enlightenment of the gospel, to the greater glory of Christ and his chosen race, the Portuguese.

In those barbaric encroachments upon the surrounding land, resulting in murder, plunder and arson and in the abduction of defenceless women and children, Almeida de Valquez had taken no little part. His heart resounded with missionary enthusiasm at the prospect of winning fresh converts to the settlement of New Christians that he had founded in the corner of Portuguese colony. Equal rights for the coloured Christians did not however enter into his conception of the natural order of things, for a creed of racial

superiority shared his mind with the gospel of Christ. These infidel barbarians, purified though they may be of their sins by the holy waters of baptism, were obviously intended to live a life of service and servitude to the blue blood of Portugal.

Into the presence of this redoubtable soldier-cum-priest, Anoop was shown one evening. Anoop did profound obeisance to the Portuguese captain and it did not occur to that puffed-up alien who suffered from an overweening sense of his own personal importance, that there might be a suggestion of mockery in the other's extravagant gesture. The visitor's civilian clothes and his obsequious manner evoked the deepest contempt in the heart of the warrior-priest. Yet he did not evince his scorn except by a certain subconscious superciliousness of manner, for he knew not what profitable enterprise the merchant may be the harbinger of.

"High and Mighty Excellency," thus grandiloquently did Anoop address the Portuguese leader. "I am overwhelmed by the honour of being allowed to pay my respects to thee."

A wearying exchange of banalities followed and though Almeida de Valquez found the conversational fripperies most cumbersome, he did not evince his impatience to be done with all this purposeless circumlocution because he knew that the interruption of this social ritual would be to injure the feelings of the other. And so, as was expected of him, de Valquez exchanged compliments with the merchant as though the entire purpose of their meeting lay in plumbing the depths of their regard for each other. After this amiable intercourse which would have sounded grotesquely farcical to any modern audience, had been carried on long enough to satisfy the demands of current social etiquette, Almeida tentatively sounded Anoop on the subject of his visit and once the matter was breached, the merchant shed his mask as an accomplished conversationalist and became the keen, alert man of business. Ornate phraseology and colourful, social graces were discarded as not suiting the trend of the talk.

"I have come to you, Excellency, with a proposition calculated to bring rich dividends to both of us," he stated.

"In what do you trade?" queried the soldier priest.

"In labour," replied the merchant and the euphemistic word for slaves

brought the other into a more alert position.

"You won't find any volunteers," he remarked, feeling the ground. "How do you propose to get recruits?"

"I was hoping you would not question my methods," spoke the Hindu with bland sarcasm. "The Portuguese are too good businessmen to raise any ethical quibbles where rich profits are indicated. The less I reveal, the less you have to conceal. I offer you healthy young creatures that will create a scramble for more in the market. And among the women, I doubt not you will find a few who will pay you better than as slave labour."

"Well said," applauded the alien. "If your wits and arms are as powerful as your tongue, I doubt not that we will be able to make a rollicking partnership."

Then began a revolting commercial haggle which almost threatened to burst the project because each wanted the lion's share of the profits and the Portuguese stressed the diplomatic dangers with which the enterprise was fraught and the difficulty of marketing the goods while Anoop, for his part,

was equally insistent that procuring was the harder part of the deal and that the risks he would have to run entitled him to more advantageous terms. Finally a settlement was effected and a few days later, a batch of six kidnapped girls was smuggled into the Portuguese settlement at Hughli. When Almeida de Valquez saw the struggling captives with his coldly-appraising eyes, he, who had been wondering if he had not been ousted in the bargain, felt that the Hindu merchant had not been so acute a businessman after all.

All of them were grown girls, obviously robust of health, capable of standing upto the exacting standard that was required in candidates for service under the merciless slavedrivers who lorded it in the plantations of Europe and would no doubt fetch handsome prices. But there was one among the abducted girls who struck the soldier-priest's fancy as soon as his evil eyes lighted on her and for her, de Valquez decided that a richer fate than slavery was due. He was no celibate, this man who had abandoned the rigid ways of religion for the acquisitive benefits of politics and he felt that the girl would make an excellent addition to his small harem. She was resisting

her captors most furiously and de Valquez thrilled in anticipation of the pleasure of taming this wild creature into acquiescence in his will. When he had tired of her concubinage, he could sell her to slavery.

Meanwhile, consternation had broken out in the Mogul palace at the discovery that the queen's personal slaves had disappeared overnight and after a painstaking but fruitless search, it was clear that they had been abducted and presumably carried off to Hughli to await shipment with other human cargo to the islands of the west for servitude in colonial plantations. A tearful Mumtaz, so passionately had the queen been attached to the maids, stamped the floor and threw things about in baffled rage, almost reducing the household to hysterics and bringing a solicitous Shah Jahan to enquire into the cause of this domestic upheaval.

"What avails it that my lord is the emperor of all Hindustan?" raged Mumtaz in the midst of sobs. "These Portuguese scum have the temerity to kidnap the queen's own maids from under the king's own roof and all that the monarch can do is to ask futile questions."

The uxorious king who was not aware of what exactly had happened so to distress his beloved, received the first glimmerings of yesternight's events at Mumtaz's rhetoric outburst and himself became suffused with indignation.

"Do these alien swine, who are here by my sufferance, dare to flick their thumbs under Shah-en-shah Shah Jahan's nose?" he stormed. "I shall teach those spawns of Satan that a monarch's power is not so to be flouted..."

In an incredibly short space of time, a galloping herald was on his way

post-haste with a royal missive for the Portuguese general in charge of the fort at Hughli, drawing attention with the deepest indignation to the abduction of the queen's slaves and commanding them, on pain of royal displeasure, to render unto Shah Jahan the kidnapped slaves and further to pay compensation, the precise terms of which would be later settled, for the ravages that Portuguese bandits had inflicted on the emperor's lands and subjects.

And that uncompromising epistle gave Almeida de Valquez the clue to the identity of at least two of the six slaves Anoop had sent some nights before and, though he cursed the merchant for his blunder, by that time he had worked himself into such a passion over the particular girl that he resolved, be the consequences what they may, not to give up without glutting himself the fruit he had so gloated over. When news of the Portuguese attitude, largely shaped by Almeida who wielded considerable power in Hughli, reached Shah Jahan's ears, it inflamed his egoistic rage and led to drastic measures.

What followed is familiar history. The Mogul emperor sent Kassim Khan, the governor of Bengal, at the head of a huge army, to effect the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hughli. The garrison at Hughli was overpowered, a large number of Portuguese massacred, an almost equal number drowned and what remained of them was marched as prisoners to Agra where public indignation overtook them.

Thus did a powerless merchant provoke a king to justice and, though not versed in the arts of war, yet indirectly and unknown to history, exterminate a colony of undesirable foreigners who had dreamt of winning a vast empire.

I have heard it said that the full employment of women on equal terms with men, throughout the Soviet Union, is beginning to unsex women there. Only after the most exhaustive enquiry could this charge be proved or disproved. But my own impression, for what it is worth after so brief a stay, is that this criticism is based upon a misleading comparison. To put it bluntly, my opinion is not that the Russians have too little sex but that the rest of us have too much. In the capitalist countries, and especially in America, there is too much emphasis upon and overstimulation of sex, partly for commercial reasons and partly as a kind of dope. The Soviet people, whom I observed carefully in many different places, seemed to me refreshingly normal, virile, and affectionate, and to have grown up sexually in the right atmosphere. Indeed, I regard this as one of the greatest and the best-known triumphs of the Soviet system.—J. B. Priestley.

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GANDHIJI SHOULD LEAD HYDERABAD STRUGGLE

by V. SUBRAMANIAM, M.A.

SWATANTRA'S editorial on Hyderabad has come none too early. I appreciate the frank way in which it has faced the problem. The importance of Hyderabad in the near future calls for far greater attention to it than nationalists are willing to pay.

It is worthwhile tracing the history of Hyderabad's Nizams. Asaf Jah who founded the dynasty during the disintegration of the Moghul Empire, had at the very start to agree to pay chauth to the Marathas. He continued in this anomalous and unhappy position of *de facto* subservience to the Marathas and *de jure* allegiance to the Moghul. Once only did the Nizam attempt to shake off the Maratha hold, but he learnt the bitterest lesson of his life in the carnage of Kardla. Mushriqum, his 'Jehadi' minister, spent the rest of his life as a prisoner in Poona. It is still a mystery to historians how the Marathas allowed the Nizam to escape with his kingdom, when it lay at their mercy. The reason perhaps is that civil war was already breaking out in their ranks over the division of territory. Terrified at the outcome of his attempt, the Nizam flew straight into the arms of the English and remained their subservient ally ever since. He was prepared to give anything for English protection. He gave away the four 'ceded' districts, for instance. Later Dalhousie forcibly took away Berar from him. The Nizam's importunate entreaties elicited from him the famous reply, "You are as dust under my feet." Historians agree that the Nizam narrowly escaped annihilation then. Thus by sheer abasement before the powers that be, the dynasty has managed to survive.

After 1857, the Nizam found it advantageous to pose as the leader of the Indian Muslims. Along with the Agha Khan he was at the back

of the British move to restore Abdul Majid, the last Caliph of Turkey. He himself tried to become Caliph of the Indian Muslims. Ever since the emergence of the Muslim League as a powerful body, he has been assiduously cultivating its friendship. The compliment was warmly reciprocated. The Nizam, holding a small Muslim island amidst a hostile Hindu sea, wanted aid from outside, and the League wanted a stronghold in the south where the Muslims were few. This secret pact between the League and Hyderabad has been outspoken as well as implied in many statements of eminent Muslims. Recently in reply to Dr. Pattabhi, Dr. Latif said that the position of Hyderabad was an all-India question with the Muslims. Rahmat Ali, the originator of Pakistan, included Hyderabad in the Muslim zones of the continent of 'Dinia', calling it Osmanistan. In many other schemes for the confederacy or partition of India, the Muslim proponents have been at pains to plead for a special position for Hyderabad in the Muslim zone, a position evidently untenable on their professed principle of self-determination. The following quotation from the report of the Abdulla Haroon Committee, constituted by the Foreign Committee of the All-India Muslim League to delimit the Muslim zones according to the Lahore resolution of 1940, ought to be an eye-opener: (Para III) "The Committee deems it a duty to point out that even in their own interests as of the rest of the Muslims, it would be desirable to ensure and perpetuate Muslim influence, wherever it predominates in any form in non-British India. Hence it is that all native States, large or small, ruled by Muslim princes, should be regarded for purposes of the Muslim constitutional plan as sovereign Muslim States. This must be made a basic demand... it would be appropriate that the

League should concentrate its aim on the independence and integrity of an expanded dominion of the Nizam with an opening into the sea as it will be a source of infinite strength to the Muslims in India outside the dominion. Who knows that in the fullness of time, the Muslims of India might find it to their advantage to make Hyderabad their rallying point and the centre of their growing strength." In the light of this, the truculent attitude of the State oligarchy and the preposterous suggestion from Dr. Latif of exchanging the Hindu population of the State for Muslims all over South India, become easily understandable.

We have to bear in mind all this when we estimate the grimness of the struggle that faces the people of Hyderabad and the chances of its success. The forces ranged against them, in the order of their strength and importance are: (1) The State's forces, consisting of twelve to fifty thousand regulars (the present number may be nearer even a lakh) and 61,000 irregular Arabs, their lack of discipline being matched by their fanaticism; (2) the State's police (95 per cent of the force being Muslims); (3) 1½ million Muslims of the State who consider themselves the ruling race; (4) the fairly open encouragement from Pakistan and (5) the sympathy of the Muslims of the Indian Union. As against this the State Congress, wedded to a cowardly non-violence, cannot put up anything but a very poor show. Moreover it has dissensions within itself. Its President, Ramananda Thirtha, seems to have no illusions on the subject and openly said in his tour that unless helped from outside, they would be wiped out.

Swatantra's editorial has, therefore, correctly pointed out that a non-violent struggle, unless led by Gandhiji himself, has no chance of

success. In a violent struggle, the unarmed Hindu peasantry of Hyderabad would be like sheep before a wolf. Either they must be actively assisted in all ways from outside or they must revive the traditions of Shivaji's guerilla warfare. Only the Marathas have a martial tradition behind them, though the Communists in Nalgonda have also put up a brave fight.

There are three ways in which outside help can be given to the subjects of the Nizam. The Indian Union can impose an economic blockade against the State. But the Nizam might just let his subjects starve. Secondly there can be open declaration of war. But this can be ruled out as impossible, with the present Indian Government in power, unless war is forced on them by Pakistan. Thirdly, the subjects of the Indian Union can participate directly in the struggle through jathas and volunteer armies, without legally involving the Indian Union. But even this, unless actively aided by the State, cannot make much of a difference.

Congress leadership has shown a peculiar unwillingness to face the problem of Hyderabad. Pandit Nehru who got his face scratched in Kashmir to his resounding glory, still seems to be scratching his head over Hyderabad. The dilatoriness and drift of the Union Government are very dangerous at this juncture. They seem to be more interested in inducing the Nizam to join the Indian Union on any terms than on seeing that his subjects are free. Even the Nizam's joining the Indian Union will not solve the problem, so long as the oligarchy that governs Hyderabad continues. With international issues like Indonesia and Palestine exercising his mind, Pandit Nehru may not have time to attend to the problem of Hyderabad. But events will wait for no man, however great.

The unofficial currency in many parts of Germany is the cigarette. The present rate of exchange seems to be: one carton equals 1,000 marks, equals 100 dollars.—From a Letter in CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



FOR the second time since the end of the war, Soviet-Persian relations have attracted the attention and intervention of America and Britain. The U.S. Ambassador to Persia, Mr. George Allen, has assured the Persian Government that "America has dedicated her energy to freeing the peoples of the world from fear of aggression," and that, consistently with this dedication, "U.S. people will support fully their (Persians') freedom to make their own choice." To put it less pretentiously, the Right-wing politicians of Persia can go ahead and campaign for the scrapping of the Soviet-Persian oil agreement which was signed by Premier Sultaneh in April 1946. This agreement provides for the setting up of a joint Soviet-Persian oil company for extracting oil from the northern oil-bearing territories of Persia. But Anglo-American foreign policy requires that Russia should be kept out of the Middle East in which British and American commercial interests are closely integrated with their military strategy. A spokesman of the British Foreign Office has similarly affirmed "Britain's interest in the integrity of Persia's frontiers," though "Britain had no objection in principle to the grant of the oil concessions" (naturally, since Britain has been the biggest exploiter of Persian oil ever since the beginning of this century, and despatched British troops to Basra in August 1946, her 'interest in the integrity of Persia's frontiers' notwithstanding).

STORY OF PERSIA'S OIL

It was an Australian, one William Knox D'Arcy, who began the foreign quest for Persian oil in 1901, when he obtained from the then reign-

ing Shah of Persia by the payment of a mere £40,000, a sixty-year concession to work oil over an area of 500,000 sq. miles (which is nearly five-sixths of the total 628,000 sq. miles of Persian territory). D'Arcy struck oil alright, but lacked the money to finance operations on a large scale. In 1909 he sold his concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company which was already drilling oil in southern Persia. This company now has a capital of £33,000,000; it employs over 65,000 workers, exports over 10 million tons of oil annually, runs its own area and railways, and functions almost as a State within the Persian State. In the process of blending which has been taking place between British and American oil companies, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (55 per cent. of whose stock is now owned by the British Government) agreed in December 1946 to sell large quantities of crude oil to two great American oil companies, Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum Oil. Due to her political line-up with America and due to lack of dollars, Britain has been giving the U.S. increasing control of the piping, refining and distribution of Persian oil. But even if Britain's relative influence diminishes as the American oil-men move into the Middle East, the Governments and oil companies of both countries are agreed that the Russians should be kept out.

Hence the sudden and vocal interest in the 'integrity' of Persian territory which Anglo-American statesmen have displayed ever since the Russians asked, in 1944, for an oil concession in northern Persia. It is of interest to compare the conditions on which Russia asked for

the concession with the conditions that have obtained in the area operated by the A.I.O.C. The oil industry, as operated by the British in southern Persia, has not resulted in the growth of subsidiary industries based on waste products; workers' wages and living conditions are not adequately guaranteed; native engineers and higher officials in the employ of the A.I.O.C. are small in number. And the whole industrial equipment will continue to be British property until such time as Persia is able to purchase it outright (which is a very remote prospect indeed.) In short, the British concession in Persia, as in other parts of the Middle-East, has not meant industrial or social advancement for the people, but a rising standard of life for the princelets and sheikhs of the region, to whom each increase in the payment of royalty brings "a new palace, five wives and two tanks."

The following conditions were guaranteed, on the other hand, by M. Kavtaradze, Soviet Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, when he arrived in 1944 at Teheran (capital of Persia) to conduct negotiations: "After sufficient period necessary for geological research, the territory of the concession will definitely be determined and restricted to that part where the presence of oil deposits has by then been established, and where industrial working of them is possible.... The Concessionaire (Russia) will undertake the obligation of supplying oil products on reduced terms for the needs both of the Iranian Government and the Iranian population. The Iranian Government will provide technical control over the activities of the Concessionaire and over the correctness of the contributions from the profits, contributions for the use of Iran and so on. On the expiry of the term of concession all the enterprises of the Concessionaire, in respect of the condition for further exploitation, will become *without compensation* the property of Iran. The Concessionaire will see to the training of numerous cadres of skilled engineers,

technicians and oil workers from among the Iranian subjects. The result of geological research work for oil will mean that other minerals will undoubtedly be discovered—for example, iron, coal, copper—which in the future may be used by Iran for developing her national wealth. The Concessionaire will see to the public health and sanitary welfare of the workers and office employees on the concession and members of their families, assigning special sums for the purpose." Here was a request for a new type of oil concession which would materially benefit Persian interests. And yet the Persian Government is reluctant to bring the Soviet-Persian oil agreement into effect—under the terms of that agreement, the draft should have been presented to the Majlis (Persian Parliament) for ratification not later than October 1946. What is the reason?

FOREIGNERS AND PERSIAN POLITICS

One of the main planks of agitation by the democratic movement in Persia has been the demand that the Persian Government should free itself from intervention by foreign imperialist groups of whom the Russians (in Tsarist days) and the British were the most powerful. Russian interference in Persian affairs ended with the 1917 Revolution and, under the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921, "all debts owed to or concessions held by the Imperial Russian Government were revoked." But British influence continues to be powerful to this day, especially among the 2,000 wealthy families which rule the country. In the words of a *Reuters* special correspondent: "these families own the land, they are the cabinet, they are the Majlis (Parliament), they control finance and the army. They had naturally turned away from revolutionary Russia after the last war. They found their social and political contact with the British and later, after the rise of Hitler, with the Germans. They married western European women, so that gradually, without any definite policy on Britain's part, British

influence again became paramount." It is only natural that this ruling class should oppose Russian exploitation of their country's oil even on favourable terms, while raising not a word against the activities of British and American oil-men.

Northern Iran (which includes Persian Azerbaijan) has been the traditional centre of the national and democratic awakening in modern Persia. The first press and the first modern school were started in Tabriz (capital of Azerbaijan). The Tudeh (mass) Party, led by liberals and Communists, draws its strength from this region which touches the Soviet frontier. The influence of her Soviet neighbours on northern Persia was described by Morgan Phillips Price, British Labour M.P., in December 1945 in these words: "The centre of interest today is Azerbaijan, in the north-west. This is the Iranian province bordering the Caucasus. It is inhabited by people who are the same in speech, religion and history as those who live in the adjoining territory of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. Now Soviet Azerbaijan has made tremendous progress, culturally and economically, since the October Revolution. I have recently spent some time there and was able to compare the state of the Moslem population today with what I saw 33 years ago when I was there last. Then they were priest-ridden and backward, the women veiled and subjected, education virtually non-existent. Now I found Moslem Azerbaijanians in all the Government offices, in the educational, scientific and research institutions, and staffing them upto 75 per cent. Such has been the effect of 25 years of union with the Soviets. Here in (Persian Azerbaijan) the peasants can see that, north of the border, the feudal magnates have gone, irrigation works are in full swing, and tractors plough the land on collective farms, where the peasant reaps the benefit of his labour. Meanwhile they (the Persian peasants) scratch the land with primitive ploughs, as I saw with my own eyes the moment I crossed the borders

into Persia, and have to deliver anything up to 50 per cent of their produce to absentee landlords who live in fine houses in Teheran." Even earlier, long before the Russian Revolution, the leadership of the democratic movement in Persia came from the north. This is recognised by the British historian Sir Percy Sykes in his 'History of Persia.' Writing about the movement for reforms during 1906-08, he says: "It is important to note that in northern Persia there was a more or less definite political programme pursued by known leaders of considerable ability . . . The Tabriz deputies displayed more determination and strength of character than their fellows, and to the province of Azerbaijan belong the honours in the victory of constitutionalism." This victory, however, was incomplete and short-lived.

The demand for the autonomy of Persian Azerbaijan within a democratic Persian State, which was raised early in 1946, was the culmination of the democratic movement which was sought to be suppressed by the police and army of the Central Government. This was instantly played up by the Anglo-American statesmen and news-agencies as a 'Soviet-inspired' move for the absorption of Persian Azerbaijan into the U.S.S.R. The movement was certainly Soviet-inspired in the sense described by Mr. Price, but there was no question (except in Anglo-American propaganda) of any attempt on the part of the Azerbaijanian democrats to break away from Persia. Certain reforms were, at that time, granted to the Azerbaijanians by the Central Government, but this policy was soon reversed under foreign advice. It is not difficult to understand the fears of Right-wing politicians that the already powerful popular movement would receive further impetus from the presence of Soviet citizens in northern Persia consequent on the grant of a concession.

As for the Central Government at Teheran, its history has been one of subservience to British, then German, and now Anglo-American pressure—marked by sporadic and

ineffectual attempts to assert independence and adopt democratic methods of government. Reza Pahlevi, who organised a successful coup against the decadent Shah of Persia during the first world war, betrayed the republican cause which he had led and completed his Napoleonic career by declaring himself Reza Shah, Emperor of Persia. He had first wanted a republic, as an ally of the liberals, and hated the degenerate feudal nobility and was bitter over British domination of Persia. Actually, after he became Shah, 17 years of absolutism followed, during which he put down all opposition ruthlessly. He tried to resist British pressure by allying himself with Germany instead of increasing the strength of his own people on the basis of democratic reforms. At the time of the outbreak of the war he had identified himself with the Axis cause. Three months after Hitler's attack on Russia, the Allies demanded that Reza Shah should hand over German fifth columnists. On his refusal to do so, Russian and British troops marched into and occupied Persia. The policies of the occupying powers followed the same different patterns that were later to be worked out in other occupied territories. In the northern region under Russian occupation, local democratic institutions were encouraged and many landlords fled from the area. In the south—which is a sparsely populated region ruled by sheikhs and princelings and always the centre of political reaction—the growth and activities of the Tudeh Party were hampered by the British authorities. To cap their occupation policy, the British brought back in 1943, just before the elections to the Majlis, a thoroughly discredited character called Syed Zia-ed-din, whom Reza had expelled from Persia 20 years earlier on the ground that Syed Zia acted as an agent of the British. Syed Zia at once became the leader of the reactionary politicians, who organised the National Will Party. This party is bitterly opposed to the

Tudeh Party and is reported to have been actively aided by certain officials of the British Embassy.

WHO WILL WIN?

After the 1943 elections, Persia saw a number of cabinets come and go, led successfully by Messrs. Saed, Bayat, Hakim-ul-Mulk, Sadr and Hakimi. In January 1946 the Hakimi Government resigned after having, as its last act, sent a complaint against Russia to the Security Council of the U.N.O. This led to that sordid exhibition of Anglo-American rancour against Russia which marked the proceedings of the Security Council on the Persian complaint. It looked as though matters would be amicably settled when a new Government was formed by M. Ghavam Sultaneh who settled down to peaceful negotiations with the Azerbaijanians and signed the draft agreement with Russia for setting up a joint Soviet-Persian oil company. M. Sultaneh is a landowner from the north whose record unfortunately includes collaboration with the British and with Reza Shah, but who is now leading a centrist group which steers its way between the naked political reaction of Syed Zia's men and the radical democracy of the Tudeh Party. M. Sultaneh's group, however, does not command an independent majority in the Majlis. Soon after the withdrawal of Russian troops from north Persia, Right-wing pressure seems to have prevailed over the Government with the result that the Soviet-Persian oil agreement has been hanging fire with a parallel renewal of attempts to suppress the Tudeh Party.

As I write, there is a *Reuter* report that Premier Sultaneh will ask for a vote of confidence on behalf of his reconstituted Government and, if the vote is favourable, submit the draft agreement on the oil concession to Russia for approval by the deputies. The next few weeks will show whether or not the Right-wing politicians, with the aid and comfort promised by Britain and America, are able to defeat the Persian Premier's proposals.

PALLAVAS OF KANCHI—A TELUGU DYNASTY

by N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

IN an article contributed to *Swatantra* I summarised the views of some distinguished Tamil scholars and historians on the connection of Kanchi and its dependent country with the ancient Tamilagam. I propose now to trace briefly the history of this region, and show how it had been more intimately connected with the adjoining Telugu country in the north than with the Tamil country in the south.

First, a few words about Kanchi. It is the most ancient city in South India, which came into existence probably in the age of the Mauryas. Its fame reached Northern India even as early as the time of Patanjali (200 B.C.), who in his *Mahabhashya* explains the grammatical rule according to which the term Kanchipuraka i.e. 'the native of the city of Kanchi' is formed. 'Kanchipura', says the late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, 'is a Sanskrit word, and the town, though situated in the (present) Tamil country, has no Tamil name. Kanchi for the first time occurs in the *Perumbanarrupadai*, a poem in eulogy of Ilandiraiyan (V century). The word Kanchi resulted from the Tamilization of Kanchi, the shortened form of Kanchipura, which literally means 'the city of the girdle'. The word Kanjiyur occurs in the early Tamil poems, but it does not refer to Kanchipura at all, for the word Kanji in Kanjiyur is distinctly indicated to be the name of a tree' (*History of the Tamils* PP. 292-3). Kanchi is also referred to as Kachchippedu in the later inscriptions, which means the same thing as Kanchipura; for, 'pedu' in Kachchippedu is derived from Prakrit 'Pentha', and is identical with the Telugu 'Penta', 'Peta' meaning a market town. It is absurd to attempt to explain it by the rules of Tamil grammar, which were composed long after the

city had come into existence. It must be pointed out here that Kanchi is a common place name in the Telugu country, and there are even at present several villages in the Nellore and Guntur districts called Kanchi, Kanchipalle, Kanchiprolu; and in Telugu folklore and literature Kanchi is referred as one of their big cities.

Though Kanchi was, as stated above, in existence since the time of the Mauryas, it rose to prominence only with the advent of the Pallavas. Who were these Pallavas? And how did they come to establish themselves in Kanchi? About the origin of the Pallavas, there is a good deal of controversy and discussion. Some hold, taking their stand on the similarity of the name Pallava with Pahlava, a foreign tribe residing in North Western India associated with the Sakas and Yavanas in the Puranas, that they were foreigners who migrated to South India, where they established themselves in the southern provinces of the Satavahana empire. The theory had its origin when it was fashionable among scholars to trace everything Indian to some foreign source or other. Apart from the similarity of the names Pallava and Pahlava, no substantial evidence has so far been brought forward in support of this theory. The Pallavas themselves trace their origin to Asvathama and Drona of Mahabharata fame, and in consonance with this refer to their caste in their inscriptions as Brahmakshatri, i.e. Brahmans who adopted the profession of the Kshatriyas of the Bharadvaja Gotra, assumed names ending in Varman, a suffix peculiar to the Kshatriya caste, and performed the Agnishtoma Vajapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices, which only Brahmans and Kshatriyas could perform. Moreover, their claim to Kshatriyahood was admitted by their contemporaries, for

instance, the Talagunda Pillar inscription of Kadamba Kakusthavarman refers to Pallavas as Kshatriyas. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems reasonable to believe that the Pallavas were from the beginning Indians, and not Hinduised foreigners who were admitted into the Hindu fold. Others are of opinion that they were South Indians, like the other South Indian dynasties and had no connection whatever with the foreign Pahlava tribe. The Pallavas, however, were not indigenous inhabitants of the Tamil country, but outsiders who succeeded the Satavahanas in the government of Kanchi. "The Pallavas", says Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, "seem nevertheless to have been foreign to the locality as far as the evidence takes us at present." "The Pallavas of the (Prakrit and Sanskrit) charters starting from the south eastern marches of the Satavahana territory gradually occupied the region of Kurnool, Nellore and part of Cuddapah district and extended southwards till they gradually appropriated the town of Kanchi itself and the territory dependent thereon, in other words, what is known to the Tamils as Tondamandalam." (*Introduction to Gopalan's Pallavas of Kanchi*, PP. 10, 17). Similarly, Prof. G. Jouveau Dubrenil, a great authority on Pallava history, declares that "at first, the Pallava empire extended more in the Deccan than in the Tamil country; there is nothing to prove that it comprised the banks of the Kaveri; the Trichinopoly region was probably occupied by the Cholas; on the contrary, we are sure that the Pallavas reigned over the country extending from Bellary to Bezwada, that is to say, over an important portion of the Andhra empire. These geographical considerations lead to the probability of the theory that the Pallavas were a northern dynasty, who having contracted marriages with the princesses of the Andhra dynasty, inherited a portion of the southern part of the Andhra empire." (*Pallavas*, PP. 13-14). Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is also of the opinion that the Pallavas, like the Cutus and Kadambas, were also

'rulers of northern' origin and affiliation. "It was not long before," says he, "rulers of northern origin and affiliation took possession of these lands and ruled them for several generations, the Cutus and the Kadambas in the west, and the Pallavas in the east" (*New History of the Indian People* VI P. 229).

The Pallavas did not obtain dominion over Kanchi and the surrounding country by means of conquest. The Pallava prince Virakurchavarman gained possession of this territory together with the hand of the daughter of a Naga king whom he married. This Naga king has been identified by Prof. Dubrenil with Sivaskanda Naga, the commander-in-chief of Pulumavi IV, the last King of the Satavahana dynasty; and his identification has gained universal acceptance. Thus the territory of Kanchi which was included in the Satavahana empire passed peacefully into the hands of the Pallavas through the Nagas; and the Pallavas ruled over it for several centuries from c. 250 to 890 A.D.

There is reason to believe that the original home of the Pallavas was the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. This region has been known since the early centuries of the Christian era as Palnadu, an abridged form of Pallavanadu or the country of the Pallavas. Pallavabhogga, the district or the country of the Pallavas, is also referred to in the Ceylonese chronicle Mahavamsa. It is said that when King Duttagamani consecrated the stupa at Anuradhapura which he had erected in 95 B.C., the wise Mahadeva came from the monastery of Pallavabhogga with a large number of monks to attend the function. As this Mahadeva was a prominent divine of the Mahasanghikas whose headquarters were at Dharanikota in the present Guntur district, the Pallavabhogga of Mahavamsa could not have been Kanchi, as Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar would have us believe but Palnad which like Dharanikota was included in the country of Andhrapatha. Another fact which militates against Prof. Srinivasa

Iyengar's view must also be noted. The Pallava connection with Kanchi began only in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.; and therefore the Pallavabhogga from which Mahadeva visited Anuradhapura in the 1st century before Christ must be some place other than Kanchi.

Moreover, as most of the records of the early Pallavas are found exclusively in the Nellore and Guntur districts, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were inhabiting this area, before they obtained, by means of a marriage with the Naga princess, possession of the city of Kanchi and its dependent territory.

I have dwelt at some length on the origin and the primary abode of the Pallavas, as there is a mistaken tendency, even among the most educated, to regard them as the indigenous people of the Tamil country, and attribute to the genius of the Tamil race the credit for their achievements. It is not, however, the object of this paper to describe even briefly the history of the Pallavas. Nevertheless, a few facts which are of immense interest in the history of South Indian culture may be noted here with advantage.

The advent of the Pallavas brought with it an influx of the Telugu people into the Tamil country. All the three Pallava dynasties which ruled at Kanchipuram came from the Telugu country in the north. The first dynasty which was founded by Bappasami and Sivaskandavarman came, as pointed out already, from the region of Andhrapatha. The second dynasty of Simhavishnu also came from the same area. Commenting on some of the Telugu birudas, such as Vishundu, Nilvilonayyambu, Ventulavittu, Pasarambu, etc., of Mahendravarman I, son and successor of Simhavishnu, found in his inscriptions at Pallavaram and Trichinopoly, Prof. G. Jouveau Dubrueil says, "I believe that Mahendravarman I had names of Telugu origin, because he or his father perhaps reigned over the Telugu country." "We have therefore to conclude that we find Telugu names of Mahendra because either

Simhavishnu or Mahendra himself reigned over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore." (Pallavas PP. 27-28). The reasonableness of Prof. Dubrueil's inference is borne out by the evidence of Mahendra's inscription in the temple of Kapotesvaraswami at Chezzera in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district (South Indian Inscriptions VI No. 595). Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the founder of the third dynasty, must have also hailed from the same region; for he was the sixth in descent from Bhimavarman, the younger brother of Simhavishnu; Bhimavarman and his descendants must have remained in their original home, when the elder branch migrated to Kanchi. During this period, Telugu people from the Nellore-Guntur area, either at the invitation of the kings or attracted by their patronage, left their native homes, and migrated to the Tamil country, where they settled down permanently. The Tandantottam plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla record one such instance of migration. Among the donees are mentioned several Brahman families of undoubted Telugu origin, who, judging from their house names, must have come from the Guntur and Nellore districts. Speaking of the house names of the donees, the well-known epigraphist, H. Krishna Sastri says, "The donees seem to have belonged to different parts of the country. The names of their native villages indicate that a pretty large number of them must have been originally residents of the Telugu country. Tanukkil, Karambichchedu, Irakkandoru, Irungandi, Nambur, Karanjai (Kiranji), Pinukkipparu, Velpara, Popparu, Vangipparu, Attambaru, Mudiparu (or Mudaparu), Viripparu, Arasapparu, Karipparu, Nuthlappar, and Ponnambaru [besides Kundur, Urppittur, Cherupalli, Nellur, Angara], Irayur, Kalattur, Chandur, Kuravasiri, Magasiri, Uttukkur, Ayyanki (Ayyanki), Mudumbe, Marralur, Srimalai, Velvatti, Peruvalli, Viravalli, Puniyam (Panyam), not mentioned by him] are apparently

names of villages which were probably situated in the Telugu country. The donees whose native villages may be presumed to have been situated in the Telugu country need not necessarily have migrated into the Chola country at the time of Grant. They might have been settled there before that time. In any case, it is clear that there was a large colony of Telugu Brahmans in the first half of the 9th century A.D. The Telugu birudas of the Pallava king Mahendravarman found in the Trichinopoly cave inscription testify to the influence of the Telugu people already in the 7th century A.D. It is worthy of note that a large number of the village names (mentioned above) are now held as titles by some well-known Sri Vaishnava families—Dvedaikomapuram (Vedagomapuram), Vangipparu (Vangippura), Urppittur (Urpputtur), Karambichchedu (Karambichchettu), Srimalai (Tirumalai), Pattangi, Viravalli (Viravalli), Mudumbe, Tanukkil, Kumandur, Puttur, Settalur, and Kundur being some." (South Indian Inscriptions II P. 519). In addition to Brahmans, people of other communities must have accompanied the Pallavas to Kanchi and its neighbourhood, and settled down there permanently.

It must not, however, be supposed that migration of the people during this period had always been from the north to south. The Pallava authority over the Tamil country did not go unchallenged. The Pallava inscriptions of the 9th century A.D. refer to their conflicts with the Cholas who even succeeded on one occasion in ejecting the Pallavas from Kanchi; but these early Chola attacks did not affect the country situated to the north of the Pallava capital. The momentous attack, an attack which was far-reaching in its effects, came in the 5th century A.D. under Karikala the Great who not only overthrew the Pallava monarchy, and annexed a large part of the territory which was subjected to the authority of the Pallava rulers. He inaugurated a policy of colonisation of Tondaimandalam, and

settled down numerous colonies of Tamils in different parts of the country. It was during the reign of Karikala that certain areas of the southern Telugu country passed for the first time under Tamil rule. A branch of his family was established in Renadu in the present Cuddapah district, from which they spread in course of the succeeding centuries over the whole of the Telugu and Kannada countries, mostly as subordinate rulers under the native monarchs. The age of the Pallavas thus witnessed the intermingling of Telugu and Tamil peoples, which surmounted the barrier of language and introduced an era intimate intercourse.

The Pallavas brought with them their love of art and architecture. They taught the Tamils how to build temples, and carve out of the hard rock lifelike images which in their beauty and artistic excellence are seldom surpassed in the succeeding ages. Mahendravarman I was as distinguished in the arts of peace as in those of war. He was a great builder, and he adorned the Tamil country conquered by him and his father with beautiful cave temples with which he was familiar on the banks of the Krishna. Prof. Dubrueil, while describing the origins of the Pallava art declares that "in Tamil country there is not a single antiquity which could with certainty be attributed to the time anterior to that of Mahendra; I have therefore been led to think that it was this king who, by his own initiative, spread in the Tamil country a taste for sculpture in general and rock-cut temples in particular. But whence did Mahendravarman himself get this taste for temples sculptured in rocks? The reply can easily be found if we take the two preceding propositions together. As Mahendra reigned in the Telugu country, it was probably on the banks of the Krishna that he acquired a taste for rock-cut temples; and so the Pallava art of the time of Mahendravarman had its origin in the Telugu country." (Pallavas P. 28). After a lengthy discussion of the subject, the learned professor reiterates his opinion thus: "We have said above,

that, during many centuries, many generations of Pallava kings had reigned over the country near the banks of the Krishna in the districts of Guntur and Nellore. We have also observed that the caves of Trichinopoly and Pallavaram contain the surnames of Mahendra which are all of Telugu origin and we have supposed that Mahendrarvarman I reigned over the Telugu country and imported into the Tamil country the art that existed on the banks of the Krishna." (*Ibid* P. 32). Dubrueil was an archæologist of rare insight and perception. He had the uncanny knack of setting forth theories the proofs of which lay hidden at that time. The subsequent epigraphical and archæological discoveries of distinguished archæologists like Longhurst, Ramachandran and others have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the truth of the great French savant's contention.

Another important fact which has been more or less systematically ignored by scholars must be noticed

in this connection. The Pallavas gave the Tamils the alphabet now in use all over Tamilnad, which they brought with them from the Telugu country. Brahmi was employed in inditing certain labels in Buddhist and Jaina caves in early times and Vatteluthu was used in some inscriptions in the 8th and 9th centuries in the extreme south of the Tamil country. Though the former has some remote and indirect connection with the current Tamil alphabet, the latter has none whatever. The immediate parent of the present Tamil alphabet is the alphabet that was in use in the coastal Andhra country in the early centuries of the Christian era. The first half of the 7th century A.D. marks the beginning of the first stage in the development of the present Tamil alphabet. The early Pallavas up to the time of Nandivarman I used only the Vengi alphabet or the alphabet that was in vogue in the coastal Andhra country. Although Mahendrarvarman I and Narasimhavarmarman I continued the practice of their ancestors, a

distinct change is perceptible in their records; while the alphabet remained the same, the style of writing was different. Thus a new departure was made, which in the course of a few generations resulted in the formation a new alphabet; and it grew as time advanced into the present alphabet, now universally in use in the Tamil country.

The Pallava power gradually declined, and they lost their hold on their territories in the north. The decline began with the Chalukyan invasion of the Pallava Kingdom under Pulakesin II in A.D. 630 and the foundation of the Eastern Chalukya Kingdom of Vengi with Pulakesin's younger brother, Kubja Vishnuvardhana as its hereditary sovereign. Under Narasimhavarmarman I, the Pallavas rapidly recovered and regained much of the territory lost by them during the Chalukyan invasion. Two important facts however deserve notice. First, Karmarashtra comprising the eastern part of Andhrapatha corresponding to the Guntur district passed permanently into the hands of the Eastern Chalukyas; and the Pallavas never succeeded in reconquering it, as it was situated in the immediate vicinity of Bezwada, the Eastern Chalukya capital. Second, the foundation of the Telugu Chola kingdom of Renadu in the Cuddapah district. The founder of this kingdom, Mahendrarvarman Chola Maharaja, was a subordinate of Simhavishnu and Mahendrarvarman I, and helped them in the conquest of the southern kingdoms. Taking advantage of the invasion of Pulakesin II, the Chola Mahendra, or what is more likely, his son Punyakumara, asserted independence and cut off the Pallavas from the south western Telugu country.

The successors of Narasimha I, were obliged to wage war with the Western Chalukyas in defence of their realm; and though great warriors like Parmeswara I carried warfare into the enemy's territory, his successors steadily declined and the reign of Paramesvara II ended in great calamity; the dynasty of Simhavishnu came to an end; and

with Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, a new branch of the Pallava family came into power. During the period of confusion that followed the death of Paramesvara II, Vishnuvardhana III, the Eastern Chalukya King of Vengi, invaded the twelve Boya kottams which extended from Kandukur in the Nellore district to Narayanavanam in the Chittore district. Though Nandivarman II recovered this territory it was soon lost to Pallavas in the reign of Nandivarman III. With the exception of a small bit of territory extending southwards from Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district, the Pallavas lost completely their vast dominions in the Telugu country. With the loss of their Telugu possessions, they lost touch with the cradle of their family, and had to regard Tondaimandalam as their only home to which their authority was confined. It was under these circumstances that the Andhra dynasty of the Pallavas became merged with the Tamils over whom they came to rule.

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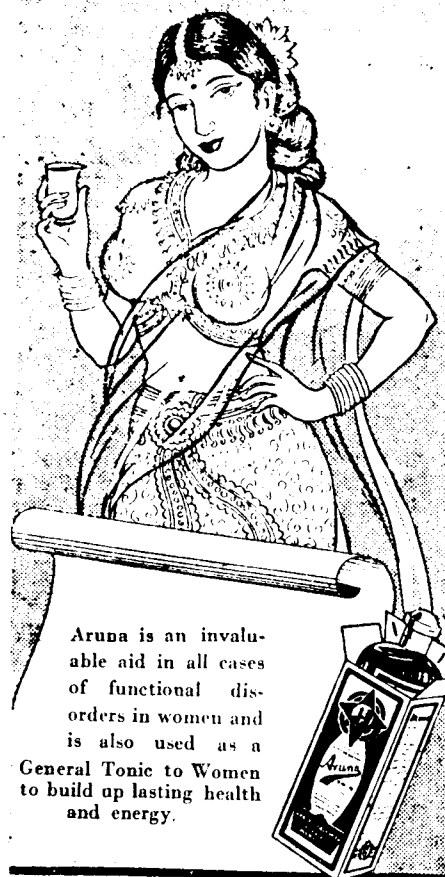
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A MEDICAL MAN DREAMS

by "ALLOPATH"

EVERY ONE knows that in the early part of the last war there was such a clamant demand for medical men that all sorts of inducements were put forth to get sufficient men in the Indian Medical Service. The relationship between the regulars and the new entrants in these early days was none too happy, not because of any great disparity in the professional efficiency between the regulars and the emergency men but out of sheer cussedness on the part of the former and a feeling that the latter were poachers in the preserves of the former. The present writer who has gone through such an experience in his early days acknowledges with pleasure that the relationship improved to be surprisingly pleasant in the later days. He was one of the few who submitted a memorandum to the Director of Medical Services about the beginning of 1945 in response to his circular calling for suggestions for improvement of the medical services. Many of the points adumbrated then have no significance at the present as the situation in the country has changed beyond recognition.

In this country of ours which has recently acquired independence, I foresee that there will be compulsory military service for every male citizen almost on the lines suggested by La Guardia in the American press, viz, for fifteen months at one stretch or in instalments between the age periods of 18 and 21. It may be reasonably thought therefore that in an emergency or a national crisis the army will be allowed to get sufficient personnel from the civil medical men; but I fear that it will not be an efficient reserve in the specialised services like medicine and engineering.

The medical men of the land practising the scientific system of medicine will fall under two broad categories:

1. Those engaged in private practice without receiving any emoluments from the State.
2. Those paid by the State such as those attached to teaching hospitals, to non-teaching hospitals and dispensaries, those engaged in health services, in research work, and those employed primarily in army, naval and air services.

The army must undoubtedly have a skeleton medical service to subserve its needs in peace time, but if even in peace time there were a closer and greater inter-relation between the military and civil services, there are not likely to occur difficulties in having a sufficient number of medical men in times of emergency who will work harmoniously with the regulars.

A plan is given hereunder to build up that reserve, call it territorial or ancilliary or by any other name. Those drafted into the new civil services of the State must give an undertaking that they are prepared to serve in the army for certain short spans of time at different periods of their career, as for example the first span for six months before they pass their 28th year age limit, the second span of six months eight years later and the third six months about the 14th year of service. They may hold the rank appropriate to the period and draw the corresponding salary.

The men engaged in private practice may find absence from the area of their practice detrimental to their interests but the noble example set by their professional brethren in the services will induce the unadventurous and unenterprising ones to fall in line with them.

In only the first span they must be prohibited from bringing their families as they are to receive a gruelling training in a corporate training centre. During the second

span when they would become a little more senior and a little more experienced as medical officers to regiments or military hospitals or in public health work in cantonments. The third span can be utilized to acquire administrative experience in area headquarters or depots.

Some men may object to the conditional clauses introduced in the rules of entrance to the civil medical service and protest against the medical service alone being subjected to such extra strain to the exclusion of other services. But surely other services also could be brought in line with the terms of service for the medical. It is for our legislators and the Government to get renowned people by convincing them of the all-round good that is likely to result. When once it is made known to the public that amongst men competing for any job preference will be given to those in the Army of India Reserve, there ought to be a good supply of men from all walks of life. Thus in the event of an emergency there will be available for the army many men who will have more than a nodding acquaintance with its rules and regulations, its etiquette and practices.

We shall now take the case of those who are permanently employed in the army, navy or air force. In peace time, it cannot be denied that medical men in purely military employ are never likely to have as many opportunities for the practice of the profession and improvement of their efficiency as those in the civil. Except in the case of an unambitious few who may rest content with the assured comfortable monthly salary, the majority will feel restless and rusty in not having chances for the prac-

tice of the profession for which they underwent training for six long strenuous years and may regret joining the army while their experience may act as a deterrent to desirable men seeking service in the army. The hope that army medical men cherished in the past to be transferred to the civil side is gone for ever. It is not at all likely in the ordering of things in the future that a junior officer just because he belonged to the army medical service will be put over the heads of senior and experienced medical men who elected to serve in the civil side.

With such restricted opportunities it will not be long before army medical men will feel brownd off. To prevent such staleness coming on them a plan must be devised for integrating their services into the civil for improvement of their professional efficiency. The posting of each of these men for a period of a year at intervals during their service to the civil side must be arranged. Many men in the civil side have through a long span of service acquired considerable skill and efficiency in their respective departments and association of the army men with those in the civil side will be all for the good for the former. While tending to curb the tendency in the army men of having exaggerated ideas of their own importance this plan will enable them to find their level in the brotherhood of professional men. And during emergency conditions the regular and reserve men, due to their former association, will work more harmoniously. Only the broad outlines are indicated above and the financial implications and other details can be worked out by consultation with competent experts.



"And now, children," said the teacher, "who can give me the plural of forget-me-not?"

"I can," said Johnny. "It's forget-us-not."—WALL STREET JOURNAL.

HARIJAN EMANCIPATION: FINAL PHASE

by P. S. NAIR

HARIJAN uplift has been a living problem in India ever since the time when the Aryan invaders from the North invaded the country, subjugated the original sons of the soil and dressed them up in the garb of a caste in the Hindu social system. Deprived of land, or driven to the jungles, they formed the lowest among the castes, and laws were passed like the Ghetto Act of South Africa to segregate them from others while sweating them. Such great leaders of humanity as Gautama Buddha and Ramanuja did their best to remove this blot on the face of the country, but they were only partially successful. During the second half of the 19th century, this "man's inhumanity to man" was so widely prevalent, in Malabar in particular, that Swami Vivekananda the great Sanyasi patriot of the modern Indian renaissance called this land between the mountain and the sea "a lunatic asylum" in which mad men raved and roared. After Swamiji came Narayana Guru of Malabar who by his clarion call of "one religion, one God, for humanity" attempted to solve the problem of the depressed classes from the standpoint of religion. But it was reserved for Mahatma Gandhi to make this problem an all-India issue and to initiate a campaign for their uplift economically, socially, politically and spiritually through his Harijan Sevak Sangh and the temple-entry programme. Gandhi as a politician may be forgotten, but his name as a friend of oppressed humanity, who gave a distinct message of hope and consolation to them, will be cherished throughout the ages in the company of the great souls who have worked for the progress and regeneration of the human race.

With the enactment of the temple-entry legislation, Harijan uplift has entered the final stage. But, as

among the caste Hindus, so also among the untouchables, there are sub-castes who have temples of their own which are banned to those 'beneath' them. In Malabar, Ezhavas have many temples which are not open to the Pariahs, Puliyas and Nayadis. Unless the Ezhavas are persuaded to open the doors of their temples to the rest, the temple-entry movement will not be complete. It is true that famous temples situated in important cities and centres of pilgrimage are open to the Harijans. But one must not ignore the fact that the darkness of untouchability, being driven from towns and cities, still prevails in the villages. Although we hear daily of the opening of famous temples from the papers, we rarely hear of the opening of smaller temples, countless in number, in the nooks and corners of the country. In view of the fact that India lives mainly in villages, the importance of these tiny temples in the scheme of Harijan emancipation cannot be over-estimated.

Once the religious hindrance to their uplift is removed, the Smritis which degrade them to the level of the beasts of burden will become a dead letter and the way will be cleared to raise their standard of living. Educationally, economically and politically they must be raised to the level of other citizens. There are now many educated people among the Harijans and they are employed in administrative establishments. But in the villages, nothing gives a person such status in life as a schoolmastership, which has been taken to be a highly respectable profession in India from time immemorial. If Harijans are encouraged to become teachers in primary village schools, they will not only gain a new status in the estimation of the villagers but indirectly help in the uplift of their less fortunate brethren. Government

will do well to reserve a certain percentage of vacancies in village schools for Harijans. Villages will be the touch-stone where the uplift of the Harijans will be tested and proved.

Complete social equality is attainable only with intermarriages. Although there have been stray cases of intermarriages between Harijans and caste-Hindus, this tendency must be helped by discouraging social boycott and ostracism. Among Harijans polyandry is prevalent in certain parts of Malabar. Although Panchali had five husbands and was still considered chaste, there is no necessity for such a system in modern India—since the latest census figures show an excess of women over men.

Nationality rests on homogeneity and no nation in history has attained greatness with castes existing among its ranks. A scheme should be worked out by which the practice of calling these unfortunate people by the name of Harijans or depressed classes or untouchables should be stopped, without abolishing their special privileges. All these names hit at their self-respect to an extent we cannot imagine and unless they are made to think as normal individuals in the vast ocean of Indian humanity, they are not likely to cast away their present inferiority complex. The C.P. Government has abolished the use of the caste names. This must be extended throughout the country.

With the establishment of social and religious equality, their economic well-being is bound to improve, because some new occupations like domestic service, temple service, etc., will be open to them. There are some occupations in which Harijans are specialists like basket-making, mat-weaving, honey gathering, and the making of forest products. There is no reason why they should abandon these and hunt after Government jobs. In Malabar villages,

carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, weavers, cobblers etc., are all untouchables. Their occupations are falling into decay by the competition of large scale industrial products. Unless they are provided with cheaper implements and power, these time-honoured hereditary craftsmen will be lost for ever. Nowhere can the co-operative societies be more helpful than among the Harijans and if the co-operators can spare a little time, they will find it worthily spent among Harijans.

The great intellectual wealth the country has lost through keeping these unfortunate people in darkness is immeasurable. The Government have got big schemes of compulsory primary education. They must be first started among the Harijans. The others can wait for some more time. As was the case in ancient Sparta, when boys were taken from the parents at a tender age and brought up by the State, so also the Harijan boys should be considered as the special care of the State and looked after accordingly. The days are gone when they used to be satisfied with a scholarship there and a slate here. Any future Government, Congress or other, will succeed or fail by the success or failure of its Harijan uplift programme.

The problem of Harijan uplift has also a bearing on defence which cannot be overlooked at this moment. The invasion of India in the past proved to be successful because of the help directly or indirectly extended to the invaders by the suppressed sons of the soil. These unhappy people welcomed the invaders as their liberators. This was the reason why the number of Muslims in India increased enormously. Any further continuance of the monstrous evil of untouchability is unbecoming and unbearable. The sooner it is wiped out root and branch the better for the growth of the nation.

The following advertisement appeared in a French paper:
"I offer a job in America to anyone who can find me a flat in Paris."

IN PRAISE OF DENIS COMPTON

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

"BLISS was it to be in that dawn exceedingly ill served. They are alive, but to be young was obliged week by week to soothe very heaven," declared Wordsworth themselves with ill-regulated prose, of the earlier philosophical triumphs to torment themselves with atrocious *vers libre* and to mortify of the French Revolution, before the dreadful "sea-green incorruptible" encarnadined the glory. There are but few moments in the history of cricket, when this heightened ecstasy is proper; they are fewer in this country, by a natural law. But, one such presented itself, at least to those who would not allow cynicism to triumph over the glories of existence, when Denis Compton made his presence in Madras, at Chepauk, as a member of the Holkar team, which duly trounced hapless Madras some years ago.

Clouds of fame trailed him, as the valliant batsman who had defied the terrible Australian bowlers to the value of a century in his first appearance in a Test at the tender age of nineteen, and as the resourceful player who, in a later Test, on a wicket for which Rhodes would have given up his soul and at which Parker would have chuckled with delight, he stayed the triumphant progress of the same Australian bowlers.

But, these facts were academic to a Madrasi, who watched with a dreading fascination, the well-proportioned, and powerfully-built figure emerge from the portals of the red pavilion. They became charged with a new meaning and a new life about one hour later, when a villainous ball from Rangachari, by a mysterious fate, having dislodged the leg stump, brought to an end an innings, which was much more a sun-lit lyric than any other metaphor that offers itself.

It is the prerogative solely of cricket, writes Mr. Neville Cardus, that in its finest moments it irresistibly brings to mind nothing more appropriately than the greatest glories in the languages, which the nine Graces love to favour most in modern times. If this be so, the local spectators are but



Denis Compton.

themselves with ill-timed parodies. When such an innings as that of Compton distributes its magical munificence in this starved country, then it is most proper to agree with Wordsworth that to have watched that performance was very heaven.

Of all modern batsmen, it is only Compton, about whom an essay can be produced in the terms of Mr. Cardus's assertion, without the least impropriety. His innings that day reminded one of nothing so much as of a poem by the pre-Raphaelites, a glowing extract from the *House of Life* of Dante Rossetti, or a pulsating redaction of the earlier Morris, *The Defence of Guenevere*, for example. But, strangely enough, it is of a figure who appears in literature after the pre-Raphaelites had spent themselves, that Compton reminds the cultured reader most. It is a far cry from King Arthur's Round Table to the Lord's, but, without straining, it is proper to exclaim of him,

*"His broad clear brow in sunlight glow'd;
On burnished hooves his war-horse trode;
From underneath his helmet flow'd
His coal-black curls as on he rode,
As he rode down to Camelot.
From the bank and from the river
He flash'd into the crystal mirror,
'Tirra lirra', by the river
Sang Sir Lancelot."*

—(Tennyson.)

Only the swooning magnificence of Tennyson, before his imagination was subdued by mid-Victorian prudery, is the proper medium to describe the style of Compton, a fellow-poet.

By a sad law of universe, prolificness seldom goes hand in hand with genius. Is it to be supposed that this law has been suspended this season in favour of the Middlesex batsman? The explanation, of course, is that underneath the resplendent robe of a singer, he wears the sober dress of a Yorkshire bats-

man, who knows when and how to count his blessings. The world easily takes to the bright spark, who defies every known canon, and yet achieves results far more glorious than that which accrues to his staid neighbour. But, that is not Compton's method. It would have been strange if it had been, for modern first-class cricket is a battlefield where no quarter is given.

It is foolish to suppose that unorthodoxy promotes grandeur. A controlled decorum, which flowers into grace, is always more sound. Compton achieves his effects as of a poem not by hair-raising cuts off the leg stump, but by marmoreal orthodoxy. To him, the bowler is not a challenge to be circumvented howsoever it may be, but a source out of which a lyric can be produced.

Modern England presents a strange spectacle. Her poets are very unpoetic, grave analysers of dust-bins. It is in cricket that her essential poetry has fled for refuge from the desecrators. The advance of time has led to the fulmination of Miltonic rhetoric from the bat of Hutton. The fantastic conceits of the Metaphysicals find their modern counterpart in C. B. Harris of Nottinghamshire, who drives length-balls to the boundary, and painfully blocks full-tosses. But, the highest peak in Parnassus is reserved for lyrics. Since Lionel Palalret abandoned the game, lyricism has found no representative. It has come into its own at last in Compton.

The world admires his march from record to record. But, these avail little. It is as a magician who, with a whirl of his bat, instilled the spirit of poetry into millions, many of whom might have seen him no longer than for three days, that this immortal will take his place in the noble bead-roll of batsmen.

In a museum in Vienna is exhibited the piano once used by Beethoven. An American girl walked casually toward it and ran off a careless tune. Then, turning to the attendant, she asked whether there had not been great pianists to inspect the instrument. The attendant informed the young lady that a short time before, Paderewski had viewed the piano.

'Paderewski?' inquired the girl. 'And, surely, he must have played something most beautiful on this old instrument.'

'On the contrary,' replied the attendant, 'Paderewski did not feel worthy of touching it.'



NO ANKLETBELLS FOR HER

by
MANJERI S. ISWARAN



THE Hillman Minx was parked alongside the winding kerb, then under repair. It was one of the most populous parts of the City, a trade centre; the pavement, in frequent stretches, was seamed with cracks, smudged and gangrenous; for here lived the homeless poor, cooking their food and washing their rags, sousing water all about from blackened pails and heaping up little mounds of muck and scum. A short distance off, a diesel-engine was mixing up cement and gravel; its rattling sound came as a warning to these paupers that in another day perhaps they will have to be on the move farther away. Over the length of the pavement already repaired small puddles of water were kept stagnating, fed by a hydrant close by, to harden the newly-laid concrete. And the puddles were the temporary breeding place for mosquitoes.

Spick and span the Hillman seemed to have just emerged out of the show room of an automobile firm. The enamel of its body was pure lapis lazuli, emulating the azure of the sea and sky. To one who had an eye for beautiful things, it was more than beautiful; its streamlined contours shot at perfection, and the fact that it was wholly out of harmony with the drab surroundings amidst which it stood heightened the impression that the exceeding physical charms which mortals had when the race was young and which they had lost through an unhinging civilization, they had by some curious ingenuity, transferred to inanimate objects to the point of fullest articulation.

It was afternoon and the sun was a bit sulky, being worried by patches of idling summer clouds. The croup

of the car shone like cheval-glass aswung on uprights. Facing it appeared a little girl, nine or ten years old, spare and brown, with an oval face so tremblingly alive that the nose was all nostrils and the eyes were a round inquiry into this uncommon happening. Her hair though scanty was black as a crow's wings; at the moment it was plastered down with oil and plaited, and the pigtail at the nape of her neck was short and curved like the tail of a pup. Up to her waist she was clad in her own swarthy skin, the rest of her dress was a piece torn from an old, old *saree* which showed no scope for further stains and stitches. A string of pink beads almost choked her slender throat, around her wrists were a pair of glass bangles.

Catching her reflection in the croup of the car which shone like cheval-glass, amused, fascinated, the thin girl, the dusky girl began to dance. Now mincingly, now trippingly, she advanced and retreated; her arms were akimbo, then her palms were folded; with nods of head and roving eyes, she lingered a step, languished an instant; bending and swaying, wheeling round and round, and every now and again smiling at her image cast on the mirrorbright back of the car she disported herself. Maybe she remembered, when she smiled, the painted eunuchs she had seen dancing before shopfronts during the Pongal festival. No *ballerina* that pirouetted on a stage that changed under changing lights and shadows, with an auditorium bewitched before her starry eyes and the symphony of the orchestra falling divinely on her ears, no *devadasi*

that did her *natya* in the temple in the presence of the decorated idol of god or goddess could have been so ecstatic as was this child of the gutters. She danced. The open road was her audience, the din of traffic her background music. She danced, her gaiety unabated, her gaze fixed on the rear of the car.

Suddenly a cry came, cutting through the noise of the traffic:—

"Annakkili! Annakkili!"

Unheeding the girl went on, imitating steps, gesturing with fingers.

The call was repeated with the shrillness of a scream.

She turned her look in the direction of the call. It was her mother who stood a few yards away on the edge of the kerb. Not far from her was an oven burning with a smoky fire and obscuring the earthen pot on it. The girl knew at once that her mother was angry; she noticed the smoky oven and remembered about the raw rice for the *kanji*

waiting to be thrown into the water that wanted some more dry leaves and twigs to make it boil.

"So this is how you are collecting twigs," barked the woman, who obviously had seen in what manner the girl had been engaging herself. "Come, you harlot, I shall peel the skin off your back. Want to be a dancing girl, do you? One day I'm sure you'll go on the streets."

The girl hung back hesitant, for fear her mother would rush up to beat her, and saw presently a well-dressed young lady, *chic* as a film-star, with some packets under her arm and a vanity bag in her hand, stopping short while about to get into the car and staring stunned for a moment at her mother who was abusing her so foully. Then there was the sharp slam of a door and the car had driven away quietly, quickly.

Her illusion was broken; and once again, the monotony of ordinary life pursued its course.

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BOOKS & AUTHORS



Congress in Power. By Manoharlal Chaudhry. (The Lion Press, Lahore. Price: Rs. 3).

Students of English literature have for sometime now been familiar with what is called "the stream of consciousness" method of building up an impression. James Joyce used this method with sensational success in 'Ulysses'. It has caught on in another sphere—political journalism. Some modern political writers, especially in India, would appear to empty their minds—small enough wastepaper baskets usually—on to paper, and call the product a political commentary, review or something of the sort. The fact that such books as the one under review get published (and sold at the price of Rs. 3 for 145 pages of trash) shows that there is a current demand which it meets. But all the same, it indicates a most disturbing state of affairs. Something ought to be done to arrest this mounting flood of dull and sometimes poisonous stuff that, paper shortage notwithstanding, seems to be sweeping over the country. We may have entrusted the work of government, in a province or two, to hundredth-raters; but we ought to exclude illiterates at least from the sphere of journalism and literature.

These remarks have been provoked by a fairly careful perusal of "Congress in Power." Much of it is pretty dull writing, excitement of course occasionally being afforded by orthographic and grammatical audacities. Of the general quality of the book, here is a sample from the first chapter entitled "What is Congress?"—"What a simple and yet complicated question! Like the two sides of the medal, this question, too, has many answers. Opinions differ and so do the various definitions of the word Congress." Thereafter the author proceeds to quote the dictionary meaning of the term Congress and the Encyclopædia Britannica's 'elaboration' of it. Truly a promising beginning. The chapter tells the story of the birth of the Congress, of its early phase when Governors sometimes honoured its sessions with an occasional visit, of its later more militant phases, and

reaches the conclusion that Congress is 'the only unimpeachable national and true representative organisation of the country.' This is the way each chapter is constructed.

The chapter, for instance, on 'Congress conceives (!) power' begins by stating how the Indian element in the higher ranks of the British apparatus of government was drawn from the Congress, and surveys the changes in the policy of the Congress in relation to constitutional reforms, and ends thus: "An Interim Government—to all purposes a Coalition with the Congress leader as the Premier has been formed at the Centre. How do they fare is for time to tell."

It is in chapter V that the author begins to discuss the real theme of the book, the Congress record in office, at page 113 in this book of 146 pages. The Congress policy in regard to political prisoners, civil liberties, prohibition, etc., is fairly temperately surveyed, and account is taken of progress made in labour problems, social reform, etc., in the various provinces. But the author says curiously enough at the end, "the Ministries work under the instructions of the High Command. The High Command whether in the interests of the country or to satisfy its whim can at any moment ask them to Halt," and concludes that "the outlook for the future is however never cheerful." We, however, hope the Congress Ministries will carry on!—S. R.

The Progress of Pakistan. By S. Hyder (The Lion Press, Lahore. Price Rs. 2-8-0).

This book by a young Punjabi Muslim journalist is an attempt, somewhat juvenile and enthusiastic in tone and tenour, to assess the progress of the Pakistan movement in India. It is divided into five chapters: 1. What is Pakistan; 2. The Light of the East; 3. Direct Action; 4. Civil war or Freedom and 5. The future of Pakistan.

The author conceives of Pakistan as the attainment of a distinct national status for every Muslim inhabitant of India. This would appear to imply that

all Muslims in India, whether within the so-called Muslim-majority areas or not, are to attain the status of a distinct nation. But the author, in his rhetorical retrospect of the history of the Muslims in India in the opening pages, asserts that "there is no nation in India except the Muslim nation." It is obvious that Mr. Hyder has rather vague and dubious ideas of the meaning of the term 'nation.' He says, for instance, "the Indian Mussalman who owes his birth to India owes only one allegiance and that is to his nation which knows no limitations of time or space. The ultimate authority of every Muslim is the world of Islam or the universal Muslim nation." Universal Muslim nation indeed!

We must say that in these pages, while there is a great deal of juvenile perversion and distortion of facts and evidence, there is a tone of fanaticism which gives one an unpleasant reminder of the Nazis who worked so hard—for their country's ruin. Sweeping assertions such as that Gandhiji began to think (in 1922) of usurping total leadership of the Khilafat movement in order to use it as a Congress monopoly against Muslims—that "the Cabinet Mission, by their clever but dubious award of May 16, offered to hand over the complete machinery of governmental power to the majority-nation and its capitalist-ridden party" (and there are a great many assertions of this kind) would raise in most readers but a smile. But such statements are, we fear, fervidly believed in and broadcast on purpose. Systematic grievance-

mongering has become almost the sole technique in the hands of the Muslim League. And, as in politics the lie has a tremendous start over the truth, it often gives a certain spectacular, if temporary, success. The truth will win in the end, but a heavy price in lives may have to be paid for the victory. We see the technique at work in the inflammatory statements made by the Qaid-e-Azam of Pakistan carefully emphasizing the sufferings of the Muslims in East Punjab and avoiding all reference to the massacre of the non-Muslims which his admirers are executing in West Punjab.

This book ought not, therefore, to be dismissed as a contemptible farrago of half-truths, fancies and fantastic ambitions. Another thing. The author is described as a young journalist. In that case, he can still go back to school and learn a little—of grammar. It is true that there are faint and fitful gleams of sense even in this hotch-potch; for instance, there is recognition that once the Muslims feel free in their Pakistan, they must and will join in a common central organisation to run the administrative machinery of all-India affairs." These gleams are however few and far between. The bulk of the book is unmistakably Nazi and chauvinistic in temper. It ought to serve as a warning that we should, hereafter, confront realities frankly, set about building a strong democratic machinery of government in India, and give a wide berth to the pet nostrums of imbecile utopia-mongers who plead for "generous gestures" to the Muslims.

One day, being in an enquiring mood, Julian Arnold, son of Sir Edwin Arnold, asked Carnegie what was the secret of making all the money he was reputed to possess.

"There is no secret," he replied. "The first thousand dollars is difficult to save if you have a bad start in life, as I had; but after that you can shut the doors and windows and the money continues to come in through the chinks."

"Your answer leaves too much unsaid. Won't you humour my curiosity?"

"Well then, one of the secrets is this: never let a man pay all of his bill. When a contractor orders from me the materials for the commencement of a new railroad and presently the note falls due, I say to him, 'Don't let the amount trouble you. Pay me half and order another lot'—and so on, until the entire railroad has been built with materials which my mills have supplied. In due course I emerge from the transaction owning a large portion of the stock of the new railroad—and I've got all my money!"

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.

Thoughtless Premier

Swatantra has done a great service to the people of Madras by having unhesitatingly condemned the action of the Madras Premier in bringing ten thousand refugees from the north. Madras has all along been enjoying the unique reputation of being free from any sort of communal disturbances, and people coming from the north simply envy us for such a situation. Now the Prime Minister is paving the way for the poison of communal rancour to spread in this province also. Though his action is well-intentioned, it cannot be denied that it is most unwise and we are taking a needless risk during a period of great political turmoil. We could have given other forms of help to the refugees without actually bringing them here. Having just escaped from a hell on earth, they cannot resist the temptation of narrating to the people here what had happened in Punjab which will only go to embitter the relations between the communities as happened in Delhi. Sardar Patel the Home Minister warned the refugees the other day against abuse of hospitality and Pandit Nehru now admits that "seventy-five per cent of what had happened in Delhi was directly due to the reactions of the stories brought by the refugees." In the face of these stern reminders, our Premier's action can be only termed as sheer thoughtlessness. He is mortgaging the welfare of the people of this province without properly ascertaining public opinion in a matter of such serious import.

T. C. SANKARALINGAM.

Travancore

The Travancore proclamation on constitutional reforms bears many signs of the language of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. The recognition of the royal prerogatives by the State Congress is perhaps only a prelude to their giving up the demand for Aikya Kerala. If so, Sir C. P. has gained a victory over the Congress, and his dramatic retirement has a significance which only time will unfold. At any rate, the proclamation cannot be taken at its face value. One can only hope that the

State Congress will not water down any of their essential demands and that they will not allow dissensions to set in their ranks.

B. SIVAKOTA REDDI.
Buchireddipalem.

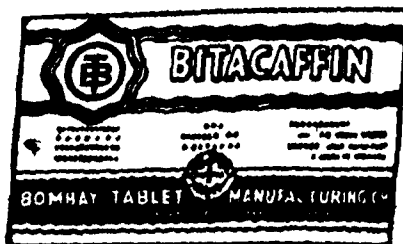
Elections to Vizianagram Municipal Council.

The selection of Congress candidates to the Vizianagram Municipal Council by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has been very badly done. They have selected a set of black-marketeers. The basic principle of the Congress has completely been sacrificed. Th sincere workers have been ignored. Is it a selection by a "Congress Committee" or a "Chamber of Commerce?"

S. V. SURYANARAYANA.
Vizianagram.

Why this compensation to M.E.S.C.?

The M.E.S.C. has been taken over by the Madras Government from 29th August 1947. No longer the British capitalists have a monopoly right over the production and distribution of electricity in the city. This is certainly a welcome step. But at the same time a huge amount of Rs. 1-1/3 crores has been paid as a first instalment to the M.E.S.C. as compensation. Government authorities say that there is no question of compensation, but only a question of paying the "market value" of the existing plants and buildings minus depreciation. As the M.E.S.C. acquired monopoly rights of supply of electricity to the city of Madras without any commitments of sharing its profits with the Government of Madras for the last 40 years, what is being paid now should only be termed as compensation for refusing to extend monopoly rights in running the concern for further periods. It is learnt that an European firm in Calcutta has been appointed to assess the worth of the M.E.S.C. and if its assessment is within the marginal limits of the evaluation made by the Government staff, the further instalment will be paid by the Government to the M.E.S.C. And of course both the private firm and the Government carry out the assessment at the "market value" of plants and buildings as against the "book value".

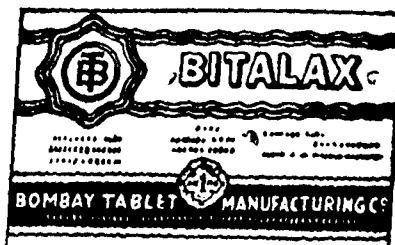


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In wide contrast with this we find in Eastern European countries like Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia Bulgaria, etc., where key industries and public utilities have been taken over by the Government without any compensation or payment to the owner, we find reconstruction going ahead and better life is being built up for the common man.

All these concerns in India have made during the course of their existence many times their capital. As for the M.E.S.C. it has earned £11.7 lakhs in the period of 1932 to 1944 as net profits, whereas its paid up capital amounts only to £10.5 lakhs. And its liquid asset in 1944 was £4.7 lakhs. It is no exaggeration, if we say that they have made 4 to 5 times their capital. And as such there is no need for the Government to pay any sum to them as though any loss is being incurred by them. And if such huge compensation amounts are to be paid for taking over firms, I am afraid it will take not only decades and decades to complete nationalisation, but also it will result in the pauperisation of the common man. The fundamental question is: Who has to meet the expenses of reconstruction? Certainly it must be the war-rich and the profiteers; and not the common man living on meagre incomes. I urge upon the public and the legislature to see to the revision of the policy of paying compensation to firms who have grown fabulously rich by exploiting the people all these years, and see that all public utility concerns and key industries are taken over by the Government without any compensation.

As far as the M.E.S.C. is concerned, the public must agitate that no further sum should be paid and the liquid assets of the company of nearly 60 lakhs of rupees must be taken over by the Government if it has not already done so.

T. R. GANESAN.

"Popular Fallacies"

I wish to correct a factual error in the Open Letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru by "Chitragupta" published in *Swatantra* of August 23. Pandit Motilal Nehru is casually referred to there as one who, "despairing of finding a good enough dhobi in all-India to launder his clothes", had organised a "weekly trans-marine service to and from Paris to assuage his sartorial sensibilities". This is quite erroneous, and contrary to truth. This is no more than a popular belief, which had gained so much cur-

rency that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself took pains to explode it in his "Autobiography".

There is another misconception—an equally current one—associated with Pandit Nehru, which he flatly dismisses (again in his "Autobiography") as untrue. It is the belief that the Duke of Windsor (formerly King Edward VIII) was a colleague or classmate of Pandit Nehru during his studies at Cambridge.

R. LAKSHMINARASIMHAN.
Aduthurai.

How to dehoard Food Stocks.

It is regrettable to note that a Minister of a major province like Madras has to go to landlords with a begging bowl for procurement instead of strictly enforcing the machinery of the State against the hoarders and black-marketeers who are thriving at the cost of starving millions of poor people. In spite of the fact that last year's production was 3,827 thousand tons, the procurement was only 1,226 thousand tons, whereas this year, production was 4,795 thousand tons and procurement was only 1,105 thousand tons. This means that production has increased by 968 thousand tons this year and procurement figures have considerably fallen. This shows that people's food is hidden and the common man is at the mercy of the wily profiteers. The Government as a people's Government has got only two alternatives. (1) Support the majority of the people by dehoarding the stocks, which in turn gets the solid backing of the common people for the Ministry or (2) support the hoarders indirectly by not effectively enforcing the law, which in turn gets the just anger of the people against the Ministry. In my opinion the following methods if followed by the Government can achieve the object of procurement to its maximum.

(1) Direct the M.L.As. who are 228 in number to go to all villages in their respective constituencies and contact the farmers who actually till the soil, and get information from them about the quantity of paddy produced and the actual stocks held by each landlord, (who has more than 15 acres of land). If all the appeals by them for surrendering the surplus stocks fail, then with the aid of the police get the surplus stocks.

(2) Instead of relying upon the village karnams' estimate of the figures of production, the Government officials with the co-operation of members of all political parties should go and visit

the villages during the time of harvest, find out actual production and get the surplus stocks.

(3) Instead of depending on foreign imports of foodstuffs give at least 5 acres of fallow land to those who are prepared to take up cultivation immediately and no tax should be collected on this land for at least five years.

(4) The Government should at once make arrangements to supply the ryots with their daily necessities like dhall, chillies, salt and other commodities at controlled rates. Agricultural implements also should be supplied at controlled rates.

The legislators should set themselves the task of explaining to the people the seriousness of the food situation instead of expecting a Minister overburdened with work to get food for the people by his tours.

N. KUPPUSWAMI CHOUDARY.
Kottamitta.

Equalize Suffering

One is not able to understand why Madras Presidency alone is threatened with food famine, when food is an all-India problem controlled by the Centre. When no freedom is given to provinces to pursue their own policies and the Centre sits tight over the ceiling price for paddy, is it not incumbent on the part of the Centre to equalize suffering among all provinces alike? Why should people in C.P. or Orissa be allowed full 16 oz. rice ration while people in Madras are forced to live on only 8 oz.? This anomaly should be set right immediately. The same applies to areas inside the Madras province itself. Why should it be said by the Premier that Vizagapatam may not survive the next two months, ignoring all other districts? Surely Tanjore cannot enjoy a full meal while Vizagapatam starves!

N. NANNARAO.

Anakapalle.

Village Food Committees

The Government is reported to be contemplating the abolition of the food committees formed by the previous ministry. The reason is said to be that "several complaints had been received from non-officials themselves regarding the failure of these committees." This is a sweeping charge. In respect of which and how many of them had such reports been received?

No enquiry, even of the kind in respect of the P.C.C. societies, has been

made. Selfish and power-seeking elements are found even in the Congress organisation, whose honour has gone down for that reason; but we are not abolishing the Congress on that account. We must reform and reorganise the food committees which have done immense good to the poor by supplying them cloth and sugar and remove existing defects. Fresh elections to the committees could be ordered for this purpose.

A VILLAGER.

Surprising

In the Convocation of the Andhra University held in January last, Ex-Premier Prakasam was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Litt.). But it is surprising that the public and the Press never took cognizance of this fact by calling the ex-Premier Dr. Prakasam as is right and proper.

S. V. S. SOMESWARA RAO.

Congress After Freedom

The Congress should lose no time in announcing in unequivocal terms that it will work for a Socialist democratic State, clearly indicating that all people would have equal opportunities and powers, without distinctions of religion, caste or property and that such equality and common prosperity can be soonest achieved by State ownership of essential industries and the widespread promotion of co-operative enterprises under State guidance. If such an enunciation of aim should deprive the Congress of a portion of its present membership, it need not be apprehended that such a defection will in any way weaken the organisation. An organisation whose members are knit together by a common ideal, is any day stronger than a bigger organisation with divided ideologies.

Bapatla.

M. KALIDASA.

Foreign Capital

If India is to be really independent, we should not accept large foreign loans. Indian capital should stop being shy, and should come forward to man all the industries. Under no circumstances should Japanese, Lancashire or American cloth be dumped on the Indian market. It is time the merchant class ceased being more black-marketeers and middlemen.

R. S. RAO.

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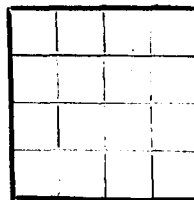
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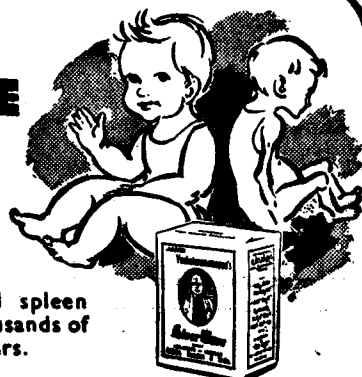
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SWATANTRA

VOL. II, No. 33.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1947

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—by H. V. Ram Gopal.
REFUGEE WOMAN AT MADRAS CENTRAL STATION.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 33

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING

THE Interim Report of the Industrial Planning Committee set up by the Madras Government is not likely to commend itself to intelligent people in the province primarily interested in social welfare. It will certainly be hailed with joy by avaricious groups seeking to win ministerial patronage for securing monopolies for themselves to grow rich by exploiting the needs of the people. The Committee has revealed its bias for profiteers by the decision it has reached that the distribution of industrial products should normally be left in private hands. This is just what it should not be. Most of the present economic miseries of the people are traceable to the utter collapse of all reasonable standards of restraint on the part of traders engaged in the distribution of industrial products. They have taken to killing the goose laying them golden eggs. No longer are they content with trade on the basis of the intrinsic costs of production of the goods purveyed by them. Fleecing their customers most unmercifully to the utmost limits of opportunity has become the rule with them. Trade in industrial goods has become a sort of robbery—and traders in industrial goods have ceased to be servants of society. They have become rapacious and anti-social—a menace to people's welfare to be tackled as a menace. No economic reconstruction having as its aim the welfare of the common people is at all possible, unless they are rescued

from dependence, for the essential goods they need, on the sort of traders now dominating all markets, given to relentless profiteering. Except through the collective self-help of consumers in the form of co-operative agencies, there is no practical possibility for effecting such a rescue. The elimination of the depredations on helpless people going on in the name of trade, with the aid of co-operative agencies with a social conscience in economic matters, is the very first requisite of intelligent planning, if the planning is to be for comprehensive public good. By ordaining that the distribution of industrial products should normally be left in private hands, the Madras Planning Committee has failed to take due note of the primary origin and cause of the widespread economic distress now prevailing. It has shown concern for the exploiters of the people in disregard of the interests of their exploited victims.

Regarding nationalisation of industries, the Committee holds that in the immediate future it may not be possible to initiate a policy of nationalisation on a large scale, and by way of a reason for this view, it says that the administrative departments of the Government have not been organised to undertake the management of industries. Nothing more is needed than this reason to betray the wholly untenable conception which the Committee evidently mistook for planning. It is not the purpose of planning to

take the deficiencies of the administrative departments of the Government as a standard and to work up suggestions round that standard so as to impart to it a sacrosanct status. It is the purpose of planning to have a definite objective in view and seek to remove existing defects militating against the realisation of that objective. If adjustment to administrative liabilities becomes the groundwork of planning, the result is not likely to be much of an asset.

According to the Committee, planning means "the establishment of an authority within the State with power to dictate production programmes which various industries must undertake, and as ancillary thereto, the power to control the location of industries and to canalise the savings of people into the financing of schemes for the development of the country." The emphasis is on power and on control by custodians of power. The Committee has evolved a pattern of industrial development for the province in which the main control over industry will vest in a provincial and several regional committees to be appointed by the Provincial Government. Naturally the worth of the organisation recommended will depend, to a very large extent, on the character of the authority appointing it. Industrial control is apt to become an instrument for oppressive economic tyranny unless the persons wielding it have assimilated the true political culture of democracy, outgrowing the temptation to exert power on clannish lines. Industrial control cannot safely be entrusted to a Government actuated by communal feelings. A certain minimum measure of loyalty to non-communal standards of economic justice is necessary if industrial control is not to be misapplied to unworthy ends and degenerate into an instrument of nepotism instead of developing into a means for the promotion of common pros-

perity. For this reason, economic planning tending to tighten the State's control over industry should go hand in hand with Socialist evolution, and in exchange for the power assumed by the State over individual lives, there should be a guarantee of equality of treatment to all. In a State like Pakistan where mass murder of minorities is the order of the day, planned economic control by Government will only mean, to the harassed victims, addition of the lingering perdition of economic strangulation to the terror of physical violence. In view of the fact that the administration in Madras is at present controlled by communal-minded Justices in Congress garb, it is running riot in a career of notorious lack of equity, and we doubt if it can digest any further additions to its already existing powers. Until a Socialist drive comes from the Centre and achieves passable success in putting down the mischief of communalism, the Provincial Government must be treated as unfit for further extensions of its power in the industrial field.

If planning means, as the Committee tells us, the establishment of an authority within the State to dictate production, the proper authority to whom the responsibility for planning can belong, according to every canon of commonsense, is obviously the Central Government. For all purposes of planning, the higher authority over-rides the lower, and the State itself is sovereign over all its component parts. The inter-provincial adjustments indispensable for the elimination of industrial waste and duplication, make the Central Government the obvious authority for exercising the supreme control involved in planning and there can be no question of conflict or competition between the Centre and the Provinces in the matter. The whole question of industrial finance under Socialist evolution awaits indeed

drastic settlement which only the Centre and no Province will be competent to direct. Investors who make money through dividends are on a par with the zamindars in the matter of enjoying unearned income, and a world that is impatient to see the zamindaries abolished is not likely to tolerate for long the present widespread dispersion of industrial profits among the non-working rich. A Socialist society will have to recast itself on some basis permitting no enrichment of the idle, which may mean the ploughing back of private savings through high taxation into the State Treasury. Under the inevitable pressure of the impending Socialism, doctrines sanctifying freedom of private industrial enterprise belong to an expiring age, and do not seem to us to reflect correctly the true needs and trends of the times.

Zamindari Legislation

THE long-looked for bill on the abolition of the zamindaries in the Madras Province has been published along with two other bills—one dealing with the reduction of rents payable in future by ryots in the zamindari areas and the other with the prohibition of the alienation of communal and forest lands by zamindars. There is a great deal of controversy among the members of the Congress Legislature Party itself on some of the more significant clauses in these bills and it cannot be said at this stage in what final form they will emerge out of the legislature.

The ideal of the Indian National Congress is now being proclaimed as democratic socialism. Mr. Sankar Rao Deo has been harping on this for the past three months. What the country really is in need of is democratic socialism and every piece of legislation that Congress Ministries propose to enact should be examined from this standpoint.

Viewed in this light there is nothing either socialistic or democratic about these bills. On the other hand they only bid fair to make it easier for a very small number of owners of property to strengthen the hold of capitalism on the province and perpetuate the evils of parasitism whose abolition is what democratic socialism should aim at.

This is the automatic outcome of the proposals on the basis of which the Government has decided to compensate the zamindars. The clauses relating to compensation constitute the central feature of the Zamindari Bill and the question that naturally arises is whether there is a case at all for any compensation being paid to them.

This depends on the answer to the question as to what it is for which the zamindars deserve to be compensated. There are those who hold that the permanent settlement of 1802 conferred on the zamindars the right of property over all the land in the zamindari areas; but there are others who regard the zamindars as mere agents appointed by the East India Company to collect revenue on its behalf for a commission which roughly amounted to ten per cent of the revenue collected. Of these two views the latter is the more correct. Whatever proprietary right the zamindars claimed subsequent to 1802 was the result of mere usurpation and has no support for it either in law, equity or social justice. And it is this usurpation that has all along been responsible for the zamindars' growing rich at the expense of their tenants. In their historical origin the zamindars are only rent-collectors, a class of Government employees. The abolition of zamindaries means only one thing, viz., that Government today has considered it desirable to employ some other agency more efficient and less tyrannical for the purpose of collecting the land revenue from the ryots in these areas.

If this is the true position of the zamindars there is no case whatever for any compensation being paid to them. What the Government of India Act of 1935 says is that no property should be taken by Government from private individuals without the payment of equitable compensation. And this is also what the Fundamental Rights incorporated in the Constitution of India now being framed by the Constituent Assembly declare. But the zamindars are not being deprived of any proprietary rights at all. They never had such rights. And for being deprived of the right to collect revenue the only consideration that should be shown to them is what a Government shows to any of its employees whose services it terminates more or less suddenly. If compensation is to be paid to them it is on this basis that it should be settled.

In its present form the bill proposes to pay compensation on an extravagant scale although the Revenue Minister has accepted the position that the zamindars are not the proprietors of their zamindari. He does not seem to be exactly clear in his own mind as to the grounds on which he proposes to part with ten crores of the people's money for benefiting a few revenue-gatherers. There is no connection whatever between the premises from which the Revenue Minister starts—that the zamindars are only tax-gatherers—and the conclusion he arrives at that because their services are being dispensed with today they are entitled to get 12½ to 20 times. Not even the members of the Heaven born Civil Service got such a concession or compensation. No I.C.S. Collector of a district claimed as compensation a multiple of the revenue collected by him.

The case for compensation also loses its strength when it is recognised that the zamindar will even after the bill is enacted into law be

entitled to become the ryotwari owner of his "private" lands. And every zamindar has large areas of such lands. In fact they will be amongst some of the biggest landlords in the province. They will retain their private buildings, their gardens and all other forms of private property that they accumulated as tax-gatherers during the last one hundred and fifty years. To pay huge compensation when no property is taken away is an act inconsistent with both democracy and socialism and amounts from the standpoint of the masses of the people to open robbery. If there is to be equity, the clauses relating to compensation should disappear from the bill.

Another anomaly is furnished by the clauses relating to inams. There is no analogy between inamdars and zamindars. Many inams are held by religious and charitable institutions. Many others are held by petty landlords and their holdings are very small in size. It was only the communal temperament of the old Justice Party that was responsible for the inclusion of inams in the category of zamindaris when, during the premiership of the Raja of Bobbili the inam legislation was passed a dozen years ago. Of course the Congress Party and the Congress Government in Madras have today become even more communal than the old Justice Party and this accounts for the inclusion of inams in the present bill. Inamdars are not mere tax-gatherers. They are not intermediaries in the large majority of cases. The rights they have are of a quite different kind. And in circumstances like these it is only just and fair that the proposed zamindari legislation should not be made applicable to them. If at all any legislation is necessary in this matter it may be taken up later on, quite separately and independently.

The bill which proposes to reduce the rents payable by the ryots in zamindari areas to the level of those obtaining in ryotwari areas is also an ill-conceived one. There is nothing fair or equitable in the land revenue assessments in ryotwari tracts. The whole system is regressive. If immediate relief is to be given to the ryots in zamindari areas it must take some other form. An automatic remission for a year or two by one-fourth or one-third may be granted. The Government should embark on a complete reform of its

land revenue policy for which there has been a persistent demand for more than a generation. To force on the ryots of the zamindari area a system of land revenue which has been found inequitable, wasteful and uneconomic, a system devised a century ago by the East India Company when it had no other object than to get as much revenue as possible, is to act in an antiquated way without proper regard to the conditions of the twentieth century.

Sotto Voce

Peace By Dynamite



MAHATMA GANDHI'S name has been mentioned off and on these past twenty years in connection with the Nobel Peace Prize. It is just possible that this time the rumour will prove well-founded. Edward Benes and Sir John Boyd-Orr, though worthy enough persons and entitled to recognition on other meritorious grounds, are not in the same flight. A more decisive consideration may well be the fact that to-day India is a free country and in a position to catch the Speaker's eye, as it were. If by any chance Gandhiji should visit London again we may safely discount the possibility of Mr. Churchill sneering at the Naked Fakir; he may even, taking the cue from young Randolph, invite him for a week-end!

Europeans are realists; and the Stockholm Academy is particularly sensitive to the prevailing winds of opinion. Many have made the mistake of regarding the award of the Nobel Prize as international recog-

nition of absolute greatness. It is nothing of the sort. To set the seal of approval on ultimate worth is the privilege of posterity. No man can be a hero to his contemporaries in the sense in which the shadowy Shakespeare and the ideal Ramachandra are heroes to us. It is the men who have other and more immediately encashable qualities who achieve the most coveted prizes in life.

Even with this caution in mind it is difficult to see how anybody's comparative worth could be evaluated within the short perspective of a twelvemonth. The Nobel Prize for Literature, for instance, is intended to be awarded to the writer of the best work of an idealistic tendency that appeared in the previous year. It went to some queer fish; one wonders how many of the below-twenties have heard of "If Winter Comes." When a best-seller could be mistaken for a classic, it is hardly surprising that the Nobel

Peace Committee should have gone wildly astray in making some of its selections. Kaiser Wilhelm was within an ace of being awarded the Prize when that little excursion into Belgium spoilt his chances.

Peace for Europe is a matter of diplomacy. As in cities with primitive sanitation defective drains are decorously covered over and left to stagnate till with the next rains they should overflow, so in a continent where war is endemic the uneasy intervals between two grand burst-ups are punctured with periodical pow-wows promoted by well-meaning people. Hard-boiled politicians spout soulful idealism under the beneficent influence of these internationalists, reminding the more sentimental of Beauty and the Beast; and grandiose schemes for the outlawry of war fill the air. But ancestral voices are never far; and when they begin prophesying, the baying hound of frustrated idealism "doth to the moon complain." The Peace Prizeman turns rampaging patriot.

The contemporary fashion is to talk of peace even while you prepare for war. The politicians know by long experience that that is the easiest way of stampeding the doped masses. The protagonists of the Mahabharata war were more simple-minded. The grant of just five villages would have contented Dharmaputra. And Dhritarashtra for his part felt that his self-willed son would be consumed by his own arrogance. But that old man, foolish like the best of us where his affections were concerned, could only say, "Who can hope to alter Heaven's decree?" Sri Krishna

heard him and said nothing; even as he heard Bhima and Draupadi laugh at Duryodhana's plight and said nothing. The mills of God grind slowly and they grind 'friend' and 'foe' alike.

And yet it was Krishna whom they chose for guest of honour at the great Rajasooya sacrifice. That august assembly which contained the greatest and holiest in the land could not at first agree as to who deserved the magnificent compliment; it fell to Sahadeva, a mere stripling, to proclaim the truth. "Let us give our homage to him who is the soul of all created things, to whom none is 'other,'" said the young Pandava. "Let us give it to him who is at peace with himself, who knows no lack and of the gift makes endless guerdon." Verily the bread cast upon the waters shall return a hundredfold.

A Peace Prize awarded according to our Sastras would go to the *santa*, the *poorna*, the *ananyadarsana*. To make a fortune in dynamite and leave it for the promotion of peace and culture is one of those acts of inconsequent philanthropy which in the modern world have produced such untoward results. The Nobel Foundation impartially rewards the author of the Fourteen Points and the discoverer of the atom bomb. Money is easily given these days for all sorts of causes; what is not so easily given is earnestness. When we can honour our great men by pooling our will to peace haply there may arise one among us who will make of the pool a great ocean. Deep calls to deep.

VIGHNESWARA.

APPLIED BALDERDASH

The poetically minded lover of 50 years ago used to describe his passion in terms of emotional upsurges and etherial contacts. But to-day he does it in terms of libidos, death-urges, frustrations and escapes. And so, if he wishes to start a campaign with a woman who prides herself on being an intellectual he does not plant a tiny seed of love in the corner of her heart—he plants a flea in her ear.—James Dowdall.

SIDELIGHTS :

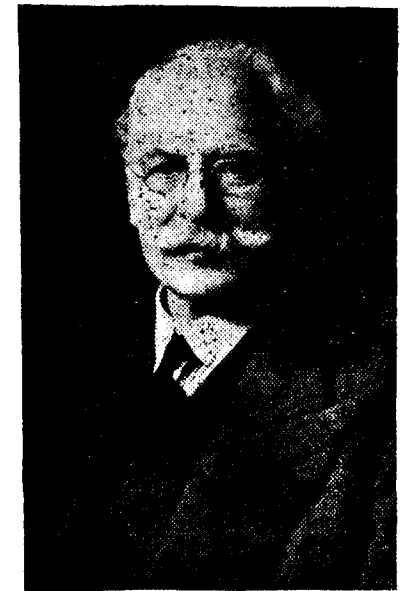
A newspaper has two sides to it. On the one hand, it is a business like any other business, carried on for profit and depending on profit for prosperity or existence. On the other hand, it may be described as a public-utility service, a service which may be performed well or ill, but which, on the whole, is essential to the interests of the public. These two elements in the life and purpose of a newspaper are not always in accord; they may even violently conflict. Yet on their harmony the character and usefulness of a newspaper must depend.—C. P. SCOTT.

A WRITER in a recently started weekly journal called upon one of the Ministers the other day to go and drown himself in the Cooum. I cite this as an example of advice that is never likely to be acted upon by those to whom it is addressed, however vigorously or captivatingly the advice may be phrased. Good journalism should restrict itself to purposes capable of being realised. In the expounding of opinion there is no charm in getting the plaudits of those who are already on your side. Achievement consists in forcing readers who belong to the "other" side to change over to your own under the irresistible compulsion of argument. In British journalism J. A. Spender excelled all others in this sort of achievement.

Lord Northcliffe said of Spender that he was the only man who could edit *The Times*, but it is with the *Westminster Gazette* that Spender's name is primarily associated. In a note on Spender's completion of twenty-one years of editorship, the *Manchester Guardian* wrote, "The *Westminster* is the one journal in London which sells on its leader. It is unlike all other London leaders in that it is addressed to and read by the thoughtful section of the opposite party." Spender was a devotee of the Liberal Party and the *Westminster* while

he edited it was regarded as the most authoritative exponent of Liberalism in the British Press. But party loyalty never led to decline of intellectual independence in his case. In a laudatory letter to Spender, Sir Edward Grey said, "You manage to combine independent thought with unswerving support of the party in a way which is rare. It makes your articles like the opinion of a valued colleague. I know nothing else in journalism like it."

Spender made a mark for reasonableness "not unsalted with wit", and his peculiar combination of sanity, sincerity and scrupulous



J. A. Spender

fairness which always made for moderation of expression was a source of constant exasperation to unreasonable opponents who found themselves powerless to deal with him in the customary styles of invective and denunciation. Spender used reason as the supreme journalistic weapon in a rather coldblooded way, but he had a passion for taking

himself seriously and facing most respectfully the arguments of those who differed from him. He was a warmhearted apostle of journalistic integrity who felt sorely distressed professionally whenever he saw the power of the Press used for purposes that did not conduce to the public good. On such occasions he went out of his way to remonstrate with newspaper proprietors and persuade them to return to the paths of social duty.

Once when Lord Northcliffe conducted in the *Daily Mail* a campaign which Spender felt was doing a great deal of harm to the public, he went to Lord Northcliffe and objected to the campaign and begged him to put a stop to it. The story of how Lord Northcliffe dealt with his appeal is given by Robert Hichens in his just published autobiography, *Yesterday*:

"Northcliffe touched a bell and gave an order. The order was that the circulation sheets of the *Daily Mail*, from before the beginning of the campaign to that moment, should be brought to him. They were brought, and Lord Northcliffe showed them to Spender. The sheets proved that ever since the beginning of the campaign which Spender considered so harmful to public opinion the circulation of the paper had been steadily rising.

"You see!" Lord Northcliffe said.

Spender said, "Yes! Well?"

Lord Northcliffe simply moved his broad shoulders, as much as to say, "How can you possibly expect me to stop a campaign that is doing so much good to the paper?"

And the interview came to an end.

The Northcliffian tradition has spread from Britain to the rest of the world. It has not spared the Press of this poor country. We have journals run to create bad blood because the creation of bad blood is popular with excited groups primed for mutual recrimination and belligerency and happens for the time to be commercially profitable. It was the distinction of Spender's *Westminster* that though it lost money and had, compared with the millions of readers of the

Northcliffian Press, an inconsiderable circulation, it commanded a greater weight of influence per reader, having regard to the character of its readers, than any other London paper existing then or since. A revealing reminiscence indicating the superiority of the *Westminster* in the matter of continual gripping of intelligent readers' interest is given by Sir Robert Edgcumbe:

"I was travelling to London on a Thursday afternoon, and was alone in my compartment. At Hatfield Lord Salisbury got into the same carriage, and as the train moved off he was handed three evening papers. Shortly after we started he took them up, opened first the *Globe* and immediately threw it upon the floor of the carriage; then he opened the *Evening Standard* and treated it in a similar manner; lastly he opened the *Westminster Gazette* and proceeded to read it diligently until we arrived at King's Cross station."

Some papers are just glanced at by their readers and thrown away. Some are bought for racing tips. Some for the appeal to avarice they contain in the form of lavish crossword puzzles. Some for the pictures of captivating pin-up girls which they print. And quite a lot (of late) for the predictions they venture as a regular feature to lure the anxious and the despondent tossed about in the sea of life's troubles, with imaginary paradises of impending good fortune. These inroads on journalism by skilled exploiters of crowd hungers serve to confound professional eminence and success with the mere knack of putting through techniques of remunerative sensationalism. They have been tending to vulgarise the Press and to deprive it more and more of its social purpose. A great pity!

The date of publication of this issue of *Swatantra* synchronises with the silver jubilee of K. Iswara Dutt's entry into journalism. His friends and admirers are celebrating the happy occasion in a fitting manner. Dutt is now Public Relations Officer in Hyderabad. It is a singularly difficult and delicate post

to hold at the present juncture. It is remarkable that not even a tiny smear of the wild passions roused in all and sundry by the state of



K. Iswara Dutt

affairs now prevailing in that gravely disturbed State should have clung to him in the process of his official duties so closely connected with its Government. This gift of

coming unscathed through storms that would have broken to pieces and wrecked the career of any less indomitably pleasant spirit, is Dutt's unique asset. He has conquered all difficulties with a social charm that has taken most of India's great, captive. Of Arthur Mee, a man of wonder in Britain's Fleet Street, whose expertness in fitting every conceivable topic on earth with relevant tit-bits of historical interest, amounted to genius, admirers used to ask, Wherefrom did he gather all this knowledge? Early in his career Arthur Mee began a collection of cuttings from every available source which in course of time grew to such dimensions that a huge cabinet of many drawers was required to accommodate them all. It was insured for a thousand pounds. The result of his analysis and assortment of every scrap of general information collected through years of daily examination of the Press was to build up Arthur Mee into a prodigy of encyclopaedic knowledge with stupendous mastery over a vast variety of miscellaneous subjects. Dutt has a stock of cuttings that can be worthily compared with Mee's. It is a rich treasure house from which invaluable results can be expected. Acquaintance with it has fashioned Dutt into a literary craftsman of exceptional polish.—SAKA.



A very small, not to say diminutive, man contracted a marriage with a widow who was unusually tall and large. A few weeks after the wedding one of his friends came upon him looking very glum.

"What's the matter?" cried the friend. "Isn't your new wife agreeable to you?"

"She's kindness itself," said the small one sadly.

"Isn't she a good housekeeper—a good cook?"

"None better in the world," said the groom, drooping a little more.

"Then what is the matter?"

"I'd be perfectly happy," blurted the little man, "if people didn't call me 'the widow's mite'!"—WALL STREET JOURNAL.

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT IN MYSORE

(From A Correspondent)

Bangalore: Many an admirer of *Swatantra* is at a loss to understand why *Swatantra* which is so near and dear to them has ignored the repression let loose in Mysore.

Whatever your reasons might have been for your apparent indifference to Mysore affairs, I shall thank you if you will kindly take note of this letter and extend your wholehearted support to the people's fight for freedom from unalloyed and unadulterated autocracy.

Prior to the arrest of the Mysore Congress leaders the *nationalist press* was muzzled by the imposition of a precensorship order on them. A section of the press is left untouched because it indulges in sycophancy and because it preaches the gospel of hate against a section of the public. As a result of the condemnably discriminatory attitude of the administration, eight leading Kannada newspapers—five of them dailies—have suspended publication since 2nd September, and the Government are repelling every attempt at compromise.

As for the Satyagraha movement, it is going on superbly; more superbly than even the sponsors of the movement ever expected. The fact is, whether or not the administration accepts it, that the administration is feeling itself completely paralysed. Hence it is resorting to all sorts of old Tory imperialist tricks to counteract the movement and stem it. The Government are openly encouraging reactionaries, and Justice that he is, Sir A. R. Mudaliar is making every attempt to set non-Brahmins against Brahmins. The old bogey that had its heyday in Madras is getting a fresh lease of life here. Inspectors of police and Government servants are openly distributing abusive handbills and other literature. The bulk of the public are laughing at these childish pranks.

The movement is meant to achieve full democratic responsible government in Mysore. As a prerequisite the Congress has demanded the appointment of an interim Cabinet composed wholly of representatives enjoying the confidence of the legislature but acting as a responsible cabinet within the framework of the present constitution. It has also demanded that a representative body wholly elected by the public must be created to frame the future constitution of Mysore on the basis of full democratic responsible government.

After the Satyagraha campaign started, the Ruler issued a message on 8th September wherein he stated that it was his intention that the "new constitution should provide for the establishment of responsible government" in the State. While some moderates were inclined to read more in the message than it really means, others are thoroughly disappointed with it. The "Consultative Committee" which the Dewan got hold of, is entirely composed of reactionaries who are opposed to responsible government. Mr. S. Hiriyannalal who was invited to be a member of the committee came out of the meeting in sheer disgust at the proceedings! (Mr. Hiriyannalal was a member of the Reforms Committee of 1938 and was also President of the Jaipur Reforms Committee). The conclusions of the committee are as undemocratic as the 1919 Montford reforms and fall far short of even the Cochin and Travancore reforms proposals.

Consequently the movement is continuing undaunted. The people including students, boys and ladies, are facing lathi charges, firing, cane-charges, etc. The total number of arrests exceeds 3,000 to date. Deaths hitherto are in the vicinity of 75 to 100.



The Flag

by
K.A. ABBAS

What does a flag mean to a hungry man without a couple of yards of cloth to cover the shame of his body?

"MAY you live long, Sarkar! May God make you a Lat Sahib, Sarkar! Please give me the share of my wife and daughter also, hazoor. They will always pray for you and your children, Sarkar."

"Get off, you liar. If you have a wife and daughter, why can't they come here and receive their share themselves?"

Ramoo was a very sensitive individual. He came away silently with only his own share of four *purees* and two *laddoos* but he would not say to them that his wife and daughter had not come because they had nothing to wear except some rags which left half their bodies uncovered. Between all three of them they had only one *dhoti* which he put on when coming out to seek work. Many, many months ago, on a pay day, he remembered, he had wandered all over Delhi, determined to buy two *dhoties* for his wife and daughter—even if they cost ten rupees for the pair. But *dhoties* were not available even for twenty rupees a piece. From end to end of Chandni Chowk, he went to big shops and small shops, and the only answer he got everywhere was "No *dhoties* in stock." At one shop, however, the salesman whispered to him, "My good man, if you are so desperately in need, I can get you a pair. It will cost fifty rupees." Fifty Rupees! But he got only twenty-five after carrying loads of bricks from dawn till dusk for a whole month.

Where was he to get fifty rupees from?

Since then he had lost even his job. He had been engaged on the construction of some new barracks for the American Army but the work had been stopped as the "Amreekan" soldiers had gone back to their own country and even the existing barracks which had been hurriedly built for them were going to be demolished. There was strict control on building material and there was no private construction work going on anywhere in the city. For months Ramoo had been unemployed. He had tramped the roads in search of work but there was no work to be got. Since the arrival of the refugees from the Punjab life had become even more difficult. Two whole days had passed and neither he nor his wife and daughter had had a morsel of food. There was nothing else he could do about it but to beg for alms in the streets—yes, he, Ramoo, a respectable brick-layer would have to beg! After all, why not? Among the refugees, even respectable *Babus* were living on charity!

That morning, indeed, he had got up determined to begin his new career as a beggar. But, by the grace of *Bhagwaan*, he had been spared the humiliation. Charagh Din and Masita had called on him early in the morning and given him the glad tidings that Seth Gulzarilal was distributing *purees* and *laddoos*.

It was said that the country had been granted something called "azadi", and it was to celebrate this occasion that the Seth, who was said to be a personal friend of the great national leaders, was feeding the poor. Even the rationing regulations had been relaxed for this great day. Four *purees* and two *laddoos*—that is what everyone was getting. But what were four *purees* and two *laddoos* in a family of three souls who hadn't had anything to eat for two days? If only he could get the share for his wife and daughter, too. But that could not be unless they appeared in person. And how were they to leave their hut without any cloth to cover the shame of their bodies? If only *Bhagwaan* would grant him a few yards of cloth!

Bhagwaan seemed to be in an unusually generous mood that moment, for even as Ramoo was crossing a pavement in Connaught Place, He sent him a big beautiful piece of cloth—with big stripes of red, white and green—and a beautiful blue wheel printed in the centre of the white stripe. It came flying through the air and fell right over Ramoo's head, making it quite clear for whom the One Above had sent it! Looking up he saw hundreds of similar pieces of cloth fluttering in the breeze on house-tops, draped round the pillars, hung in front of the shops and hotels. He thought, "Who is going to miss one less and moreover it is a gift from *Bhagwaan*." In the gay crowd that thronged the square, no one had noticed it. Ramoo quickly folded the red green and white cloth and brought it home hidden under his *dhoti*. Now his wife and daughter would be able to bring their share of *laddoos* and *purees* from the Seth Sahib's house!

He gave his *dhoti* (which originally was, indeed, her own sari) to his wife and gave her rags to his daughter to somehow cover her half-naked young body. Then he wrapped the red-green-white cloth round his own legs, making his wife smile at the colourful spectacle he presented. It was good to see her smile after a long, long time.

Happy and contented they set out for the Seth's palace where a few stragglers were still getting their shares. The *purees* had become cold and the *laddoos* were almost reduced to powder but still they represented a rare feast to Ramoo's family. Beaming with contentment they made their way back home.

Once again they were passing through Connaught Place when a shopkeeper challenged Ramoo.

"Eh, you, where did you steal this flag from?"

"Flag? What do I know about flags?"

"So, you don't know anything about flags! Then what is this you have wrapped round your loins?"

"Oh, this" Ramoo was suddenly so frightened he could hardly speak. More and more people were now joining the crowd round him.

"Arey, this must be the flag from our shop. We have been searching for it for hours."

"Look at the rogue—swanking about dressed in a flag!"

"Snatch it away from the bastard."

"Beat him up—the thief!"

"Call a policeman."

"Arey O jemadar sahib! Come here. Here's good *shikar* for you."

Even before the policeman could apprehend the culprit, a gay young man slyly stretched his hand and, with one swift jerk, he had pulled away the flag—and Ramoo was left standing stark naked in the middle of a crowd!

Ramoo's wife screamed, the daughter turned away her face to avoid looking at her father's shame.

Ha! Ha!! Ha!!! Hee! Hee!! Hee!!! The chuckles of the amused crowd fell on Ramoo's naked body like sharp-edged stones. He wished the ground under his feet would burst and swallow him and his shame.

A pedestrian, more human than others, gave his shawl to Ramoo to cover his body and at last Ramoo could lift his head to face his persecutors. There were tears in his eyes. He did not mind being

arrested or even hand-cuffed so long as he was taken away from the scene of his humiliation.

"He is caught—the bloody flag-thief."

"Why, what did he do?", a new comer asked the constable as the constable led away Ramoo followed by the crowd.

He was answered by someone who seemed to have a flair for criminal law.

"He has committed not one but three crimes."

"Three crimes? What are they?"

"First crime—theft."

"And the second?"

"Insulting the National Flag."

"And the third?"

"Being found naked on a public thoroughfare. That too is a breach of the law, you know."

And high above, hundreds of flags were fluttering in the breeze—as if they were mirthlessly laughing at the irony of it all.

ANOMALIES OF ZAMINDARI BILL

by "LEGISLATOR"

THE Zamindari Bill published by the Government and proposed to be introduced and referred to a Select Committee even in the present sittings of the Legislature is an important and far-reaching measure affecting the fortunes and properties of millions of people in the province. It proposes to abolish not only the big and small zamindaries, but also the inams and undertenures of a large body of middle and lower class families. The Bill should be published widely in all the language papers of the province and sufficient time should be given to all affected persons to make representations to Government. Not even the High Court and the Advocate-General seem to have been consulted by Government before the bill was published. In fact even the members of the Cabinet do not seem to have had sufficient time to consider the bill.

It seems to be highly unwise to club together in one bill the zamindaries and the inams. The inams have nothing to do with the zamindaries. The nature of the people and interests affected and the basis of compensation even as the bill stands are so widely different that it is very unjust and inexpedient to club together two different kinds of interests and seek to abolish both of them at the same time. In regard to the zamindaries, the Prakasam Committee had gone

fully into the history of the zamins but had expressly left the inams to be investigated and dealt with separately as they had a separate history of their own.

The inamdars (and many temples north and south come within this definition) are in many cases by process of division petty holders, owning 5 or 10 acres. They were wrongly brought into the Estates Land Act by the Bobbili amendment of 1936. A trifling compensation of one year's rent was provided to deprive them of their kudivaram rights, but at least it fixed the then existing rents as fair rents. Even this is being taken away by the present bill and the Ministry is thereby proving itself to be a worthy successor of the Justice Ministry. The inam class of rentiers (where they do not cultivate the land themselves) stand on the same footing as other ryotwari pattadars to which class they really belong and should be dealt with as such. It is scarcely reasonable to acquire and abolish the rights of the inamdar holding only 5 or 10 acres whilst leaving intact the ryotwari pattadar owning thousands of acres of land. In the interest and for the proper protection of the actual tiller of the soil, all these rentier classes including the ryots in zamins who do not themselves cultivate, do require proper legislation. But it should be after proper

and full investigation and by means of a single measure.

Leaving the inams and under-tenures out of consideration, and confining ourselves to zamindaries alone, the very basis of treating them as "proprietors owning" the estate as is done in the bill, would seem to be totally wrong and untenable. The report of the Prakasam Committee has established beyond doubt that the zamindars are only agents for collection of revenue and no more. In most cases they have done their job badly, collected excessively, rack-rented the ryots miserably. They have spoiled irrigation works in most estates and done positive harm to the people as a whole. Hence the justification for the graded scale of compensation rising from 12½ to 25 times the basic annual sum, provided in the bill, is far from clear.

The basic annual sum itself seems to be weighed heavily in favour of the zamindar. The allowances made for establishment and irrigation are inadequate and proper deductions should have been made for payment of cesses, bad collections, etc. That apart, we doubt if the ryotwari basis is at all a proper one. For decades the Congress has promised in its election manifesto to lower the ryotwari assessment rates and exempt small and uneconomic holdings from assessment altogether. The last Ministry promised the lowering of these rates to standard rates whilst the present Revenue Minister has also been talking of "regressive" rates. There is general agreement that the present rates of assessment are heavy and excessive and should be reduced. Whilst that is the case and the survey and settlement under the bill can come into being only 4 or

6 years hence, what is the virtue or sense in taking the existing rates which will not exist for long, as the basis for compensation? It would be far more sensible to fix the basis for compensation with reference to the peshcush itself on which the permanent settlement was effected in 1802. Whatever be the formula pitched upon, it must satisfy two conditions: (1) It must be in the nature of a solatium paid to an agent when the agency is put an end to and not in the nature of a price or market value. (2) It must be made definite now and not left in an illusory state.

There are various other provisions in the bill which require careful consideration and substantial modification. The provision whereby the Government itself is to fix the amount of compensation without any right of appeal is preposterous. Some independent tribunal should be set up. The various tribunals proposed in the bill for apportioning compensation and deciding other matters do not inspire confidence in the public and should be improved. The provision for scaling down the debts of zamindars and treating them as agriculturists under the Agriculturists Act is uncalled for. The proposal to leave vast extents of "private lands" in the hands of zamindars is not a desirable one. But these are all matters which a wise select committee may tackle effectively. The bill as a whole should not be rushed through but should be dealt with in patience, with proper directions given to the select committee in regard to what they should and should not do, and the committee itself should proceed with the task of incorporating desirable amendments only after hearing representatives of the various interests affected by the measure.



LOVE IN A NOVEL

The hero entered on page number 1,
The heroine came in at 7,
Then bungled and blundered
Another 200,
To find what I knew at 11.

THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY

by "P. M."

ARISING from my consideration of the Fear of Freedom, and in a sense, complementary to it is the problem of security which has become a world-wide obsession today. There is a tacit or blatant assumption abroad that the claim for security is valid when it emanates from Russia or Australia, but that it becomes vitiated when urged on behalf of Germany or Japan. The latter, having lost the war, have been made to realise that they have lost even the barren privilege of speaking for themselves. Like Bumble, the Big Three are fully convinced of their competence to decide what the fallen foes want, far better than the victims themselves! And yet an appeal to history will show how every nation has been in the dock at one time or another and how the imposition of a Carthaginian peace has happily been the rare exception rather than the ordinary rule.

In olden days, when wars were fought for dynastic, religious or national reasons, there was always the saving grace of a sort of amateurishness which found expression in the terms of the peace that was imposed. The Holy Roman Empire might well have swallowed Prussia entire, but refrained for fear of an attack of indigestion. After the overthrow of Napoleon, the French people no less than the French monarchy got off very lightly. There were no doctrinaire demagogues or ideological fanatics to suggest, much less carry out, the *de-Napoleonization* of the French people! There was no tripartite garrisoning of France by the soldiers of Russia, Prussia and England. Surprising as it might seem today, France was indeed allowed to recoup her losses in less than a decade.

One of the chief reasons for the prevailing obsession with security is the very completeness of the victory that has since overwhelmed the victors. It has enabled Russia to extend her frontiers or spheres of

influence far beyond her age-long geographical limits. The justification offered has been the monotonous plea that, otherwise, the safety of Russia would be threatened, or the stage would be set for a still more devastating war than any in the past. It would be out of order for any one of us to raise a doubt as to how Finland or Hungary or Greece could be a threat to Russia. Great powers do not condescend to argue; and so the *mantra of security* intoned with the mounting fervour of mystic faith reduces the shivering satellites to speechless silence and smarting submission.

The bearing of this passion for security on the revolutionary outlook of present-day leftist groups is also worthy of notice. In their (and popular) estimation, Russia continues to be the spear-head of revolution, and so is immune from criticism. But in sober fact, it is now at least two years since the Soviet became the biggest concretization of the *status quo*. If Bakunin or even Lenin himself could return to the scene of their earthly labours, the chances are that they will be sent to Siberia for their pains.

If all the world turned Bolshevik, and came under the dictatorship of the proletariat, immeasurable adoration will be the lot of the crank who dared to oppose the *status quo* then. That is why, in Britain's post-war depression, Mr. Churchill offers the panacea of freedom of enterprise to the individual as the means of saving the nation!

The secrecy surrounding the 'know how' of the atom bomb can also be traced to a mistaken sense of security engendered by its possession. But as Earl Baldwin put it in another context, the atomic bomb only ensures a certain quantum of destruction; it cannot preserve the American way of life when there is no American to live it! That political security is not ensured by the piling of armaments has been amply demonstrated by two wars

within living memory; and expansion in the name of security is but a new facet of aggression in peace-time. For, this concept of security is not static; it is like the frog in the fable—it tends to puff itself out until the bursting point is reached.

Turn next to economic security; this is the substance which reposes under the shadow of political security. Victorian England was based on gilt-edged security at home, and the law of the jungle abroad. When there was only one seller, and all the world eager to buy, you have an ideal combination of adventure with security. Today all the world wants to export to stabilise its economy. Austerity measures are tightened up in England, two years after the most spectacular victory on record. The Labour Party which struggled into power on the slogan: 'Higher standards of life' is today being exhorted to tighten up its belt. St. Stafford Cripps excels St. Simon Stylites in exhorting his countrymen to emulate our sanyasins and mendicants. He promises them more and more jam tomorrow, but less and less of bread today! It is not without significance that with Labour coming to power, trade speculations have been statutorily prohibited. The stock exchange has ceased to vie with the English race-course in its sporting appeal to the imagination of the masses.

Intellectually too, the British have ceased to live dangerously. The preoccupation with ideas as ideas which has been the hall-mark of original minds, unburdened by tradition or inhibition is a vanishing factor in English thought. Caught in a vortex of propaganda which seemed vital to successes in the war, they are still powerless to disengage themselves from it in their intellectual responses. No original work has yet appeared in England or in English furnishing an objective correlative to all the contradictions of our time. It is only fair to say that it has not appeared yet in any other country either. Which only shows how we are in danger of dying through intellectual security. There is a vociferous negation of

first things, and a passionate devotion to second-best things in the most authoritative utterances of our time.

Ethically, we are all modernised Pharisees, for we have shown a surprising acumen in spotting and isolating the Fascist and Fascism. If you have been underground for any or no reason (and before your time), then you are the salt of the earth. Have you been a collaborator? Then down with you! This over-simplification of ethical standards is working untold havoc in our hearts. We are whitened sepulchres cherishing death in our hearts all unknowingly!

To come nearer home. We are witnessing in the Northern regions of our land the progress of an exchange of populations on a colossal scale. What is the motive behind this mad-cap adventure? Why, security of course! It is indeed the imperious call of all kinds of security rolled into one. And yet a little reflection will show how futile it is, how costly in the process and how totally unnecessary. If the police measures taken to shepherd these lakhs of human sheep across the borders had been diverted to teach them to stay put, the essential sanity of human nature might have returned quicker, and life would have begun to flow in its accustomed channels without any catastrophic break. The people have undoubtedly lost their heads; should their accredited leaders emulate them in that regard? But this exodus is the very best recipe to keep the cauldron of human passions stirring, and for the rehearsal of ghastly incidents punctuating the progress of the exchange. It is freely admitted on both sides that casualties have been terrible; it is at least arguable that if the people had stood their ground, the results might not have been so dreadful. People do not commit outrages in cold ferocity; and such cold ferocity would have been impossible if there had been no scuttling. At the worst, those who fell victims might as well have died comfortably where they were caught, instead of as now drawing a trial of woe behind them which is working havoc far afield.

Even if one of the Governments had publicly declared that it was against the exchange of populations, and that it will not undertake the responsibility of supervising it, the mischief might have been contained in a less compass. However, it is useless to be wise after the event. I refer to this point at some length because this problem of security was faced and solved differently by the ancient Israelites when they first settled down in Palestine. Round them were many hostile tribes and groups; but the leaders of Israel forbade their followers from erecting outposts or fortresses or establishing garrisons to safeguard the integrity of their home. This cast the onus of national security and defence on each of the colonists. It remains to be seen how long the leaders of the two dominions are going to succeed in creating a vacuum on the boundary line dividing West Punjab from its Eastern sister. What will be the length,

breadth or depth of this vacuum? Posing the question in that way, we at once see the absurdity and bungling inhumanity of sponsoring an exchange of populations.

The simple truth of the matter is that there can be no security in an insecure world. Both in the Collects and in one of our prayers, we make an earnest appeal to God to be saved from 'sudden death'. It is one of the inescapable concomitants of life in this planet. To swear by Potsdam or Yalta is as primitive as to swear by the Bill of Rights or the Magna Charta. Charters are fashioned that we may outmode them, and not that they should be millstones round our necks!

The only people who need security in this world are widows and orphans—the former from complicating the problem of over-population and the latter from reducing available margins of safety pertaining to national vital statistics!

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SPOTLIGHT ON THE



THE question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa will soon be discussed by the third General Assembly of the U.N.O. The most important fact that will have to be taken note of is that the South African Premier has refused to accept, as the basis for negotiations with the Indian Government, the resolution passed by the second General Assembly of the U.N.O. last year. That resolution called for a negotiated agreement between India and South Africa that would ensure the observance of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The position of Indians in South Africa has actually worsened since the Indian complaint was taken to the U.N. The boycott of Indian traders, which began as an answer to the embargo placed by the Indian Government on all goods exported to South Africa, has developed into a campaign of racial and religious persecution. Writing in the *New Statesman and Nation*, Colin Legum says: "Those (such as General Smuts) who argue that the movement is simply a pay-out against India, which started the boycott first, must be unaware of what has been happening on the platteland, of the political significance of the development, or of its intense religious colouring which prompts ministers to refer to it as 'a sacred Christian crusade against the threat of Mahomedanism and Hinduism which threatens to engulf us.'"

ANTI-INDIAN CRUSADE

The same writer points out that the anti-Indian movement is now directed towards achieving the following objectives: the elimination of Indians from the economic life of South Africa and their consequent repatriation to India; a total

boycott of Indian trade and investment and of any organisation employing Indians; the overhaul of the marketing and distribution of vegetables and fruit to eliminate the Indian hawker; the reintroduction of the registration of consumers, as envisaged under rationing, to simplify the campaign against the Indians. It is curious to find University professors at the head of this campaign. Prof. F. J. Labuschagne is one such white intellectual, whose frank statement that "the Indian is a parasite in the full meaning of the word," reflects the prevailing atmosphere in South Africa. Mr. Oswald Pirow, K.C., leader of the 'National-Socialist New Order' and a former Minister in the South African Government, whose racialist propaganda was too much even for South African law, has explained the purpose of the boycott of Indian traders in these words: "The Indian must know that his attitude has made only one solution possible for his problem: Return to India. That is why the Europeans have decided to make his return as easy as possible by making his stay here as unpleasant as possible."

MAKING HOLLYWOOD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

The U.S. House Committee on un-American Activities has come in for considerable criticism on the ground that its inquisitorial activities are making serious inroads into the privacy and endangering the security of the citizens examined by the Committee. In America not only is a man dubbed un-American if he is a Communist; he is very likely to lose his job. And the term 'Communist' is used in a very flexible sense, so as to include the real Reds, all shades of Pinks, and

even Liberals and New Dealers. In May this year, the un-American Committee decided that it was high time that Hollywood, reported to be infested by Reds, was given the benefit of its purifying presence. Glamour has always been safe in Hollywood. The Committee thought that Hollywood should be made safe for democracy too. So the Committee, headed by its chairman J. Parnell Thomas, conducted a ten-day investigation of Communist activities in Hollywood. At the end of the investigation, Chairman Thomas said they had obtained 'amazing results.' Here are some of them.

You might have seen the Hollywood picture called "Song of Russia," in which Robert Taylor acted the part of an American musician who visits Russia, is received with tremendous enthusiasm, falls in love with and marries a Russian girl, and takes back to his country the message of Russian friendship and solidarity with Americans in the war against Hitler Germany. This was, of course, in the good old days before the 'iron curtain' was rung down. Well, if you liked Robert Taylor's performance in that picture, it is a great tribute to that actor since he was playing a role that was forced on him—if we are to believe Taylor's evidence before the un-American Committee. If you didn't like his performance, it will obviously be unfair to blame him. Taylor told the Committee that he had been forced by an "agent of the Government" to play in "Song of Russia," despite his refusal to do so on the ground that it was Communist propaganda. The Government agent referred to was Lowell Mellett who said, on hearing the story, that the charges were "too damn silly to deny."

And here is what Mrs. Lela Rogers, mother of the famous Ginger Rogers, told the Committee: "When my daughter was making 'Tender Comrade,' an RKO picture, she was given a line to read. Here's as close as I can recall it: 'Share and share alike—that's democracy.' I think that's definitely Communist propaganda. Ginger refused to read that

line, so it was given to a sweet and unquestionably loyal youngster, Kim Hunter, to read." Adolphe Menjou, another Hollywood star, told Chairman Thomas: "Hollywood is one of the main centers of Communist activity in America...they want to use our movies for their own purposes—the overthrow of the U.S." He went on: "I would shut all Reds out of the country as they shut our people out of Russia. I would distort everything they say as they distort everything we say." The comment of Mr. Parnell Thomas on Adolphe Menjou's testimony was that it was "a most constructive and enlightening presentation."

Charlie Chaplin is the most frequent victim of the anti-Red hysteria which appears to have seized the American press. Chaplin, famous and beloved all over the world on account of his great artistic talent and his sympathy for the 'little' down-trodden man, recently invited press representatives for an interview after the screening of his latest picture, *Monsieur Verdoux*. What happened at the press interview is described by Shirley O'Hara, film critic for the *New Republic*: "He couldn't have expected the shockingly rude, sustained impertinence of the attack that followed. Reporters were there, not to discuss his work with him, but to discredit and vilify and ridicule him personally—to hound him on his own opinions and habits. Was it true that one of his good friends, a great musician, was a radical? Did this mean that he, Chaplin, condoned treason to this country, since his friend's brother was accused of being a spy? Was Chaplin a Communist. His patience and courtesy were astounding, since his disgust must have at least compared to that of the few of us who could only be ashamed of what ugly, hostile liberties can be taken in the name of the freedom of the press." Charlie Chaplin, now 58, admits "My pictures have always been for the underdog," but, as he said in an interview to David Clayton, "As for my being a Communist—I am not. I think it's very difficult these days to define your political beliefs."

Life is becoming too technical and I think everyone needs a guidebook. If you step off the kerb with your left foot these days they accuse you of being a Communist...."

Meanwhile, Mr. Eric Johnston, President of the Motion Picture Association of America, is trying hard to make Hollywood make its contribution to the success of the Truman Doctrine. Sharing with his country's President the sense of global responsibility which has de-

veloped upon America, Mr. Johnston told a conference of motion picture producers at Hollywood that their films should carry the American message to all parts of the world: "The American motion picture will carry the ideas of Canton, Ohio, to Canton, China; the point of view of Paris, Maine, to Paris, France." One wonders whether there is any Stalingrad, U.S., whose message could be carried to Stanlingrad, Russia.



MUSIC OF TO-DAY

by "RAJASREE"

THE great art of music, it is sad to note, has been reduced to a saleable commodity now. The causes for the deterioration are many. The first and foremost is that the present-day musicians, with the exception of a very few who still belong to the old school, have not had any "Gurukulavasa" and are mostly products of the University. So much so, these musicians have changed the entire plan of musical performances and tend to be under the influence of the fashions of the day. The elaborateness with which the musicians of the past generation would sing the raga bringing out its full bhava, the correct rendering of the sahitya in singing the keerthana and the dexterous manner in which they could weave numerous patterns of swara—all these are rapidly disappearing. What is found instead of merely a rough outline of the raga, the brief singing of the kriti and a fairly detailed swara singing. But this swara singing shows the control of the singer over 'laya' and not the imaginative skill of the artist. It is mathematics in the most complex form.

Next, there is the language problem which has of late done considerable harm to pure Carnatic

music. The cry for singing songs in Tamil started sometime ago, as a result of which innumerable Tamil songs of various composers are getting into vogue. The Tamil pieces are much easier than the songs of the Trinity. This has had a devastating effect and the present-day musicians sing a larger number of Tamil kritis than those of the Trinity. The composers of Tamil songs have also become numerous, but, barring a few exceptional first-rate composers, they have not created anything of value.

Another factor is the disconcerting habit of musicians nowadays to set a time limit beyond which they refuse to sing. The artist keeps looking at the clock and as soon as it is 7 p.m. he quickens the pace and before 8-15 he finishes ragam, tanam, pallavi and few miscellaneous items and comes to Mangalam. At 8-30 he is on his way home.

Regular Gurukulavasa, no marked partiality to any one language, the abolition of the practice of cutting a performance dead at a predetermined hour and, above all, putting an end to the vicious practice of selling music for abnormal and fantastic rates—these alone can purify Carnatic music to-day.



FOOD DEBATE IN THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE

by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

THE food debate held last week in the two houses of the Madras Legislature is a most revealing one. It has laid bare certain points which will have to form the basis both positively and negatively according to circumstances in the formulation of a correct food policy in the next and subsequent years. Among these points the following are noteworthy.

1. There is the utter helplessness of the present Madras Government in solving the food problem. To every suggestion put forward the Government spokesmen replied that they did all that was possible and there was nothing more for them to do. For anything left undone the blame is to fall on others—especially the Central Government. It is the Centre that is responsible for the low prices of paddy, for the scarcity of agricultural implements, for the scarcity of groundnut cake the demand for which as manure has enormously increased, and for insufficient food supplies from other provinces or from abroad. This amounts to a call to the people that they should rebel against the Central Government or take the law into their own hands—a prelude to the outbreak of general disorder.

2. Critics as well as Government spokesmen are agreed that for all practical purposes rationing has broken down. The Government is not able to procure stocks from surplus areas. It is not able to put down the blackmarket. It is unable to check official corruption which has become widespread. It is not known what the C.I.D. is doing. Rationing therefore exists only on paper. The result is that the Food Minister has come down with the proposal that rationing should be stopped in surplus districts. It seems to be his personal view. What can the public think of a Government which is not able to put an end to official corruption? In respect of

blackmarketing, either the officials are incompetent or they are in league with the blackmarketeers. Even the Ministers do not seem to be sincere in putting down the blackmarket. No reply has been given by any of them to the observation made by Mr. T. Viswanatham that interference by Ministers with the officials in the districts in the attempts made by the latter to prosecute blackmarketeers is responsible for the widening of the blackmarket. The Ministry therefore is utterly helpless not only in convincing the Central Government of what the people of the Madras province are demanding but also in discharging their elementary and legitimate function of checking dishonest officials, or encouraging honest ones.

3. To tide over the immediate crisis the Government has no scheme except the threat to use force to get surplus stocks from certain districts. This raises an important issue—an issue regarding the accuracy of Government estimates of the surpluses available and the methods it has been adopting to take delivery of these surpluses as well as the agencies it has been utilising for the purpose. Mr. Viswanatham questioned the accuracy of Government figures while the Food Minister declared that they were most accurate. What exactly is the position? Government estimates of the surplus available in any district is ultimately based on the statement furnished by the karnam of each village recording the surplus available with each pattadar in the village. Without such a statement no significance can be attached to the figures for the districts and for the province as a whole. Either there are such statements or there are no reliable estimates on which Governmental procurement can be given effect to. If such statements in respect of

each village are available, it will be easy to find out from them which pattadars discharged their obligations and which have failed to do so. Instead of the Government officers entering particular houses and harassing its inmates as they have been accused of doing, they can with these statements find out with whom surplus stocks are now available and take delivery of them without any harassment. The karnam who has prepared the statement may accompany the Government officer concerned. It is not known why this simple method has not been adopted and why general appeals are being made by the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet to the public. Such appeals are futile if on the basis of these statements they can in the ordinary course of administration fix the responsibility for making deliveries on individual pattadars.

4. This is the proper course for the Government to adopt in the coming and subsequent years. If they have such a statement in respect of each village it becomes a matter of secondary importance who the procuring agents are. Procuring will then consist merely in the agent going to the pattadar and taking delivery of the surplus as recorded in the statement after paying him the price fixed by Government. License for the purpose may be given to individuals who furnish adequate security or to millers or to anybody else. The only question to be considered is that they should hold themselves responsible to deliver to Government the stock collected by them. This village-war statement ought to be the basis of the whole procurement scheme if it is not already the case. In its absence there is no meaning in carrying on a controversy over the accuracy or otherwise of Government figures.

5. But all this refers to the immediate question—to procure what is available. But even here no ryot will part with his produce—even though it is a surplus—unless he gets a fair price. The food debate has revealed that the price now offered to producers of food crops

is low. It has no relation to the expenses of cultivation or to the rise in the prices of the essentials that the cultivator has to buy—the prices of implements, manure, cattle and labour. There is not space here to deal with the argument put forward by the Madras Food Council (a non-official body of which Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is the President) that the demand for higher prices comes only from the bigger ryots as the smaller ones have nothing to sell. This argument is based on ignorance of rural conditions. Every ryot however small his holding has to sell a part of his produce for paying land revenue and purchasing many things including labour in the transplantation and harvesting seasons. If the Central Government is not prepared to raise the price for the consumer the Provincial Government should pay subsidies to the agriculturist and meet the cost of these subsidies by raising additional taxes which will fall in the main on the wealthier classes—the traders, the businessmen, the profiteers and the capitalists. You cannot get more food crops raised without making agriculture more attractive to the ryots.

6. To increase agricultural productivity beyond its present low level is what is required in formulating the longperiod agricultural policy of the Government. But as it is, the Government pleads inability to maintain even the present level of productivity. It has no iron to supply implements. Even the iron available is not utilised as a matter of priority for agricultural purposes. It is being diverted for building rich people's houses in urban areas. There is no adequate supply of even plough shares. Why on earth Government should have consented to groundnut being exported to Northern India for the manufacture of *Vanaspati*, depriving agriculture here of the manure it needs, is beyond one's comprehension. The Ministry should have fought with the Central Government and resigned on this issue. One Minister says that wells cannot be sunk in a day. But the scheme

for sinking new wells has been in operation for two years. Crores have been spent on it. But there is no appreciable result and doubts exist whether the money has all been used to sink wells or to be sunk into the pockets of officials. The truth of the matter is that the Ministry has no long-term policy. It has no machinery to work it out even if it has a policy. Officials are given so much to routine and red-tapism that they are not interested in the real welfare of the people. The Government should devise a

method under which officials will be paid only according to the results of their work.

Thus the debate has revealed what it is that has to be done. But we do not have a Government strong enough to do what is required. It is so very dependent for its very existence on the Centre that it is afraid of doing anything which will bring upon it the wrath of the High Command, with the result that the people are compelled to face starvation not only now but for some years to come.

FOOD SITUATION GETTING WORSE IN MALABAR

by CHITRA BHANU

THE food situation in Malabar is growing worse day by day. According to the Minister for Agriculture Mr. K. Madhava Menon, who had been touring Malabar making frantic appeals to the jennies and hoarders to open their "hearts as well as granaries," the rice stock in Malabar could last only for ten days on September 3.

Since the inception of the Kerala P.C.C. plan and the subsequent establishment of producer-cum-consumer Co-operative Societies throughout the district the hoarders, blackmarketeers, the jennies and the wholesalers had been conspiring to undermine the Government plan for procurement and distribution. The officials backed them. The peasants of North Malabar who fought against it and demanded that they should be allowed to pay the rent to the jenmi in cash and their paddy to the P.C.C. society were rewarded with the M.S.P. being sent against them. The M.S.P. let loose a reign of terror—demolished houses and libraries and schools, took away paddy seeds, destroyed crops and prevented cultivation of lands. One such instance of wanton destruction of crop has already been published in *Swatantra*. Similarly, in the case of 'Grow More Food' also, the Government prevented peasants from cultivating fallow land.

It is this policy of a popular Government with a corrupt and bureaucratic machinery to put its plans through, that has landed Malabar in such a grave situation. Unless a thorough purge is carried on in the Government administration our Congress Government can do anything in the interest of the people.

In this connection the Malabar-Kasargode Food Conference held in Calicut on September 7 has given us the right lead.

The Conference was called by prominent persons belonging to various parties of Malabar. It was attended by more than 150 delegates from all parts of Malabar and Kasargode. In the absence of Mr. K. Kelappan, President of the Kerala P.C.C., Mr. E. M. S. Nambudripad presided.

Mr. Nambudripad, in his presidential address, said: "The only way out of this grave danger that faces us is joint effort; difference of opinion shall not make this impossible. From this noble effort nobody shall be kept away. This Conference must chalk out a programme to rout the hoarders and blackmarketeers."

Mr. P. M. K. Nambisan (Socialist from Chirakkal) said that in his taluk a big jenmi had seven elephants to feed for which he was allowed 12,000 seers of paddy. But the elephants were leased through-

but the year except on seven days. So the paddy allowed for feeding the elephants was usually sold out in the blackmarket.

Mr. Nambisan said: "The jenmies have collected thousands of 'paras' of paddy with the help of the M.S.P. from the peasants without giving any receipts. This paddy has completely gone into the blackmarket."

Mr. Vishnu Bharatheeyan (Congress) said that even among those in charge of co-operative societies there were anti-social elements. The president of a certain society collected 1000 'etangazhis' of paddy but gave receipt for only 500 'etangazhis'. The rest of the paddy was sold in the blackmarket. "It is not those experienced in trading but those experienced in serving the people that are needed. For this the people should jointly make effort."

Mr. N. K. Balakrishnan (Congress) described the terrible situation in Kasargode where people had to live on three days' ration a week. He said that in Nileswar people have died due to starvation.

Mr. K. P. R. Gopalan, the Communist leader, said: "When we are trying to grow more food many of the peasants who work in the fields are still in jail. They must be released."

The Conference adopted a resolution appointing a temporary committee with Mr. E. C. Kunhikannan Nambiar as convener to form a central committee consisting of representatives from all parts of Malabar.

At the suggestion of the president, the Conference, instead of adopting the resolutions formally, authorised the committee to prepare a memorandum on the basis of the resolutions and speeches of the delegates.

THE DANCE ART OF KUMARI KOUSALYA

by E. KRISHNA IYER

AMONG the numerous dance forms available in India, four are considered to be traditional and important. They are *Bharata Natya* and *Kathakali* of the South and *Kathak* and *Manipuri* of the North. Though each of these has its own special characteristics and attractions, it is now universally admitted that *Bharata Natya* is the richest among them. Because it embodies in itself, with perfect conformity to ancient traditions, the most elegant aspect of the great classical *Natya Sastra*, adumbrated by the renowned *Bharata Muni*, two thousand years ago. It is, on the one hand, a perfect model of meticulous synchronisation, in dance, of footwork, body-and-hand poses and movements, facial expression and background music, with grace and charm in an amazing variety of rhythmic patterns. On the other hand, its suggestive symbolism which evoked the admiration of famous connoisseurs like Prof. Sylvian Levi, is so full, restrained and refined, that while it attempts to bring out varying shades of human emotion, its complete eschewal of realism makes it conform to the highest ideal of true art. Hence it shines as a remote goddess, enthroned on a high pedestal, compelling universal veneration. Within this art too, there are styles of varying quality.

If any connoisseur were to comb South Indian villages and towns in search of available modes in *Bharata Natya* and also to observe frequent expositions of them on present day platforms, for a comparative study, with an impartial mind, he would have found two or three from among the welter of styles as the most arresting. Of these again, the one called, the 'Pandanallur mode' is universally admitted to be the most classical. It comes from the grand old teacher Meenakshisundaram Pillai of Pandanallur (a village in

Tanjore district). He is a direct descendant of the famous Chinmaya, Ponnaiyah, Vadivelu brothers (contemporaries of Saint Thyagaraja) who, a hundred years ago, reshaped the programme of *Bharata Natya* performances to the present form.



Kumari Kousalya

This style is noted, not only for its immense variety of dance patterns with chains of well linked *adavu jathis* (dance units), made up of poses and movements, gaits, *pirouettes* (whirls), *entrechantes* (jumps) and *theermanams*, but also for its exhilarating precision in rhythm. Curiously enough, in the earlier years of the present renaissance in dance since 1932, meaningful *abhinaya* for easily understandable *padas* alone, was considered as the most enjoyable part of *Bharata Natya* and the pure dance portions were either condescendingly tolerated or treated with scant courtesy, as a sort of unnecessary acrobatics! It was only after the coming into vogue of the

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Pandanallur adavu jathis through cultured non-professional artistes, that the importance and beauty of *Nrtta* (pure dance) came to be understood.

The intricacy and difficulty underlying these are such, that few artistes are found nowadays to have the capacity, stamina or patience necessary to master their technique. Hence, though many artistes, including one or two of all-India fame, have learnt under the old veteran and use his name widely as their teacher, for advertisement purposes, they have only nibbled at his great art and few are found to portray it in all its characteristic fullness. Even if some succeed in mastering its technique, they are unable to display it with the necessary grace *pertinent* to it. When in this state of affairs, a rare artiste, from an unexpected quarter, shoots up with convincing exposition of this grand style, it is no wonder if she takes the audience by storm.

Such is the case with Kumari G. Kousalya of Egmore. Her latest performance at the Museum Theatre, a few days back, (under the auspices of the Jagannatha Bhaktha Sabha) proved to be a feast to connoisseurs. Her dance sequences in Jathiswara, Varna and Tillana were noteworthy for their kaleidoscopic variety, richness and telling precision of rhythm in every bit of them. In her varna in Raga Todi, the beauty of *Nrtta* and *Nrtiya* (pure dance and dance with meaningful gestures), was fully brought out. Her Tillana with its vivaciously lilting time-measure, was exquisite. With wide and sparkling eyes, her exposition of abhinaya was arresting and meaningful, bringing out dexterously and intelligently ever varying shades of *bhava* (emotion).

With perfect mastery over the difficult and elaborate technique of the Pandanallur style, she is unique in having embellished it, with her

own peculiar grace and ease of pose and movement. Her art, in pure dance, abhinaya and their combination, was marked by impressive dignity, clearness and chasteness of exposition with conscious sureness of step and expression and without any undue hustle or strain. An unmistakable and unimpeachable austerity was found to pervade all through her exposition. It is this rare combination of perfect mastery in technique and transcending art with natural polish, grace and charm in execution, that leaves a lasting impression in the minds of onlookers and marks her out as the most outstanding exponent at the present day, of the richest style in Bharata Natya.

Born and brought up in a cultured middle class family, Kousalya has been fortunate in having been trained by no less a teacher than Sri Chokkalingam Pillai, a son-in-law of the old veteran Meenakshisundaram Pillai of Pandanallur. Unlike many other present day artistes in the line, who come up on the stage after a hurried coaching, she had had her schooling in the art for over three years under her tutor at the Egmore Institute of Fine Arts and polished what she learnt for over two years. That Bharata Natya need not necessarily be confined to the exposition of love themes only, and that it can be used for devotional and spiritual purposes also, was demonstrated by her rendering a whole programme of it with adaptable kritis of Saint Thyagaraja, at the last Music Academy Conference. The last performance and many previous ones of hers in the recent few months, before varying audiences, have brought in the impression, that after the famous danseuse, Jeevaratnam of Tiruvaluputhur, who passed away fourteen years ago, the Pandanallur style has rediscovered itself now in all its fullness and glory in Kumari Kousalya.



LIFE IN THE PUNJAB

by BAROO

Ferozepore Cantt: Two ideas are preeminent in the minds of the sixty odd lakhs of Punjabis who are on the move today in what is certainly the biggest two-way mass movement in history. In the first place they are convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that British Raj was infinitely better than this new-fangled freedom of ours. In the second, they are burning with the spirit of revenge and are resolved not to rest till they have settled scores or rather till they think they have.

Both these notions are full of evil significance. The desire for vengeance is a guarantee that things will not only not quieten down for a long time yet, but that communal strife—civil war is the straightforward word for it—will spread to all parts of the country. Thirty lakhs of dispossessed and pauperised Hindus and Sikhs with bitter memories of outrages that vie with the worst crimes that Hitler was ever guilty of, are certainly not going to be an assurance of peace and goodwill. They will carry hatred and murderous intent with them wherever they go, and they are going to go to most parts of the country. Already the territory between the Sutlej and the Jumna has been almost completely denuded of Muslims, and the United Provinces are beginning to be affected with the influx of refugees from West Punjab. Very soon there will not be a single non-Muslim left in Pakistan; when that happens trouble-makers in India will feel so much the freer to proceed with their campaign—which is only in the whispering stage yet—to make India uncomfortable for every single Muslim in it.

While the mass of the people on both sides of the frontier are thinking in terms of retaliation, many are openly demanding that the issue should be fought out by war between the two dominions. (The reader will remember that Nehru himself has uttered this word, and that in a press conference). While I do

not personally think there is much chance of a war in the immediate future, seeing the extreme financial weakness of the Pakistan Government, and especially their dependence on India for coal, and the pacifism of the Indian Government, one should not forget that Pakistan is exhibiting increasingly Fascist tendencies and might well be driven into an armed conflict sooner or later. And if that happens, then it means good-bye to all our dreams of freedom—for I am not convinced that what we have already achieved is freedom. For international intervention will swiftly follow the outbreak of war and very probably it will be undertaken by U.K. on behalf of the U.N.O. In that case the popular reaction in favour of the old Raj will play into the hands of the British and if the country does not become the battle ground of a world-wide war (which is a likelihood never to be lost sight of), it will relapse once again into the position of a British dependency.

While the Muslim problem, which, far from being solved, has only reappeared in an acuter form, is certainly one that demands the utmost vigilance, it is definitely not worth being made a bogey of. We must remember that Fascist and militaristic elements exist within our own body politic, and that these elements will be only too eager to exploit such a bogey. That must not happen. The correct policy, I feel, would be to establish a firm bulwark against any possible aggression by treating the East Punjab as our new frontier province and arming every single adult male within its borders. Adequate military and air defences must also be organised. But that done, the Union Government should do everything in its power to protect the Indian Muslims and to win their undivided loyalty—not by going out of its way to humour them but by holding out absolute justice to them and convincing them that separatist tactics will just not pay any longer.



IN BRUSSELS...
2:48 am

IN BOMBAY...
8:18 am
(by your 'West End' Watch!)

Above is an artist's impression of the Palais de Justice, Brussels. Sketch on left shows the Municipal Building and Victoria Railway Station in Bombay.

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PAKISTAN POT-POURRI

(From Our Lahore Correspondent)

AT last the intrinsic weaknesses of the Muslim position have slowly but surely begun to dawn on the League rank and file. Till the other day, Jinnah had talked blithely of unloosing the bloodiest of civil wars if Pakistan was not conceded, and Feroze Khan Noon had warned that if once the Muslims got out of hand, they would put the doings of Chengiz and Halaku Khan into the shade. Bluff, bluster and blackmail, plus a dash of British interestedness, gave the Quaid-e Azam Pakistan—on a platter, as it were. But he had reckoned without the irony of nature, and his bluff was called when it had ceased to be a bluff and had become an achievement. Eight weeks of civil war and mass movements of populations have brought home to His Excellency no less than to his stooges of various sorts that there has been at least one Hari Singh Nalwa if there have been a lot of Nadir Shahs and Tamerlanes, and that forty millions of Mussalmans will still remain in India even after the East Punjab is cleared of the last of the faithful.

Other realisations have no doubt been made. With the exodus of the Hindus and Sikhs, Pakistan has become a literal wilderness. Jinnah used to talk very learnedly about the irreconcilable animosity between the Muslim and the Hindu, but surely he did not visualise (or if he did, he successfully kept the vision to himself) a Pakistan that would be really Pak.* And now he has only himself to blame if his well-drilled crowd took him at his word, and his word at its face-value. But they are beginning to regret their actions, and to realise that the void created by the flight of non-Muslims whom they drove away on peril of death is not only difficult but essential to fill.

For the minorities in Pakistan formed the wealthiest, the most enterprising and the most talented and hard-working section of its population. They controlled the economic life of the region, formed its intelligentsia, ran its only university, and generally speaking, represented a considerably higher level of culture than their less fortunate neighbours had attained. All this, however, has been realised by the Muslims only after the exodus started taking place. They, the Muslims, cleared Lahore of infidels, looted and took possession of the incredibly rich houses left behind by them, and secretly rejoiced at the arrangement. But when they saw the endless columns of refugees pouring in, saw shops continue to remain boarded up, banks closed down, and essential supplies like sugar and soap run out (not to speak of cloth) and libraries and the university closed down indefinitely for lack of the Hindu staff that ran them, they began to suffer from doubts. The suspension of work in hundreds of factories and workshops that were owned by non-Muslims but employed Muslim labour meant immediate distress for a large number of people.

Without in any way implying that the Indian Union has not been hit very hard by the recent upheaval, or that the present League leadership will not be yet able to sidetrack public attention from its own criminal policies to imagined conspiracies against "the biggest Muslim State in the world", it is possible today to state quite categorically that Mr. Jinnah has lost a very great deal of his old reputation for infallibility. He is being increasingly questioned and doubted by millions who have never even seen him, but have heard of the Quaid-e-Azam legend, and have lately suffered on his account. After all, there is no failure so complete as of the man who puts his faith in the efficacy of success. Mr. Jinnah's amazing rise to power was based on the principle that nothing succeeds like success, and he might yet live to learn that in the case of such as him, nothing falls like failure.

*A Persian word meaning pure or unadulterated.

CONGRESS LEADERSHIP IN TAMIL NADU

by "CHANAKYA"

OVER 2,000 delegates who attended the Tamil Nad Congress Workers' Conference held on 13th September at Tiruvanaikaval (Trichy district) unanimously passed a resolution expressing want of confidence in the present President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Sri Kamaraj Nadar. An agitation against his reactionary leadership arose soon after the part he played in the overthrow of the Prakasam Ministry. But momentous changes were then taking place in our country and provincial issues were shelved for the time being. Kamaraj used this breathing-time to consolidate his position with unscrupulous distribution of patronage—the latest and most glaring example of which is to be found in his selection of Congress candidates for local bodies. But the workers' upsurge could not be checked with political bribery and the conference at Tiruvanaikaval is a timely warning to him to step down before he is thrown out.

Kamaraj Nadar is undoubtedly a veteran Congress worker and his political opponents have not attempted to under-rate his record of service. But the last few years which found him at the helm of affairs, have proved the depths to which passion for power could drive him. Coming out of prison at a psychological moment, when there was much bitterness in the minds of workers against C. R., he found it to his advantage to guide this discontent into an anti-C. R. campaign. A crusade was carried on in the name of the August movement. Ultimately C. R. was thrown out; but the August movement was not vindicated. Political insolvents, who had hidden during the days of the August struggle, were dragged out of their oblivion and elevated to seats in the Legislature and even the Cabinet. The Prakasam episode helped still more to expose Kamaraj.

It was a classical instance of how mediocrity, buttressed by intrigue and manoeuvre, can triumph over true and acknowledged greatness. It was an open secret that he who swore by the name of Gandhiji had gone over to the mill magnates of Tamil Nad who were panic-stricken at the textile policy of the Prakasam Ministry.

With all this pre-occupation with power politics, the President could not find much time or energy to devote to Congress activities in Tamil Nad. There is not an iota of work to his credit during the last four years in pursuance of the constructive programme of the Congress. Mortgaging the Congress platform to moneyed interests; elevation of public enemies to high positions in the Congress hierarchy; packing every committee, from the village primary committee to the Tamil Nad Congress Committee with an army of yes-men; these comprise his achievements in recent years.

Professional black-mailers, political brokers, and odious individuals once suspected of being police spies, frequent today the office of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee. Congress houses in other provinces are the nerve-centres of public activity, the forum of the common man. But in Madras, the House of the People has become a den of the people's enemies. It is no exaggeration to say that Congressmen other than those belonging to Kamaraj's group, shun going to the Congress House nowadays.

The day of agitational politics against an alien ruler is gone; the time for constructive activity and national planning is come. Freedom is dynamic; and if it is to be true to its content, it should grow progressively. Now more than ever we need a courageous leadership, with a broad vision and the right perspective. Communalism and capitalism have found protection and

patronage in the sanctuary of the Tamil Nad Congress. If our newly-won freedom is to be preserved, these two forces must be crushed, and a leadership that depends on the exploitation of these two forces for its very existence, must be routed. Skilful play on the passions of the time to bolster up his leadership, is part of Sri Kamaraj's well-planned strategy. Two years ago, it was the anti-C. R. slogan. Last year it was the anti-Prakasam cry. Today when he finds his stock-in-trade exhausted and his influence waning, he is working up the anti-Andhra campaign.

Never before was the stock of the Congress so low, its influence so feeble, as it is today. Thanks to Kamaraj's leadership, it is the Goenkas, the Alagappa Chettiar, the Ratnasabhapathy Mudaliars and the like who shape the policy and mould the destinies of Tamil Nad. It is they who are paying the piper and therefore exercising the right of calling the tune. The move against Kamaraj is thus not a move against an individual; it is the challenge of the common man to a power-mad leadership that has abused its position of trust.

BHARATHI MEMORIAL, ETTAYAPURAM

Mr. T. Sadasivam writes:

The second meeting of the Bharathi Memorial Reception Committee was held at Ettayapuram on Sunday the 14th September at the Maharaja's Palace. The Maharaja of Ettayapuram, Chairman of the Reception Committee, presided. Sri A. P. C. Veerabahu, Vice-Chairman, Sri Somayajulu, General Secretary, Sri Kandaswamy Chettiar, Treasurer, other office bearers and most of the members of the Reception Committee attended the meeting.

Sri Somayajulu placed before the meeting the upto date accounts showing the receipts and expenses in connection with the Bharathi Memorial and submitted for the approval of the Committee the plans drawn and the arrangements that were being made for the opening of the Bharathi Mandapam.

The Reception Committee is receiving every day heaps of letters from all over the Tamil province and from the enthusiasm prevailing throughout the Tamil districts, the Committee expects a very large number of people to visit Ettayapuram on the 12th and 13th October to pay their homage to the National Poet of Tamil Nad and to pay their respects to Srimathi Sarojini Devi and Rajaji. Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar has kindly consented to unveil a bust statue of Poet Bharathiar during the festival.

Rajaji is expected to arrive in Madras by plane from Calcutta on 10th October. Srimathi Sarojini Devi is expected the same evening by the Grand Trunk Express. The two leaders will be leaving Madras for Ettayapuram on 11th October and arrive in Koilpatti on the 12th forenoon.

The Reception Committee is trying to arrange a special train from Madras to Koilpatti for the convenience of the distinguished visitors, press correspondents and other invitees and also special trains from Madras, Tuticorin and Tinnevely on 12th October for the convenience of the large number of visitors from the Southern districts. They are also moving the Post & Telegraph authorities to increase the postal and telegraphic services at Ettayapuram by giving extra and adequate staff to cope with the demand during the two days. The Reception Committee has requested the All-India Radio for a full outdoor broadcast of the Bharathi festival on the 12th and 13th October.

Sheds are being erected to accommodate invitees, distinguished visitors and press correspondents. A huge Kottara Pandal is coming up in front of the Bharathi Mandapam. All roads leading to Ettayapuram are getting renovated.

The Reception Committee has drawn a budget for its expenses.

The budgeted amount, though carefully and economically drawn, comes to a big figure. A few seats are specially reserved in the pandal near the dais for distinguished visitors who pay more than Rs. 100 to the Reception Committee.

As the time before us is short, I appeal to the generous public to

contribute liberally and immediately for the expenses of the Bharathi Memorial. Remittances may be sent to Sri M. Kandaswamy Chettiar, President, Panchayat Board, Ettayapuram, (Treasurer of the Reception Committee) or to the Manager, 'Kalki', Kilpauk, Madras.

THE PEST AND THE PREDATOR (OUR INSECT FRIENDS AND ENEMIES)

by M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

CARLYLE has observed that if the Red Indian Squaw in the interior of North America fell out with her husband, the fashionable young lady in Paris would turn a cold shoulder to her lover. There seems to be no connection between the two events, even if you are a subscriber to the extremely theoretical assertion that 'you cannot pluck a flower but that a star is disturbed in its course'. But the argument becomes clear as soon as we think of the fur which the Red Indian hunter has to secure for its ultimate sale in the fashion shops of Paris.

Now, can you see how the following two items of news are linked:—

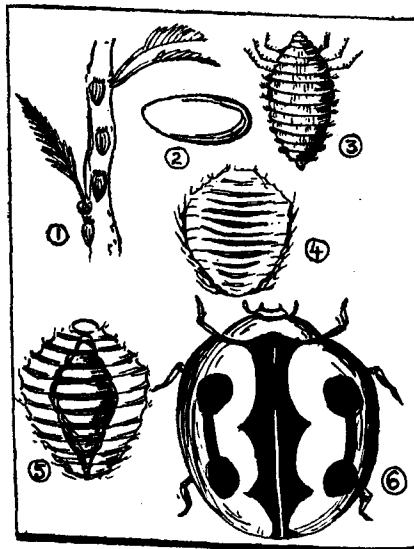
- (a) Field-Marshal Smuts is ill-treating the Indians in South Africa.
- (b) The services of Mr. X....., the Entomological Assistant at Kodaikanal, were eulogised when his colleagues were at home to him on the eve of his transfer to.....

A bit too much, isn't it?

Suppose it is added by way of explanation that Mr. X. was clever in producing large quantities of a kind of beetle, which is a native of Australia. Does it clarify—or add to the darkness?

Let me supply a few more links. Ill-treatment of Indians in S. Africa—India snaps commercial relations with S. Africa—South African wattle bark stops reaching the Indian tanneries—eyes turn to the acacia trees at Kodaikanal, Nilgiris, etc.—

an insect pest is found thriving on those trees (and passing on to orange, apple and other fruit trees)—it is known that a certain beetle of Australia feeds on this pest and destroys it—our Agricultural Department starts entomological stations in suitable places for propagating



(1) Wattle twig with the scales; (2) egg of Rodolia; (3) larva of Rodolia; (4) prepupa of Rodolia; (5) pupa of Rodolia with pupal skin split up; (6) Rodolia beetle.

these beetles and letting them loose in regions where the pest is observed to exist—Mr. X. has specialised in this work and developed a flair for it.

Simple, isn't it? Now let us learn more of these insects.

The pest that sucks the astringent vitality out of the wattle is commonly called the fluted scale or the cottony cushion scale—from its resemblance to the fluted pads of cricketers. When dealing with scientists, it answers to the more learned name of *Icerya purchasi* Mask. In Tamil it is known as *rettha poochchi* (bleeding insect) because of the red stain it leaves when crushed.

The mother secretes a kind of wax and makes a fluted sac and lays 100-1000 eggs in it, tightly packed. They are brick red in colour. More than 2,000 nymphs ('nymph' is not my attempt at facetious humour—it is the technical term for the youngsters) are known to have crawled out of some large sacs. They are bright red with long black legs; and they are very active, prompted by excessive hunger. They crawl a considerable distance in search of juicy leaves and twigs, and feed and grow until they are ready for a moult. There are three moults in the case of the females, and the young bugs would appear to change their feeding places after each moult. Males are very rare; and, in most cases, reproduction would appear to be independent of fertilisation by the male. The duration of the life-cycle, from egg to adult stage, varies with the seasons, feeding conditions, etc. About 3 months in the hot season (in the hills) and about 5 months in the cold season would be a fair average. Heavy rains wash down and destroy them in masses.

The bugs can be destroyed by fire, by chemicals—in the form of sprays—enemy-insects, enemy caterpillars and a parasitic fungus. We are at present concerned with the insect-enemy which is a beetle of the family Rodolia, whose popular name is 'lady-bird beetle'. (No wonder she is popular with such a name—she reminds you of one of Dickens' heroines.)

Rodolia roseipennis Muls is a species indigenous to South India and attacks many scale insects. It lays yellowish eggs on the scale of the *Icerya* egg-sac; and the rosy-gray grubs that hatch out feed on the

eggs inside the egg-sac, very often emptying it completely. The eggs of the imported lady-bird, *Rodolia cardinalis* Muls, are smaller but bright red, while the grubs are more dusky and can be recognised by the pairs of dorsal black warts; and they feed voraciously on the scales themselves. *R. roseipennis* is a shy breeder and unpredictable in behaviour. It is not efficient enough as a predator to exert any control on the pest, compared to *R. cardinalis*.

Rodolia cardinalis is a native of Australia which has travelled and flourished in many parts of the world, like the Pacific Islands and California. It was imported into many countries such as S. Africa, Japan, Brazil, France and Egypt.

The importation into India makes romantic reading. For instance, what will you make of the following cable-grams, if you had not read the fore-going paragraphs:—

"26-4-1929. Pretoria. Lady Bird arrived from Port Elizabeth (Cape Colony), and shipped from Durban on twentieth April on board S.S. *Gojrat* for Madras."

"Reached Madras May 9th. Regret inform found dead, due insufficient food and unsuitable air-conditioning."

The first consignment, from South Africa, was thus an utter failure.

The second lot came from California. On that occasion, an officer went all the way from Coimbatore to Colombo to receive it. Luckily, some of the beetles were alive. Breeding work was started at Ketti, in the Nilgiris. More pains were taken in making its tribe increase than in safe-guarding the healthy growth of the last of a royal line.

The third consignment came from Cairo by air. It was more successful than expected: more beetles had been born *en route*.

Release of these predator beetles began in the Nilgiris in 1930. A laboratory was opened in Kodaikanal, in the Observatory region, in 1942.

All going well, about eight successive generations of the beetle can

be brought into being in a year. The average time for one generation is about a month in warm, dry weather, and about two months in cold weather. A mother lays 200-500 eggs in her life-time, the maximum observed being about 900. The pest, on the other hand, grows at 500-1,000 eggs per mother, most of them developing into females, and practically all capable of reproducing without sexual union. But, fortunately, only three generations cover a year. Moreover, the predator is a voracious feeder, and also selective in its food habits in that it does not attack any other scale. Thus, with planned laboratory help, the beetle wins in the race. Of course, it is obvious that when the pest is reduced, the beetles also perish for want of sustenance.

We sometimes read articles about industrial diseases, but I wonder if anybody has written about industrial (or professional) eccentricities. For instance, I was going along a road one day, talking to a friend, and I was annoyed at his vacant gaze turned at an upward angle of 45°. At one stage, he suddenly halted and remarked, "That's a bad joint, must be re-done." My first reaction was that a screw in his head was loose too, till I remembered that my friend was an electrical inspector. . . . I am sure you have heard medical men remark—without any connection with the conversation going on between you—"How beautifully ripe and juicy!" The mysterious reference is to a passer-by's tumour! . . . The same with entomologists. You are walking along, arguing about the latest film-star's idiosyncrasies, when, like a hound recovering the scent, he dashes off among thorny bushes and returns with a twig in his hand and a radiant smile on his face. Without waiting for your questions, he beams forth with, "X. asserted that this region was free. But I was

positive that he was wrong. You must bear witness that I picked this up from here." And you beg, with trepidation, being a peace-loving man, "I say, look here, we are friends from childhood days and all that, but do not entangle me in any criminal investigation, whatever this precious object be."

And he laughs heartily at your ignorance and exclaims, "But don't you recognise this—fluted scale—*Icerya purchasi* Mask? This is the well-known etc., etc.," and he reels off endless facts and figures about insect pests and their biological enemies.

But the reader may wonder whether all this is true, and if the assistants of the Entomological Department are really as skilful, painstaking, and enthusiastic as made out here. He may ask me, "If the picture drawn by you is true, how is it that Mr. Madhava Menon, the Minister in charge of Agriculture, has publicly mentioned that he is not happy over the work of his Department?"

Well, what explanation can I offer? Of course, the Minister could not be so ignorant of the work done by his Assistants. Perhaps, he is like some fathers who belittle the work of their off-spring in the fond belief that it keeps them humble and stimulates them to better endeavour, and also averts the evil eye.

But I am afraid that it is a wrong course to follow. Encouragement and publicity must be of a positive nature. Recently, I read articles about this and similar matters in well-known and well-informed American journals. The names of Italy, Africa, Japan, etc., were mentioned, but not that of poor India, in spite of the good work done here. *Trying to shine in borrowed feathers is despicable; but to conceal one's light is unwise too.*



BOOKS & AUTHORS

Indian Industry Today And Tomorrow.
By E. da Costa. (No. 2, Longmans New Era Series, Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Price: Rs. 3.)

The author describes his book as an 'essay in reconstruction.' Such essays have been attempted often enough by modest reformers in all countries ever since it was realised that all was not well with the capitalist form of production. In colonial countries in particular these attempts have some meaning now, when an era of foreign rule has ended, and the responsibility for social welfare is being shifted on to the shoulders of the respective national governments that are assuming power. The book under review is therefore a timely arrival on the Indian scene, important for the problems it frankly exposes, if not so much for the solutions tentatively offered.

A century and a half of foreign exploitation has left the country unindustrialised, backward, "over-populated" and famine-stricken. The limited extent of industrialisation that has taken place has been unplanned, haphazard and lopsided. From the promotion and financing of industrial concerns by the managing agents, to the inefficient operation of them by Works departments inadequately staffed by technicians, every aspect of our industry requires a critical examination and thorough overhauling. Mr. da Costa has attempted such an examination.

He begins with a recognition of the compelling need for an overall economic plan for the industrial development of the country. But planning, according to him, is to be purely economic; he considers the politics of planning briefly, only to dismiss it summarily. The author proceeds on the basis that the initial period of industrialisation should extend over 15 years, during which period planning should, as much as possible, be kept outside 'politics'. The utter naivete betrayed by this suggestion is a consequence of an academism which is frequently in evidence throughout the book. The doctrinaire capitalist and, equally, the doctrinaire socialist, are expected to disapprove of the author's plan of which the limiting condition is to be found in the time factor. "We cannot build within the

brief span of fifteen years a completely new order which is unrelated to the existing agencies and makes boldly at one wild stroke for socialism, pure and undefiled. After our principal aim has been achieved and the grim ogre of primary poverty has been abolished, there will be time to consider how we may dispel the evils of private profit while losing nothing of its virtues." The hope seems to be implicit that in these fifteen years, there is not likely to be any connection between the 'evils of private profit' and the 'grim ogre of primary poverty.'

The author suggests that there should be three commissions to deal with the separate problems of power and transport, industry and agriculture. They would make intensive study of the requirements of each section and formulate its needs and targets. There would be a supreme planning authority at the centre to co-ordinate and reconcile the claims of the different sectors of production. The underlying principle is of course that the State takes the responsibility for maintaining a national minimum of production and standard of life. While these broad conclusions are quite pleasing to the reader, a careful study of the various measures suggested reveals that the author has drawn more from the letter and spirit of the plan produced by the Bombay Big Businessmen than from the blueprint issued by the National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress. His remarks on nationalisation are an example. He admits that the outrageous inefficiency of private enterprise in the coal industry leaves no alternative to the Government but speedy nationalisation, and that a vigorous form of State control would assist both jute and sugar. But the author hesitates to advocate any scheme of comprehensive nationalisation. "The munition industries and the railways are already nationalised; one from the beginning and the other in recent years. They are, neither of them, dashing examples of industrial efficiency." But, surely, the working of the Indian railways so far is not the last word on the possibilities of efficiency in State enterprise! However, with his poor opinion of the success of nationalised industry, the author goes on to advocate the

middle course which would demand from the Government individual attention for each industry with the maximum possible freedom for private capitalist enterprise, and timely help for the latter when it is in straits. This suggestion follows the familiar pattern of what has appropriately been called "public utility economics" underlying other reformist solutions put forward in various countries. It will be remembered that, in contrast, the National Planning Committee recommended the immediate nationalisation of "defence industries, key industries and public utilities," naming 17 industries specifically.

As regards unemployment, the author recognises the fault of the Bombay Plan in not making effective provision for full employment. For his own part, the author pins his faith on lower hours of work which will increase the labour force for the same given output—to provide greater employment. It would at once be a token of concern for the workers, and a cure for the economic malaise of our country. If employers do not view the suggestion for lower hours of work favourably, the author administers this stern warning to them: "Failure to seize the opportunity now will prove them (the employers) men of little minds; if they are to prove worthy of the nation's trust they must show now before they are overwhelmed by a threat of force, that they, too, are servants of the whole people." These words adequately indicate Mr. da Costa's whole approach—an approach which is unsatisfactory inasmuch as it shows a timorous reluctance to break away from the traditional conception of private capitalist enterprise as the main source and regulator of employment.—M.R.S.

Constituent Assemblies Of The World.
By T. S. Venkataraman (Published by the Madras Law Journal office, Mylapore, Madras. Price: Rs. 6.)

This is one of the most scholarly and accurate books on the subject that have appeared in recent times in India. The author devotes a complete chapter to the structure and work of each of the famous Constituent Assemblies of the world. The chapter on the making of the U.S. constitution is the longest—and the best in the book—and presents a competent summary of the available information on the subject. The chapters on Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland are also good—but one wishes that fuller account had been taken in the chapter on Canada of the effectiveness of the plan adopted in Canada to unite the two great racial

elements in the country into a single, strong nation. It would have been instructive, and would afford us guidance in a correct appreciation of the problem of the political unification of distinct culture-groups such as we find in India. The chapter on Turkey deals incidentally and rather casually with Kemal's policy towards the Greek minority in Turkey. Though there is otherwise little in common between Kemal and Jinnah, Jinnah would appear to be imitating Kemal in liquidating and partially forcing out the non-Muslim minority from Pakistan.

The chapter on the Indian Constituent Assembly, which is strangely enough much shorter than that on the U.S.A., traces recent political developments in India upto the publication of the partition plan of June 3, 1947, and takes note of the fact that the partition of the country is a settled fact and that some of the Princes have created a problem which renders the task before the Assembly exceedingly difficult. The author expresses the hope that the country would follow the noble path of Gandhiji in dealing with the minorities and that eventually the two new States would "realize the expediency and effectiveness of once for all establishing one united, strong federal government for the whole of India." In a book designed to be of constructive assistance in a current constitutional task of the dimensions of the Indian problem, there should have been a full discussion of all the questions facing Indian statesmen, such as the allocation of subjects between the Centre and the Provinces, the need for a strong Centre, the question of the States, the structure of the executives and legislatures, central and provincial, the judiciary, etc. We are deeply impressed by the painstaking thoroughness and the clarity in presentation shown throughout the book. But we should

have been much happier if the author had seized the opportunity to deal constructively with these issues.

The author devotes two chapters to the U.N.O. of which the relevance to the theme of the book, despite the author's explanation, seems doubtful.

Two concluding chapters deal respectively with the issue of secrecy or publicity of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, and the issue of a Declaration of Rights. On the first issue, the author commends the practice of affording full publicity to the proceedings, except when in the judgment of the Constituent Assembly itself, secrecy alone will ensure the frank discussion of certain delicate issues. The Indian Constituent Assembly has adopted this wise course, though not without encountering any of the difficulties attendant on publicity. The discussion of the issue of joint vs. communal electorates was tolerably frank; but it has led to an artificial agitation in certain quarters for the retention of communal electorates. Again, open and confessed Dravidasthanis like Mr. Muthiah Mudaliar have started a mischievous agitation against making the Centre strong as against the Provinces. Nevertheless, publicity is best, we think. There are in the country men who could contribute to the shaping of the constitution on sound lines, only from outside the Assembly. The Congress in some provinces has quite deliberately kept them out and taken a number of nobodies with almost absurdly 'open' minds into it. Besides, the political education of the people will be greatly facilitated by such public discussions of important issues affecting their wellbeing and future progress. Gradually the people at large will come to understand issues in their proper perspective, and this may prevent the emergence into power and cabinet office of nincompoops who want residuary powers divided between the Centre and the Provinces on an equitable basis.

The question of a Declaration of Rights is in India of very great importance. Having regard to the fact that the executive has always tended to be too strong in India, the common people as a whole, and not minorities alone, would find such a declaration a valuable safeguard against the encroachments of the executive. We should therefore like to see a carefully

formulated scheme of rights inserted in the constitution. The author's discussion of this question could have been fuller.

Now for a few minor aspects. The author in the chapter on the U.S. Assembly speaks of Henry Patrick. This is obviously a mistake for Patrick Henry, one of the most famous figures in American constitutional history. On p. 58, he speaks of Herz, meaning presumably General Hertzog. On p. 130, Locke is referred to as Lake and on p. 132, Tom Paine is most improperly referred to twice as Sir Thomas Paine.—S.R.

TAMIL-TELUGU

Kritimanimalai—Part I. By Sri R. Rangaramanuja Iyengar, Avl., B.A., L.T. (P. 424), Price Rs. 6-8 available at Sabarmati, Egmore, Madras.

All lovers of Karnatic music will welcome this book, the only publication of its kind to commemorate Sri Thyagaraja's centenary celebrations. For the last six years or so many institutions working for the advancement of music were promising to bring out such a volume. It was given only to Mr. Iyengar to succeed in this great task. This is the first of a series of four volumes. The editor's two previous publications, "Keertanar Malai" and "Purandarasmanimalai", are well known. With more than twenty-five years of study and research in the field of music, Mr. Iyengar has brought out this volume with due regard to all the essential elements of an authentic rendering of Sri Thyagaraja's compositions. The notation (Svara rendering) is very elaborate and comprehensive and the Matu (words split under the solfa) are in both Tamil and Telugu scripts side by side. Running matter like a biography of the saint by Suddhananda Bharati, Ragalakshana, contents and preface are printed in Telugu in the Telugu editions. A free translation of the Krities is included in Tamil in the Tamil editions. Devoted students of music will profit greatly by a careful study of the Krities rendered in this volume. The entire series is dedicated by Mr. Iyengar to the memory of his Guru, the late Veena Dhanammal whose name will ever be cherished by all those that had the privilege of listening to her divine music.

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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.

Paradox

The report of the proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council (17th Sept. 1947) with regard to the refusal of leave to Janab Abdul Latif Farookhi to introduce a non-official bill for the abolition of races in the province, makes dismal reading. Janab Farookhi gave notice of a similar measure about a year ago, whereupon the then Government published an official bill in the Gazette. The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan was to have moved the bill in April last but did not do so. Mr. Farookhi then gave notice of his intention to introduce the same bill as had been published officially and he sought permission to introduce it in the meeting of the Council held on 17th September 1947.

To the surprise of every one concerned, Dr. Subbarayan announced that he opposed the introduction of the bill. The reasons assigned by him were extraordinary and should be scrutinised by the Congress High Command. The main reason advanced was that the Government would be losing a revenue of nearly 25 lakhs of rupees thereby. Is not the Congress Government losing a revenue of 16 crores by the introduction of Prohibition? Are not drink and gambling similar evils deserving to be put down by the Congress Government? The Minister advanced the curious argument that Sri. C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor of West Bengal, presented a cup at the Calcutta Race Course and that horse-breeding would be fostered and advanced by the maintenance of race courses. A further reason was adduced that it is an all-India problem which should be considered by the High Command. These are all puerile arguments that ought not to have been advanced by one in the position of Dr. Subbarayan, now holding office in a Congress Ministry. He evaded the point and gave no reason whatever as to why he had included this bill as an official motion in the proceedings of the Legislative Council in April last and why he had failed to introduce it then and why he has now committed this *volte face*. Some of the Congress members of the Council left the House in sheer disgust at the antics of the Minister. But for the party discipline and the whip that was issued to the other members, Mr. Farookhi would have

succeeded in securing leave to introduce the bill, which certainly is in the interests of the public.

This is a matter which requires the attention of the Congress High Command, after the turmoil in the North subsides and the conditions there return to normal. The High Command ought not to permit Congress Ministers to be held in contempt by the public. "PRO BONO PUBLICO."

Procurement Anomalies

The Congress Ministers of the present Ministry who are not the true representatives of the people do not realise the farmers' position and they are not able to induce the avaricious mirasdars to improve the condition of the real tillers. Cajoling the mirasdars will never help the Government to intensify procurement. The hoarders should be punished, despite their position and the stocks must be seized.

The Premier has threatened the Andhras that unless they surrender their stocks within 20 days, police force would be used. If the Prime Minister had uttered these words in the areas where the Andhras live, it would have been right and proper. Why should he go to Pattukottai and utter his threat? Does the Premier know why his Government's appeals are not able to convince the people? The people do not care for the present Madras Ministers because of the part they played in overthrowing Mr. Prakasam's flourishing cabinet, which was working in the interest of the public.

The Andhra Ministers in Mr. Reddiar's cabinet are not even able to visit their own districts without police aid. Only the true representatives of the people can move with the people and attain their co-operation.

A rich mirasdar in Shiyali hoarded in his premises rice which was seized by the police. The Premier during his visit to Shiyali, dined in the house of that very mirasdar. It is because of these acts that the Government and the Ministers gain the displeasure of the people.

If the Ministers want to save the people from famine, they should cultivate proper relations with the real labourers and the local Congress workers. The entire stocks with the mirasdars should be seized without any partiality. They should not care if the



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

defaulter is an M.L.A., or a Minister or a big Congressman. The grievances of Kisans must be considered favourably and they must see that the poor tillers get their shares without any trouble or delay. The Government can book leading mirasdars. Why are they keeping quiet? Nowadays the police seize rice from poor men as they alight from trains and remand them in custody. Let the police have an eye on first and second class passengers also who coolly get down with rice in their hold-alls and get away in taxis. Why should the Congress Government differentiate between rich and poor?

The only way to intensify procurement is for the Ministers to support the masses and remain aloof from capitalist groups.

T. R. S.

Theft Of 350 Bags Of Rice

Recently I had an opportunity to go to Anantapur where I was told that nearly 350 bags of rice were stolen from the Anantapur Co-operative Wholesale Stores Depot at Guntakal and that a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter. But till now the public knows nothing as to what action the Government have taken to punish the culprits involved in the spiriting away of such a huge quantity of rice at this time of acute food shortage. It looks as though the whole matter is being hushed up. It is hoped that the proper authorities would come out with a statement as to the final result of the enquiry.

Kurnool.

W. SUBBARAYUDU.

Black Market Night Operations

It is heartening that the Ministers have gone all out in the province-wide procurement of rice to avoid a breakdown of rationing. While appeal to the producers on the spot has had some effect in the voluntary surrender of paddy by the latter, still we hear of the low stock levels in the Guntur district—a surplus region.

I have just returned from a tour of the north-east line during which I had ample opportunities to witness the black market 'night' operations. I was warned by the guard of No. 10 Waltair passenger on the 5th instant of the tough time the passengers in the train would have in Modukuru, Taunduru, Nidubrolu, Appikatla, Bapatla, etc. Actually when the train steamed into Modukuru at about 11-30 p.m., there was a swarm of passengers estimated at more than a thousand with headloads of not less than 10 to 15 measures of rice each, going scot free, most of them ticketless,

alighting and getting in on either side of the train and menacing those that did not accommodate or put unpleasant questions of where the rice was purchased, etc. The scanty railway staff could deal with these people only at peril of assault. The train is entirely in the hands of the mob who often detain it for about 45 minutes at each of these stations where the scheduled detention is only for a few minutes. No wonder this train arrives at Central Station at very inconvenient times, at 10 or 10-30 p.m. though due at 7 p.m.

Admittedly this state of affairs cannot have escaped the notice of the Ministers in their tours. Had they no chance, so far, of seeing this night goondalism? If only all the grain that is thus transported is collected on the spot with the aid of the police, I am sure the food position would be considerably improved.

K. SANKAR RAO.

Why Compensation?

It seems quite certain that the Government of Madras will soon abolish the zamindaries in the province. What remains to be settled is only the amount of compensation to be paid to the zamindars.

But one is tempted to ask: Why should any compensation be paid at all? In return for any meritorious services that might have been rendered by the ancestors of the present zamindars to the paramount power in existence at the time of the formation of these zamindaries, they and their descendants have enjoyed long enough the estates granted to them. And most of them, even if not all, will now be leaving their estates without, to their credit, any improvements either to the lands comprised in them or to the poor ryots that have, all these years, been paying them rents. Further, they have, in many cases, acquired from the estates sufficient personal properties with which they may well be content. It is hard to see why the Government thinks it necessary to expend people's money in the form of large sums of compensation to the zamindars.

It is hoped that the Government will bestow its careful and impartial attention on this aspect of the matter in regard to which many people both in and outside the zamindari areas honestly feel that the landholders do not deserve any compensation at all.

Ongole.

Y. SUNDARA RAO.

Professors In Professional Colleges
Madras is renowned for the high standards of instruction imparted to students in all educational institutions.

Professional colleges, in particular, have built this unparalleled reputation by retaining highly qualified people as professors in the different subjects. The Government always bestowed scrupulous care in selecting efficient men with an All-India and even international reputation to occupy these professorial chairs. There have also been many instances where special salaries were offered to attract competent men for these posts.

But some of the recent appointments reveal a sad neglect of this fundamental principle carefully upheld for such a long time in the province. Favouritism of the Ministers is playing an important part and postings are made without even adopting the usual procedure of advertisement. In addition, rapid changes are also taking place in these appointments. Instances are increasing where the same professor is shifted from one subject to another in a short interval just to avoid technical difficulties and clear the way for posting a favourite. This short-sighted policy of the Government will not only be detrimental to the efficiency of the instruction imparted to students but will result in a rapid deterioration of the high standards that this province was able to attain before. May I request the Government not to sacrifice ability in the selection of professors to professional colleges just to provide jobs to those they like but to choose competent men and retain them for the respective subjects in which they have attained proficiency.

If it is necessary, the Ministers can easily explore other means of extending their patronage to their favourites without inflicting this incalculable harm on the student population.

V. RAMAN.

Equality, Or 'Diabolical' Subterfuge?

The bill to eradicate caste distinctions among Hindus is nothing but a diabolical social subterfuge. It tries to hoodwink the non-Brahmin masses of this presidency under the guise of social equality.

Chagrined at the abolition of the merit and efficiency myth, some unsocial elements under the leadership of T. T. Viswanatham want to adopt this trickery to regain their lost privileges. To say that the dismissal of caste distinctions in officialdom alone will suffice for the up-keep of the solidarity of the Hindu nation, while no reference is made to the glaring inequalities which are prevalent in our society, is ludicrous.

If Mr. Viswanatham and his comrades are really prompted by a genuine

desire to build a casteless society, let them legislate to provide for the following:

No member of Hindu society should mark in his forehead the religious symbols of "NAMAM" and "VIBHUTHI" or any such thing vertically or horizontally.

Suffixes in daily life as well as in officialdom must not on any account be referred to. Advertisements, matrimonial wanteds, marriage invitations, etc., should not have any kind of reference to caste, creed or religion.

Communal associations and sabhas within the Hindu fold should be forthwith banned and informal gatherings, mammoth meetings, Government offices, courts and conferences should reflect an atmosphere of castelessness.

Inter-caste marriages should be legalised. Exogamy should be substituted by endogamy.

Untouchables should be appointed in temples for posts of "ARCHAKAS" after due training. Boards prominently displayed in front of hotels running as "Brahmin coffee hotels" should be banned and prohibited. There should exist not even a relic of an "AGRAHARA" or "CHERI."

Srirangam. L. K. RAMANUJAM.

Caste In Politics

Permit me to congratulate Mr. T. Viswanatham. It is a matter for gratification that at least one among the legislators has felt the need for removal of caste discriminations.

The day has come when India should care more for ability than for communal considerations. If Madras has gone down in efficiency, we are ourselves to blame, having elected to the legislature self-seeking, communally minded third-rate politicians with neither education nor culture, to fill the honoured seats once occupied by eminent men like Satyamurthi and K. V. Reddi.

Coimbatore.

DURAI.

Immediate Elections Untenable

Sri Prakasam wants the dissolution of the legislature. If the 1935 Act is to go as he proposes, can the electoral rolls prepared under that Act remain? The answer is an emphatic 'No.'

It was to avoid awkward contingencies and prevent mischief that the order was made out to adapt the Act to present needs, pending the advent of the new constitution.

M. GAURI SANKER.

Rajahmundry



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