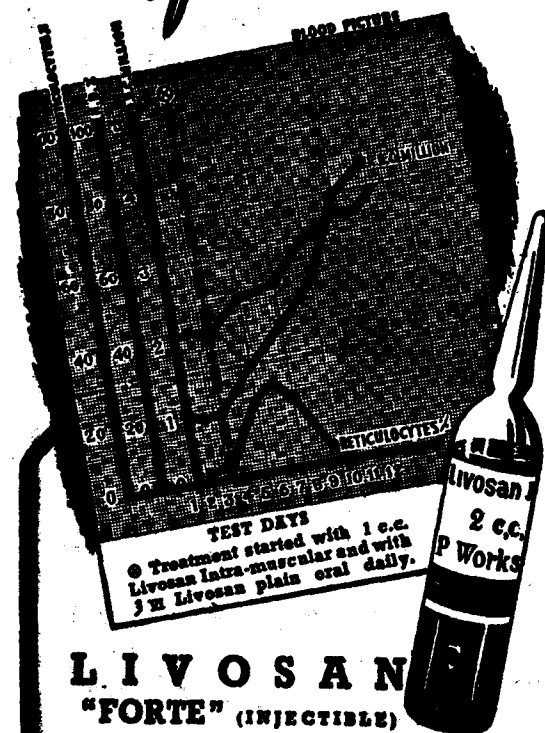


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SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1947.

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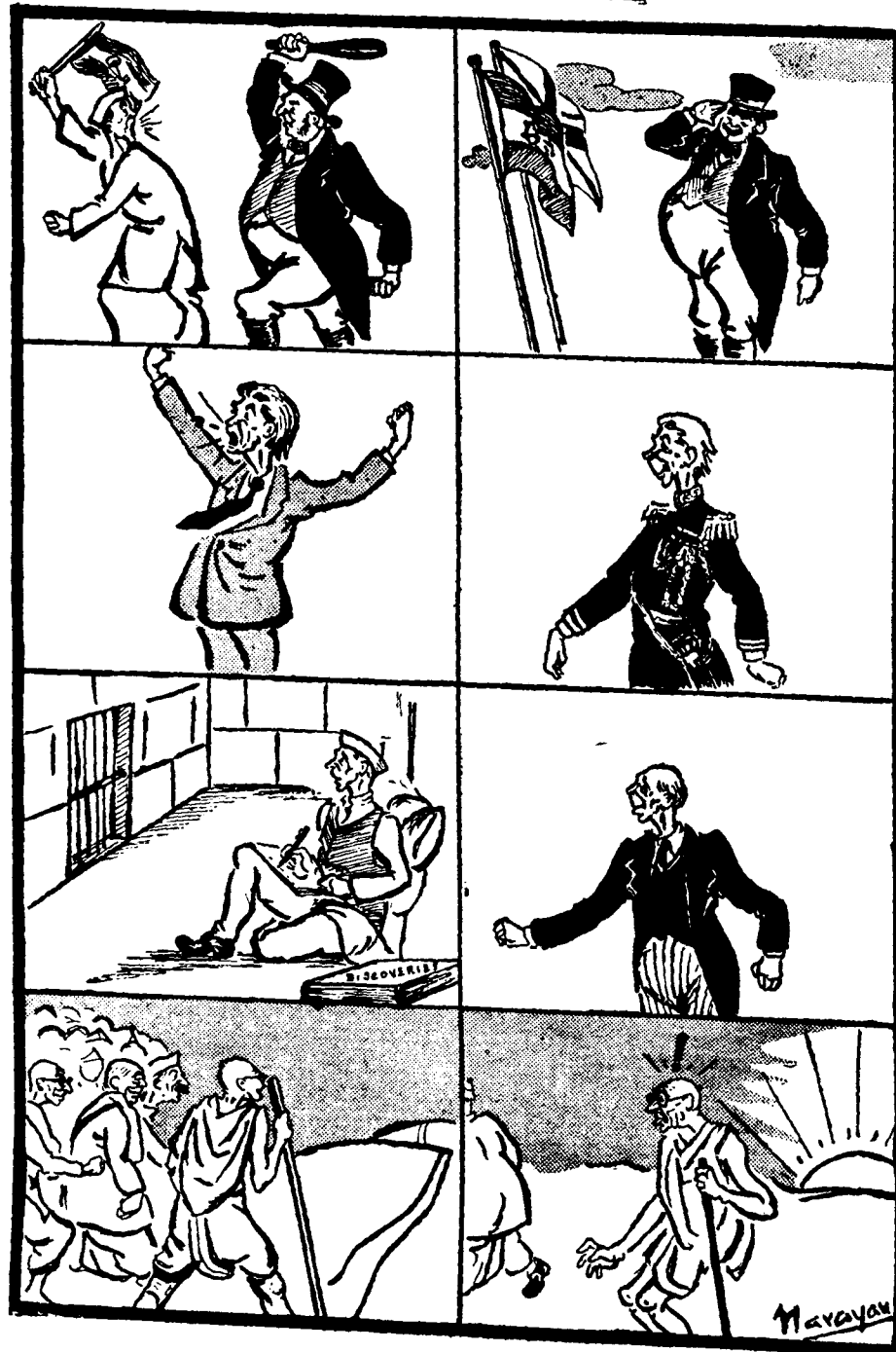
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MARCH OF TIME



SWATANTRA

VOL. 11
No. 25

SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

PRINCES AND PARAMOUNTCY

THE Viceroy's inaugural address to the Princely Order proved indeed to be also his valediction to it. We must unreservedly commend the tone and temper in which his lordship conveyed the inescapable facts which really circumscribe the field of action open to the Princes. That the spokesmen of the bigger States have been talking big, somewhat previously, though annoying to the nationalist, is yet a phenomenon which at bottom is entitled to sympathy. Let us briefly recapitulate the factors which have contributed to complicate a situation which at no time can be expected to achieve Euclidean precision or simplicity.

In the first place, it is needful to remember that the Malvolios among the Princes have been fooled to the top of their bent by designing Tories and ex-satrapas holding out hopes to them of British help in the event of their going all out for sovereign independence. The accession of the States to either dominion is left a vague option in the Independence Act itself. The Under Secretary of State has added to the confusion by a gratuitous and hair-splitting distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* status which must have confirmed the wavering members of the Princely Order in the wild hope that they might after all get away with it.

Initially, we have started with the handicap of a divided India which

vitiates the case for a strong, unified, all-India Federation. The permissive clause in the Dominion Acts gives freedom to the States to accede or not—a surprising instance of calculated ambiguity which must have been put in with malice prepense or out of an unnecessary solicitude for the Princes which has been conspicuous by its absence while British paramountcy was a grim reality. Indeed, an alternative is envisaged which is the quintessence of the ludicrous. That is to suppose that the Princes can jump backwards, and become what they were before the advent of the British. This would not merely make time stand still, but would be tantamount to kicking it backwards! And yet such a solemn puerility has found the sanctity of a legal formula in an Act of Parliament! And then came Mr. Jinnah's obliging opinion that the States might remain independent and negotiate new treaties with both dominions on the basis of perfect equality! The disinterestedness of this advice cannot be assessed, inasmuch as the number of States likely to accede to the Pakistan Federation by force of geographical necessity is almost nil!

Turning to the Princes themselves, let us try to put the most favourable construction on their longing for sovereign independence. We must acknowledge that the intensity of their desire is in direct proportion to the extent of their abject subservience to the Paramount

Power all these years. As men, and as heirs to dynasties (the youngest of them being at least twice as ancient as the line of William the Conqueror), the iron entered their souls what time they had (with impotent rage) to bow their rebel-knees to the parvenu representative of a far-off but mighty emperor. Subconsciously, in the majority of them, must be the feeling that they should also have their freedom from vestiges of slavery, even as we the nationals of British India long to divest ourselves of the vestiges of our subservience to a foreign power.

The Indian Union is the bigger brother; and, other things being equal, it has all the factors in its favour in any duel with the Princes. It is therefore politic as well as sensible to wait for the logic of events to bring about a closer collaboration between the Union and its contiguous but at the moment, self-centred or eccentric parts.

The Viceroy made a pointed reference to the people of the States and warned the Princes not to ignore their subjects. The Union has merely to give all the moral and ideological support to the people in the States to generate the requisite momentum which would force the unwilling parts to come into the Union. Further still, it must be realised that mere grandiose pronouncements concerning sovereign independence have only a nuisance value; we must wait for overt acts which would show up the hollowness or mischief of unbridled independence as practised by any of the States. Once the ebullience of the change-over from foreign to self-rule begins to subside, and the realities of every day life are seized, most of the States will inevitably find their level. It is therefore a matter for great satisfaction that Mr. Patel has used the soft word that turneth away wrath, and has, with uncharacteristic sua-

vity, gone out of his way to coax the States to accede to the Union on fair if not generous terms.

For the limiting factor of the Indian situation will always be the same. It is that at least for all extra-national and extra-territorial purposes, India must sooner than later come to speak with one voice only, and not in a babel of tongues. Until such a consummation is achieved, it is idle for us to hope that we will pull our proper weight in international councils; or even ensure normal civil life to flow in its immemorial and accustomed channels.

Dutch In Indonesia

“OWNERS are returning to the estates as soon as they have been declared safe by the Dutch army”, says one of the news items from Indonesia. This cryptic announcement is the end of a long story.

Article 14 of the Lingardjati agreement, whose interpretation by the parties concerned has become as amusingly contradictory as the interpretation of the Potsdam declaration, made it obligatory for the Indonesian Republic to welcome back the foreign exploiters of her wealth: “The Government of the Republic recognizes the claims of all non-Indonesians to the restoration of their rights and restitution of their goods, as far as they are exercised or are to be found in the territory over which it exercises *de facto* authority.” This obligation was again stressed by the Dutch in their memorandum of May 27 addressed to the Republican negotiating delegation: “Proper measures will be taken (in accordance with the conditions of the military paragraph) to safeguard the security of the returning representatives of the owners, of their staffs and possessions. These measures will be taken in co-operation between the Re-

publican and the Netherlands Indies Governments, by the employment of a military or police force, operated jointly or in mutual consultation.” The ‘military paragraph’ referred to contained the Dutch demand for a joint gendarmerie which the Republicans, in spite of their extreme anxiety to avoid war, could not accept with any self-respect. Holding that “it is of the greatest importance that there be restored those conditions of law and order that are essential for a sound economic, social and cultural development,” the Dutch said that the police would have to be organised in co-operation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. “In principle, the command will have to be so arranged,” said the Dutch negotiators, “that detachments which have an Indonesian commander will have a Dutch second-in-command and *vice versa*.” And they capped this monstrous caricature of their recognition of *de facto* Republican authority with a characteristic exhibition of imperial insolence: “In this regard the Netherlands is fully prepared to co-operate and it considers itself entitled to demand that co-operation be accepted in the interest of the country and its inhabitants.”

It is not surprising, therefore, that the negotiations should have failed—despite the intervention of Mr. Walter Foote, the American Consul-General, in favour of the Dutch terms. Padded with plenty of twaddle about the need for ‘the spirit of goodwill’, the American *aide memoire* was, in essence, an attempt to make the Republicans yield by dangling dollars before them. The American note said, “The United States Government is prepared, therefore, after the interim Government shall have been formed and mutual co-operation along a constructive path assured, to discuss if desired with representatives of the Netherlands and of the Interim Gov-

ernment (including representatives of the Republic and the other constituent areas) financial aid to assist in the economic rehabilitation of Indonesia.” As it turned out, the Republicans were not prepared to barter their freedom for American dollars.

Why was the United States impelled to offer its advice at all? Mr. Walter Foote gives the answer: “The U.S. Government must necessarily be concerned with developments in Indonesia because of the importance of Indonesia as a factor in world stability, both economic and political.” The keen interest displayed by capitalist America, as well as the uneasy silence of Socialist Britain, are adequately explained by their stake in the enormous economic resources of the Dutch East Indies. For over twenty months, the Dutch have been blockading the sea outlets from Republican territory. This blockade has naturally been detrimental to those ‘non-Indonesian interests’ to which such frequent references were made by the Dutch during the negotiations. Before the war, 86 per cent of the pepper, 72 per cent of the kapok, 37 per cent of the rubber, 27 per cent of the coconut products, 91 per cent of all quinine products, 24 per cent of the palm oil products, 19 per cent of the tea, 17 per cent of the tin, 5 per cent of the sugar and 3 per cent of the petroleum products on the world market were produced in Indonesia. More than 80 per cent of all this world export came from the 2,300,000 square miles of very densely populated and rich territory which was controlled by the Republic.

Due to the wide variety and excellence of soil conditions, Indonesia took very kindly to non-indigenous products. Most of the articles listed above were brought to Indonesia only during the last century. Cinchona from Pegu, rubber from Brazil, oil palm from West Africa, coffee from Arabia—all these flourished in

Indonesia. But the Indonesians themselves did not benefit from the bountiful resources of their country. Foreign capitalists, mainly Dutch, denuded the Indies of its riches year after year. In 1939, out of the total private investment of 3.5 billion guilders in Indonesia, 2.6 billion was Dutch. Another 1.4 billion invested in Government long-term and short-term loans were borrowed almost entirely in Holland. Dutch plantations cover one-fifth of the entire cultivated area of the Indies. The natives were allowed by the Dutch administration to grow the food crops for their own consumption, and nothing more. Severe export duties were imposed on native output and export. The entire economy, in fact, was based on the export industry run by foreign capitalists, and operated to the detriment of the Indonesians who were kept in backward conditions of agriculture and social life.

It is this system that is sought to be revived by the Dutch Government. But the middle of the twentieth century is a rather late period of time for the launching of a colonial war. The white dock-workers of Australia, and the white students and workers in Holland itself, have both made a magnificent gesture of sympathy for the cause of a coloured people's freedom. And it even looks as if the United Nations Organisation is going to be given yet another chance to justify its existence.

Retrograde

THE reported contrivance by which members of Provincial Legislative Assemblies are to be enabled to retain membership of the Constituent Assembly also, provides one more illustration of the present unhappy trend of the Congress High Command of fighting shy of democratic procedures and seeking to concentrate political and administrative power in as few hands as possible. There is enough work

for the whole time of a member of a Provincial Assembly if he seeks to fulfil the responsibilities of his position conscientiously. The same is true in an even greater degree of the membership of the Constituent Assembly. By combining the two posts, the authors of the combination have insulted both, and reduced each to a fractional occupation with a surplus left over for supplementary activity. Public intelligence is nowadays receiving valuable lessons with every passing day about the mental make-up of top Congress leadership, and with this experience to guide it, it will have no difficulty in understanding the object of the new arrangement. It is clear that men like Sardar Patel have no longer their faces turned to the masses. Their backs only are turned to them. Every move of theirs would seem to be governed by a desire to avoid having to go to the polls for as long as possible. The old confidence in public backing has given place to a grabbing spirit, having for its aim a close division of posts and offices among a compact body of sharers. Naturally, under the new dispensation, puppets are preferred to independent leaders of men. We had hoped that the provision of a seat for Dr. Ambedkar in the Union Constituent Assembly was a sign of belated greeting on the part of the Congress High Command to real talent and intelligence among Harijans, instead of to their own chosen docile nominees merely. But the pattern of the Union Executive as unfolded during the week in the disclosures of enterprising newspaper-gatherers, shatters to pieces once again all prospect of any such hope materialising. Dr. Ambedkar towers over every other Harijan leader in experience, knowledge, ability, above all in the hold he exercises on the esteem and affections of millions of Harijans in the country. The reported exclusion of such a man, which we hope will prove untrue, may be very

palatable to Sardar Patel in the gathering tempo of his ambition for omnipotence as it manifests itself in a search for tools to put down near-equals, but it will mean, at the very moment of supposed freedom, the beginning of another bitter struggle against tyranny enthroned in the name of freedom.

The saner minds among top Congress leaders, if there is any sanity left at all there, should act before it is too late, to rescue Congress policy from its present swift decline towards greed, authoritarianism and undemocratic aberrations. Democracy entails acceptance of liability to quit office in the wake of popular disapproval expressed through free voting, whereas we find systematic sabotage of the rights of public opinion over the administration in very many of the recent decisions of the Congress High Command. They should have taken urgent and immediate measures for replacement of the present defective legislatures with more broad-based ones formed on the widest franchise. Instead of that, we find them pouring artificial life into the present outmoded institutions with every devious device known to constitutional subterfuge. The Congress High Command seems to dread nothing more now than to have to go to the polls, and bye-elections would seem to have become a positive nightmare to them. The inevitable outcome of this mentality is dependence on instruments of brute power, destructive of civil liberties, for the upkeep of administrative authority, leading to strife and civil war.

Ominous Sudetenism

WE wish to draw attention to a most tendentious statement made by Mr. Jinnah which unfortunately has gone without much notice or comment. Soon after his meeting with Dr. Sultan Sharir from Indonesia, he issued a press state-

ment on the Indonesian crisis which contained a portentous and pointed reference to Pakistan and Muslim India as wholly in sympathy with the new-born Muslim nation of Indonesia in its struggle against the Dutch.

We have nothing to say for or against both Mr. Jinnah's and Pandit Nehru's sympathy for the Indonesians. Their talk of coming to the rescue of the Indonesians must remain, in the present circumstances, mere talk. With America practising the Nelson touch, with Mr. Bevin adopting the most benevolent attitude of disarming ignorance and with the mounting tempo of military operations by the Dutch, there is little doubt that the Indonesian situation will be brought under 'complete control', before our leaders have gone through their press conferences, press statements and demarches. As an opportunity for practising the diplomatic stance and pace, the present incident in Indonesia may be treated as very seasonable. But hardly anything else is likely to issue out of the alarms of our External Affairs departments or the excursions of the unfortunate Sharir.

But the reference to Muslim India is a piece of demagogic effrontery which must be scotched at once. At that rate, Mr. Jinnah must concede the validity of Hindu Pakistan registering its neutrality in the conflict between Dutch and Indonesian Muslim. It raises the further interesting question as to whether the Muslims of the Indian Union subscribe to the doctrine of extra-territoriality, and whether they will continue to recognise the new Shah of Pakistan as their constitutional head. The Jacobites of old drank to the health of the King—over the water, and kept up a fifth column activity which needed the purgation of 1715 and 1745 to be entirely and finally expelled from the body politic. We have not heard of Welsh

England or Negro America or Muslim Russia. Mr. Jinnah is soon to become the constitutional head of a State; and it won't do for him to indulge in calculated indiscretions of the kind we have singled out, unless it is his continued aim to disrupt the States which he has so pertinaciously brought into existence.

For Mr. Jinnah to talk of Muslim India, at the very threshold of the new order, affords an ominous sign of Sudetenism. If the remnant in either part of truncated India turns longingly to the other, it is the beginning of a ghastly tale that cannot know its end except in an orgy of blood and sweat to avoid which alone we have been persuaded to agree to Pakistan. But it looks as if Pakistan is but the starting point for a new series of aggressive claims and intolerable impositions. This must cease, and the sooner the better.

Touglakian

THE Government of Madras formed in November 1946, a committee to enquire and report about the hill tribes of the province. Mr. Prakasam was Premier at the time. The committee toured in 13 districts and heard some 168 witnesses. Only the Tamil districts remained to be visited for the completion of its planned tour. At this stage the Prakasam Ministry fell. Two of the members, after having worked on the committee for four months, suddenly discovered, a day after the fall of the Prakasam Ministry, that the terms of reference were not definite. They wrote to the new Premier suggesting that till more definite terms of reference were framed, the activities of the committee may be suspended. They took this step without the knowledge of their colleagues. The Premier accepted their sugges-

tion, and on his intervention, instructions were orally conveyed by the departmental secretary concerned to the president of the committee that the unfinished part of the committee's pre-arranged tour need not be proceeded with. It is noteworthy that at a subsequent meeting of the committee, the self-same members that had privily written to the Premier suggesting the suspension of the committee, moved a resolution protesting against the Government's order of intervention and suspension of which they themselves had been the stealthy inspirers. This disgusting double-dealing is not, from the public's point of view, so disconcerting as the acceptance of it as a pivot for the determination of policy by the head of the Government. The Premier followed up his suspension move with a more drastic order dissolving the committee itself. This dissolution order amounts to wanton wrecking of the whole of the previous labours of the committee on which some Rs. 10,000 of public money had been already spent, without allowing them to be completed or brought to any kind of effective fruition for public welfare. We offer this episode from the chapter of ministerial exploits to the public to ponder over, as it is fairly illustrative of the Omandurian quality of leadership. There is no knowing which vital spot of public life the missiles of its Touglakian waywardness will hit next. The unceremonious dismissal of the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee in the middle of its work cannot but serve as a warning to all public men called to similar work, about the untrustworthiness of the present administration and the potential ill-treatment and humiliations involved in accepting its invitation for service on committees purporting to advance public causes.

Avarice is merely an honest exhibition by the few of the secret desires of the many.

Sotto Voce

Flag-Waggery



ON the flag of India the *charkha* has become the *Chakra*. Like all great revolutions this one took place overnight. And once made, its inevitability is obvious to everybody. Mr. Nehru, as becomes one who is a fine blend of the East and the West, urged in the pragmatic spirit of the Englishman that the necessities of heraldry had to be obeyed and at the same time remembered as a patriotic Indian that the *Dharma Chakra* of Asoka had claims to be respected on its own account. But one suspects that what really decided the matter for him was the thought that Asoka was the first internationalist.

India's eclectic philosopher, who followed him, must have overwhelmed his hearers with the wealth of suggestion which he read into the familiar tricolour. I suppose many of them felt as La Gioconda's husband might have felt after Leonardo Da Vinci had finished his masterpiece, if Walter Pater had been at hand to enlighten him. The Path of Light, the ochre of renunciation, the wheel of the Law which was also the wheel of Life, the green that stood for mother Earth—apparently the proverbial brown was not colourful enough for his taste—it was a veritable cornucopia that Sir S. Radhakrishnan poured out. And for a wonder Chaudhuri Khaliquzaman not merely kept silent; he applauded. The lion and the lamb lay down together in touching amity.

Of course many of the speakers were at great pains to prove that there was nothing sectarian about the flag. Attempts had no doubt

been made, they said, at different times to identify particular colours with particular communities. But that was all wrong. Why, had they not rejected the suggestion that a design of the Union Jack should occupy a small corner of the new flag, though the suggestion had found no less influential a supporter than the Mahatma himself? They might have allowed it if the flag had been conceived as a symbol of our chequered history or our checker-board demography. But you had only to listen to the Nightingale of India to know that our flag stood for something ineffable, like the *anirva-chaniya* of the Vedantin.

There were, however, I am sorry to say, one or two obscurantists who must needs butt in with their particularist claims. A Maharashtrian reminded his fellow lawmakers that the *bhagwa* was the banner of the Peishwas. And I have seen it whispered that the *charkha* has been routed not by Asoka's wheel but by the Vishnu *Chakra* and that Mahatma Gandhi, devout Vaishnavite that he is, should feel elated at the thought. I should not be surprised myself if Mr. C. Rajagopalachari saw the hand of God in it. He may seek to improve the shining hour by asking his countrymen to rejoice that the dearest wishes of the Alvars had at last been fulfilled.

On further reflection, these devout souls whose ardour is not always matched by their prudence should see the need for decorous restraint. For there is a very real danger of trouble from a new quarter. Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia has announced his

decision to stake his life—as well as those of his brother, his son-in-law and his wives,—for the protection of the cow. And what if the Mahasabha, finding in him a Heaven-sent ally, should hoist the Vrishabha Dwaja—a Roland for an Oliver? I can only hope that the stout secularism on which our Congressmen pride themselves when they don their workaday clothes will be proof against all such provocation. Let them stick to the plea that the *Chakra* is merely the *charkha* minus the spindle and that they have no wish to disturb the ancient repose of the gods.

But that may not be the end of their difficulties. Even if the Self-Respect wolf and the Communist fox may be put off by pretending that religion is the very plague, it is not easy to keep the wine of freedom from going to the head. Mahatma has been zealously emulating the

builders of Babel. But while the crepuscular light of that Hindustani which never was on land or sea slowly seeps in through the columns of the *Harijan*, the Constituent Assembly has with a gay war-whoop galloped down the murky precipice of Hindi written in Nagari!

“But soft: we are observed!” is the omnipresent caution that bedevils our public life. We have so long lost the habit of behaving naturally that we choke in the attempt, like the famished man ravening on a crust. A flag is a symbol of instinctive unity and age-long achievement. Its appeal is to affections rooted in the subconscious. We ape the emotion but dread to experience it at first-hand. When we have won national self-realisation we shall not reason about the flag; we shall love it.

VIGNESWARA.

PROBLEM OF THE MINORITIES

by Bh. VENKATARATNAM

THERE are two problems which have to be taken note of in regard to the minority question. One is the allegiance of a party in a state to an organisation outside that state, and the other is the organisation of political parties on communal lines. Take the position of the Congress in Pakistan and of the Muslim League in India. The pronouncements and advices of the leaders, especially of the Congress, clearly indicate that they would like to continue the activities of their parties on the pre-partition basis. Whatever may be their aspirations, it is necessary to examine the position from the point of view of the states now established. Once these new states are established, the position of the parties owing allegiance to a central organisation outside the borders of the state becomes anomalous. No state worth the name would like the idea of its political problems being directed from persons outside its borders. To some extent the unpopularity of the Communist Party in India with the educated classes is not so much because of the principles of Communism as

because of the inspiration derived by the Communist Party at every stage from USSR.

The troubles we have to face arose so far due to the infusion of communalism into politics. Now that a heavy price has been paid for that folly, it is time to see that we do not carry the communal spirit any further in the organisation of parties. No religious group in the State should feel the necessity for a party of its own to fight for its political and economic rights.

The parties will do well to form separate organisations in the two states—Pakistan and India. The best thing will be to include in the constitution two clauses regarding the formation of political parties in India or in Pakistan as follows:

(1) No political party which owes its allegiance to a political organisation outside the borders of the state shall be formed in the interests of national safety.

(2) No political party shall be allowed to be formed on a communal basis.

SIDELIGHTS :

A wide diffusion of property and a general equality of condition are the very foundation stones of popular government; a high concentration of wealth is incompatible with universal suffrage; a broad distribution of opportunity and assurance to labour is necessary to the security of republican institutions; the revolutions which have shaken other societies to pieces have sprung from the antagonism of private interests and popular power, fired by ambitious leaders.—CHARLES A. BEARD.

MR. Casey, ex-Governor of Bengal, writes thus of Pandit Nehru: “Next to Mr. Gandhi he is, without doubt, the most respected public figure on the Congress side. And yet one hesitates to call him a popular figure. He is reliably said to be intolerant of opposition, or even of critical comment, even from his friends. It may be that, in spite of his many gifts, this intolerance will make it difficult for him to command the full co-operation and loyalty of his colleagues over a period of time.”

Intolerance of opposition is the new danger besetting Congress leadership as it primes itself to get into the saddle as the ruling party in the country. Hitherto a certain patriotic quality was inherent in the position of the Congress as the dominant anti-imperialist organisation. The whole world loves patriots. That is why scoundrels put on the guise of patriots to win the world's regard which otherwise they have no means of getting at, and we have an adage like, Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. But whatever the motive, patriotism, in the context of a struggle for national liberation, levels up those who go in for it, into action and behaviour calling for hardihood and sacrifice. As the Congress came to be recognised as the main party pledged to the attainment of national liberation, the stamp of Congress membership sufficed as a hallmark of patriotism. Irrespective of personal qualities, the very jailors of Congress prisoners, paid slaves of the

imperial power, looked upon their charges with respect as their potential deliverers and were correspondingly crest-fallen if not conscience-stricken over their own vocation. There were few among those at large that were not a little shame-faced over their enjoyment of liberty while the patriots of the Congress were under incarceration.

With the withdrawal of British power, the whole of the vantage position of a fighting party credited with patriotic fervour, is lost to the Congress, as it were overnight. There is no longer a foreign power to fight with, in the old form of occupational Government. Other tests of patriotism are urgently needed. What shall they be? All the confusions and conflicts now being witnessed are at bottom a sign of multifarious interpretation of the true content of patriotism in the changed circumstances of the moment, with no longer an external authority to contend with.

The struggle for new definitions has begun among the Congressmen themselves, but the boundaries of the struggle do not fall within the Congress organisation, the whole of our public life is contained in them. It must be said that in the matter of overt behaviour at least, the minorities have begun to play their part handsomely. Mark Qhalikuzzman, one of the fathers of the Pakistan movement, saluting the Union Flag! The majorities, feeling their power, are attempting to set themselves up as the sovereign authority in the State, and for the time being, the power of majority organisation is being developed on communal lines and nowhere so markedly as in the Congress itself, notwithstanding the professed non-communal objective of Congress politics all these years. The League and the British have between them communalised the Congress. Attempts towards a new equilibrium based on the decommunalisation of public life through administrative fiat, are

being reported from C.P. and U.P. But their influence has left the Southern Presidency unaffected. Just as, in Pakistan, the rule of the League is being shaped into a communal Muslim rule, here in Madras the rule of the Congress is being shaped, not into a Hindu rule but into a communal non-Brahmin rule.

Muslim rule in Pakistan will be popular with Muslims so long as the emotional satisfaction of communal authority over an excluded class like Hindus, suffices for the Muslim majority. But no emotion, however pleasant, can take the place of food, and the struggle of the hungry against any rule denying them food and a fair share of the good things of life, is bound before long to assert itself, gathering allies from all communities. Disparity between the rich and the poor is the eventual cause of every variety of disturbance leading society to chaos and bloodshed, and though communalism of one sort or another may for a while veil its true character, it cannot take the place of a helpful lasting remedy for it. Hatred doctrines and exclu-

sive appropriations of power and its benefits cannot create the atmosphere of mass goodwill necessary for the stability of any State. Widespread prosperity alone can do it. With freedom won, the mass distribution of prosperity, in place of the present privation, is the proper objective that should engage the ambitions of the public-spirited, and in the new setting, the type of patriots needed for leadership are neither the honoured fighters of the Congress in the independence struggle, nor opportunist communalists seeking to rouse the ignorant passions of the multitude against particular sects to make careers for themselves,—as the Nazis under Hitler sought to rouse the passions of the Germans against the Jews,—but intelligent and constructive planners for an economy of plenty impervious to exploitation by monopolist profit-seekers. The test of the new democracy is that none that is a citizen should be excluded from any of its benefits. The danger it has to overcome is that of majority tyranny. Its freedom should be freedom for all who do not endanger others' freedom.—SAKA.

BHAGAVATAR FANS

by V. R.

HAVING an evening free to myself, I decided to make a number of social calls which had been in arrears for a long time. This took me to some of the busiest parts of the City. I found groups of people gathered in front of most of the hotels and musical shops. All of them appeared to be waiting for something to happen.

My curiosity being roused, I made a few discreet enquiries and I was told, in a note pitying my ignorance, that they were waiting to hear the radio programme.

This took my mind to June 3 last, on which day several people were anxious to hear what Lord Louis Mountbatten, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh had to say about the political fate of India.

But now I could not remember to have seen any announcement about any such outstanding broadcast. The only important event of the day was

what the Constituent Assembly was going to decide about the Flag of the Indian Union. But this did not appear to be the subject of any radio talk.

Then it came to me like a flash. Being neither a cinema fan nor very musically minded, it was but natural that this event should have escaped my notice. This was the day on which "Bhagavathar" was to be on the air from Trichinopoly.

When once I remembered this, I could easily account for the waiting crowds at different points in the City, wherever a radio was tuned in loud enough to be heard outside. The size of the crowd at different places varied, being governed by the space available on pavements and roads consistent with traffic requirements.

Yes, it was an outstanding event for the admirers of Mr. M. K. Thyagaraja Bhagavathar. For the first time after the lapse of over three years, his voice was heard again over the air from Trichinopoly.

PROFILE OF PAKISTAN'S CAPITAL

by C. H. V. PATHY

Twenty years hence, Karachi will be the New York of the East. This was the optimistic forecast of Sind's septuagenarian Premier, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla who is to-day gloating over the advent of Pakistan.

Karachi, India's parvenu provincial capital, has been catapulted into international fame as the seat of the world's youngest Dominion.

In the following article, Mr. C. H. V. Pathy, a whilom Madras newspaperman who has made Karachi his temporary home for the last fourteen years, gives a profile of Pakistan's capital.

SOME cities are born great, others achieve greatness, some have greatness thrust on them. Karachi, the one-time fisherman's village which is the linchpin of the kingdom which Mr. Jinnah has carved, belongs to the last category.

It has no past, its future is a gamble. Its only claim to greatness is that it is the birthplace of two Muslim luminaries who were destined to streak across the star-studded annals of Indian history. Both his Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Jinnah were born in Karachi, but curiously enough, both shook its dust off their feet from here from a very early age.

Fascinating as well as repulsive, spiritually stunted and politically lopsided, Karachi is the most soulless city in India. Beneath its apparent surface glitter, its wide open spaces and its clean roads, there is something lacking which grips even the casual visitor to cities like Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore and Bombay. It has not the thoughtful aspect of Benares, brooding by the immemorial Ganges; it is without the grandeur of Agra or even the mild magnificence of Meerut where you can see monuments which tell of awful things, where merciful men and wicked are shadows from the past.

In my salad days, Karachi was to me one of the remote red bits on

the map of India, the study of which had filled me with overpowering boredom at school. A Sindhi merchant in Madras was the first to tutor me about the romance of Karachi's growth, how from sand dunes and a few mud walls, a modern city, destined one day to vie with Bombay and Calcutta, was born.

From the misty pages of history, there shoots up a human interest story of how in the uncrowded year 1768, Kalhoras, the then rulers of Sind, shifted their capital from Khudabad to Hyderabad, on the banks of the river Indus. One of the most important pillars of the State, a man by name Seth Bhojmal, thought it was a suitable occasion to part company with a decadent regime and prospect fresh fields and pastures now. Along with a bunch of friends and relations he went and established a little trading colony called Kharakbunder, a small outpost dotting the Gulf of Oman, and from there carried on trade with Muscat, Bahrien, Sonmiani, Gwadur and Shiraz. The port where he had pitched his tent, known as Khat, was at the confluence of Hub river with the Arabian Sea. In course of time, the imp of geography played her due share of mischief, sands slowly silting up the entrance to the port, with the result that Seth Bhojmal's diminutive merchant marine,

made of bamboos and wood and kept together by coir rope, could no longer find entrance to the harbour which consequently had to be abandoned.

His midget kingdom which was sprouting up in a style reminiscent of the wild west in Hollywood pictures, had to be abandoned and Seth Bhojmal had to chart the way back. Jugganath, the city astronomer and reader of signs consulted his art and Bhojmal his experience. The Pandit indicated a place a few miles away to the southeast of Kharakbunder.

On a historic Thursday in June, 1785, Bhojmal's commercial caravan arrived and settled at a place which is today called Amli Talao, on the Karachi-Mauripur motor road. The sight which greeted it was a dusty, inhospitable patch of no-man's land with twenty sprawling fishermen's huts whose head was one KALACHI, and after him the village was named KALACHI-JOGOTHE. Thus the imprint of a fisherman's name has been immortalised in the pages of history and Kalachi was subsequently transformed into Karachi.

There is also the story told of how Alexander's fleet under Nearchus was detained by bad weather for three weeks in Karachi lagoon in the year 326 B.C.

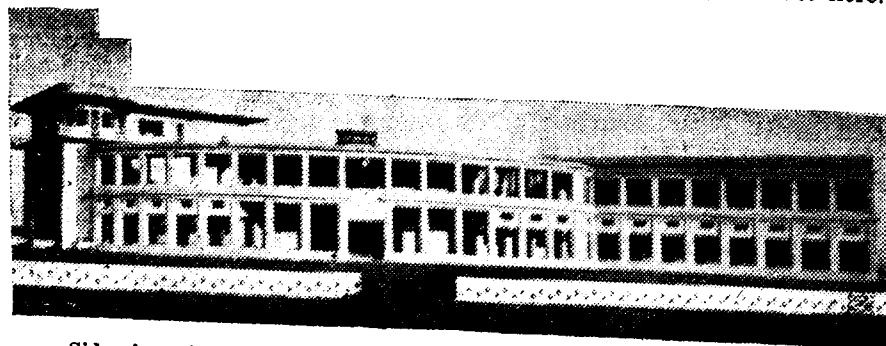
The fishing village of Karachi originally belonged to the Baluchis, given as blood money by the Kalhora Sind rulers. After the conquest of Sind by the British, the Khan of Kalat, wanting to have a harbour, gave battle to the British and annexed Karachi to his territory. He farmed out the Customs revenue to

one Allarkhio Lohar for the magnificent sum of Rs. 250 per annum. This was just a century ago and not even the most optimistic person could have forecast that the Customs would be yielding in the space of a hundred years, a sum of five crores of rupees.

At the time of the British conquest of Sind, Karachi was a mass of low mud hovels and high mud houses. It had hardly any system for the disposal of sewage and its dark and narrow streets were the breeding ground for germs which gave rise to various epidemics. It was only after Sir Charles Napier transferred the seat of Government from Hyderabad to Karachi that this city began to grow and develop. Sir Charles Napier predicted a hundred years ago that Karachi would become the "glory of the East." It was from here that the first telegraphic message was transmitted from India to England.

Situated on the fringe of a lagoon of the Arabian Sea, Karachi is only twenty feet above sea level and the biggest nightmare of its inhabitants is that one day the whole city may be submerged under a tidal wave. Only twenty miles from the frontier of Baluchistan, there is nothing of India about Karachi. Pandit Nehru, during one of his periodic hops from U.P. to England, said that he felt here as though he were in a foreign territory.

Dust thou art and to dust returneth. The genius who coined this immortal generalisation must have had Karachi before his mind. We eat, live and sleep in dust here.



Side view of the new Administrative Building at the Karachi Air Port,



Construction of the Pakistan Secretariat is proceeding fast. Picture shows a historic signboard.

There is not a blade of grass to cheer you up anywhere. But the city has its advantages. It enjoys not only an exceptionally healthy site but comparatively cool weather even at times when the whole of Northern India is in the grip of the rigours of the Indian summer. The relatively cheap trading facilities which it offers to every merchant has further enhanced Karachi's growth. With expanding trade and increasing population, a city rose out of sandy foundations, a city with modern buildings, clean sanitation, asphalt roads. It is the dream of one man transformed into reality—the dream of Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta, known familiarly as the father of modern Karachi.

At scratch, Karachi's population is variably estimated between 8,000 and 14,000 while the value of imports and exports amounted to Rs. 120,000. Today the population stands at over seven lakhs.

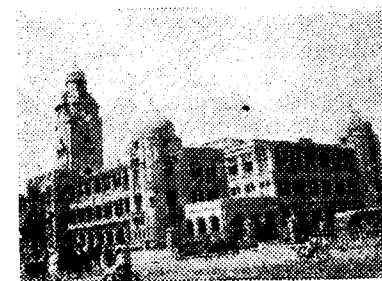
The city has an area of 71 and odd square miles. It is also the terminus of the North-Western Railway. Its paramount distinction is that it is the Clapham junction of the air. In this aerial gateway of the East, seven air lines serving eighteen countries converge daily. As an all-the-year-round airport, Karachi has few equals in the world. Its rainfall is slight and apart from occasional dust storms, the visibility average throughout the year is very good. The first plane to arrive at Drigh Road airport, about ten miles

from the city proper, was a Handley Page biplane, said to be the very machine designed to bomb Berlin. Later, Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Air Minister of Britain, arrived here in a special plane in January, 1927. From the hideous contraption of those days to the modern streamlined wonders of the sky is a far cry but it is symptomatic of the giant strides made by aviation.

Its hotels in their crowded hours wear the aspect of a League of Nations with messengers from all parts of the world speaking all tongues. The chief attraction is Clifton, the sea-side resort three miles from the city. Though not a patch on the Madras Marina, Clifton too like Madras has one of the longest beaches in the world. A marina has been constructed, connecting it with Keamari, the harbour.

Another outstanding landmark is the Karachi harbour. When it first came under British control, it had no pretensions to be called a port. Vessels had to anchor a few hundred yards away from Manora Point from where men and stores were conveyed in boats as the tide permitted. Sir Charles Napier planned the widening of the harbour mouth and gradually, bit by bit, the harbour has been developed almost beyond recognition.

Like the city itself, the Karachi Municipal Corporation had a very romantic growth. One of Seth Bhojmal's descendants, Seth Naomol Hotchand, describes in his Memoirs, how the idea of having a municipality in Karachi was first conceived. He states: "It was usual with me to



Karachi Municipal Corporation Building.

visit the Commissioner and his assistants twice or thrice every week. I communicated to Sir Bartle Frere different news that I had received during the week. Once upon an occasion, Sir Francis Frere and I were coming together when he told me that when he visited the old town he found it in a very bad state. He wishes to introduce the municipal system in order to effect sanitary improvements in the town. If such a system could be introduced in Karachi and the ghee rate of one anna six pies per pound could be lent for municipal purposes, he hopes it would immensely help to improve the town. I consented and said that I would ask the townspeople to agree to this proposal. Such was the beginning of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi of which Captain Preedy, Revenue Collector, Mr. John McLeod, the late Collector of Customs and myself formed the managing committee."

A board of conservancy was appointed in 1846 when cholera visited the city. In 1852, the board became absorbed in the Karachi Municipal Corporation which was established by order of the Government in 1852. The first annual administrative report runs into 74 small paragraphs and Rs. 161 was the cost of the establishment.

Like Madras, Karachi is a city of distances. Its longest and most important road is the Bunder Road which is five miles long and 130 feet wide. Its water supply mainly comes from the Indus but the water is awfully chlorinated. Efficient conservancy and sanitation keep the city clean. Karachi is a city of perpetual sunshine. Its annual rainfall is only seven inches and even that is not regular.

Cultural life here is zero. The higher-ups in society forget their problems in Karachi Club where there is down-to-dusk bridge play and billiards. This club consumes the largest quantity of liquor of any club in India.

An American newsman who had a fleeting glimpse of Karachi told me that it was half the size of New York cemetery and twice as dead. This city has been immortalised in song

and fiction. Some of the most fascinating letters of Col. Lawrence of Arabia were written from Drigh Road and he gives vivid sketches of men and things here.

Karachi hovered on the brink when Hitler was clawing his teeth on Stalingrad. If he had broken



A typical street scene of Karachi. A camel with its huge luggage.

through to the Caucasus, this city would have been blitzed. It saved itself miraculously from the horrors of war.

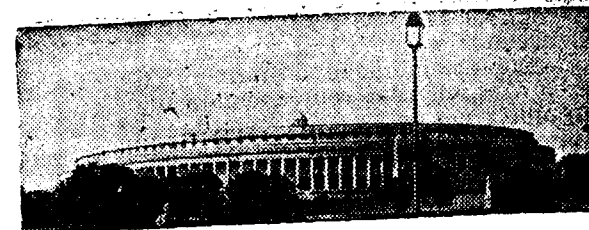
The colours in Karachi are vivid both in the shops and in the streets. The Amils who form the intellectual aristocracy of Karachi are one of the most well-dressed community in God's good earth. Asses wander along the streets and camels amble by, drawing strange, high carts. They are called the ships of the desert.

It is this city with its upstart origin and no historical importance that the League has chosen as its capital. I shall not cast its horoscope but if by chance there is another world war, I shudder to think of its future, with its exposed coastline and vivid blue skies, which will make it the paradise of bombers!

Unmindful of what the future has in store, thousands of workmen are now busy, erecting the houses and offices to accommodate the "invaders" from Delhi. In the next two months, 50,000 persons would descend on Karachi, creating tremendous problems to its existing inhabitants.

Mr. Jinnah himself would occupy the palatial Government House, shoving Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor, to the old Government House.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

CZECHOSLOVAKIA of all countries in Europe has surprisingly come through post-war Europe without any political turmoil, and without unstable Governments as in France. When Mr. Janecek, who is a Czech, paid a visit to New Delhi as a United Nations official, we promptly caught him and asked him a lot about Czechoslovakia. And he told us a lot.

Janecek was particularly well-suited to speak about Czechoslovakia because he came from one of those families in Europe which combine high-level money-making with the pursuit of absolute values like truth, beauty and goodness. There was a reference to Janecek in this Diary a couple of weeks ago. He makes a brief entry into these pages to say that Czech Communists were Czech first and Communist afterwards. Very much like Jeeves, who, according to his biographer Wodehouse, only says, "Very good, sir," or words to that effect and goes back without making much of an impression. But Janecek, unlike Jeeves, will appear rarely in the future.

This United Nations official was not being patriotic when he said that the Czechs had a great democratic tradition extending over hundreds of years. Prince Wencelous and George I of Podesbrady proposed in 1417 that there should be a United States of Europe, and that they should decide disputes round the Conference table and not by war. George I was the first elected King of Podesbrady.

Janecek said he was not himself a Communist, but he claimed that the Czech Communist Party was superior to Communist Parties throughout the world. He also spoke about the method of compensation being

adopted in Czechoslovakia as a consequence of their nationalisation programme.

Janecek said that Czechoslovak industry was paralysed under German occupation. Most of the skilled workmen were either killed or imprisoned. Some had been taken away to Germany to work for the Germans. When it was proposed in 1945 that a good part of Czech industry should be nationalised, some, including himself, had felt that the experiment might prove to be costly because they lacked skilled personnel. It had, however, now been proved that the State could run industries in competition with private enterprise. Heavy industries including armaments, heavy chemicals, coal, transport, textiles, etc., were nationalised. The Government had also nationalised banks and nearly all factories in which over 150 workers were employed. In a few cases the number of workers who could be employed without the industry being nationalised went up to 450. The criterion was that the industrialist should not be in a position to dictate the market in any particular line.

The Bata shoe factory was nationalised along with other Bata industries because they were in a position to be a menace to Czech economy. Jon Bata had been sentenced to 15 years for collaboration, but his son Thomas Bata, who had co-operated with the Czech Government, was still in control of the overseas Bata Company. Other shoe factories, wherever they were small and were not considered capable of cornering markets, were left to be run by private enterprise. Land too was nationalised to some extent. The Government proposed to give

each peasant 50 hectares of land. (One hectare is roughly equal to 2.5 acres.) It was now felt that 50 hectares was too small an area for efficient mechanised farming. They also felt that collective farming would not be very successful because a sense of property was deeply ingrained in the peasant and he would violently oppose collectivisation. "You know, the peasant is the most reactionary of all people", he said. The Czech Government were therefore trying to find a way by which the peasant's sentiments would be respected.

Compensation schemes were not yet fully worked out, but the Government proposed to give compensation in 2½ per cent. debentures, which would be non-negotiable. The basis on which assessment was to be made had not yet been settled. He himself favoured assessment by a reference to the last income-tax return. If they had evaded the income-tax, so much the worse for them, and they fully deserved it too. Janacek said his own family had interests in armaments, motor-car and motor-cycle factories. The only industry of their family which was not nationalised belonged to an uncle of his, who dealt in electrical appliances.

President Benes had himself said that he was not sure that nationalisation at that stage would succeed because of the lack of skilled workers and experts. But since the people wanted it, he would sign the bill. He hoped the two-year plan for nationalisation would prove to be a successful experiment. President Benes had a great influence over Czech affairs, and now the two-year plan had passed the experimental stage. In many of their national industries they had passed the peak figure of 1939 production. They still had difficulties about live-stock, because "you cannot raise cows and pigs as you can build lathes." In a few years' time they hoped to have enough cattle-wealth also. He said Belgium recovered much quicker because of the Belgian Congo. Holland was more slow because the Germans had opened up the dykes and they had the problem of Indonesia.

NEW NATIONAL FLAGS

To celebrate the glorious day of India's deliverance from foreign rule in a fitting manner, the Hindustan Fabrics, Gudiyatam are manufacturing the New National Flags printed on silk.

The saffron and green bands on either side of the white band is printed in brilliant colours and the Asoka Chakra is printed in blue in the central white band.

The fabric used for these flags are of high quality Indian silk and entirely woven on handlooms. Specially selected dyestuffs fast to rain and sun are used. The printing is done by photographic screens. Mr. K. R. V. Pathy, Proprietor of the Hindustan Fabrics is the first in India to start silk printing with screens made by the latest photographic process.

To make these flags available to the public before the 15th of August 1947, the art, screen and block printing sections of the Hindustan Fabrics are working to maximum capacity to turn out the flags in sufficient numbers for supply throughout India.

The flags are available in various handy sizes suitable for pinning on caps and dresses, for flying on cycles and all types of motor vehicles and for hoisting on buildings. Being made of silk it will fly majestically in brilliant colours and is best suited for floodlighting. In spite of the costly material, dyes and technique involved, the prices have been kept low to enable the public to make use of the flags extensively in celebrating the memorable day of India's Independence.



GOD made her romantic; but it was her parents who made her aware of it—by naming her KUP-PAMMA (instead of Lalita or Sushila or even simple Lakshmi).

When she, a feast to the eye, had to sit next to 'humps of oozing jagery', answering to the high-sounding names of Rajeswari or Tripurasundari—the Saroja epoch was not born then—the black thoughts that filled her scarred mind could have filled whole chapters of Freud's books. If she vaguely wished for death, so that her last words to her mother could be, "Dear mother, many of your children died before me, and so you named me 'Kup-pamma', as superstitious people often do; but if another child be born to you, as I feel sure it will, please, PLEASE, don't name it 'PICHCHANDI' or 'PICHCHAYAMMA', even if it has to die the next day because of it," who could blame her? . . . If, in a later period, she brought in a bill in the Legislature to the effect that children ought to be named tentatively at birth, with the provision that they adopt a name of their choice later, who could trace the action to the bleary-eyed 'Kamalanayani', who was her classmate in the remote infant standard?

Thus she grew under the cloud which darkened within her heart.

In time, she was married. And her first request to her husband was to call her by some sweet name of his choice and banish the cloud—even as the Prince kissed Sleeping Beauty back to life. He was a handsome man with romantic ideas too; and he hailed her as his PREMA.

The ugly edifice having come down, new construction began. There was unsung music in the arrangement of the rooms; there was wordless poetry in the simple making of food. And she started dreaming of the child to come.

'Savitri-Satyavan', 'Nala-Damayanti', 'the forest bride Sakuntala', and other legends were at the back of her mind. And, somehow, the story of Markandeya appealed to her—perhaps because of her own re-birth in Spirit. And she prayed that a son be born to her, beautiful and bright, ever sixteen, not conditioned by her faulty words, but by the sense of her thoughts. And she vowed to call him Markand. And she waited for a sign. And a sign came.

She stood on the shore of a lotus-lake. She searched for a flower and there was none. She waited in hope. And a bud appeared. It grew. A breeze blew. And a petal opened. Again the breeze blew; and a second petal opened. And thus it blossomed forth till there were sixteen petals—sixteen pink melodies of virile beauty. And then a storm raged, the water rose in ragged waves, the trees were torn to tatters and she shuddered and shut her eyes, praying for her flower. And when she looked on again, lo, the flower was still there—and of subtler beauty than before; a dream lotus in a dream. And in Prema's heart was peace and hope and joy.

The dream child was born. 'A son', said the nurse. 'I know', said Prema. Friends and kinsfolk looked at the child, and foretold the best of things for him. Astrologers said,

"What need for the horoscope; it is writ on his face." And thus it was.

As Markand grew, he set the pace for others in work and play and demeanour. And Prema bloomed in eternal spring looking at him, though the passing years ushered in more children, boys and girls.

Markand is now in his sixteenth. Prema is unable to take her eyes off him without a wrench; and then he fills her mind. She expects something, but why should she? Seventeen is not far different from sixteen, nor eighteen from seventeen. Anything happening now could only be a setback or a disaster. But foolish, high-strung Prema expects something to happen—something to indicate that after sixteen comes a seventeen for others, but not for her Markand, that the milestones beyond sixteen have vanished on his Road. And something does happen. Markand has a short illness, and dies on his sixteenth birthday!

A damp, dark cloud enshrouded Prema. She did not fully sense her bereavement, the shock was so severe. Her uppermost thought was that the quibbling gods had tricked her into that fate. "Are the gods angry that I changed my name, that I stole the useless oblation my parents laid on the altar, that I mocked their sacrifice? If so, the visitation should be on my head and

not on—Oh, yes. That is right! Gods are cruel, and also clever!—But there are the others. Will they too be snatched away like this?—Let them. What does it matter? Who, losing the Sun, grieves for the candle-light?"

And so her life became the life of a cow—a cow without horns. The other children grew, passed the dreaded barrier, lived, and had children. She hardly noticed anything. And some twenty years passed thus.

One night, she dreamt of someone giving her a lotus flower, woke up and could not fall asleep again. Her mind was clear, freed from the fog of recent years; and she thought of olden days. And she saw Markand—bright and rhythmic and virile. She, just to pass time, tried to picture him living now, married, surrounded by his beautiful children. And she could not! She could not lay the signs of age on him! He was as she last knew him. He was younger than his youngest brother.

Waves of mystery rolled over her. Markand was with her, dear flower-like Markand, shedding happiness as before—nay, subtler. And days came and days went; she was not sure if she was awake or asleep; but Markand stayed with her, *ever sixteen*.

TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

There was an hour when we had looked to you,
And it was, O, for us a trying hour.
A time of struggle when the nation grew.
And you arose and led us bravely through
Until our dream of liberty and power
Became achievement, wonderful and true.

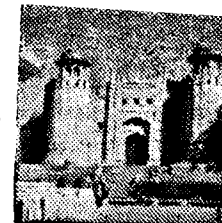
This hour of need seems with us yet to stay.
For though intense before, still never more
Than is our need of you this present day.
It is no wonder then, if many say
That you will guide according to the law
Our new-won liberty upon its way.

And what a gift, more precious than gold dust.
To be a leader whom your people trust!

IAN HOYLE, S. J

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



THE Holy Ramzan is here, but there has not been the least lessening of violence. Every day brings fresh news of foul murders and the most monstrous brutalities. There is no longer anything that can shock the citizens of Lahore, so hardened have they become to incidents of the bloodier sort. The other day one of my friends, a Sikh incidentally, was dragged out of a train that had been specially held up for the purpose, and hacked and speared to death. Later on, I saw the dead body, and was surprised to notice that the sight did not effect me appreciably. Living in the midst of death and violence, one becomes inured to these things till they become part of one's routine, as it were.

The present disturbances are solely the result of an idea among politicians that they will be very effective in influencing the Boundary Commission. Whatever that might be, (and I, for one, think that the Commission is just going to give judicial colour to decisions that are essentially political ones and moreover, that have been taken already), it is clear that they have succeeded in completely demoralising the non-Muslim elements of the population. It is, in fact, difficult to describe the extent of the confusion that prevails among the Sikhs and Hindus today—a confusion not made less confounded by the assumption by Mr. Jinnah of the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan in answer to the Congress decision to call an India an India.

I have often pondered over the basic reasons of the degeneracy among Sikhs and Hindus that is all-too-evident just now. The absence of suitable leadership is very often offered as an excuse for our ills, but a little thought will show that leaders are as much the reflex of their followerships (to use an Americanism)

as they are the moulders of the masses. Fact is, the Hindus, (as also the Sikhs, by virtue of their Hindu origin and affinities), are fundamentally more tolerant and peaceful—or call it decadent if you like—than the Mussalmans, who belong to a younger and a more aggressive faith, and one, besides, that has never been apologetic about its reliance on the efficacy of the sword as an instrument of policy. This basic difference in the respective ideologies of the two communities has been enormously sharpened by certain developments during the last war. For it is the Hindus and the Sikhs that have made the biggest fortunes out of war-time contracts and black-markets—easy money that has corrupted and demoralised them as only easy money can. We are witnessing the result today—an individualism that has no thought of community but only of its own safety, at whatever cost it may be. And thus it is that the well-to-do among the Hindus and the Sikhs have fled, and are even now fleeing, to summer resorts in the U.P., to escape from the inconveniences of life in the Punjab, the while their less fortunate brothers are left to fend for themselves in a situation that demands joint action in the face of a joint threat.

The utter lack of all leadership and unified action among the non-Muslims has naturally heartened the Muslims beyond words, till the more ignorant among them—and their number is legion—have begun to imagine that it is only a question of time before they will inherit Hindu and Sikh properties and lands. The continued exodus of non-Muslims, accompanied in many cases by the abandonment of their immovable assets in a state of panic, and without an effort to guard or dispose of them, encourages such dangerous ideas.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



by Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

IT was nearly two months ago that Herbert Hoover, a former president of the United States, suggested to a Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives that the American Government should at once summon a conference for making peace with Japan without waiting for the co-operation of Russia. This was his reaction to the failure of the Moscow Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers to reach any agreement on German Peace Treaty. He was afraid that similar tactics might be adopted by Soviet Russia with reference to Japan. Besides this he felt that it would be disastrous to postpone the settlement of the Japanese peace treaty till after the German treaty was concluded.

SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN

Mr. Hoover received much support for his suggestion from the Press. This support was based on various grounds. It was pointed out that until such a peace was concluded the United States as the main occupation power should continue to bear responsibility to feed the people of Japan and that it was too costly a burden to be thrown on American tax-payers. An early treaty would relieve the Americans of this responsibility. It was also argued that delay would completely paralyse Japanese economy and stand in the way of her industrial recovery. But some recovery was necessary not only to enable Japan to become self-sufficient and pay for her imports but also as an aid to the economic rehabilitation of many countries in the Far East and Asia. It is nothing short of folly to keep the hundred

millions of the Japanese idle and unemployed when the whole world is crying for more production and more goods, especially in view of the fact that before the war the Japanese were playing through their foreign trade and industry such a vital role in the prosperity of other countries. Another argument put forward was that only a peace treaty would give the Japanese an idea of the reparations payable by them and therefore an incentive for them to work hard. It was also pointed out that the Japanese problem had not any of those complications that had gathered round the German question, that Japan had not been split into separate zones, that she was under the sole administration of General MacArthur, that there was no dispute about her boundaries and that she had a democratised Government which could speak in the name of all the people and sign the treaty on their behalf.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

There was a similar move in Australia and the Australian Government had already arranged for a conference of the representatives of the Dominions in the British Commonwealth at Canberra on August 22 to consider the preliminaries of a treaty with Japan. Now the United States Government has decided to take action on the matter. It has sent invitations to eleven of the States directly interested in the subject to send delegates to a conference at Washington to meet on August 19 and suggested that the delegates might be ministerial deputies instead of Cabinet members at the ministerial level. Britain, Australia

and Canada wanted the postponement of the conference to September in view of the Canberra Conference. It is also suggested that as the U.N.O. General Assembly would be meeting in September the major diplomats of the States invited would be in a position to participate in the proposed conference. Anyhow these States do not seem to be opposed to the idea of a separate peace treaty with Japan and to have that treaty concluded without any delay.

SOVIET REACTION

But the Soviet reaction is naturally unfavourable to the whole proposal. The Soviet Government in its reply to the U.S. invitation declared that it was not proper for the U.S. to call such a conference without consulting previously the Governments of the other big powers, that all preparatory work in regard to the peace treaty lay entirely within the jurisdiction of the Council of Foreign Ministers and that any action in this matter should be undertaken only after the issue was first examined by that Council. It therefore looks likely that Soviet Russia might not take part in the proposed conference. It is one more instance of the growing rift between the East and the West—a rift which makes many people even in responsible positions talk of a possibility of a third world war and the ineffectiveness of U.N.O. to avert it.

DUTCH "POLICE ACTION"

In a broadcast that the Dutch Premier made to his countrymen on the eve of the military operations in Indonesia he stated that it was only a "police action" that was contemplated by him and that his Government adhered strictly to the principles of the Linggadjati agreement concluded with the Republican authorities. But what has been taking place in Indonesia after the outbreak of hostilities belies completely this statement. There is now a full scale war going on in Java and Sumatra. 100,000 forces with numerous airplanes, tanks and armoured cars are being used by the Dutch. Towns and villages are being bombed. Trains are being machine-gunned. Devastation faces the whole country. The Republican

Government is equally determined in adopting a scorched-earth policy and carrying on guerilla warfare endlessly as Dr. Sharir told the pressmen in New Delhi this week. It is reported that in pursuance of this policy several rubber, quinine, tea and coffee plantations in Western Java are being destroyed and that it might take ten years at least to restore them. The principles of the Linggadjati agreement have also been given the go-bye by the Dutch in more than one respect. Clause 17 in the agreement definitely lays down that any dispute arising from the agreement should be settled by arbitration and although offers to arbitrate have been coming from Britain, China and Australia they are being rejected by the Dutch as they are bent on having the whole issue decided through military action. Contrary to the argument they now want to ignore the duly constituted authority of the Republican Government of which Dr. Soekarno is the president and are trying to set up a puppet Government of their own in the Republican area conquered by them. It is further reported that when the military action is over the Dutch propose to set up seven separate States in the former territories of the Indonesian Republic and that they are encouraging linguistic and cultural differences among the Javanese with a view to give effect to this proposal. This is "Pakistanisation" with a vengeance.

WORLD REACTION

The only bright feature in the Indonesian situation is that some of the leading nations of the world who are interested in the politics of South East Asia have expressed their regret at the military action resorted to by the Dutch and they wish to see the whole affair settled amicably. India has asked Britain and the United States to intervene. Mr. Jinnah assured Dr. Sharir that Muslim India and Pakistan would support Indonesia in every possible way. Prominent publicists from the United States have appealed to Pandit Nehru to bring this question before the United Nations. Australia also, it is stated, is

thinking of referring the question to the Security Council. Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, also wants the complaint to be brought before the Council. Even in Holland a large number of workers have protested against this colonial war. It is the failure of Britain and the United States to take a firm attitude in the matter that is responsible for the war in Indonesia. It is not known exactly what line of action Pandit Nehru is thinking of adopting and why he is hesitating to bring the matter before the Security Council. He should try to give effect to his statement—which in some quarters has been hailed as "Nehru Doctrine," comparable to "Munro Doctrine"—that apart from the merits of the case no European country, whatever it might be, has any business to use its army in Asia. Active steps should be taken by him to embody these words in action. The Nehru Doctrine deserves to become the rallying cry of all Asian peoples.

AUSTRALIA

An important outcome of the Second World War is the rise in the political stature of Australia. This is due to the significant part she played in the war against Japan. She took up an independent attitude in the matter of the broad strategy that she considered it necessary to follow and impressed upon the imperialists in England the need for paying sufficient attention to the campaign in the Pacific. She obtained substantial victories in the war. And in the peace conference her spokesmen—especially Dr. Evatt, her Minister for Foreign Affairs—upheld the point of view of the middle and the lesser powers as against the "Big Power" domination. This raised her in the estimation of the other nations in the world. She has also taken a leading part in studying the defence problems of South East Asia and the Pacific. The war was also responsible for her becoming one of the leading industrial nations and for the large number of researches carried on by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, researches which have contributed vastly to the increase in her agricul-

tural production, to the richness of her forests and to her wealth in sheep. She is now determined on solving her population problem. Though a big country she has only a population of about seven millions. This is too small either for the purpose of defence or for her economic development. It is only through immigration on a large scale that this problem can be solved. She is now making strenuous efforts to attract as many Europeans as possible as she has realised from experience that there is no prospect of any increase in birthrate among her people. She wants a large number of technically trained persons. But there is scarcity of man-power in many countries of Europe today. She is not in a position to secure many immigrants from England although she is striving her utmost for this purpose. Apart from man-power scarcity in Britain, Canada and New Zealand are also anxious to get many English immigrants and they are competing with Australia in this respect. Of course there are the Chinese and Indians who are prepared to go and settle in Australia but they are not welcome. It is under these circumstances that she has now agreed to take 12,000 displaced persons from Germany including 5,000 from the British Zone. All these become Australian citizens after five years. It was with the Germans that the Australians fought in the two world wars. But the paradox is that because of the colour of their skin and the race to which they belong they are welcomed as citizens by Australia. At this rate it may take several thousands of years before real brotherhood among men becomes a fact. Colour prejudice is so deeply rooted among the whites.

SWATANTRA

SWATANTRA is published every Saturday at 156, Lloyds Road, Royapettah, Madras (India). Single copy, six annas. Subscription: Inland, Rs. 20 per year and Rs. 10 per half-year. Foreign, £1 16sh. or 8 dollars (U.S.A.) per year. If return of manuscripts is desired, a stamped, self-addressed envelope must be enclosed.

REFORM OF LAND TENURE

by D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

WHILE the urgent need for an adequate land reform policy is being increasingly realised in our country, certain fundamental aspects do not seem to be receiving due attention.

The Zamindari system which seems to have originated as one of rent or revenue farming as distinct from agricultural farming may be said to have outlived its utility for sometime past. While the need for its liquidation lies in its superfluity in existing times when there is a well developed revenue system, such liquidation should not be conceived as a vindictive measure against a particular class or section. Let it be said in fairness to the zamindars that in many a case they have been patrons of education and the traditional arts. Nor may it be forgotten that till a generation or two ago the zamindar's income spent on buildings, gardens or festive occasions to a considerable extent used to reach back to the local artisans and helped to encourage local talent although a good amount of money spent in later years on luxurious cars, race horses, costly establishments in the metropolitan cities and hill stations and the like, not to speak of the money that went to fatten the purses of lawyers, doctors and a host of dependants, was comparatively less conducive to national well-being. But the zamindars were not alone in these extravagances. Most of the other well-to-do sections often including the middle classes were no less open to them. It would be unfair to make the Zamindar the target for the sins of an age of which he too was partly a victim.

As regards the question of compensation, it arises primarily not on account of confiscation—for there can be hardly any confiscation where there appears to be no fundamental ownership, to which view the monumental Prakasam report on land reform would naturally

lead one—but largely in lieu of notice for the termination of a contract extending over nearly a century and a half and understood to be of a permanent nature.

Before the zamindari system is abolished, certain aspects require clarification. In whom should the *melvaram* (right of the investor's share in land produce) vest after the abolition of the zamindari system? There are tenants with extensive holdings subsequently purchased in some zamindari estates enjoying *kudivaram* (right of the cultivator's share in land produce) who would come to occupy the same position as other big landowners with *melvaram* right. What would be the position of the considerable number of sub-tenants under the present tenants of extensive holdings who later would emerge as a new section of big landowners? Would it not be desirable to vest the *melvaram* in the Government beyond a certain extent of holding, granting preference to the *kudivaram*-holder to acquire the *melvaram* too from the Government in convenient instalments? This is only a suggestion for consideration, making full allowance for the fact that no successful solution of the land problem is possible until everyone, partly or entirely depending on cultivation and whether owning land or not, is ensured a decent minimum of earnings.

At present, both among the cultivators who own land and those who do not, there are many whose holdings are scarcely sufficient to provide them with a decent living. It has been suggested that the solution to the land problem lies in an equal or equitable distribution of the land among all the tillers of the soil removing all intermediaries. But this is not so simple as it appears because the density of population, fertility of soil and nature of crops grown vary widely, at times even in different parts of the same district, not to speak of the different

parts of a province or the country. Besides, there is the difficulty of finding an agency to be entrusted with such a huge responsibility and there are bound to be innumerable complaints of corruption and nepotism with the resulting dissatisfaction on a wide scale. It is really doubtful whether an equitable distribution, even if it could be effected, would by itself ensure a decent standard of life, as the *per capita* acreage in our country is far less than the *per capita* acreage in countries like America, Canada, Australia and Russia. In America, for instance, the small scale farm is said to average about forty acres while the medium-sized runs to about a hundred and eighty acres. It has been estimated that the ratio of the cultivated area to the population in British India for the year 1940-41 would work out at about 0.7 of an acre per head. In Bengal and Bihar it would be a little less while in Madras, U.P. and Orissa it would be 0.8 of an acre; in the Punjab and Sind about an acre while in Bombay and C.P. about an acre and a half. If we take 70% of the population as engaged in agricultural pursuits and the average family as consisting of five members the average holding would be five acres for a cultivating family. Even if all the available land were to be brought under cultivation it may not be more than seven acres per cultivating family; but then the population may not remain static.

Among whom should the land be distributed? For, it is not easy to define the term 'tiller of the soil.' For most of the people in our country, whether belonging to the cultivating sections or non-cultivating middle-classes, a permanent tie with land is largely in the nature of a social insurance inasmuch as it provides a sense of security and a permanent home. Such being the case, any attempt to divide people into strictly cultivating and non-cultivating sections might result in seriously disturbing the entire social set-up which, in spite of poverty, ignorance and various vicissitudes, has helped in preserving

our village integrity by preventing people from being reduced to homeless drifting urbanised communities. It is interesting to note in this connection the remarks of Jawaharlal in his book 'Discovery of India' (page 677): "A divorce from the soil, from the good earth, is bad for the individual and the race. The earth and the sun are the sources of life and if we keep away from them for long life begins to ebb away. Modern industrialised communities have lost touch with the soil and do not experience that joy which nature gives and the rich glow of health which comes from contact with mother earth."

Mechanised cultivation and collective farming have also been suggested as remedies to our land problem. Mechanised cultivation, even if we can get all the machines required gratis by a miracle, can hardly be a remedy for the simple reason that it is not want of men or labour power that confronts us but want of avenues for useful and productive utilisation of the surplus energy that is being wasted and which has to be successfully harnessed without creating new problems. As for the contention that machines save drudgery and so with their aid we can have more leisure and release more persons to be absorbed in industrial and other pursuits, it should be borne in mind that leisure without reference to a person's culture is largely a misleading term. While labour-saving devices need not be frowned upon in all cases, it should also be remembered that agriculture is essentially an occupation in which there is much less scope for boredom or monotony than in several mechanised industries involving robot-like operations. As for the release of more people to be absorbed in industries, it may be noted that the total number of workers engaged in the ten thousand and odd factories is about seventeen lakhs and a half (vide Rajendra Prasad's "Undivided India".) Unless we have a comprehensive plan of industrialisation providing for the absorption of crores and not millions, avoiding at the same time the inevitable evils

associated with large scale industrialisation and solving also the problem of finding markets without coming into clash with other interests, any measures calculated to dislodge large numbers from their ancient land moorings may prove disastrous. With his characteristic insight and far-sighted wisdom Mahatma Gandhi could correctly diagnose India's ills and suggest the needed cure, namely, the provision of subsidiary occupations to the vast numbers of our villagers through revival of cottage industries, although it is unfortunate his message continues still to be largely a cry in the wilderness.

As for collective farming, it necessarily means a managerial system under the supervision of the State and inevitably all land must come under absolute bureaucratic control. The village population will have to be sharply divided into those that are servants at the farm and those that are not. Then, too, in addition to the inevitable evils associated with bureaucratic control and discipline there are bound to be dismissals and transfers. It is difficult to see how collective farming can be introduced without disintegration of the present village set-up. It would be wiser, therefore, to experiment on collective farming not in existing villages but in agricultural colonies to be started hereafter.

It has been suggested that if the cultivator can enjoy all that is produced without having to share the produce with landlords and other intermediaries the cultivator's position would greatly improve. This is largely true but as in the case of the term 'tiller of the soil' the term "intermediary" is not easy to define. It is the 'absentee landlord' that is often viewed as the intermediary. The term "absentee landlord" is however misleading, for very often he is merely an investor on developed land with a view to some fixed and secure income and not a purchaser of land with a view to farming. No one describes a person who invests money in a bank, or in Government bonds, or in the

shares of a company as an 'absentee business man' or intermediary. As long as land is permitted to be sold and purchased it would be wrong to describe investors or large scale farmers either as absentee landlords or intermediaries. It would be necessary to recognise that, as in the field of commerce, industry and other enterprises, so also in the field of agriculture, there are persons who have joint interest of varying degrees. Thus while at one extreme there is the mere investor on land, at the other there is the landless agricultural labourer; in between are to be found persons having varied degrees of interest in land whom it would be difficult to classify strictly as tillers of the soil or as intermediaries but to most of whom, as has already been pointed out, the tie with land has more than a mere economic significance. The only practical measure is to prevent or discourage the acquiring of land beyond a definite limit. A few suggestions are here offered for consideration:

(1) All land, as far as possible, may be brought under a uniform tenure.

(2) The maximum extent of land a person or family may own may be fixed, or measures devised so as to prevent acquisition of land beyond a definite limit subject to certain exceptions such as, for instance, a sugar factory owning a sugarcane farm. Care should be taken, however, to safeguard against companies acquiring extensive landed interests to the detriment of national economy.

(3) Legislative protection may be afforded to ensure security of tenure without depriving a land owner of the opportunity of farming a minimum extent if at any time he intends to do so. Security of tenure may be made hereditary subject to certain necessary conditions but it has to be considered whether it would not be desirable to make it non-saleable as far as possible so as to avoid unnecessary complications.

(4) The desirability of fixing the rent payable by a tenant on the

basis of an equitable portion of the produce has to be considered.

(5) In addition to reform of land tenure, there should be agricultural reforms covering such needs as improvement in seeds, preservation of soil fertility, better manure and water resources, technical advice, fostering of co-operative enterprise so as to secure better facilities of storing and marketing of agricultural produce, conveniently repayable loans, purchase of seeds, implements, etc.

(6) Introduction of a regulated and definitely planned scheme to provide subsidiary occupations giving due place to cottage industries suited to the needs of the times and the extension of social utility services such as communications, hospitals, schools, public parks, gardens, cultural entertainments, etc.

(7) Starting of new agricultural colonies as, for instance, on the lines of Gosaba near Calcutta in undeveloped interior tracts where, if

necessary, experiments on collective and co-operative farming may be carried on so that such features as may be found advantageous and adoptable may be gradually extended to other areas too. But care should be taken to see that they develop into colonies of co-operative enterprise and creative activity instead of becoming mere mechanical producing centres.

All these will not only absorb several people in new full or part time occupations but by making the villagers generally depend less exclusively on land than at present, they would to an appreciable extent relieve the pressure on land. Our aim should be that of converting our land into healthy, well nourished and flourishing villages with a prosperous peasantry and skilled artisans. Let it not be forgotten that the genius of a race flourishes best where the springs of culture have deep ingrained roots in the soil.

FOOD POLICY: FIRST THINGS MUST COME FIRST

by B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI

(President, Madras Chamber of Commerce)

THOUGH Mr. Prakasam soon after he formed the Ministry felt that the producers of food-grains in the province need not be paid better prices than what were announced by the Advisers' Government, his experience and that of his colleagues in the Ministry evidently resulted in a more intimate knowledge of the producers' difficulties. As a consequence, a bonus was declared, though late, and it has to some extent given an incentive to the producer, not only to produce more but also to part with more, duly passing an ordinance of self-denial against himself. Nature helping him, he has done his utmost to produce more during the crop year of 1946 without implements and manures. But the non-continuance of an adequate price policy during the year 1947, due to want of appreciation of the producers' conditions, either by the Prakasam Ministry or by its successor or by the Central Government, has created despondency in the mind of the producer and affected adversely the procurement activities in the province. This naturally has created a panic in the mind of the Government as well as the consumer. The unwise interference of the Central Government in the price policy of Madras Province and their not allowing the Madras producer a price similar to that obtaining in other provinces, though the conditions of production here are no better, have evidently prevented the Provincial Government from offering a better price to the produce. Any Government which means business ought to think of first things first. We have been witnessing the sad spectacle of provincial funds being dissipated on schemes which can very well wait until the normal requirements of food are satisfied.

The province is tired of hearing only destructive criticism. That is why the threats of Satyagraha by Mr. Prakasam and Prof. Ranga for

better prices of food-grains created no hope in the sober producer. During the Advisers' regime, sincere efforts were made, though not with much success, to reduce the profits of the middle man between the producer and the consumer. During the pre-war years, the producer was getting for his produce only 50 per cent of the consumer's price. That accounts for the enormous increase of rural debt in the province. The producer of food-grains in the province hitherto was either producing at great sacrifice or switching on to commercial crops that paid him better. If more production of food-grains is required by the consumer or by the political agitator the problem of paying the producer adequate remuneration for the service done by him must be solved first. This simple idea of economics the present Ministry seems to take up, though late, and their action must be appreciated in the general interests of production and distribution in the province. The Advisers' Government depressed the food prices considerably during their regime, as compared with prices obtaining in the sister provinces. There was not sufficient incentive either to produce more of food-grains by intensive or extensive cultivation or by switching back from commercial to food-crops by producers. Neither the Government nor the public have been sufficiently apprised of the problems of production in the province. It is time that they re-consider the conditions in the light of recent experiences, consult expert opinion on the matter and further pursue the policy of encouraging the producers of food-grains to relieve the consumer of insufficiency and the province of dependence on other countries for food. We in this province have enormous facilities for increased food production, not merely to make the province self-sufficient, but also to produce surplus quantities to relieve sister provinces.



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BERNARD SHAW

THE UNIQUENESS OF BERNARD SHAW

by S. SWAMINATHAN

ON July 26, 1947, the 91st birthday of Bernard Shaw was celebrated in various countries. To most people in the world, he is merely the incorrigible, irresponsible joker, who has written prefaces more interesting than plays. And a knowledgeable few have respected him as the greatest social satirist of the age, a Twentieth Century Voltaire, who, with a mordant wit and practical thought, planned the ground work of British socialist administration, in alliance with Sidney and Beatrice Webb. However, even with these, Shaw the playwright has hardly as important a place as Shaw the social reformer: Shaw's plays are read more for their critical content than for the philosophy that inheres in them. When Shaw compared himself to Shakespeare and claimed that he was a greater than him, it was treated as mere irresponsible shaviana; even Tolstoy wondered how Shaw could be considered a great playwright when he was continually amusing—wit and wisdom go ill together, he supposed.

Dealing in futures is an uncertain game, but one could, without making any absolute or dogmatic affirmation, guess that what posterity would remember Bernard Shaw by is his plays. His social criticism in his other writings, as well as in the plays themselves, would lose significance, becoming obsolete; but the new path he trod in his plays might be respected as pioneer work.

Drama is as old as civilization. There are the classical plays on well-worn epic themes in the East; the Greek dramatists with their mockery of human effort; the plays of Shakespeare beautiful in their poetry, but with cynicism or imbecile sentimentalism or emotions born of vanity as the main themes; the host of playwrights who came after Shakespeare dealing for ever with the sexual complications of the eternal triangle; dramatists like Ibsen who

mirrored the current individual complexities in a maladjusted social structure; the Eugene O'Neill type, pessimistic about mankind, and so on and on. Yes, there have been varied themes, varied attitudes in the history of the drama. And yet Shaw's is a unique contribution, for he inaugurates a new epoch in drama. All the ancient galaxy from the Sanskrit dramatists to O'Neill knew humanity in its weakness, in its pitiable, frustrated, powerless, sickly, angered moods, never in the glorious strength which man could exhibit, the fight he could give to his environment with a smile on his lips and coming out of it all triumphant. To have dramatised that is Shaw's distinction. I am not concerned here to dwell on the how of Shaw's characterisation, the structure of his drama, etc. But I would like to point out that the distinctive quality of his playwriting is of triumphant intellect. The characters in Shaw's plays do not grovel before an inevitable fate, are not obsessed by a death-wish, do not kill themselves in a confession of defeat, are not mean, vulgar, vengeful. The women are not sweet angels or clever courtesans in either case to end up as man's harlots because unequal. Shaw's characters realise that they can and have to shape life, instead of being shaped by it. Endowed with the zest for life they have "pursued understanding like a sex, have unlearned our hatred, and towards the really better world have turned their faces."

The men in Shaw's plays, like Prof. Higgins, Andrew Undershaft or Julius Caesar, or the women like the Millionairess, Saint Joan, or Major Barbara are never weaklings. With a conscious purpose and a belief in life and the infinite beauties possible therein, they attempt to change an ugly and chaotic environment and strive to establish a new, pulsating society. In this struggle,

they are not grim, their grace is not ruffled, but they go ahead with a sunny countenance, a Puckish enjoyment. The difference between Shaw and the other playwrights is perhaps that between the philosophy of Marx and the philosophies before his time: creative, as opposed to descriptive.

Shaw probably signifies this new spirit in Man, the new Life force in human kind. His own life has been an example of this spirit of his plays (that is why many observe, what is only a half-truth, that the characters are all only mouthpieces of Shaw). Shaw the man did not swear or complain against life, but laboured with good cheer and quiet dignity to master the many and intricate problems of a modern, changing society and tried to evolve patterns of behaviour therefor. The men with whom he constantly mixed, like the Webbs, and the many other Fabian lights, were all also inspired by this philosophy, and were unsullied by vanity or meanness: with them as with Shaw all activity was purposive. Even age could not affect their work. The magnum opus of the Webbs, *Soviet*

Communism, was written in their old age while Shaw wrote his *Back to Methuselah* and *St. Joan* in his sixties. And, at 92, Shaw's "mind still feels capable of growth,—"my curiosity keener than ever, my soul goes marching on." That is Bernard Shaw and that is the spirit of the characters in his plays.

As Shaw himself admits, his attempts might be viewed as but adolescent efforts (though extremely hypothetical, this view) by dramatists of highly evolved civilizations of the future, who might, being rid of the gnawing, stultifying social miseries of the present and past ages, produce plays of nobler content and greater import, of many hues with infinite tonal variations; even Shaw's masterpieces like *Man and Superman* or *Back to Methuselah* (which is as for as thought could stretch now) might look like childish attempts. The possibilities of man's growth are beyond imagination. Shaw is not hurt by such a prospect; actually, that is his hope. But the great honour of being the pioneer of such a new vista would certainly be his unquestionable right.

VIZAG SHIPYARD STRIKE

MR. GORREPATY VENKATA SUB-BAIAH, President, Andhra Provincial Kisan Congress, writes:—

For the past three weeks the workers in the Scindia Shipyards, Vizagapatam, a reputed national firm, have been on strike. The workers demand implementation of the Pay Commission's findings in respect of basic wage and dearness allowance, revision of the present scales of house allowance in accordance with the present acuteness of the housing problem, full wages for the period the worker is forced to take rest due to accidents in the yard, an impartial enquiry into the insults and abuses meted out to the workers by engineers, etc. The management showed no conciliatory attitude. The Andhra Provincial Congress through a sub-committee tried to intervene and settle the dispute, but this was also rejected by the management who preferred adjudication. The same company, it may be noted, rejected Government adjudication when it was suggested by the Labour Union in last year's dispute. The Union as a last re-

sort requested the management to concede one rupee as basic wage and Rs. 25 as dearness allowance and agreed to leave the rest to adjudication. It seems the company has already sanctioned a dearness allowance of Rs. 25 to a certain section of its employees, but when requested to extend the same privilege to the remaining employees also, it refused and now wants adjudication on this point too. The present Ministry which hesitated to take any action on the Paper Mill owners of Rajahmundry, the Weaving Mill proprietors of Pandhalapaka and the Hindustan Construction Company's management at Vizagapatam for declaring lock-outs, defying Government orders, have today come to the rescue of the Scindia proprietors and declared the strike illegal.

The public are requested to give full support to the Scindia workers in their struggle for basic wage and dearness allowance which are quite reasonable in these hard days. It is upto the popular Government to bring pressure on the Scindia management and make them concede the workers' demands.

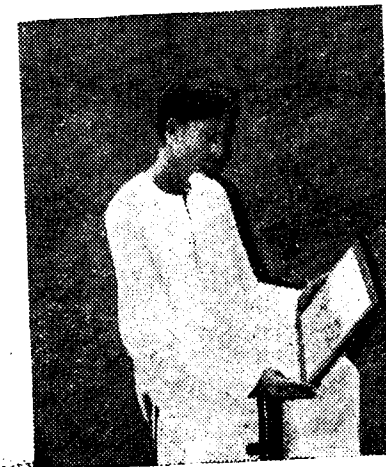
ARTIST CHENNABASAVAYYA

by J. DHARMA TEJA

WAY back in the spring of the year 1935 in the picturesque capital of the Mysore State, a frail young man, in his early twenties, with a mop of jet black hair flowing over his forehead, was painting the portrait of a vigorous middle-aged man, whose transparently honest face had a mellowness not to be ordinarily seen among men. The artist was Rumale Chennabasavayya, and the portrait was in water colour, which several years later was to bring him fame. Rumale had chosen his model with infinite care, for he was then looking for a face that could express all that is deeply human amongst mankind and with no tinge of sophistication. He found his model in a small town merchant, a Moslem by birth, remarkably dignified, the expression in his face and his balanced gait revealing a unique harmony of the soul, looking out through liquid eyes with patient understanding. He fluted a well-trimmed beard that added to the mellowness that experience had bestowed on his face, and his square shoulders and firm neck conveyed a sense of balance, topped by his habitually worn turban. In that middle class merchant's jaws Rumale saw symbolised his own conception of patient humanity, with an ageless spirit of tolerant understanding. And Rumale immortalised the man in his portrait. He himself named it 'Recollections.' (It is this portrait that is reproduced on the cover page of this week's *Swatantra*.)

Born in Dodballapur, in the Mysore State, in 1910, Rumale in his teens excited the interest of his elder brother Chenna Rudrayya by copying a portrait of Jesus Christ and privately collecting prints of all available water colours of the Masters. Rudrayya had the youngster trained first at Bangalore Kalamandiram and later at Chamrajendra Technical Institute, Mysore, for the next five years. Rumale emerged by 1935 as a promising artist, his chief medium being water colours, in which he follows the British school.

Looking up to Turner, Russel Flirt, Walker, James Macbay, Little John, and David Koch as his guides, Rumale is an inveterate 'nature worshipper' and finds all his subjects in nature. His function as an artist,



Rumale Chennabasavayya

he contends, is but to choose his material in nature and convey the impression in gentle colours on to the canvas, yet his paintings never merely copy nature but are impressionist and suggestively imaginative.

In his thirty and odd years of aspiring life, Rumale, an ardent nationalist, found himself twice behind prison bars. Eschewing popularity, never seeking personal gain, with his native modesty and retiring nature, Rumale's greatest ambition is to portray the community lives of the mud hut dwellers. In fervid colours he aspires to add his passionate protest to the oppressive economic system that with its suffering corrodes the human face and twists and tortures an otherwise godly form.

Sas Brunner, the famous Hungarian artist, in her rambles in India was struck with Rumale's work and gave him much advice and encouragement. A recent admirer of his is Colonel H. R. Elicott, an Englishman and art critic.

TRIALS OF INDIA DIVIDED

by "VANSEK"

THE Marshall Plan is viewed by Russia as a means of American domination in the internal economic life of European countries. As a result we have seen the failure of the Paris Conference. Lack of understanding and mutual goodwill will cut at the root of the U.N.O. and other international bodies allied to it. Is there any prospect of reconciliation between the two warring blocs if they are left to themselves? If not, who can take the position of an arbitrator and settle the European problem which is sure to affect the economy and prosperity of the whole world?

When the Asian Relations Conference was being held in India, many nations of the world, in spite of the Muslim League's non-cooperation, welcomed it as an epoch-making event towards the formation of an Asiatic bloc which could successfully check the ambitions of the leading nations and thereby maintain world peace. Can this purpose be served by an India divided as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth?

The New Indian Dominion will find it a difficult task to set her own house in order. The demarcation of boundaries between India and Pakistan, and the suspicious attitude of certain major States will create many an unpleasant dispute. Much of the energy of the new State which could have been utilised for constructive activities, will be wasted. In spite of all this, New India has to play its full part in shaping international policies. Pandit Nehru as Minister for Foreign Relations in the Interim Government has already raised our prestige and displayed our inherent talents as a nation. For the first time many of the foreign diplomats noticed with surprise as well as pleasure that India was not a tail of the British Empire and that she was able to shape her own foreign policy. The tough fight that our delegate, Mrs. Pandit, gave

to Field Marshall Smuts has made history.

There will of course be a section of our own countrymen who have a knack for seeing red even in usually unexpected quarters. There are certain people who take delight in attacking whatever is connected with Russia. Even in many Congress provinces, Communists are chased like Jews in pre-war Germany. Many may not agree with the policy of the Indian Communists during World War II. But there is no use teasing them endlessly, disregarding their efforts to serve the nation in their own way. In Madras province, the Government's hobby is to root them out, when there are so many burning questions which await immediate attention.

It is high time our leaders stop party bickerings and turn to activities which help to build up our nation. Internal problems have to be settled as early as possible so as to enable India, even as a Dominion, to realise her possibilities of rising up as a strong nation capable of formulating her own free foreign policies that will help the solution of international problems.

THE INDIAN BANK LIMITED

We are informed that, subject to audit of accounts, the net profit of The Indian Bank, Limited, Madras, for the half-year ended 30th June, 1947, after providing for contingencies is Rs. 10,57,273-8-5, the gross income and expenditure (depositors' interest, management expenses, etc.) for the period being Rs. 41,49,360-12-9 and Rs. 30,92,087-4-4 respectively. The net profit, with the sum of Rs. 62,286-0-1 brought forward from last year, amounts to Rs. 11,19,559-8-6 which is available for disposal, and out of it the Directors propose to (1) pay an ad-interim dividend at 10% per annum and a bonus at 4% per annum for the half-year ended 30th June, 1947: Rs. 3,66,500; (2) place to Reserve Fund so as to raise it to Rs. 62,00,000: Rs. 1,27,397-12; (3) provide for taxes: Rs. 5,00,000 and carry forward the balance of Rs. 1,25,661-12-6 to the next half-year.

AUNG SAN, THE ARCHITECT OF NEW BURMA

(by A Special Correspondent)

"I have nothing to say and I am hungry."

With these words, Gen. U Aung San walked out of the foyer of the Palace Hotel, Karachi, to the dining hall, had a spot of lunch and went to sleep in a solitary room. It was six months ago.

This was my last glimpse of the 32-year-old architect of new Burma. I was one of the fortunate few to have a close-up with him prior to his momentous mission to London, accompanied by his colleagues. Dressed in khaki military uniform and looking amazingly young for his age, there was nothing in him of the warm exuberance of Subash Chandra Bose or the vision and vitality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He was a man of strong silences and he was known to his own countrymen as "Guinea-a-word Aung San."

With his untimely and tragic death Burma loses its most dynamic personality and the world one of the unique figures which the matrice of war threw up.

Born in the village of Namuk near the well-known oil town of Yenangyaung in the heart of Burma, Aung San came of middle class Burmese stock. Like other common boys he was sent to the National High School at Yenangyaung where he passed the matriculation examination. In the company of other ambitious youths, he careered up to Rangoon in 1933 and joined the University where he soon made his mark as a student leader.

There was a streak of rebellion in his nature right from infancy and he was one of those who organised the students' strike in 1936. He was also one of the founders of the University Students' Union of which he was elected President for some time. After graduating in 1936, he studied for law but gave it up in the middle to devote himself exclusively to politics.

What is known as the Thakin Party was just then sprouting and Aung San joined it. He was then known as Thakin Aung San. Thakin in Burmese means "Huzur." The party had a revolutionary impulse to guide it and it included in its ranks Socialists and Communists. As a live wire of the party, he embarked on a lightning tour of the country, making speeches in Burmese, urging the people to defy the ruling power. Several young minds whom he lit with his revolutionary ardour obeyed his words and were arrested. Within a couple of years of his joining the party, Aung San became its acclaimed leader.

In 1941, he grew wings and went to Japan with a few of his comrades of the Thakin Party. His main objective was to gain foreign help to liberate his country. In this approach, he resembled Subhas Chandra Bose. Back to his country with Japanese forces, Aung San became a hero overnight.

He became the spearhead of the Burmese Defence Army which swelled to thousands. His followers took charge of the district administration. Young Aung San accompanied by Dr. Ba Maw and other high ranking leaders again visited Japan, negotiated the proclamation of his country's independence and became the Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief of what came to be known as "Free Burma."

Then the war in the Far East took a dramatic turn and the Japs were being driven from pillar to post under the sledge hammer strokes of the Americans. By 1944, it was known that Nippon's resistance was crumbling. By the middle of that year, Aung San, adored by his countrymen, had quarrelled with the Japanese. He was both disillusioned and disgusted. Then he performed one of those amazing somersaults which lowered his reputation in some circles of his own countrymen. He staged a revolt with his

army, secretly contacted the South-East Asia Command and offered his help to the Allied forces. The offer was accepted and youthful Aung San sprang a surprise on the Japs, who did not know anything about his secret military deal. When units of the Burmese Defence Forces marched to the front, no one in the Japanese camp suspected that the guns would be turned against them. The rest is well known. When the Burmese campaign was over, Aung San's reputation became sky high.

With 'cease fire' Aung San threw himself into the task of negotiating with the British and went to Kandy which was the headquarters of the South-East Asia Command. The British recognised the resistance army which it was promised would be absorbed in the post-war army of Burma. The Burmese leader had not however a bed of roses. The then Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Dorman Smith refused to concede all the demands made by the A.F.P.F.L. and this resulted in the launching of another campaign. The Communists joined hands with the hero of new Burma. When the new Governor Sir Hubert Rance came down, he was confronted with an organised strike. The administration came to a standstill. Events then moved with rapidity. The Executive Council was reorganised and a National Government was formed. Aung San and his colleagues

demanding an independent Burma and were called to Britain to hold consultations with members of the British Government.

It was then that he passed through Karachi. When some of us saw him we could hardly believe that this slim, closely cropped, unimpressive figure could be the hero who changed the destiny of his country. There was nothing striking about him except his shrewd eyes.

He married a nurse and had a happy home life in the suburbs of Rangoon. He is a Hercules for work though it is stated that he used to slog in a very unorthodox manner.

At Karachi he was good enough to meet the pressmen and explained the case for a free Burma with lucidity and precision. He was autographed and photographed, lionised and feted. The Mayor threw up a party for him. Mr. Jinnah had a long discussion with him. Snatching a few moments of leisure, he went to take tea with the ex-Mayor of Karachi, Mr. Lalji Mehrotra.

It is this youthful life that has been so tragically cut off. Friend of Subhas and Jawaharlal Nehru, idol of his countrymen, Aung San suggested not the sedate student of academic groves nor the noisy clamourer of the forum but a man of action. Had he lived his normal life, he would have carried his country to the peak of freedom.

DEVASTATING FIRE IN CHINNA CUMBUM

Mr. C. Bali Reddi, General Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Kisan Congress, writes:

Ravaging flames devastated the whole of Chinna cumbum village with the exception of a few terraced buildings, resulting in a total loss of two lakhs. 130 thatched houses and a mud terraced building were reduced to ashes leaving more than a thousand people homeless. Since there were terrible winds at the time the fire broke out, the houses caught fire instantaneously one after another, leaving no time for the people to take out their cash, ornaments and other valuables. All the grain preserved for the year and cloth were lost in the fire.

Nearly 2,000 bags of paddy and millets, 65,000 yards of cloth and cash worth Rs. 26,000 were burnt down. There was no loss of life.

The state of the peasants who are left without agricultural implements is most pitiable. The whole population of the village with the exception of a hundred or two, are in the streets without shelter and protection. Since all the cloth is lost in the fire, a special quota should be rushed to the village and distributed freely. It is the duty of the Government to rush housing material to the village without any delay. Food rations to suffice for the village till the time of the next harvest should be supplied.

APPALLING VILLAGE CONDITIONS

by M. S. SWAMINATHAN

ONE significant feature of Sri Prakasam's schemes was recognition of the fact that human well-being and not mere material wealth constitutes the basis on which alone any sound and stable economic edifice can be built. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says, "The problem before our country is not just now to increase the volume of production; the problem is also how to provide work for the millions who are unemployed or under-employed. It is better to find employment for a large number of people at low income level than to keep most of them unemployed. It is possible also that the total wealth produced by a large number of cottage industries might be greater than that of some factories producing the same kind of goods." These words are significant and I will request all enthusiasts for large scale industrialisation to go through them carefully. The development of cottage industries is the best means of raising the level of income of the villager as well as of making him employed throughout the year. The Royal Commission on Agriculture brought out the problem of under-employment in villages in the following words: "A prominent feature of Indian agriculture is the amount of spare time which it leaves to the cultivator. It may be assumed as a broad generalisation that by far the greater number of cultivators have at least from 2 to 4 months' absolute leisure in the year." Hence the development of rural industries and the protection of the same by seeing that the power industries do not develop to such an extent as to jeopardise the very existence of agriculture and cottage industries, form an important step in raising the standard of living of the average villager. Seen in this light, it will be evident how justifiable Sri Prakasam's textile policy was. I ask those in favour of large scale industrialisation whether they can expand the country's industries to such an extent as to absorb all the sur-

plus labour of our country. Even supposing this is possible and is done, where are we to find a market for our goods? We will have to enter into the world market. This will lead to competition and it has been adequately proved twice in the past quarter of a century that competition ultimately leads to war.

A proper co-ordination between agriculture and industry is highly essential. Industry should not stifle agriculture and agriculture should stimulate industry. The growing of money crops which have introduced a serious amount of uncertainty in our economic life, should be controlled by considerations like our industrial needs and the export policy of the Central Government. As far as possible, regional self-sufficiency is to be aimed at, so as to avoid the recurrence of famines in case of break-down of transport facilities during abnormal conditions. The village should, as a unit, be self-sufficient in its needs at least in essential food commodities.

For the programme of rebuilding to be carried out, co-operative organisations are essential. The Chinese "Indusco" is an eye-opener to us regarding the potentialities of such co-operative organisations. A well planned rural uplift scheme must be the corner-stone of the economic policy of our Government.

The problem of village improvement is so vital that it calls for the immediate attention of the Ministry. A Congress Government which is wedded to the policy of the upliftment of the living conditions of the masses cannot afford to ignore the appalling conditions existing in our villages. It is not enough if one or two crores of rupees are sanctioned and a few village development officers appointed. The formation of a separate department called the Rural Reconstruction Department under a separate Minister, is an urgent necessity. I hope the Ministry will pay sufficient attention to this suggestion.

RIGHT LEADER FOR HARD TIMES AHEAD

by POLITICUS

TO whom can we compare Sri Prakasam? We can conjure up no person in India who bears any comparison to the Andhra Kesari. But if your readers will pardon me I think he comes nearest to Mr. Churchill *minus* his reactionism. In sheer doggedness, Sri Prakasam is comparable only to Mr. Churchill. Even as Mr. Churchill was the idol of his countrymen during the war, Sri Prakasam is the idol of the Andhras. But by a cruel irony of fate which bound Andhra Desa to certain reactionary-minded Tamil politicians, the veteran leader has been dethroned from leadership not by forces of democracy but by the very opposite, the forces of reaction. And we thus find the strange spectacle of a constitutionally dethroned leader enjoying all the popularity of a beloved one, while the remnant of the Justice Party, thinly masquerading under the garb of the Congress, have been pitchforked into office and power, thanks to the power politics of New Delhi.

But why were these reactionary men buttressed into office? It may well be due to the defeatist mentality that if the Congress High Command did not placate the Justice-Congress rump, Madras would lapse into the level of an unconcealed Justice province. And this reminds us of the Pope's maxim during the days of the Great Reformation in England that it was better to have a Catholic rogue than a Protestant rogue. The result has been disastrous. The forces of reaction have gained the upper hand and are ready to throw the Congress High Command overboard the moment it is unable to go the whole hog with the policy of the Madras Ministry. Sri Prakasam has all the indomitable courage of Mr. Churchill, and unlike the latter, his love for the under-dog is beyond doubt. While Mr. Churchill has thrown all his weight on the

side of vested interests, Prakasam's love is all for the peasant and the man in the street. So it is that while Mr. Churchill was after the war thrown away, Prakasam after he has been thrown out of office is not a whit less popular.

And in the troublous times lying ahead of us, we have great need for Sri Prakasam's leadership. With Travancore and Hyderabad in a fighting mood, our province ought to welcome back Sri Prakasam as a war leader. Age with him seems to be of no consequence just as in the case of Mr. Churchill. The Indian Independence Bill is going to be the harbinger of every kind of political trouble in India and every province must get ready and be on its defence. A state of unpreparedness in defending the security of the province will be only a direct invitation to hostile neighbouring States to pounce upon it. In vain do we search for a personality—other than Prakasam—who has the requisite energy, popularity and determination of will to whip up the province to a state of up-to-date military preparedness which seems to be such an imperative need of the hour. The present Ministry would certainly have done its routine duties under the controlling whip of the British Government. But in a free India, it would be unable to control the explosive situation, internal and external. Externally the aggression from the Nizam seems to be imminent. Its imminence is increasing every day with the approach of the dead line, 15th of August.

Who can save Madras from such confusion? C.R. for no explicable reason has become unpopular in the province, while Prakasam's hold on the Andhras is as strong as ever, and in Tamil Nad, he is unpopular only with the Ministerialist Party and its adherents. There is no other front rank leader who can now challenge Prakasam's leadership even in Tamil Nad.

BOOKS

Gandhi And The Youth (Second Edition). By S. Ramanathan. (Sole distributors, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price, Rs. 1-8.)

"Here was a leader for whom it was worthwhile to lay down one's life." This was how Mr. S. Ramanathan felt towards Mahatma Gandhi at the time of the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement when he had just set up practice as a lawyer. In response to the call of the Mahatma he gave up practice and joined the movement as a full-time Congress worker. Recalling the event he says, "We were unknown to fame. Our sacrifices were not spectacular. We did not evoke popular enthusiasm as Das and Nehru did. The great give out of their plenty The humble give out of their poverty. None can give more than he has. We gave our all."

After having given his "all" to Gandhism for years, Mr. Ramanathan realised that the Mahatma had only "launched a crusade against science and succeeded in yoking the might of political India to the prosecution of a hopeless war against world forces." Political India today is swearing by Gandhism, it swears and swears, but there is neither conviction nor action behind the swear words, says Ramanathan. "It is expedient for the purpose of winning political influence, for victory in an election campaign and for preferment to ministerial office that one should pay lip homage to the Mahatma and his teachings, . . . but so long as this lip homage is rendered ungrudgingly, one is free to pursue one's own inclinations in regard to one's actions." "Gandhi and the Youth" is the story of Ramanathan's bitter disillusionment, in between his initial acceptance of Gandhian leadership and subsequent revolt against it.

Respect for Gandhi has made critics furious with the author, but there is much in the book that cannot but command the approval of intelligent readers. As Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Khadi organisation, Ramanathan did more energetic work than it has known before or since, and in the matter of actual executive achievement in the field of Khadi, there is perhaps none in the country who can hold a candle to him. While he was engaged in a drive to universalise the Charka, he found himself thwarted by wire-pullers who raised absurd objections against his arrangements for

manufacturing the Charka. They drove him to feel that because Tamil Nad was already head and shoulders above every other province in regard to Khadi work, and if his scheme were allowed to fructify, Tamil Nad would monopolise the whole field, "those in authority did not want this province to go ahead". This betrayal of Khadi by its very supposed promoters has made Ramanathan feel that the royal road of hypocrisy is the one indicated for politicians in India. Bitterly he asks, What about politicians who refuse to tread such a path?

The question would have come with great force had not Mr. Ramanathan trod for a temporary period just the course denounced by him. His explanation of the reasons that led him to set aside his convictions and go back to the Gandhian fold as Congress Minister, is the least convincing part of his book. It tars him with the same brush with which he has smeared so many others. On the assumption that one need not be free from the blemishes condemned in others, this is an excellent book full of rational challenges to the outworn creeds and fallacies of a departing age.

Mynah At The Zoo And Other Essays. By J. Vijayatunga (Published by Hind Kitabs, 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay, Price, Rs. 3-12).

Born in Ceylon and brought up on that mixture of traditional native philosophy and Western thought which is the mental diet of the educated citizens of the British Empire, and enriched by the experiences of several years spent in the West, Vijayatunga has a wide field of interests. And his intellectual grasp matches the range of his subjects which, in this collection of his essays, include the mynah and the bamboo along with Buddha and the Gita.

The essays in the first section are fanciful, rambling and humorous, with patches of poetic beauty here and there "Truly, earth and water created the most lovable thing by their union when Bamboo peeped out of the earth and threw its lyric into the air." Or, about the tropical moon, "It was the Moon in love I have seen the Moon stealing lover-like to a secret tryst, as it were, over a Bengal village." It is a trifle jarring to find, in the gentle atmosphere of these essays, such stiff and severe page-headings as 'Artificial stimulants disastrous' and 'Strictly non-transferable'.

The second section is devoted to the consideration of Hindu mythology, Buddhist philosophy and allied themes. The Buddhist doctrine of Karma, in fact, runs through the thought in almost all

the essays, the author being profoundly attracted by the explanation of the world which that doctrine offers. But he rarely becomes solemn when trying to expound it. Writing on the death of Archibald Marshall, the contributor to *Punch*, he pleasantly asks: "What is the use of Reincarnation if a humorist cannot be born again?" But Vijayatunga does write vaguely sometimes, if not solemnly. "Forms change, but Prana remains . . . Karma is any action or movement that disturbs the equilibrium of Prana . . . The whole of creation partakes of the result of any disturbance of Prana. Thus it is that Karma is individual as well as collective." Some other statements are just puzzling: "The exploitation of sensitiveness in certain people and using them as mediums is not to be encouraged. Each individual has his or her own destiny. And whatever that be, there must be a few whose destiny is to serve as mediums for the spirits of the Dead." How is one to decide whether so-and-so is a 'destined' medium?

Vijayatunga's knowledge both of the philosophy of mysticism and of the practical problems of living, are most happily displayed only in the third section of the book. In these closing essays, he writes with imaginative sympathy and full understanding of individual writers and thinkers. On Edward Carpenter: "With cant and shame as our apparel we are bound to be uncomfortable in his company. But as his denunciation is the venomless bite of the idealist—the result of his own self-torture—and as it is devoid of that holier-than-thou air of those who sermonize in the Sunday press, every word he has written rings true." Vijayatunga is refreshingly free from academic orthodoxy, witness his evaluation of Upton Sinclair: "Certainly Sinclair Lewis deserved the Nobel Prize, but Upton Sinclair should have preceded him. . . . his is the triumph of matured idealism, of literature made alive. A wider recognition of this triumph would only be a tribute to the twentieth century." The deep sympathy with which the author approaches the subjects of these studies bears out his own view that "the kind of social intercourse which calls into being the interplay of emotion and mind is as important as any art." The present collection of his essays is remarkable precisely for this quality of bringing a sympathetic and receptive state of emotion and mind to bear on men and things.

Masnavi Book I. By Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. Published by Madina publications, Church Road, Lahore, Pages 126. Price Rs. 2.

Rumi's *Masnavi* is the Bible of Islamic mysticism. It treats about the mysteries of God-union and the certitude of religious experience. The poem comprises 26,000 rhymed couplets. It is full of strange and rare narratives, beautiful sayings, and recondite indications of a path for the devout to reach God. It is the best summary of religious sentiments and doctrines of Islam as modified by the Sufis. The Sufis are the denial descendants of the early saints of Islam. They have interpreted the wisdom of the Koran in a liberal non-sectarian spirit.

Rumi's thought and poetic fancy constitute the essence of religious mysticism. His poem does not set aside the authority of the Koran but still interprets Islam in a progressive light. It is maintained that religious experience is as certain as the scientist's discernment of facts. The love of God is the central theme of Rumi's poem. "The beloved is all in all, the lover only veils Him; The beloved is all that lives, the lover a dead thing" . . . "If a mirror reflects not, what use is it?"

In the spirit of Vedanta Rumi laments his captivity in life.

"How long will thou be captive to silver and gold? Though thou pour the ocean into thy pitcher, it can hold no more than one day's store." . . . "Love makes the very hills to dance" . . . "Love is the astrolabe of God's mysteries."

Rumi like all the mystics of the east and the west believes that love unexplained is clearer than when explained. Rumi looks upon evil as necessary for man's spiritual education. True to the traditions of great saints Rumi disapproves formalism and legalism in religion. He has very little sympathy for ceremonial purity and sacerdotal decorations.

Religious awe is transintellectual and reason alone cannot find it out.

"Reason is like an officer when the King appears;

The officer then loses his power and hides himself.

Reason is the shadow cast by God; God is the sun."

"Sell your cleverness and buy bewilderment;

Cleverness is mere opinion, bewilderment is intuition."

Rumi believes in the inherent divinity of man and lives in the hope of evolution leading him on to God-union. He strikes the note of real optimism when he says :

"I died a mineral and became plant,
I died a plant and rose an animal.
I died an animal and I was man.
Why should I fear? When was I
less by dying?"

Yet once more I shall die as man,
to soar

With the blessed angels; but even
from angelhood

I must pass on. All except God
perishes.

When I have sacrificed my angel soul,
I shall become that which no mind
ever conceived."

Rumi is self-critical and unsparing about the faults of men. He looks for the devil, not yonder in hell. With sarcasm he says

"If thou hast not seen the devil, look
at thine own self."

The book under review is the first of a series of six in which the *Masnavi* is proposed to be edited in English translation by Mr. Muhammad Amin.

TAMIL

Hasya Surangam. By R. Parthasarathy (Published by Tamil Pannai, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. Price, Rs. 2-8).

There is plenty of amusement to be had out of our daily life, if only we have the faculty of seeing and enjoying it.

Mr. Parthasarathy, who has the use of this faculty to an eminent degree, presents his picture of you and me in this collection of humorous articles. He puts an accent on the oddities of individuals, and makes them speak to us in their own language—which ranges from the downrightness of the barber, through all the shades of style of the middling classes, to the attempted suavity of the newly rich. The common factor in all these, however, is the pervasive gossip tone which lends the directness and intimacy of daily talk to the printed word. The characters are as various at first glance—and similar in essence—as the real people around us. The barber who skyrockets from obscurity to big money and the young man, wanting to preserve his comfort and individuality unbothered, who fondly hopes to escape the fetters of matrimony—but for the extra accent on individual foibles, we should be discovering ourselves in each of these characters, sometimes deriving in the process self-knowledge besides merriment, —



R. Parthasarathy

Mr. Parthasarathy is delightful when he parodies those who give themselves airs of importance. The census report is said to register their occupation as 'public service'—which reminds us of the famous joke about the gentleman whose permanent address is 'care of public meeting'. Social butterflies and superficially westernized successful businessmen do not escape the sarcasm of the author, but they save their skins by their ultimate transformation into stay-at-home mothers and Gandhian cottage-industrialists. This quite bears out Rajaji's description of the author as an "obstinate nationalist and social reformer."

The Tamil-reading public will receive this book with pleasure and delight. It is attractively got up and carries an appreciative foreword by Sri. C. Rajagopalachari, himself one of the earliest Tamil writers to popularise the simple spoken style, intelligible to the common reader. The book is dedicated to Kalki, who is acknowledged by the author to have provided him the inspiration to write in Tamil.

An excellent volume for an idle hour. The reader, however, would be well-advised to sip rather than swill.



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Independence Bonus

In commemoration of India's independence it would be appropriate if all the mercantile firms declare a fair bonus. Some firms paid Victory bonus after the end of the war. It will be more fitting if the mercantile firms come forward now with an independence bonus.

S. PAPA.

Consumers' Pitiable Plight

The position of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies after the cancellation of their procurement licences has become pitiable. The millers are the authorised paddy procuring agents and the societies are distributors of rice. To feed the retail ration shops, the societies have to get rice from the mills on the allotment orders issued by supply officers. What is now actually happening is, the society sends a request for allotment order to the assistant taluk supply officer and that officer forwards the same to his subordinate officer, the firka supply officer, with the fine endorsement "Enquire and report." What is there to enquire into and report about in the simple fact that there is no stock of rice with the society? This enquiry takes at least some ten or twelve days with the result that, in the meanwhile, ration card holders go and wait at the ration shops with their cards and bags in hand and the shop-keepers in turn go and wait at the office of the society with the blessed indents granted by the firka supply officer. It is not known why better methods are not adopted for quick supply of rice to consumers. The consumers have come to a pitiable state along with the societies.

Bh. SURYANARAYANA SASTRY.
Narendrapuram.

Paddy—Milling Permits

The Madras Government have authorised only tahsildars or taluk supply officers to issue permits to ryots for milling paddy for their home consumption. They have lengthened the

period of the permit from 3 to 12 months but this has not removed the difficulties of the ryots.

At present, to get these milling permits, a ryot has to get the prescribed form from local authorities and go to the village karnam for a certificate and then to the firka supply officer for recommendation. Having obtained all these he has to proceed to the Taluk Office to appear before the taluk officer to get the permit. The tahsildar might be out on camp. Then the ryot must stay there till the officer returns or go back.

Therefore the ryots are refusing to get the permits and are entering into the black market. If it is the Government's policy really to save the poor ryots from inconveniences and put an end to the black market, the Government should adopt an easy procedure. Authorising the village committees to issue permits is the only way by which the ryots can get their permits without trouble.

May I request the present Ministers to resign if they are unable to co-operate with and help the people?

C. R. KRISHNA RAO.

Nadavapalle.

Food Shortage In Guntur Villages

There is serious food shortage in Guntur district. I have gone to some of the villages. People are undergoing hardship to get their rations from the depots. Mules are active carrying bags of rice from the mills where the mill owners have become princes of the blackmarket. As the procurement campaign is in full swing, how is all the rice collected by the mills being disposed of? Unless supplies are rushed soon from the surplus to the deficit areas, I fear things will reach a climax—the worst ever witnessed.

Yetukur.

M. ANKAIAH NAIDU.

"Five Rupees Or Prosecution"

Last week a double bullock-cart going along the Poonamalle High Road was stopped by a khaki-clad person bearing the letters "SPCA" on his shoulder. I observed one of the oxen limping badly. The usual note-book and the pencil came out. "Five rupees or prosecution", I heard. "I am a cooly, Sir—a family man, Sir—a rupee with me, Sir—I will not bring this bull once again, Sir—save me, Sir". The khaki pocket received the rupee note and the cart proceeded as usual, the bullock limping more. God have mercy on these dumb animals!

R. N. RAO.



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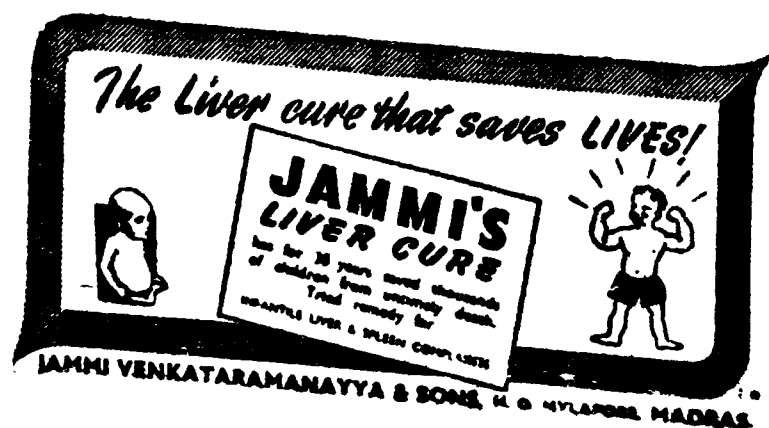
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Root Cause Of Disquiet

With reference to the query of a correspondent in *Swatantra* dated 12th July under the caption "Questions to Ministers," first let me say that I was present on the scene referred to. Order and respect for the leaders in an open forum go hand in glove only when they are popular in the strictest sense, that is to say, they should have been responsible, in a measure, in raising the commoner to a better standard of living, education, habits, etc. Therefore, when a set of persons, not inconsiderable, began to set things at naught, it was an open challenge to the bonafides of the Ministers as to what they had done to a peasant, labourer, artisan, teacher, pupil, etc.

The root cause for the disquiet, apart from the B. & C. unrest then, lies in the popularity of our present Ministry being at the 'lowest ebb', otherwise there should have been no room for the shower of brickbats, etc., on the honourable Ministers.

The die will certainly be recast when the Indian Constituent Assembly finishes its labours on the provincial constitutions—a matter of a few months—until then we are perhaps to endure this unpleasant status quo.

K. SANKAR RAO.

Political Chameleon

On 3rd July at a public meeting at Rayachoti, Mr. Gopala Reddi, Finance Minister, declared that if the Rayalaseema districts were not willing to join the Andhra University there would be no compulsion; that on the contrary he would persuade Nellore district to join Rayalaseema in view of their closer affinities—geographical, economical and cultural. But, alas! he expressed altogether a different opinion while speaking at Cuddapah. The public expects responsible Ministers to be consistent at least in public speeches.

V. KRISHNAMOORTHY.

Rayachoti.

Fossilized Conservatism

The recent decision of the Syndicate of the Madras University to relax the rules regarding opening of new colleges is a welcome step. A number of colleges are bursting into being as a result. Yet they are unequal to the phenomenal demand for higher education. Many students have failed to secure admissions. Their disillusionment is rendered poignant because of the opportunities that exist, subject to certain rules, in the neighbouring Andhra University for those employed in the area of its affiliation to appear for the degree

examinations without putting in attendance in college. It is high time that the Madras University gave up fossilized conservatism.

Tirupati.

M. RAGHVIAH.

Top-Heavy Administration

In the Civil Veterinary Department there are on an average about ten doctors in a district both in the hospitals and in taluks doing touring work. A gazetted officer having jurisdiction over two or three districts, with 20 days tour in a month, was doing the routine inspection and general supervision work over these doctors all these years quite satisfactorily. He had an office with 3 clerks to help him.

Recently the post of a gazetted officer for each district has been created to do the same work. What the ryots need now is more veterinary hospitals and doctors to be of service to them, and not more gazetted officers.

POOR AGRICULTURIST.

Grades In Medical Teaching

Instead of retaining the School of Indian Medicine the Government may as well raise the number of seats in the College of Indian Medicine from 50 to 125. Instead of maintaining another hospital for the School of Indian Medicine the Government may improve the present hospital of Indian Medicine to "A" class. We want one grade of practitioners and one unified and integrated system of medicine in India. School coaching in medicine should go, as there is absolutely no difference in curriculum between the schools and colleges of medicine. This difference is creating superiority and inferiority complex among the practitioners and is doing great injustice to the licentiates. The Government may wisely make provision for L.I.Ms. to become graduates after undergoing a post-graduate course in the College of Indian Medicine.

N. HANUMANTHA RAO,

Secretary, Madras Provincial L.I.M. Association, Bezvada.

Rude Shock To Madras Artists

The Royal Academy is arranging an exhibition of Indian art in England in November this year. Regional committees have been formed for the purpose of collecting works of art from artists, collectors, institutions, etc.

The Regional Committee for Madras is known to be functioning under the chairmanship of the Minister for Education. The artists who submitted their works for selection were rudely shocked to learn that all the pictures

submitted have been rejected by the judging committee as unfit for exhibition at the Royal Academy. Some of the artists concerned have an all-India reputation and their works have been exhibited and appreciated in foreign countries as well. It is amusing to note that the regional committee should find no merit in them. The reason is evident. Out of the three individuals who sat in judgment over our unfortunate artists, only one happened to be an artist. The other two are neither artists nor connoisseurs of any reputation. I feel that matters could still be mended if the Minister for Education immediately appoints a fresh committee competent to judge such works.

H. V. RAM GOPAL,
"Swatantra" Artist.

Conventional Lies

You have in *Sidelights* contrasted C.R.'s attitude to S. Srinivasa Iyengar before and after the latter's demise and also compared it with Gandhi's treatment of Netaji Subhas. Similar is the attitude of Dr. Profulla Ghose, the Gandhite representative in Bengal, towards Desabandhu Das and Netaji Subhas. On the eve of forming the Congress wing of the Ministry in Bengal, Dr. Profulla Ghose is reported to have felt sorry that Desabandhu and Netaji were not there to undertake the responsibility. Profulla Babu is a great patriot, for whose services and sacrifices in the cause of the country even his opponents have great regard. But what was the treatment he meted out to the venerable Desabandhu Das when he was alive? His relentless opposition, aggravated by continual scriptural quotations from the Mahatma's writings, made that great man (Das) rebel against the orthodox Congress and form a new party. For all the tributes that are being showered upon Subhas Bose by Profulla Ghose and his like, one feels that if that patriot were to return to the motherland, their attitude towards him would be that adopted during the Tripuri days. Gandhiji insists on truthfulness in thought, word and deed, but are words of tribute, bereft of respect and affection, any better than a false formality, a conventional lie of civilisation as Mathew Arnold would put it?

B.S.

"A Revolution In Indian Journalism"

The recent special articles by your Staff Correspondent on Malabar and Hyderabad, are interesting and educative. Your readers have been given the opportunity of knowing, from an impartial observer, the atrocities that are

being committed in these two places in South India.

The series of articles on the recent Madras Ministerial crisis have amply demonstrated your impartiality and your concern for placing the interests of the country above party politics. Even though I feel you have done a grievous error in accusing Sri C. Rajagopalachariar of having had a hand in the overthrow of the Prakasam Ministry, you have acquitted yourself most creditably and demonstrated to your readers the qualities inherent in the true type of journalism. To be a successful journalist, as you have rightly said, one should not hesitate to criticize a leader whenever he errs while paying him tributes whenever he actually deserves them.

"Swatantra", even though it is only in its infancy, has reason to be justly proud of its quality. In my opinion, there is no other paper in India, in the political sphere, which exercises as much restraint, impartiality and foresight as "Swatantra".

You are responsible for giving a lead in making a revolutionary change in Indian journalism. The majority of the periodicals and journals published in this country are being controlled, financed and managed by our capitalists, who shape the views of the editors and whose only motive is to become richer and richer every day by fair or foul means, and without any regard to the interests of the ordinary man in the street.

R. S. ESWARAN.

'Quit India' Forgotten

For decades we tried to free ourselves from the foreign yoke, but now, bereft of self-respect, or perhaps due to want of confidence in the leadership of our own leaders, we have chosen Lord Mountbatten to be our Governor-General. Can anything be more degrading! Our leaders have thrown aside the fruits of their hard and strenuous efforts of half a century which included Jallianwallahs and jails.

While the Muslim portion of India is called Pakistan, the Hindustan section have preferred to have their portion named Union of India. The name itself connotes that it is a joint property, out of which any selfish group of people can take away more slices. Why not call it 'Hindustan' with dignity? Only when eventually Hindustan and Pakistan are grouped together, will the name 'Union of India' be appropriate.

A. M. DEVADOSS.



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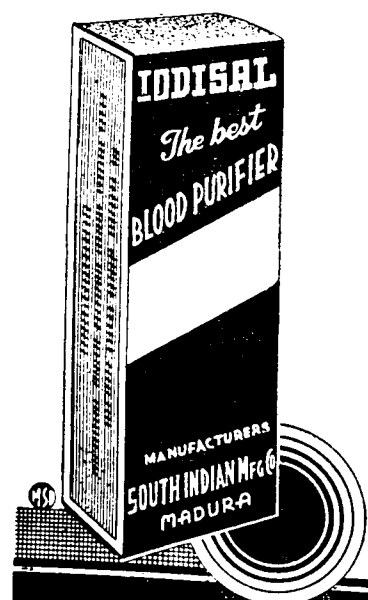
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SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1947.

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URBAN PAVEMENT-DWELLERS: Drawn from life by H. V. Ram Gopal.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 26

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

IMPLICATIONS OF DIVISION

ACHARYA KRIPALANI told a press conference at Karachi that he considered every bit of Pakistan as his home as he considered every bit of Hindustan as his home. He added, "For me, there can be no passport. I shall go wherever I choose, even if I have to go to gaol to assert my right." Unbalanced utterances of this sort from one in the responsible position of Congress President cannot be too strongly deprecated. Anyone is at liberty to indulge in the luxury of feeling himself at home in as many places as he pleases. But to build on it a right to drive a coach and four through passport regulations restricting his freedom of movement is not responsible leadership. Between India and Pakistan there is such a close interdependence of economy that for both the States the balance of advantage lies in the maintenance of a common system of communications, defence and the like. On the other hand, the right of severing any pre-existing arrangement of commonalty is inherent in the scheme of separate sovereignties agreed to under the Mountbatten plan. Under such a right the common defence of the territory of India and Pakistan that had been built up under British rule, has already been broken. The Congress might regret it, but after acceptance of the division plan, it has scarcely any option left except accepting it with grace. If tomorrow the Pakistan Government were to impose restrictions on the free movement of people

across the boundary of the two States, the Congress is no less bound to accept the change, however unwise it may be, and unpalatable to the Congress. Acharya Kripalani's talk of going to gaol to assert his right of free movement between India and Pakistan is wild talk that accords ill with acceptance of the division plan by the organisation of which he happens to be the President.

Congress leaders should have thought of the implications of division prior to the acceptance of the Mountbatten plan and not subsequent to it. In committing the Congress to division in violation of its pledged creed as a fait accompli with little freedom for free judgement, the Congress leaders took upon themselves not only too heavy a responsibility, they actually reversed the established procedure of democratic institutions as held in respect all the world over. Had they not been in office they would not have acted thus. Having acted as they did, the initial breach of democratic discipline committed by them is being followed by further repetitions of the same folly. They show no disposition, for example, to get the tentative constitution drafted by the wholly unrepresentative Constituent Assembly tolerated as permissible at all only for the purpose of accelerating British withdrawal, placed before a properly elected body representing the whole people expeditiously convened on the widest possible franchise. On the other

land, the sovereignty belonging to the whole people as a matter of right, in consequence of the British withdrawal, has been appropriated or their own benefit, without any further reference to popular opinion. By the organisational heads of the Congress for the time being. We find a small body of men and their approved nominees settling themselves down for two or three years to come as legislators, ministers, governors and the like in complete indifference to the wishes of the electorate, in patent dishonour of universally accepted democratic practices and usages. This would not have very much mattered if public support for the present power-holders could be taken for granted as a matter of course. If it could be so taken for granted, they would themselves have rushed to the people and secured, with their sanction, the imprimatur of a new lease of life for themselves. The fact is that the title of legislator has begun to stink in the nostrils of a harassed public who have come to perceive in a large body of persons bearing the title painful evidences of opportunism, intrigue, greed and dubiety. In the present atmosphere of public bitterness and disappointment, a poll under adult franchise would most probably see most of our present legislators sent indignantly into the wilderness. They know this only too well, and all their ingenuity is exercised in employment of the new power accruing from British withdrawal to provide themselves with time and opportunity for entrenching themselves impregnably in their positions. A fraud on popular sovereignty is being committed in the very process of preparing for the celebration of our supposed independence, which accounts for the general apathy mixed up with the popular reactions to Independence Day. In one important particular, that of drafting Governors from outside each pro-

vince, the spirit of the provision for mass election included in the constitution of their own making, is glaringly violated by the Delhi Olympians, and illustrates the tragic isolation that has crept into being between provincial popular opinion and the favourites of the High Command singled out for honour and power.

There is hope of these domestic follies being corrected, in spite of the Congress High Command, by progressive forces that may prove too powerful before long for any combination that may be attempted to thwart it. But the weathering of the State against storms threatened under the division plan is a graver responsibility and calls for all the care and circumspection that the leaders of the Union Government are capable of. After the severance of Pakistan, it is meaningless to persist in continuing the Congress as a single political organisation spread over both India and Pakistan. No State will tolerate outside leadership for any section of its own subjects, and when Mahatma Gandhi speaks of one Congress organisation for Bengal, or Acharya Kripalani proclaims his readiness to go to gaol to assert his right to move without hindrance from one dominion to another, they reveal amazing imperviousness to the dangerous consequences that are sure to ensue, should Mr. Jinnah imitate their own attitude and continue as President of the Muslim League with pretensions to guide and set the political course for the Muslims of India. Already Mr. Jinnah has asserted his right to the citizenship of India in spite of his assumption of political control over Pakistan. The inexorable fact to be faced with patriotic realism which should be sternly safeguarded against weak-kneed sentimentalism, is just this—that with the division agreed to under the June 3 plan, Pakistan becomes an extraneous State to the

people of India, and the obligations of citizenship in India entail the exclusion of all loyalties disruptive of Indian unity inspired from beyond the borders of India. In view of the fact that the momentum for the Pakistan movement with its two-nations theory came primarily from the Muslims that are now left as citizens of India, forswearing of that theory is essential as much for the safety of the State as for free admission of Mr. Jinnah's Leaguers to the full rights of Indian citizenship. Otherwise, with an Islamic communal State on the border, and the potentiality of a disruptive two-nations theory continuing to work its mischief on Indian soil, Hindu consolidation will be the only means of ensuring the safety of India from the external and internal perils encompassing it. It is the duty of Congress leaders, after having agreed to division, to face squarely all the requirements of safety for the State over which they are to assume control, and to take adequate steps to meet all of them effectively, instead of blinding their eyes to the facts created by the division and indulging in emotional hopes for future unity that do not correctly reflect the actual state of affairs.

Share Your Freedom

OCCASIONS of rejoicing are signalised by the civilized by a kind thought for the unlucky. Luck has no absolute content. Acquisition of money is generally identified with luck, but one should want the thing acquired if it is to be properly

appreciated as good fortune. We hear only of poor-feeding and not rich-feeding though both rich and poor have stomachs to be fed. It is the poverty of the poor which makes food difficult to get at that converts feeding into an act of blessing for the poor. There are other hungers besides those of the belly, and the hunger for freedom is not the least painful of them. Congressmen who have endured so much in the cause of freedom need no lessons about the wear and tear on mind and spirit of the pain and unrest suffered by the enslaved and the imprisoned. In the country's hour of liberation, they would be honouring the spirit of freedom in the right and proper way by releasing all political opponents in prison. Even our imperial rulers hitherto honoured their jubilees in this way. Do Congress Ministries attach less importance to the Independence Day than the imperialists of Britain have been attaching to the birthdays of their Kings and Queens as appropriate occasions for cancellation of the normal inflictions of bondage? We hope not.

Why Not Cape Comorin?

IT is announced that Madras will be the headquarters of the Committee appointed by the Government of Madras to enquire into the working of the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies in the Circars. If distance from the alleged scene of enquiry is the objective aimed at, Cape Comorin cannot be improved upon as headquarters of the Committee.

Cowan tells the story of a custom prevailing in Hurdenburg in Sweden, where in the Middle Ages a mayor was elected in the following manner. The persons eligible sat around a table, with their heads bowed forward, allowing their beards to rest on the table. A louse was then put in the middle of the table. The one into whose beard the louse first adventured was the mayor for the ensuing year.—Hans Zinoser.

Sotto Voce

Ticket-of-Leave Democracy



THE Madras Government has a lynx eye for the things that need to be set right. I always knew it, but I have become doubly convinced after reading that it has under consideration proposals for licensing document writers. This industrious tribe is as a rule shy of the lime-light, partly from bitter experience with crabbed munsiffs who can abide it no more than the parish-beadle of Victorian times could the light-fingered gypsy. But it is no mean honour to be classed as A1 priority with Prohibition, Temple-Entry and Tamil uplift. And possibly some of these scribes, the callow younglings, may be as ready to pay for a license as an earlier generation of lawyers was to pay income-tax—on a non-existent income—and for much the same reasons.

But the old bandicoot will not be tempted by such baits. He is a fierce individualist. Equipped with an ink-bottle and a sheaf of assorted quills which he mends with an expertise as notable as his calligraphy, he sets up shop without table or chair, and he has a proper contempt for book learning. For he carries in his head all the law that he needs and he is a perfect adept at laying traps for the unwary. He is at once the speculative lawyer's darling and the bugbear of conscientious judges. Like Chaucer's Manciple he could beat "the wisdom of an heap of larned men!"

Slippery as an eel, he may even take a perverse delight in foiling the Government's well-meant plans. He resembles the old-time vakil's clerk

in this respect that if he gets the cash he does not care who gets the kudos. So he may engage a dummy with a license to lend his name and keep his mouth shut. In the little town where I went to school many a budding lawyer whose black coat still kept its virginal freshness was glad to be annexed by a free-lance senior clerk and to do odd jobs for him. If the great man happened to pass along the street where one of these neophytes lived and the latter was seated on the pial it was distressing to watch his acute embarrassment, torn between the desire to maintain his dignity by looking the other way and his fear of giving offence to one who was apt to be touchy.

The document writer must, I fear, be regarded as unpromising quarry in the hunt for revenue. Unless the Government is prepared to tax inditers of documents of every sort; on that supposition, a fascinating vista of possibilities opens out. Professional writers of love-letters, for example, have long plied their honourable calling in this country with profit to themselves and satisfaction to their clients. But their sentiments are old-fashioned and their phrases worn out with use. As the Government intends to prescribe tests for licensees it will no doubt cause model love-letters to be prepared in the Secretariat. The prospect may appal lesser men; so I suggest it might be worth while to hold out special inducements to the British members of the omni-competent I.C.S. who are now contemplating wholesale exodus.

Meanwhile, we may say with pardonable pride that Madras, with its vigilant Ministry, is indubitably in the van of progress. It has developed a perfect passion for regulating the lives of people. It has abolished drink by statute, it will shortly abolish *devadasis*. It says not only what you shall eat but whom you shall eat it with. It may decide on licensing purohits as it does plumbers. Its anxiety to provide for their proper education is well known. I confess it is rather puzzling to find Congress Ministries so keen on Agama and Sastra when the Congress has driven a coach and four through their inhibitions and prohibitions. It is as if Attila turned archaeologist in his old age!

But, on further reflection, a simpler explanation occurs to me. Agama and Sastra may be important things or they may not. No one knows and—truth to tell—no one, among those who matter, desperately bothers. But, Agama and Sastra—like hotel-keeping—have been the monopoly of a few. Democracy has no use for monopolies. And licensing is the most painless way of eliminating them. In due course the sacred principle of communal representation may the more easily be extended to this department of public service also. The gods themselves have not so far been asked to satisfy the communal G.O. They ought to be thankful for this indefinite reprieve.

VIGHNESWARA.

OUR RICE PROBLEM

by K. M. GURURAJA RAO

RESPONSIBLE officers of the Governments of Madras and Mysore have spoken of a possible breakdown in the rationing of food grains if supplies are not obtained from surplus provinces or from abroad. This all-important question therefore remains very much the same as when four years ago, statutory procurement and rationing was introduced. If anything, the situation has grown worse.

It is easy to raise lofty hopes by talking in a big way of big schemes like the projected Ramapadasagar Dam across the Godavari, and of wanting to "cut rivers across mountains and make them flow in a different direction." Though all agree that in this scientific age, with examples like the T.V.A. before us, such schemes can really be undertaken by the Government, one is reminded now of the hungry cock in Aesop's Fables which needed grain but was given a gem for ornament.

These schemes, at best, have a long term value and have no relevance to the present food crisis.

Of the three points round which successful handling of the food problem revolves, we are treated incessantly to only two activities of the Government—procurement and rationing—while the third, increased production, which should be at least as important as the other two, is feebly heard in the slogan "Grow More Food." The fanfare of trumpets with which the birth of this slogan was heralded seems to have died down. The Governments have been content, so far, in times of severe crisis, with treating the public to emotional speeches from Ministers calling for voluntary delivery of food grains on humanitarian grounds, with promises of subsidies thrown in. All this has not tilted the balance even by a hair's breadth.

Why not turn to Russia for lessons in successful planning?

Benjamin Franklin has one distinction that has not been particularly noted. It is his honour to have more American cities and villages named after him than any other man. Thirty-five municipalities in thirty-four different states are named Franklin. In Minnesota there are two villages named Franklin.

—Christian Science Monitor.

SIDELIGHTS :

It is an observation no less just than common, that there is no stronger test of a man's real character than power and authority, exciting as they do every passion, and discovering every latent vice.—PLUTARCH.

THE removal of C. R. from the Union Cabinet, apparently for elevating him to the Governorship of West Bengal, actually places him in cold storage for the time being. It does not seem to be a sound practice to impose leaders of one province as Governors in others. For one thing, it violates the spirit of the constitution which has provided for Governors to be elected directly by the people on adult suffrage. Are the people of any province ever likely to choose their Governors from the candidates of another? Interim appointments should conform as near as possible to the pattern of government and administrative personnel that may reasonably be expected to take shape when the new constitution comes into full operation. Supposing the High Command had selected as Governors persons likely to be confirmed in the same office even under the impending dispensation of election by adult suffrage, and supposing in due course they actually get so confirmed, what a feather it would be in the cap of the selectors. They would have shown themselves capable, then, of voluntary adjustments to the authentic realities of public opinion and established their mettle as democrats and won honour as such.

Perhaps the repugnance of the High Command to the whole lot of Andhra leaders as such has landed them in the present morass of having to pick Governors from anywhere except the actual territory to be governed by them. Tamil leaders stand no higher in the regard of the central Congress dictatorship, but it has been given to C. R. alone to break the North India monopoly of control over all-India affairs and establish himself squarely and firmly in the highest Congress conclave on equal terms with its other members and on a footing other than patron-

age. He stands as a symbol to demonstrate that, in the matter of contribution to federal leadership, Madras is not completely wiped out of the Congress map.

If Governorships were to go by election now and C. R. were to stand, he will be confronted in Tamil Nadu with the communal forces that are being violently egged on under Omandurian inspiration. None will vote for him in Andhra. The whole of Andhra is a boiling cauldron of rage over the dethronement of Prakasam for the establishment of a Premier like Omandur. Had the present Ministry acquitted itself creditably and improved conditions of life for the people, it might have hoped in course of time to quieten the public resentment with which its advent was greeted. But even its most energetic protagonist has come on record condemning it as in no way better than its predecessor. It has brought the food position to a desperate muddle. Corruption is on the increase. The strain of sheer existence is being made unbearable for millions, while the Ministry is digging itself deeper daily into the mire of a hatred cult of communal colour, hoping thereby to divert attention from its own incompetence and futility. But the mounting distress of the multitude can neither be fed on manufactured communal rancour nor put off with tactics.

The feuds of recent months have not led to any good. While ministerial energies are being utilised to the full in a strenuous struggle just to survive, there is no chance of any surplus being left over for constructive effort over measures of tangible benefit to people. All this strain would be at once removed if peace could be re-established between the anti-Prakasamites and the ex-Premier. There seems no way out of the tangled mess of present-day politics in the province until the enormous goodwill and popular backing that belongs to Sri Prakasam is converted into an asset of Government instead

of being allowed to confront it resentfully as now. The most natural way of effecting such a conversion would have been to make him Governor. He is anyhow marked for the Governorship of Andhra after the formation of the province, should he choose to stand for it, since under adult suffrage no one would have the ghost of a chance for competing against him successfully in that area. He certainly deserves as well at the hands of the Congress High Command as Pakwasa or Jairamdas Dowlatram. Rarely have I ever come across such a fury of anger as is now burning in the heart of the common man of Andhra over the Congress High Command's studied neglect and insult of leaders held in honour by him, and especially Sri Prakasam. One of them, a loyal Congressman of repute who went to jail everytime the mandate came, burst out the other day, thus: "For seventeen years I have been paying four annas to the Congress regularly. But now I am disgusted with the ways of the High Command. For the first time in seventeen years I have withheld my subscription to the Congress this year."

The old empire that the Congress had over the allegiance of the masses is being lost to it; and great as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's services were to the Congress in times past, his handling of affairs over the past two years has done much harm to the credit and influence of the Congress with common people in general. C. R.'s relegation to West Bengal is an ugly move in a threatened process of power-consolidation at the Centre, with the Sardar holding all the strings. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti's talents are undeniable and deserve to be made accessible in some consultative form; but not as a Minister of State. Ministerships should come as nobody's gift. With C. R. got rid of, all that is needed for the Central Executive to be brought into the hollow of the Sardar's hand is that Nehru should be made President and Rajendra Prasad sent to Behar. These moves too were not left unattempted, according to report. It is comforting to be informed that the Mahatma stepped in before too late to counter them.—SAKA.

NIZAM HAS NO RIGHT TO BERAR

by R. RAMANUJAM

THE position taken up by the British Government in regard to the devolution of sovereignty over Berar to the Nizam is incorrect and unacceptable.

The Nizam had no claim whatever over Berar before the advent of the British in India. Berar was a Maratha territory. After the conquest of the Maratha kingdom by the British in the early years of the last century, Berar was conferred as a reward on the Nizam for the help rendered by the latter to the British in their war against the Marathas. Thus the sovereignty, if any, which the Nizam has over Berar is but a British creation. During all the two hundred years of domination over this country, the position of the British has always been that of a usurper and has never been recognised to be that of a rightful owner. Hence any new title created by the British in this country should automatically come

to an end with the extinction of British rule.

Section 7, clause 1 (b) of the Independence Bill cannot help the Nizam to get back Berar. It only enunciates that, with the lapse of British rule, all powers surrendered by the Indian States to the British through treaties or otherwise, would also lapse and the effect of this clause will be to restore the States to the position occupied by them before the advent of the British. By no stretch of imagination can it be urged that this clause validates all grants made and titles created by the British, after their advent. On the other hand, clause 7 (1) B of the Indian Independence Bill gives support to the contention that just as all powers handed over by the States to the British will lapse, so will all titles conferred by the British on the States also lapse with the end of British rule.

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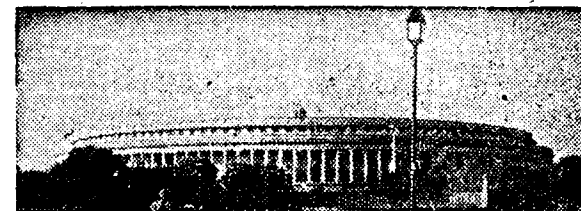
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NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

INDIA is making valuable contributions to the discussions at various International organisations of U.N. But it is surprising how little of what is happening actually trickles down into the daily Press. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju told us the other day of the work of the Cereals Conference, and remarked on this deplorable lack of interest. Only three of us of the Press seemed to be concerned about the World Cereals Conference. It was fortunate that he afterwards addressed a Press Conference on the subject, which enabled a very much wider public to be acquainted with the activities of the Conference and of the Indian Delegation.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, who has recently been appointed Executive Director of the Far Eastern Economic Commission, told us the other day how no Indian newspaper had cared to send a Special Correspondent to Geneva to cover the I.T.O. The I.T.O. is one of the most important U.N. organisations, and its failure would really mean the failure of the United Nations itself. It is perhaps a comforting reflection that the proprietors of newspapers are not intelligent enough to see that it is in their own interests, and in the interests of those who belong to their class, to keep a watchful eye on the activities of the International Trade Organisation. If they are cleverer it would be more difficult to get rid of them and the system they stand for—by peaceful and legitimate means, of course.

If I were asked to name the six most influential men in Delhi, I would include Dr. Lokanathan among them. He is one of those rare people in the Capital who really understand what they are talking

about. One or two Press Correspondents sometimes exasperate him by trying to argue with him on the commonplaces of economic theory under the impression that they are the finest subtleties in the subject. We have reason to believe that we are not among these, because he had mentioned these Correspondents to us. Dr. Lokanathan has an unorthodox way of treating his subject, and he has a remarkably receptive and non-dogmatising mind.

So when Dr. Lokanathan was appointed to one of the key-positions in the U.N. organisation, we were glad that the services of so distinguished an Editor in the International field will prove to be extremely valuable. His opposite number in the European Economic Commission is Dr. Myrdal, the distinguished Swedish economist.

Explaining the work of the I.T.O., Dr. Lokanathan told us: "A Cartel Commission would be set up by the I.T.O. in the near future. It will see that restrictive business practice is not promoted. The duty of the Commission will be to investigate complaints from member-countries against any restrictive or monopolistic practices of cartels or other organisations." In addition to the Cartel Commission, a Commodities Commission would be set up to deal with the Inter-Governmental Commodity Agreement. The importance of the I.T.O. could not be overestimated because it had a number of important functions to perform. It was to see that tariff agreements were enforced and that no violation of the agreement took place. It had to ensure the proper observance of all the agreements on tariff matters in respect of tariff valuations, in respect of free flow of international

trade, and international taxes on foreign goods. This was a positive function in the field of economic development.

Dr. Lokanathan pointed out that lest restrictions be resorted to on the first onset of depression, the organisation provided for consultation among members with a view to suitable concerted action. The I.T.O. had also to determine the procedure for giving release to members from the obligations of the Charter whenever there was justification for such releases. The I.T.O. was one of the later links in the chain of organisations sponsored by the U.N., but it was a very important link.

Asked about the functions of the Far Eastern Economic Commission, Dr. Lokanathan stated that its primary work was to render effective aid to countries in this region—in selected countries in Asia and the Far East—with a view to rehabilitation and reconstruction. In what manner that aid would be rendered was a matter for the Commission to determine. Whatever was done about this, the Commission would institute special studies and enquiries regarding problems requiring immediate attention. Field investigation in these regions was contemplated. There would also be a statistical section to ascertain and collect data, and disseminate information among these regions. But the Commission would take no action in respect of any country without the agreement of the Government of that country.

The objects of the Far Eastern Commission were:

1. To take concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East,
2. To raise the level of economic activity,
3. To maintain the economic relations of these areas both among themselves and with outside areas,

4. To investigate and study economic and technological problems of these regions, and
5. To undertake or sponsor the collection and evaluation and dissemination of economic and statistical information.

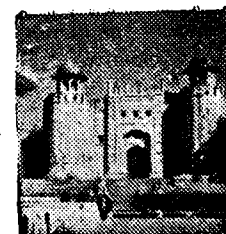
The territories included were British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indo-Chinese Federation, Hong Kong, Malayan Union and Singapore, Netherlands Indies, Philippine Republic, and Siam. The members of the Commission were: Australia, China, France, India, Netherlands, Philippines, Siam, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S.A. Any State in the area which becomes a member of the United Nations would be deemed a member of the Commission.

Asked what the differences between the Far Eastern Economic Commission and the European Economic Commission were, Dr. Lokanathan replied that the Far Eastern Commission's terms were more for rehabilitation. The European Commission had certain executive functions as well. The European Commission was taking over certain functions belonging to the European Coal Organisation and the European Central Transport and Inland Transport Organisation with a view to absorption or termination of these organisations.

Financial provision was made for sending groups of workers to make field investigations. Total budget for the current year (1947) was 260,000 dollars, not including the costs of field surveys by members of the Commission. There would be 26 professional and 30 secretarial and clerical members on the staff. Pending the establishment of permanent headquarters at some agreed place, they would be located at Shanghai. This Commission would do its work for three years. Whether the Commission should continue, and in what form, and what should be its scope, would be determined by the U.N.E.S.C.O. at the end of the three year period, said Dr. Lokanathan.

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



NO man's land in the sense that it is disputed territory, Lahore is also very literally a "No Woman's Land" today. And a "No Child's Land", too, for that matter. In what was once as lively and gay a town as you could ever hope to see, there are today no women, no children—only a host of haggard and weary-looking men who are bound to Lahore by the ties of livelihood, or rather of Government service. The students left long ago when the schools and colleges closed down prematurely for the summer vacation. Rich idlers and businessmen were the next to leave with their families; then went large numbers of the working classes brought suddenly face to face with unemployment and the assassin's knife. Ever-increasing tension now forced men to think of the safety of their women and children, and the present month-old exodus—an exodus, by the way, that shows no signs of stopping or even slowing down—has carried away everybody whose presence in Lahore is not really essential. And thus it is that the town has a beleaguered look about it.

Panic has a way of growing with what it feeds on, and despite the fact that a very large military force has taken over from the police the responsibility of maintaining peace, people are fleeing the town in a mad rush to be anywhere but in Lahore when the fateful 13th of August arrives with the award of the Boundary Commission. At the railway station, the waiting sheds and the platforms are as crowded with humanity as the proverbial tin with sardines—inside the carriages it is hardly better. All the Down trains are packed to capacity; the Up services roll in half-empty. I asked a railway official today what direction this unparalleled evacuation is

taking. Hardwar, he said, is the first preference; then come Dehra Dun, Delhi, and Rawalpindi.

Meanwhile, petty crime has increased enormously. Thefts and cattle-lifting are reported from every side, but the police is incapable of doing anything about them, so busy is it with murder cases. Besides, the police, knowing that partition is at hand, has openly split on communal lines, so that it is no longer advisable to let it operate except in mixed parties, and then it is naturally ineffective! No wonder panic has gripped the people, especially non-Muslims.

Amidst all this confusion and lawlessness, one community alone—yet hardly a community—has acted with real fortitude and admirable discipline. The *Purabyas*, as we call the natives of the United Provinces, labour in the bigger towns of the Punjab as gardeners, chawkidars, peons and domestic servants. There must be a colony of at least five thousand of them in Lahore—and they too have at last decided to clear out. I referred to their fortitude and discipline; it consists in this, that they have stuck to their posts all this while, and have watched their masters go, leaving them the dangerous job of guarding their possessions and watering their gardens in their absence. And all for a mess of pottage. But now when the situation in the city is alarming even to the most cool-headed observer, the *Purabyas* have taken the decision to quit, and they have begun to do so in a most orderly manner. Parties of twenty or twenty-five, bound for the same home district, leave in a body for the station, and board their respective trains with a cool efficiency that reminds one of soldiers carrying out an orderly retreat.



Ironically enough, the first set of people to benefit from the establishment of the "Pure Land" will be the singing girls and the prostitutes of West Punjab. For as soon as Pakistan Radio begins to function on its

own with effect from the 10th August, it will lift the ban Sardar Patel had imposed on the employment of such "artistes" in AIR. Good luck, Hira Bai!

MATRIMONIAL ADVERTISEMENTS

by D. V. R.

MATRIMONIAL advertisements may be said to be a comparatively recent feature in Indian newspapers. The fact that Indians, too, have taken to these advertisements is an indication of the rapid changes that have come over the social set-up.

These advertisements are of various kinds, from the merely amusing to the highly thought-provoking. They give us an insight into the different characteristics of the inhabitants of the provinces concerned. Thus, for instance, in Bengal, if the advertisement is for a bridegroom, the young maid is invariably fair, educated and well accomplished in household duties besides providing the additional attraction of a handsome dowry. In Madras, on the other hand, the girl is sure to be of a music knowing sort. In the Punjab, "the tall, slim and fair" are generally preferred. It is not unusual to find in the Punjab papers an advertisement somewhat on these lines: "Wanted a tall, slim and fair looking girl for an educated, fair and smart young man (5 ft.—10 in.) well settled in life drawing Rs. 600 per month and owning properties worth Rs. 30,000."

This craze for the "tall, slim and fair looking girl" seems to have spread to the south too in recent times. In the case of grooms "the well settled" preferably a gazetted officer or at least the son of a gazetted officer, are very much in demand. One is also familiar with the advertiser seeking an educated, well accomplished and fair looking girl above eighteen to accompany the smart young man intending to proceed to foreign countries and expecting the father-in-law to meet the expenses! This is a Western and North Indian speciality. The glamour for the foreign returned young man is, however, not so keen these days as it used to be till recently.

Sometime ago in a leading Calcutta daily there appeared an advertisement by an apparently well meaning young man expressing his willingness to marry a deaf, dumb or blind girl with the mild addition that dowry expected was ten thousand rupees! This, I consider, is an instance of the thought provoking variety.

And then there is the young man who has no objection to marry a virgin widow *without encumbrances*. There are those, too, that advertise merely "for selection" although it is not known why that apology at all is necessary. There is also the scheduled caste gentleman who has no objection to marry a girl from any caste.

The young man with marriageable sister wanting a bride and willing to consider exchange, I think, is a Malabar speciality.

From keen observation the following conclusions may be drawn: that the "well settled and preferably gazetted" grooms are in considerable demand; while in the case of brides, besides of course the "tall, slim and fair looking", a handsome dowry has better chances in Bengal, and the musical sort has equally bright chances in Madras. In the Punjab, her counterpart must be at least 5 ft.—2 in.

Although it may not come strictly under the matrimonial category it would not be fair to omit the case of the gentleman widower with liberal views who wants a middle aged lady to look after the children but who must be *prepared to be unconventional*—correspondence to be kept, of course, strictly confidential. One feels much sympathy for this gentleman who although bold enough to break conventions seems to fight shy of contemplating matrimonial bliss for the second time!

THIS FIRKA DEVELOPMENT BUSINESS

by BHIKKU

WE have had this job in different forms before, this firka development. Rural reconstruction, its pristine name, had many exponents and enthusiasts. I have sighted this business at least three times during my tenure, in its magniloquent forms. The lesser manifestations have been legion. In the old spacious days, it emanated as a rule from some potent limb of Government, less inured to the sights and smells of villages than are the day-to-day administrators. It always began with a flourish of trumpets. An ad-hoc committee of a great number of non-officials with a sprinkle of officials set the ball rolling. Emotion for the poverty and ignorance of the village folk was free and copious. Routine subjects accepted as fundamentals were village sanitation, rural water supplies, medical relief and communications. Adult education would lead on to country sports. Village dramas and folk dances would come as revivals of art from a high brow member. Bhajans would be suggested as an antidote to the toddy shop, but this suggestion had always to be made with a weather eye towards the implications of sectarian religion. The glories of the past handicraft of the village, whether basket making or carpet weaving, in the pre-mechanical and pre-worry era, were rhapsodised and one or two of these or some new handicraft, if no past affinities are traceable, is pressed in to absorb the idle time of the villagers which leads them into mischief, into toddy shops, litigations and ultimately into non-co-operation. The ad-hoc committee would beget a committee with a president and a number of vice-presidents and a managing committee and the managing committee would have a number of working committees to deal with the different subjects with 'powers to co-opt' local talent or money or other help. Two visits of villages will be made, the number of visitors depending on the space available in the cars of the

touring officers concerned. These are generally by way of inaugural picnics. I have rarely seen a third visit by any one committee to any village. Houses are inspected and housewives told casually that they should not throw away the congee when cooking the rice. The villagers meet before the temple or chavadi to be spoken to by the would-be reconstructors. The elders pretend gratitude in due course but present a petition for clearing the clogged channel and letting in more water in it than their due or for assignment of the usufruct rights 'wrongly' appropriated by the rival villagers: items clearly not in the agenda of the visiting committee.

Anyway, intervals between the meetings of the committee become longer spaced. The Collector will miss one or two of them inadvertently or otherwise. Interest will sag with the lassitude of the administrative head. The thing dies an unblest death of inanition.

Latterly, however, the theme has become a settled item in one form or another, of every newly rigged-in Government, as an expression of its concern and gratitude for the down-trodden and lowly, who still reposed faith in them in spite of disappointments before. It comes out as stringent circulars to all district administrative officers through their respective departments to study and send up proposals within a fixed date. The proposals should give close attention to local conditions. Harassed officers lay aside other work, and the younger ones occasionally enthuse over it as an antidote to drudgery, and put up pages of suggestions. Meetings take place of the various departmental executives to study the proposals. There is much wagging of heads and much criticism of each other's points about their practicability if not utility and much amusement over the whole, as we knew, in spite of the seeming earnestness and urgency, that it is only a repetition of the periodical flutter.

Much T. A. is spent over inspections of crucial places and alternative possibilities, firstly by the subordinates, then by the intermediate officials and then by district heads. Much stationery and stamp is expended before the report is outlined, drafted, made presentable, typed and sent up, not without a glow of satisfaction that the thing is well done or at least done and finished with, and now one can go back to the smooth sea of routine and of fundamental rules. Months pass. A bulky envelope comes from headquarters and lo! the drafted report is back on your hands. You are asked to furnish an order of priority for the villages or estimate of costs or something else. From the point of view of the headquarters, this is a handy ruse, for it shelves study of voluminous reports from 24 districts for some time. But such revisionary questions invariably put a strain on veracity and a premium on plausible mendacious assertions. It is clearly impossible to assess the relative degree of the misery of the people of Anjaneyapalli in Hanuman Taluk and of Vinayak Agraharam in Ganeshpur Taluk. The thing becomes a nightmare even to the young enthusiast. The senior has never had any faith in it anyway. It is now rigged up with artificial scaffolding of guesses and assertions and again sent up. I know of one proposal which was referred back six solid times for recasting. One conscientious officer was so upset that he took the whole blasted file and his clerk with him to headquarters to ask of the boss what really he wanted. He had already exhausted every possible permutation and combination for all assortments and classifications and he could do no more and—would they kindly grant him leave for 3 months to recuperate?

24 voluminous reports from 24 districts, cast, recast, subcast, outcast and overcast pass to the head office and presumably find their gist duly decanted and placed on a salver before the Government. We await results. Villages had been already primed to expect much out of this latest interest of Government in

their welfare. Months pass again. A G.O. emerges—advertises to the Government's devolution to rural problems—parades one or two points in the reports—enunciates unexceptionable principles—leaves practice to local bodies—in fact, urges them strongly to get on with the measures—financial implications are of course left vaguely in the air.

The file however is finished with and ascends up the file rack in the record room of the office and the clerk concerned sighs a sigh of relief in red circle round the current number of the paper, indicating its official burial.

Latter day Governments, however, have been making a significant departure, in calling up such proposals, in the matter of finance. They generally make it a point to state, that considerations of cost are to be considered of very minor importance. The facile reason is that if money could be found unlimitedly for war and destruction, it 'should' be found unlimitedly for peace and construction. But this admirable dictum has apparently so far found no manifestation in practice.

During one of the committee meetings called forth by the Collector, in recent times, my neighbour, an official like myself, nudged me and asked what it was all about today. He hadn't time to go through the agenda and notice. Was it baby welcome or tree planting or bee-keeping this time, and how many lakhs of Rupees are the proposals to be made out for? When it came to the selection of working committee and quorum, I in my turn nudged him and said that we should draw the line this time at being secretaries and treasurers and should insist on the quorum including a definite moiety of non-officials, to ward off one more purposeless addition to routine on our shoulders as, once the flag-waving and horn-blowing is over, the president, the secretary and the treasurer will alone foregather at the meetings and form the quorum—all officials. They neither can hold the baby nor can they bury it with decorum.



THE COIN

by

R.J.RAO



THERE came a country cart, whose horse with its jerky trot was jolting two men seated side by side, and a woman at the back of the vehicle, who was holding on to both sides, to diminish the severity of the bumping. There was a crowd in Hosadurga market-place, a confusion of men and beasts. Horns of oxen, curd pots, turbans of rich peasants, rose above the surface of the throng.

Muni of Hollalkere, coming to Hosadurga was making his way towards the market place, when he perceived on the ground a one anna coin. Muni, thrifty like every true rustic, thought that anything was worth picking up that could be put to any use; so stooping painfully, for he suffered from rheumatism, he picked the coin, and was carefully putting it in, when he observed Gora the saddler, standing in his doorway, looking at him. They had once had a difference about a halter, and owed each other a grudge, for both were by nature inclined to bear malice. Muni was seized with a sort of shame at being thus seen by his enemy, grubbing in the mud for a coin. He abruptly hid his spoil under his pocket, and pretended to be still looking on the ground for something he could not find; finally he went off towards the market, with his head poked forward, bent nearly double by his rheumatism.

Muni had brought his food, as he had left his house early morning with an empty stomach, so he went to a place where others were taking their food and chanting under a tree-shadow.

Suddenly from the roadside in front of the tree, came the roll of a drum.

All but a few too lazy to move jumped up at once, and flew to the roadside, their mouths still full and their bed-sheets in their hands.

Finishing off the roll of his drum, the town crier shouted:

"This is to inform the inhabitants of Hosadurga and all others present at the market that there was lost this

morning on the market entrance road between nine and twelve, a black leather purse containing three hundred rupees. It should be returned to the panchayat immediately, or to the amildar. A reward of twenty-five rupees is offered."

Everyone began discussing the event, calculating the chance of Gobind's (the person who had lost the purse) recovering the purse or not.

And so the meal came to an end.

They were still discussing the matter when a constable appeared at the spot and asked, "Is Muni of Hollalkere here?"

Muni, seated at the far end, answered, "Here!"

"You Muni" proceeded the policeman "will you be so good as to come with me to the amildar's house? The amildar would like to speak to you."

Surprised and uneasy, the peasant gulped down his drink, rose, and stooping even more than in the morning, for the first steps after resting were always particularly painful, got himself started, repeating: "All right! I'm coming!" and followed the sergeant.

The amildar was awaiting him, seated in an armchair. He was the notary of the taluk, a stout, gruffy man, full of pompous phrases.

"You Muni" said he "You were seen this morning to pick up, on the market road, the pocket-book lost by Gobind."

The poor peasant, gazed in stupefaction at the amildar, intimidated at once by this suspicion which lay heavy upon him without his comprehending.

"Me? me—me pick up that purse?"

"Yes, you."

"On my word of honour, I didn't! Why, I didn't even know about it!"

"You were seen."

"Seen? I? Who saw me?"

"Gora the saddler."

Then the old man remembered, and understood. Reddening with anger, he said: "Ah! he saw me, that animal!"

Well, what he saw me pick up was this one anna coin, look here, Sir!"

And rummaging in his pocket, he pulled out the coin.

But the amildar shook his head incredulously.

"You won't make me believe, Muni, that Gora, a trustworthy man, took that coin for a purse."

The enraged peasant raised his hand, spat solemnly to show his good faith, and repeated: "It's God's truth, all the same, the sacred truth, Sir. There on my soul and honour, I say it again."

The amildar proceeded.

"After having picked up the article in question, you even went on searching in the mud, to make sure a coin or two mightn't have fallen out."

The poor old fellow choked with indignation and fear.

"To say such things! . . . How can anyone . . . telling lies like that to undo an honest man! How can anyone?"

Protest as he would, he was not believed. They confronted him with Gora who repeated and substantiated his story. The two abused each other for a whole hour. By his own request, Muni was searched. Nothing was found on him. At last the amildar, thoroughly puzzled, dismissed him, warning him that he was going to give notice to the public prosecutor and take his instructions.

The news had spread. As he went out of the amildar's bungalow, the old man was surrounded, and all sorts of serious or mocking questions were put to him, but no one showed the slightest indignation. He began to tell the story of the coin. They did not believe him. Everybody laughed.

He went on, stopped by everyone, stopping everyone he knew, to tell his story over and over again, protesting, showing his pockets turned inside out, to prove that he had nothing on him. The only answer he got was "Get along, you sly old dog!"

He began to feel angry, worrying himself into a fever of irritation, miserable at not being believed, at a loss what to do and continually repeating his story. Night came on. It was time to go home. He set out with three neighbours, to whom he showed the spot where he had picked up the coin, and the whole way home he kept talking of his misadventure. In the evening he made a round of the village—Hosadurga—to tell everybody all about it. But he came across unbelievers only. He was ill all night; even in the dream, jokers would make him tell them the story of the coin to amuse them, as one makes old soldiers tell about their battles.

The very next day his spirit, undermined, grew feebler and feebler. Just after two or three days he took to his bed and died. Even in his delirium he protested his innocence, saying,

"The coin, . . . look, here it is Sir!"

PROTEST

by MANJERI S. ISVARAN

Often have I impugn'd you,
against you rail'd;
blasphem'd and lamented,
profan'd and wail'd;

and now before you as I stand,
you fling the words in my teeth;
for you who are in stocks and stones,
and in all the things that breathe,

moulded man in your own image,
then sent him o'er to the devil,
who in his turn remade in his,
to be a creature of evil;

so it goes on between you two,
the feud sinisterly planned;
bauble of one, another's tool
—poor Man!—he does not understand.

But life's not an endurance test,
Anger is best.

TIMES DIFFER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT . . .

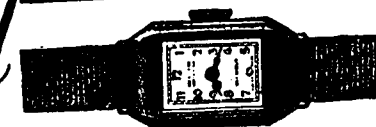


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SPOTLIGHT ON THE



THE Security Council of the UNO has had a busy time. And, as on many previous occasions, the Council's activity has simultaneously meant its division also. The division, we have been assured by Western statesmen repeatedly, arises from the fundamental divergence between the governing ideologies of the Anglo-American group of countries on the one hand, and of the Soviet Union and her supporters on the other. The one camp represents Western civilization with its concern for individual liberty while the other represents Eastern totalitarian Communism which considers the individual as merely the means to achieve the ends of the State.

CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES

These governing ideologies manifested themselves in a highly interesting fashion during the Security Council's discussion of the Indonesian issue. Australia, the Far Eastern outpost of Western civilization, turned traitor to the West—presumably as the result of long years in the midst of the adverse Eastern environment. If we ignore Australia's betrayal, it must be admitted that the civilized countries of the West rallied together with remarkable solidarity in an effort to prevent the UNO from trying to stop Dutch military action against the Indonesian Republic. They shed all their differences for the sake of the common cause, such differences as those between socialist Britain and capitalist America, and the much-advertised suspicion of the small nations (like Belgium and Holland) regarding the Big Powers. It is surely unreasonable to be angry with these Western countries, big and small, for their hostility to-

wards Indonesian freedom. For, Western civilization is concerned with the liberty of the *individual*, not with the liberty of such collective entities as the Indonesian people. We can be sure that the Western powers have nothing but the greatest regard for the Indonesians considered as individuals, but if they start taking a collective stand for freedom—well, it is a different matter. The Indonesians must have a sovereign State before their existence is recognised by the civilized West. And it is precisely for their national sovereignty that the Indonesians are now fighting. The vicious circle was admitted by some of the delegates. For instance, Mr. Valentine Lawford (representing the socialist foreign policy of Britain) was reluctantly but inescapably bound by the legal difficulty. He was sorry, but he had "not heard any really convincing arguments to persuade us that this was a war between two sovereign States." Mr. Herschel Johnson (representing the American Way of Life) was confronted by the same legal difficulty, in addition to another one relating to the 'competence' of the Security Council to intervene in the matter. The representative of dear old Queen Wilhelmina's Belgium also had some difficulties; but his troubles arose not from narrow legal considerations, but from the very nature of the search for truth. To arrive at the truth about a thing, you must have the fullest information, adequate time for unhurried deliberation, and, above all, an open mind. In the case of Indonesia, said he, the Security Council was not possessed of adequate information, and it should not therefore take a hurried decision and thereby 'prejudge' the

whole issue. What of France? With the exclusion of the Communists from the Government, France is now fortunately wholly Western and wholly civilized. She has a Socialist Premier just as Britain has, but is not unmindful of her stake in her own colonies.

IMPENITENT EASTERN TOTALITARIANS

But the Eastern totalitarian States (Russia and Poland) were impenitent even in the face of this impressive array of countries and their arguments. They pressed that the Security Council do perform the task for which it was created. Besides Australia, India was also insistent. It is indubitably true that India is an Eastern State; but is she also totalitarian? One wonders. A resolution has, anyway, been passed by the Security Council (with Britain, France and Belgium doggedly abstaining from the voting) calling upon the Dutch and the Indonesians to stop fighting. The 'cease fire' order issued by the Dutch Army Command no doubt marks a victory for the idea of One World management of world peace, and might inject a sorely needed dose of prestige into the body of the UNO. But the practical effect of the Security Council's resolution has been largely negated by the defeat of the Russian proposal that the Dutch army should be asked to go back to the positions from which it marched into Republican territory on July 21. Australia did not back the Russian amendment in the Security Council, but India's representatives in Lake Success did.

India and Russia acted in concert on another occasion. This was when the United Nations Economic and Social Council considered the question of participation by the Indonesian Republic in the coming United Nations' conference on trade and employment. Russia and India successfully pressed for Indonesia's participation. On this question, too, among the votes cast against the Indonesian Republic were those of the torch-bearers of Western civilization, Britain, France and the U.S.A.

Another vital question which came up before the Security Council and which was overshadowed only by the greater world interest in Indonesia, was the long-standing problem of Greece. Early this year, the UNO sent an Inquiry Commission to tour the Balkan countries and report on the truth or otherwise of the Greek Government's allegations that her northern neighbours were interfering in her internal affairs by aiding the Greek 'rebels'. This Commission, it will be remembered, was appointed *before* the enunciation of the Truman doctrine and the despatch of aid to Greece and Turkey. Once America had decided to aid the Rightist Government of Greece with money, men and materials, whether the allegations of outside interference were true or no, the Commission would have done well to close down. But the game was kept on, and the Commission (or, to be more correct, its two hostile camps) went on with the work of supposedly impartial investigation. Actually the Anglo-American group's mind was made up; so was Russia's. An incident will illustrate the spirit in which the Commission conducted its task.

General Markos, leader of the democratic army which is resisting the Government, was to have met the visitors in the mountainous regions under the control of the partisans. He failed to reach the appointed place in time—an event quite understandable in view of the prevailing conditions of civil war. The American, British, French and every other delegate on the Commission except the Russian and Polish delegates, left the tryst in a huff. The Easterners stayed on, with the Yugoslav, Bulgar and Albanian liaison officers, had a nice long meeting with General Markos and brought back a 285 page memorandum to the Commission's headquarters.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Commission was unable to reach unanimous conclusions. The Anglo-American (which was also the majority) group confirmed the charges made by the Greek Government against neighbouring Bal-

kan States. Basing itself on the findings of the Anglo-American section of the Balkan Inquiry Commission, the Security Council decided, again by majority vote, to appoint a permanent border investigation commission to keep a continuous eye over the Balkans. Russia has invited the wrath of the Western world on herself by vetoing this decision. And we all know that it is 'undemocratic' to act against the wishes of the majority.

BRITISH M.P.'s REPORT

The actual state of affairs in Greece can be gathered from the report of Mr. George Thomas, member of the British Parliament. After stating "I am not an extreme Leftist. I am an ordinary member of the Labour Party," he made in his report on Greece the following points which appeared in *Reynolds News* during March: "In Athens E. A. M. is legal. But in the provinces, if you admit loyalty to E.A.M.—whose heroic struggle against the Germans is well known—you risk imprisonment, deportation or murder. That is why so many flee to the mountains. . . . Of the guerilla leaders, I met Captain Kikizas and then General Markos. Their manner

was courteous and friendly. They declared that they would welcome the UNO Commission of inquiry to their territory and I conveyed back to Athens a message from General Markos to this effect. One of the most important questions I had to ask, of course, was whether the Andartes get help from the northern neighbours of Greece. Markos laughed and said: 'We are Greeks and want our liberty. We want no foreign assistance. We want neither Russian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian nor British interference in our affairs. What we want is to be allowed to run our country. We have no assistance from outside.'

But Greek guerillas do have some assistance from outside—but it is indirect and entirely unintentional. Mr. Thomas reports that he saw "tommy guns, Sten guns and other weapons of clearly British origin" in the hands of the guerillas. They had obtained these arms *via* the captured Government troops. This British Labourite's final impression of the Greek 'rebels' is this: "I must say that, if there was a similar tyranny in Britain today, I firmly believe that we also would have our resistance movement fighting against it."

PLEA FOR ENGLISH

by S. SUBRAMANIA AIYER

THE problem of a national language for the entire country is formidable. One school of politicians wants Hindi, another Hindustani, and so on. There is also the problem of finding a language for international communication. No Indian language is suitable for this purpose, since the language selected must embody the results of the latest research in the fields of agriculture, industry and economics.

There are at present two languages, either of which may be expected to take the premier place among the languages of the world. They are English and Russian. In the opinion of the great linguists of the day, Russian must yield the palm to English.

Most educated Indians are able to handle English with greater ease and precision than even their own vernaculars. The best and most authoritative books on all departments of knowledge,

industry, science, arts and crafts have been and continue to be, written in English, and it is no easy task to do them all into the vernaculars of India.

It is hoped that no politician will shut his eyes to the existing facts and recommend adoption of a language other than English for national or international purposes.

SWATANTRA

SWATANTRA is published every Saturday at 156, Lloyds Road, Royapettah, Madras (India). Single copy, six annas. Subscription: Inland, Rs. 20 per year and Rs. 10 per half-year. Foreign, £1 16sh. or 8 dollars (U.S.A.) per year. If return of manuscripts is desired, a stamped, self-addressed envelope must be enclosed.

PARTIES AND LEADERSHIP IN NEW INDIA

by V. JAGANNADHAM

(Andhra University)

INDEPENDENCE will shortly be an accomplished fact but the jubilation that should attend such an outstanding and revolutionary event is conspicuous by its absence. This is due to two reasons: grief over partition and the gloom of civil war. Partition has become an accomplished fact within less than a decade of its date of demand because leaders failed to curb the organised violence of some sections of people. Civil war too will inevitably break if adequate precautions are not taken beforehand. With the achievement of independence the role of leadership assumes a new significance and enters a new phase. At this turning point in our history, the future depends upon the kind of leadership we have.

Leadership may be defined as the relation between an individual and a group built around some common interest and behaving in a manner directed by him. In the 20th century, leadership by a party, albeit under a powerful dynamic personality, is the characteristic feature. Since the dawn of history we have had numerous leaders but mostly of a religious character. Leadership in the political field is of recent growth in India. It began with the inception of the Congress. Even here leadership in early days was mild but not militant. Mahatma Gandhi revolutionised Indian political life by his militant non-violent leadership. His Satyagraha movements awoke the people to a remarkable degree. His leadership of the Congress during the first two decades after the last Great War adds a glorious chapter to our struggle for independence. High idealism, devotion to principles of sacrifice and service for the common man constituted the characteristic features not only in the top rank leaders but equally among the rank and file of the Congress under Gandhi. Conscious of being soldiers of free-

dom, the Congress workers used to visit villages, to invoke in them a new enthusiasm and a new outlook.

The ideal and the leader combined to make the Congress unrivalled as a fighting organisation. All other organisations opposing it either died or existed only in name. The Congress led the nation from success to success but the same cannot be said of the Congress in office. The decision to contest the elections and accept office brought in its wake dissatisfaction, disappointment and divisions. Personal animosities and ambitions led to groups and cliques. Stalwarts like Nariman and Bose were relegated to the background by their compeers at the top. From top to bottom the Congress became power-minded if not power-mad.

Congress in office did not prove as farsighted and tactful as it was brave and selfless in its days of struggle and fight. Firstly, the Congress leaders did not succeed in taking the minorities along with them. Successful leadership consists in overcoming all hurdles and bringing together, if not all, at least a major part of the people under one banner. As a fighting organisation the Congress did succeed in this objective to a great extent but while in office it alienated the sympathies of many. This was partly due to rejection of the suggestion for forming composite cabinets inclusive of representatives of the minorities and partly due to the unbending attitude of the Congress towards the Federal part of the Government of India Act. In both these respects Congress leaders betrayed woeful lack of foresight. Undiluted responsible government works well, no doubt, in a country of homogeneous population. Similarly a perfect federal structure can be evolved in a free and advanced country but in India with numerous communities possessing different traditions and outlook on life, and with

sections of people at different stages of political consciousness, to expect allegiance to ideal forms of responsible government or to a federal structure is an example of short-sighted leadership. While in office the Congress Ministers also demonstrated tactless and sentimental floppishness by sticking on to Vidyamandir schemes and Vandemataram songs in the face of opposition from minorities. This is however not to suggest that we should be dictated to and governed by the wishes of minorities. Tactful leadership consists in ability to compromise on non-essential points with a view to bringing the minorities round without budging an inch on fundamental issues. The Congress failed to realise this and did quite the opposite, with the result that today all those ideals to which it had proclaimed allegiance are vanishing into thin air.

No doubt the Congress as the foremost and strongest party in the land made numerous attempts to bring the minorities, especially the Muslim League, to a workable compromise. But from the beginning it followed a wrong policy. Its policy was two-fold: (1) to appease the League by conceding its demands; and (2) to gain strength and following among the Muslims by adopting what is called the mass-contact programme. The Congress never made much headway in the second and the mass-contact programme suffered an ante-natal mortality. Only the appeasement policy held the field and ultimately culminated in the partition.

There is a close parallel between the consequences of appeasement in England and India. Like Chamberlain and his group, Congress too has suffered irretrievable loss of prestige and hold on the people. The Congress feels apologetic rather than proud at achieving independence on account of its surrender to the League demand. It should have fought both the League and the Britain at some stage—preferably when the League members went back upon their promise to resign when they decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly. The Con-

gress got panicky at the disturbances in Bengal and the Punjab and beat a retreat from their fighting role. They were anxious to set the house in order by remaining in power rather than by fighting. The general impression today is that the British are quitting more on account of their own weakness than on account of the strength of the Congress. Congress leadership is at the nadir of its prestige and its organisation is the weakest today. Leaders have failed the people in the end. They accepted almost every demand as though they were afraid of losing all, otherwise.

The decline in Congress leadership is only matched by the rise in that of the League. The contrast is too plain to miss. This process began with the observance of the Deliverance Day on the resignation of the Congress Ministries. While the Congress became too feeble to offer fight, the Leaguers demonstrated their preparedness through organised looting, pillaging and worse with the support of the party in power in Bengal and the neutrality and sometimes active support of the British officers in the Punjab and the North West Frontier. The Muslim League today is the most organised and consolidated party in the Pakistan provinces. There is none to challenge its leadership. The Nationalist Muslims are like the Liberals, a party of independent individuals with little or no following. The Red Shirts in the Frontier have been let down by the Congress.

Two more parties remain to be considered in a discussion on future leadership. They are the two Left wing parties, the Socialists and the Communists. The former was still recently a wing of the Congress and its following today cannot be properly estimated. Its leaders are still members of the Congress. Except for their professed Socialist ideology they cannot be differentiated from the Congress. The Communist Party has come to prominence after the entry of Russia into the war and on account of their policy of active co-operation with the British war effort. In this short span of five years they have built up a solid party of devoted workers and a considerable following

among the working classes in the industrial towns. At present their ideology is their greatest drawback. Much of their activity today consists in organising strikes and rousing consciousness in the people with a view to preparing them for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Their hold on the people is however feeble.

As the foremost organisation the Congress should take the leadership of the Indian Union. The Congress is open to criticism on the ground that its leadership has become senile and men on the wrong side of sixty are at its helm and they are not ready to fight but only too ready to surrender on issues like Pakistan, the States, etc. They have not trained younger men capable of taking the burden off their shoulders. At this juncture the Congress should en-

deavour to dispel the defeatist mentality in the people. Among its own rank and file it should drive away the craze for power, and replace it with the ideal of sacrifice and service. Power should neither corrupt nor dazzle them. The Congress as a party should continue to work. After fighting for freedom the role of leadership consists in organising for the enjoyment of that freedom. Constructive or creative leaders we want in plenty. Congress leadership should no longer be confined to mere jail-goers. Its organisation should become the propulsive force for the complex of values and ideals which we hold dear. We should define our end, adopt the appropriate means for the same and build up the organisation that can lead us to that end. We should forget the past but not be forlorn about the future.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN STATES, THE REAL ISSUE

by G. SIVARAMA SASTRI

THE 'pressure' exerted by the Viceroy on the 'rebel' States and the compromising attitude of the Congress leaders at the Centre may lead to some understanding between the Centre and the States—the advance signal is already manifest in Travancore getting ready to accede to the Union Defence, Communications and External Affairs. If any such untoward thing were to happen, it can fairly be said that the people's movement in the States is doomed. Any stand-still agreement or compromise in Hyderabad means nothing short of betrayal of the people of the State by the leaders at the Centre. A negotiating committee consisting of the Nawab of Chattari (the Prime Minister), Sir Walter Monckton (Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam) and such others has had its preliminary talks with the Central Government. The result of this, it is gathered, is an odious brew.

Hyderabad's entry into the Union will add nothing to the people of the State. Their lot will be as miserable as it used to be in the past. The bureaucratic Government will take shelter in provincial autonomy and the "non-interference" guarantee from the Centre. Acceding to the Indian Union will only be a timely move by the Nizam to be exploited and made capital of. It is to be utilized as a marketing counter for winning concessions from neighbouring provinces where people's Governments are functioning.

The primary need of the day is not entry of the States into the Constituent Assembly—that is only a subsidiary issue. Full responsible government with an executive responsible to a popularly elected legislature is the urgent need of the day. Once this is established, the other will automatically follow. The converse is not true in the least.

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USHERED IN AMIDST FAMINE AND DEATH

Origin Of The Title, Emperor Of India

by T. C. A. SRINIVASAVARADAN

HIS Majesty the King of England and the Dominions beyond the seas, has ceased to be the Emperor of India, with the passing of the Indian Independence Bill by the British Parliament. It is of interest to look back into the origins of this title. The title was assumed only after the completion of the conquest of India and after the main foundations of the constitutional and administrative structure had been firmly laid. The year 1858 registered the failure of what has been called the Sepoy Mutiny and one of the most momentous consequences of that rising had been the formal transference of the governance of India from the hands of the East India Company to the British Crown. The transfer had in a way completed the process that began with the passing of Lord North's Regulating Act. The Queen's Proclamation that announced the transfer contained hints which could, *ex post facto*, be construed as harbouring the intention of establishing the paraphernalia of a crowned empire to enlist the support and ensure the loyalty of the indigenous aristocracy by appealing to their ingrained habits of snobbery and king-worship. Disraeli, the man who later on persuaded the Commons to allow the Queen to assume the title of Empress, actually wanted some such title and its usual accompaniments as early as 1858. But neither the Queen nor her Ministers were in favour of the idea at that time and there was no formal change in the Royal titles when the Government of India was taken over by the Crown.

But by 1862 the Queen had become enthusiastic about a new title and we find her writing to Lord Granville, the Foreign Minister in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, asking him "why the title of Empress of India which was so frequently used in

reference to Her Majesty had never been officially adopted" and expressing a desire that "she should at once be allowed to adopt the title of Empress in addition and subordinate to the title of the Queen". But the Premier Mr. Gladstone was not anxious for any change and the Queen was disappointed.

When Disraeli came to power the Queen found in him a sympathetic listener. Disraeli's biographer, Buckle, remarked that this was the only serious question on which Disraeli yielded his judgment, to the Queen's. Though Disraeli was not averse to the idea, 1876 was a particularly difficult year from the parliamentary point of view and there was widespread suspicion at the proposed change in the Royal titles. There was a popular feeling against Emperors in general and many Englishmen feared that the old and familiar title of Queen which carried with it no associations of imperial autocracy and was entirely secular, was going to disappear. The immortal pages of Gibbon had made familiar the habits of emperor-worship and the recent history of the Second Empire in France had not endeared the institution to Englishmen. So there was a lot of opposition to Disraeli's Royal Titles Bill when it was introduced due to an uneasy suspicion that somehow Empire and Democracy were not reconcilable and that the two should not be formally connected. If Disraeli had been more tactful, the Bill might have had an easier passage. As it was, not only the Parliamentary Opposition led by Gladstone, Bright and the rest, but also London society and the Press, led notably by the *Times*, opposed the Bill. The Queen was so much annoyed by the Opposition that she wanted to publicly declare that she regarded opposition to the Bill as "disrespectful and indecorous" and later wrote to Lord

Lytton, the Governor-General of India, characterising it as "factitious and unpatriotic." The Opposition could do nothing more than dilute the ardour of the imperialists; they were able to extract only one concession—that the new title would not be used in any instruments not extending in their operation beyond the United Kingdom, symbolising as it were a formal hope that the ways of Oriental imperialism would not corrupt the constitutional democracy at home.

The assumption of the imperial title was proclaimed in a special Durbar held on the first day of 1877. That year was a peculiarly sad one in the history of India; a severe famine was raging in Madras and Bombay. The appalling death-rate and the inadequacy of Government relief rendered any such ceremony as was contemplated by Lord Lytton very inappropriate. Nor were critics wanting who pointed out that public money should not be wasted on pageants when millions were dying of starvation. But Lord Lytton was adamant and wrote: "If we are really threatened with a serious famine the same opportunity will most advantageously enable the Government of India to enter into timely and personal consultations with the heads of local administration." He did not realise that pre-occupations with ceremonials might seriously hamper famine relief. The worst fears of the critics were justified. Five to six million people were

estimated to have perished in that famine.

What was the significance of this title ushered in amidst famine and death? Its importance consisted in the intentions of its authors and in the social and political effects of the new fetish of loyalty to the Emperor. As for the intentions of its authors, I will give two examples. Disraeli moving the Bill stated that his object in announcing the assumption of a new title was to proclaim "in a language that cannot be mistaken that the Parliament has resolved to uphold the Empire" and referred in appreciative terms to the "title of the prince (the Czar) who had wrought so wonderful a revolution" the consolidation of the Russian empire in Asia. Lord Lytton wrote to the Queen, "Few in India believe that the new title was a mere technicality without any special political significance." He proposed various measures like the organisation of a native peerage on the model of the House of Lords, the establishment of a Heralds College at Calcutta, etc., revealing a desire "to rally the native aristocracy round the throne of Her Majesty and identify its sympathies and interests with British rule" by what he called "acts of grace."

How far these objects were realised and what the ultimate results of this new myth were, is a different story. Sufficient it is to note the aspirations of the statesmen who were responsible for this title, now assigned to the limbo.

YOU NEVER CAN TELL

Columnist Don Rose, who teaches a writing class once a week at Columbia University, took a taxi the other afternoon. After studying the back of the driver's neck and his photograph displayed on the license card, Don decided the fellow was the toughest looking customer he had ever seen in his life. The more he thought about it the more uneasy he grew.

When the cab stopped suddenly and the driver climbed out belligerently, slamming the door, Don Rose wondered what new trouble was brewing. But all the cabby did was rush to the curb and help an elderly blind man across the street. Then he climbed back in the taxi, giving Rose that tough, murderous look.

—Don Fairbairn in PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN.

PLIGHT OF HINDUS IN PAKISTAN

by S. SRINIVASA IYER

THERE are 20 million Hindus in Pakistan and 30 million Moslems in Hindustan. The Hindus in Pakistan are nervous and are emigrating to Hindustan in fear and panic. Moslems in Hindustan are confident that they will remain undisturbed in the enjoyment of a privileged position in Hindustan. Are the Hindus in Pakistan then unreasonably suspicious? In this connection the history of Hinduism and that of Islam should explain the respective attitudes. Hindus have never persecuted anyone for his religious beliefs. They have welcomed into their midst fugitives of all nations. They gave shelter to the Parsis who left Persia to preserve their faith from the persecution of the Muhammadan conquerors of their homeland in the twelfth century. The Syrian Christians of Travancore settled down in this country a thousand years ago under the patronage and protection of a Hindu prince. The Moplahs of Malabar were allowed to embrace Islam by the Zamorin Hindu Rajah of Calicut. On the other hand, the history of Islam has been one of religious persecution and intolerance in every country. Ninety per cent of the Moslems of India are the grandchildren of the Hindu victims of forcible conversions from the days of Mohamed Ghazni, Allauddin and Aurangzeb. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were butchered for their faith by Kemal Pasha in Turkey, so recently as 1920. In their History of Europe, Grant and Temperly write as follows: "The Armenian victims of Enver and Kemal were nearly three quarters of a million. The Enver-Kemal attempt to exterminate a whole nation is a crime absolutely unparalleled in history. It was carried out with the scientific precision and energy of civilization. It should never be forgotten that three quarters of a million of Armenians could have saved themselves from death by abjuring

their faith. *There is now no Armenian alive inside the Turkish border*". During the time of Amir Abdur Rahman, the Hindus of Afghanistan who inhabited the Kaffirstan District were all forcibly converted.

Recent happenings in India tend to confirm the fears of the Hindus of Pakistan, that they will either be forcibly converted or exterminated according to traditional Muhammadan policy. Forcible conversions have been a feature of the recent Noakhali and Peshawar riots. Sardar Patel asked at the last Congress session, whether any Moslem protested against such forcible conversions. Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan openly invited the Hindus to embrace Islam. History should not be forgotten, though one may forgive the perpetrators of atrocities. None who really cares for the future of the Hindus of Pakistan can dismiss their fears as groundless, or as arising out of cowardice. There is no use of relying on the verbal assurances of Mr. Jinnah. The Muslims of Hindustan know in their heart of hearts that the security of their religion will not be jeopardized under Hindu rule. But the Hindus of Pakistan realise, that as surely as night follows day, an earnest attempt will be made to destroy their faith as soon as the Islamic democracy of Pakistan settles down to real work.

What is the remedy? The only worthwhile solution is to send out twenty million Moslems from Hindustan to Pakistan and to take in exchange the twenty million Hindus from Pakistan. Both the States will then become homogeneous in population and can settle down in peace. The Moslems of Hindustan who fought so fanatically for Pakistan cannot complain if they are invited to go and live in Pakistan to enjoy the blessings of Islamic democracy. Exchange of population is the only logical and final solution.

Otherwise, if the Hindu nation takes an active interest in the welfare of the Hindus of Pakistan and vice versa, hostilities will follow. Hindustan can either leave the Hindus of Pakistan to their fate taking no special interest in them or bring them into Hindustan. Pakistan has been born in strife and nursed in hatred. People who talk of re-union are misleading the country. Pakistan will always be a thorn on the side of Hindustan and the relation between the two States can only be

the relation between Afzal Khan and Sivaji. Let us face realities and arrive at decisions which are practical instead of trying to melt the hearts of our opponents who think that sweet words come only from craven hearts, and that Hindus who cannot fight are trying to flatter. Let us not mislead the Hindus of Pakistan with promises of help which we cannot fulfil, if large scale and planned exchange of population is ruled out.

"A LOST LOVE"

by M. PADMANABHAN

"WHO loved most soon forget they loved at all." She hardly even suspected when she copied them in her note-book that those words could have any relation to reality. But now no one realised the truth they so well conveyed as she did. Fifteen years had elapsed since she married him. Except for those brief first months they had remained just man and wife and nothing more. "They live together. They dine together and they say 'my dear' and 'my love', but the man is himself and the woman herself; their dream of love is over as everything else is over in life; as flowers and fury and griefs and pleasures are over."

But then they were no ill matched couple. She was the prettiest among the girls of their college as he was the most handsome of the boys. They loved each other passionately and theirs was a love marriage. Their parents had nothing to do with it.

To both marriage 'without love was an ugly thing'. They hoped in their marriage to stabilise and perfect the passion that had brought them together, as also realise their long cherished ideals. Then, why this plight? It all looked meaningless that that noble passion should

leave such an arid desert behind. She had never heard people being punished for loving. The memory of those first days which was all that was left was fading fast from her mind. She had heard of love that could extend beyond the grave. But to her it was amazingly short-lived and that for no fault of theirs. She had no doubt at all of her love for him and his for her when they decided to unite their lots in wedlock. It was all a horrible mystery and her efforts to solve it only mystified it still.

No prayers, no device however ingenious, nothing, not even separation was of any avail. Was it all due to any curse or sin? She could think of no Durvasa in their life, unless it be that his curse attends all romantic loves. Or was Meredith right when he said that in tragic life 'the wrong is mixed' and 'we are betrayed by what is false within us?' But whatever it was she found no end to her plight. Nor any consolation in mere thoughts. "To dream of joy and wake to sorrow is doomed to all, those who love or live" seemed to her the law of life here!

"So I turned to the Garden of Love That so many sweet flowers bore; And I saw it was filled with graves."

—Blake.

THE STATE AND EDUCATION

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

(Politics Department, Madras University.)

MARK TWAIN humorously remarked that a cauliflower is merely a cabbage with college education. Education can refine and transform base metal and put it into good service. The realisation of this truth induced the politicians and statesmen of the European countries to establish increasing governmental control over the education of the youth. But this was true of elementary education. Secondary and collegiate education enjoyed a certain amount of freedom till the outbreak of World War I. After 1920 this distinction was obliterated and all spheres of education were brought under State control.

As a result of this fundamental change, education became a political weapon. In Hitler's Germany, for instance, definite instructions were issued by the Ministry for the Interior, Dr. Frick, as to the methodology of historical study and research. Under his instructions German history was rewritten. It stated that the course of Great War I was a series of victories to Germany; that Germans were ultimately duped by the fourteen points of Wilson; that German blood was sucked by the Jewish bankers; that the German people were restless under the chaotic government of Liberals and Communists; and that ultimately Germany was saved from utter disaster by Hitler. It was this history that was prescribed for study in German schools.

While teaching history, the teachers were instructed to glorify the peculiar virtues of the ancient Teutons so that the national pride may be roused. They had to make special mention of the heroic struggle of the German nation against the whole world during World War I. Further, the German heroes like Charle Magne, Frederick the Great, Bismark and Hitler were to be idolised. Finally, the teacher had to ask leading questions such as "Who at the present day reminds us most strongly

ly of Jesus by his love of the people and his love of sacrifice." The boys answered "Herr Hitler." "And who reminds us by their loyalty and devotion of the disciples?" The answer was "General Goering and Dr. Goebbels." On the anniversary day of the Treaty of Versailles every German student was made to memorise and repeat "Versailles is a lie, is a dishonour and shame. Versailles is thy death, O Fatherland. You are a German child, so think of what the enemy did to you in Versailles."

State control over education did not stop with elementary and secondary education. It was extended to University education also. Before the advent of Hitler the Rector of a University was elected by his colleagues. The Senate was an authoritative body. But after the advent of Hitler the Rector of the University was appointed and was responsible to the Minister of Public Instruction. The Senate was reduced to the position of an advisory body. Admissions to the Universities were strictly regulated and Marxists and anti-national Socialists were excluded. All students' organisations which at one time enjoyed a certain amount of freedom were brought under State control with a view to developing in them "will-power, courage, and proper political belief." In other words, the whole philosophy of German education was to develop German nationalism and suppress internationalism.

Mussolini's Italy followed peculiar methods for the education of its youth. Young children were taught with the aid of toys. Toy tanks, toy armoured cars and toy cycles were the means of juvenile education. Toy model men of Black Shirt Italian soldiers and sham Ethiopians were placed before the children and they were told that the country of the Ethiopians was conquered by the Black Shirt Italian soldiers with the aid of tanks and armoured cars. They were also told that the Italians

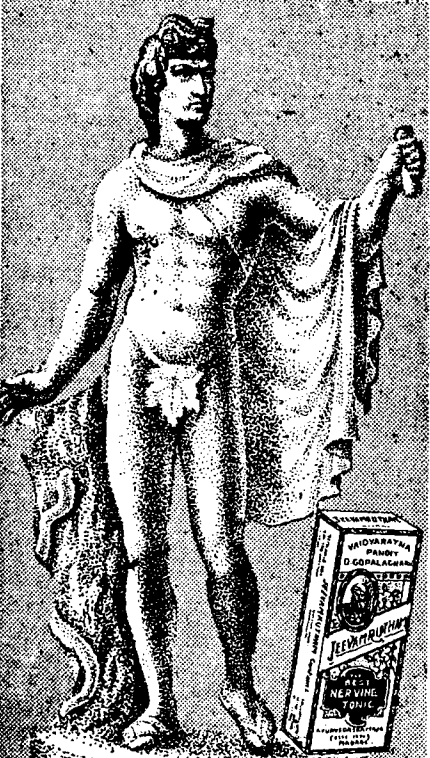
were a nation of soldiers and warriors with a mystic fire of their own and infinitely superior to any one in the world.

As regards secondary education, every secondary school was converted into a branch of the Fascist Party. The photos of Mussolini and King Emmanuel were hung in all the class rooms. Every class room was named after a Fascist martyr. The teachers wore black shirts. On the first page of every text book there was a picture of Mussolini and on the last page was written "We the children of Italy must salute the King and Mussolini. Italy is the greatest of all nations." In the college classes, the military glory of Italy and the courage and bravery of the Italian soldiers were very much stressed. Further, every Italian youth was compelled to undergo military training which was divided into three stages. Children between the ages of 6 and 12 were sent to a military school called Ballila where they wore black shirts, and learnt how to drill and shoot. From there they were sent to a secondary school in military science where they were taught how to handle a machine gun and finally they entered the militia where they took the following oath: "I swear to obey the orders of the Duce without question and to serve the cause of Fascist Revolution with all my strength and if necessary with my blood."

In Russia education became a State enterprise after the October Revolution. Soviet Russia has pledged itself for the establishment of a Communist State and the pre-requisites of a Communist society are the abolition of exploitation of man by man, the obliteration of private profiteering and the establishment of a classless society. With a view to inculcate the Communist philosophy of life in all its citizens, education ranging from the Universities to the nursery schools is controlled by the State. In the nursery schools Soviet children are taught to put on clothes themselves. They are taken to factories, theatres and to the headquarters of the Red Army to observe the working of these institutions.

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As regards elementary education, the First Reader opens with the following sentence: "Go to work, little kindergartner, to build up Socialism" and ends with the following sentence: "We, the workers of the world, will jointly struggle against capitalism of the whole world Enemies cannot destroy our banner. We are building up Socialism in Russia." This is followed by the slogan "Long Live World Revolution". The following incident noted by Louis Fischer reveals the entire philosophical background of Soviet education. A boy was asked, "If a man buys six dozens of apples at 18 kopecks a dozen and sells them at 36 kopecks a dozen, what does he get?" The boy's answer was, "A jail sentence."

In the higher classes history and economics are presented to the Soviet students from a revolutionary point of view. For instance, the Soviet historian writes that the French Revolution liberated the French people from feudalism but placed them under capitalism and bourgeois democracy, while the October Revolution smashed all chains and liberated the Russian people from every form of exploitation.

Let us assess the results of such an education. Education was made compulsory because compulsion alone would bring all children under instruction. In 1914 there were 7 millions pupils in the elementary schools and half a million in the secondary schools in Russia. In 1932 the numbers increased to 19 millions and 4½ millions respectively. In 1933 Russia claimed that 90 per cent of her population between the ages of 8 and 50 had received primary education. In 1934 she informed the civilised world that 100 per cent of her children of the schoolgoing age were attending the State-managed schools.

In India, the British rulers showed such indifference towards education that in 1945 there were 37,761 institutions in this Presidency ranging from University to elementary schools for a population of 49.34 millions and these institutions were managed by a variety of authority. The system of education imparted had no relation to life, with the result that in spite of a start of several centuries over Europe, India has a smaller per centage of literacy and a lower average standard of education. The masses are ruled by tradition and custom socially, religiously and economically. The spirit of enquiry is practically dead and a sense of defeatism prevails. This is really a regrettable state of affairs, especially so after education was placed under the control of a Minister responsible to the legislature. In Madras the portfolio of education was held by seven persons since 1920 and three of them held this office for fairly long periods. But not even one could be said to have been a first rate educationist and I do not think that even the most intelligent of the legislators will give a satisfactory answer if you ask him, "Who is the present Minister for Education? Whom did he succeed? And who was his administrative grandfather that died officially some six years ago?"

What is the way out? A comprehensive programme should be thought out and should be embodied in a well-planned system. The execution of the system should be entrusted to a permanent Ministry of Education, independent of the vicissitudes of party politics. In filling up the post of Minister the utmost care should be taken to find out the best possible man because as Plato said, "the greatest of all the great offices of the State is that of education".

"The educated man thinks it his right to get the best in the world and behaves as though others are born in the world only to serve him."—Sri Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar, Prime Minister of Madras.

MUSINGS ON HUMOUR

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M. A.

THE Court Jester was the forerunner of the Wit and the Humorist. The fun and satire of the one were uttered from *beneath* a fool's cap; they are recorded by the others *on* it. The decay of monarchy and the invention of the printing-press outgrew the importance of the first, but the second have come to stay. There are so many varieties of the modern prototypes of the jester that it is hard to classify them; and each wit or humorist does not express himself in the same way or pattern all his life. Wits and humours are more varied and various than the wit and the humorist themselves. It is, therefore, that Walter Jerrold adopted the chronological narrative of English wits and humorists in his 'A BOOK OF FAMOUS WITS'. I shall attempt a different patch-work, concentrating on humour.

Humour has deep sympathy, and loves men while raising a laugh against their weaknesses. Wit is deficient in sympathy, and there is often a sting in its ridicule. An example of the former is the incident of the lame horse before the court. The witness said that it had become dead lame, not because of his negligence, but owing to the cataract in its eye. "A singular proof of lameness", remarked the opposite counsel. Erskine, the counsel for the witness, retorted: "It is cause and effect, for what is cataract but a fall." An example of the latter is that given by Dr. Henneker to Lord Chatham: "Wit is what a pension would be if given by your lordship to your humble servant—a good thing well applied." Erskine says that pun is "the foundation of all wit". Yet we know a single word, 'sot', producing a better humour than the pun on 'cataract', in the passage of arms between the French king and Eri-gena—"What separates a Scot from a sot"; "Only the table".

This article may resemble Tom Moore's description of George IV's breakfast-table. But I am not a lover of order or immaculacy in any form;

my principle is utility, especially at a time when, owing to a benignant war, our fares are creditable, neither in quality nor in quantity. You must be animated by the same purpose as that in which you would use the information about Wordsworth cutting the unopened pages of a book with a knife just used for the butter, or Charles Darwin tearing a book to pieces that he might pocket for later perusal. You shall not challenge me, for I have the spirit of Lord Berkley.

A highwayman pointing a pistol said threateningly: "Well, I am a single highwayman and I say, 'your money or your life'." "You cowardly dog", calmly replied Berkley, "do you think I can't see your confederate skulking behind you?" The highwayman, who was really alone, turned round hurriedly and Berkley shot him through the head. Here is an incident, or setting of a situation, passing from costly humour to costly wit.

You may answer that you are not as foolhardy as the highwayman and challenge me with the brag: "Come to my place where I am a Titan (an euphemism for Jean Valjean). I shall, if need be, pay for you to and fro in the Tatas Line." Let me answer: "Sir, I always throw down the gauntlet and never take up one. That is another of my life-long principles. You will indeed agree with me if you know that I have the physical frame of Lord John Russell."

That irrepressible and ubiquitous humorist, Sydney Smith, says that when Russell (whom Napoleon took by the ear) contested for Devonshire the burly electors were disappointed by the exiguity of thier candidate, and were satisfied when they were assured that he had been once much larger. And during the discussions on the exacting Reform Bill on the floor of the House of Commons he was sustained and fed by arrowroot by a benevolent lady who was moved to compassion by his pitiful appearance. It is not in any situation but by the mere physical frame of a person that humour is

thus created. The English king with rolling eyes, rickety walk and a tongue too large for the mouth and the English poet, "the little crooked thing that interrogates," had to make amends, by other means, for their physical lapses for which they could not hold themselves responsible, but which they could neither escape. It was by oratory that Odysseus with a motionless staff and St. Paul with his weakness and foolishness had to work up for their handicaps. In mentioning oratory we may say, wit and humour are, in a sense, the opposite of oratory, for you have to make little, not much, according to the needs, of a single idea, situation or word. Brevity is the soul of wit and humour.

Yet, if I am unable to wring out sympathy from you or have created a poor opinion of seven stones of flesh, blood and bones encasing a Berkleyan spirit, and if a Roland must meet an Oliver, I may warn you that I have the physical makeshift of a moustache, which in measure, strength and ferocity may put to shame the opposite number of a fondled, dandied and nursed dear thing of an army chief. Demosthenes considered that variegated labial appendage as a hindrance to oratory, but it is no bar to a good humorist, for mark Mr. Winston Churchill of bygone days. Once at a dinner-party one young lady told him: "I care neither for your politics nor your moustache." "Don't distress yourself", calmly replied Mr. Churchill, "you are not likely to come into contact with each other." It is said that he does not always charm, nor even seek to charm: but his disarming humour should have really infatuated the young lady, who could have well changed her opinion at least with regard to the propensities of his moustache, if not his politics.

Talking of Mr. Churchill's wonderful gifts, I am reminded of the colossal ignorance of some great men in certain matters, in spite of their stalwart limbs and beauty of frame. The mere absence of humour in them, in addition, has led to humorous situations. The Dean of Carlisle, a noted philosopher went cycling on a hill, punctured a tyre and was seen

by his more experienced companion inflating the 'other' tyre. When he was corrected, he asked sincerely: "But do they not communicate." Another member of the Church of England slept with the lightning conductor of a ship under the pillow when a thunderstorm was on. Gladstone once took shelter from rain and saw the sheep, as is their custom, drawing out from the burn-side to the barer hill where drifts could not lie. He told the shepherd by his side: "Are not the sheep the most foolish of animals? Here is a storm pending, and instead of remaining in shelter they are courting the fury of the blast. If I were a sheep I should remain in the hollows." The shepherd retorted, "Sire, if you were a sheep ye'd have mair sense." A crowning grace of humour could have rescued Gladstone as it did Newman when he could not perform the spiritual jacking-up to a girls' school properly and earned the wrath of the Acting Superior first, and then her good-will by drinking her raspberry vinegar and remarking that "it much resembles a nun's anger, being a sweet acid," and Laplace, when Napoleon asked him why his monumental mathematical treatise did not even once mention the Creator, "Sire, I had no need of that hypothesis." This, by the by, leads to the Epicurean truth, based on a high voltage of humour, that "Gods do not concern themselves with human affairs"—a truth whose value if half-realised would rid the world of the major ills. Recall the moral of the fable of Stevenson, 'The Touchstone', "How if the truth be that all are a little true."

Remarking on Churchill's former moustache, I am put in mind of allied hirsute things, literally. There is the humour containing a type of advice of which you cannot avail yourself even if the Heavens aid you. Delane told Lord Grenville of the difficulty of finding a suitable wedding present for a lady of the Rothschilds. He said: "It would be absurd to give a Rothschild a costly gift. I should like to find something not intrinsically valuable, but interesting because it is rare." Grenville replied: "Nothing easier, my dear fellow; send her a lock of your hair." Further,

there is the other case of the humour of the wrong hair during the Hague Conference, 1927. M. Jaspar, the Belgian delegate, resembled Lloyd George. Two Englishwomen saw the Belgian enter a barber's shop. They waited outside, and, when he came out, went into the shop and begged for a lock of hair of the gentleman who just went out. Philip Snowden, who relates the story in his 'AUTOBIOGRAPHY', says that "the two Englishwomen are wearing a lock of Jaspar's hair in the belief that they are treasuring a lock of Mr. Lloyd George's!" In fact, the Englishwomen were stewed in the juice of philosophy and fundamentals of humour, for was Lloyd George's hair different from Jaspar's and, as a rule, anybody's from anybody else's, and could they have waited till the Welshman had his hair cropped, if at all he did too often?

Berkley's spirit, Russell's body, Churchill's moustache and Jaspar's lock of hair would have probably, in spite of their interest of raising more problems than solving, wearied many of my women readers. After all, the ladies should know that I am untrained in gallantry, being still in the school of single blessedness. I am not any member of the Society of Misogynists like 'Cherio', but there is the warning and despair of certain humours on marriage, which I cannot get over. The difficulty with bachelorhood is that it comes before and not after marriage (I am not referring to the lumber of a University degree), and the result is an enormous waste of experience and untried realities when we are not able to enjoy the bliss of the one alongside of the concentrated essence of altruism of the other. It is said that Marriage is a castle in which those who are within want to get out and those who are without want to get in, and that it is like a shears—it cannot be separated, it works in opposite directions and it cuts those who come in between. Or, look at the finesse of manly humour of Meredith: "Woman will be the last thing civilized by man." How dare the bachelors transgress their injunctions, and take courage and risk? They are not, anyway, hopeless, or,

if you prefer, they can be made hopeful, for after all, the dicta have been invented by the selfish deceivers who remain in the castle and form part of the shears.

Supposing there are hard-laid and extra-stranded bachelors (or spinsters) whom nothing can soften, they should be set to this game of marriage humour of the Khonds, with suitable alterations. The young man snatches up his bride, while her friends pretend to pursue them. However, his friends come to the rescue and prevent her recapture. As soon as his own village is reached he is safe and the young couple settle down to married life. What happiness and simplicity in a Pagan civilisation! No parental proxy, no time-lag, no dowry and no ritualistic tomfooleries, and yet what a gain in the race of life run not singly but with a new-won partner—a process, which in a sophisticated age would be called a Jessica-Lorenzo business. A little loss of breath, but so much the better for the agility of the limbs for the trials to come. But the snag that interests me is whether the native place *must* be monistic (I am not suggesting the word 'monogamic').

Here, you can note in passing, is the 'protective mimicry,' as the naturalists would call it, of humour of another Indian tribe, the Bhils. When pursued by the enemies, the Bhils are able to throw back their black sinewy limbs into such attitudes that they are mistaken for the scorched and burned stumps of trees, common owing to forest fires, and left alone.

Nowadays it is easier to loosen and cast away a marriage tie than tighten it. Nevertheless, there is no getting out of the financial obligations involved in separation. Look at the Egyptian tribe which has simplified matters to such an extent that simplicity itself could not have had better satisfaction. Emil Ludwig in his 'THE NILE' writes: "The Shilluk make a woman confess, after the birth of her first child with whom she associated beside her husband: each of these

lovers must atone by giving the husband an ox: a new solution of the question of sexual honour. But if there were many, and she is brave she throws a handful of sand into the air, crying, "These were so many!" Then, quite logically, not her husband, but her mother has to suffer for bringing her up so badly." If the precedent is adopted in our country, no husband, knowing the market conditions, would receive an ox. So much the better a handful of dust or sand, and the marriage taboo is off.

Let me complete the merry-go-round of the family life before the child is born with one other humour, the pun. Dupney introduced his friend William Howard Taft to an audience thus: "To-night I have pleasure in introducing a man who is pregnant with great will, pregnant with great ideas and pregnant with love of his countrymen." Taft replied: "I always knew it was something. If it is a boy I shall name it Woodrow Wilson; if girl Maude Adams; but if it is plain gas I shall name it Dupney."

The irony of married life is that everything concerning it will be somehow a public, not a private, possession. The chance presence of a poetic line, "storied urn and animated bust," and the accidents of other affinities of humour, like Lord Erne being fond of narrating stories and Lady Erne extremely beautiful, engineered the new reference to the couple by a compatriot as "storied Erne and animated bust."

To follow the logical sequence, unmarried men, or to be unequivocal, bachelors, have no children. That is easily understood, but there is the humour of the correlation of theory and practice in the saying, "the bachelors' children are the best brought up." Then, here is the humour of the parents in their despair of elderly quarrels seeking the help of children into whose mouth they put their own words. A girl asked her mother with Whig leanings: "Mamma, are Tories born wicked, or do they grow wicked afterwards?" The mother replied,

"They are born wicked and grow worse." The Whig party, after a gestation of two centuries, brought forth a girl to answer the criticism of Johnson, "Whiggism is the negation of all principles." Don't teach this humour to your children, for with uncanny instinct for association of ideas they may apply it to our Indian political parties. I go by precedent, for you ought to know the story of the child's powers of observation exceeding in importance the measured outlay of public obligations by the parents. The infant daughter of a country clergyman boasted that at the vicarage there was a hen which laid an egg every day. "Oh, that is nothing," retorted the daughter of the bishop, "Papa lays a foundation-stone every week."

It was a 'grown-up' of the other sex of the bishop's child that played the wag in the Cambridge University. Thomson was a brilliant mathematician and scientist, but a poor lecturer. He was absent at London for taking his knighthood (to become Lord Kelvin) and during his absence, his place was taken much more successfully by his assistant, Mr. Day. Shortly before his return the wag wrote on the blackboard: "Work while we have Day for the night cometh when no man can work." I shall give another instance of the bud of a humorist which never blossomed. Once in the Harrow-Eton annual football contest, the Harrow boys trounced their opponents. An Eton boy who was a spectator extolled boisterously, to a taunting Harrow boy, Eton's achievements in the sphere of knowledge. The Harrow boy, exhausted of patience, retorted, "We are glad we have not produced a Gladstone."

Writing of schools and boys, I am reminded of books. The best way to add to your knowledge is to carry out to the logical conclusion the advice of Sterne: "The most accomplished way of using books is to serve them as some people do lords: learn their titles, and then brag of their acquaintance." The result will be the addition of a library, if not

knowledge. The story of a famous man leaving in his will his library as a bequest to a public library, and the librarian on examining the books discovering that some of them were those that were complained of as missing in his own library, is neither a portent nor a warning. The law may bring the 'humour' under immutable sections of the Cr. P. Code, but we are not concerned with the legal, or even with the moral, urge for the collection of private books. A library by itself, or otherwise, is worth having.

Man, in his benevolence and kindness, takes into confidence animals for whose susceptibilities he has as little interest as in the healthy upbringing of his own children, in spite of his vaunts. Around Justice Lord Clare and Lawyer Curran have been woven a number of anecdotes. Once the judge brought with him to the Court his dog and placed it on the seat next to him and began fondling it when Curran commenced his arguments, with studied insult. Curran stopped addressing, and Lord Clare interjected: "Gon, go on, Mr. Curran." Neatly replied the lawyer: "Oh, I beg a thousand pardons, my lord; I really took it for granted that your lordship was employed in consultation." Jerrold who records the incident does not tell us what the dog thought of the judge and the lawyer. The history of the First Reform Bill is strewn with facetious incidents. Archbishop Howley opposed the Bill in 1831. He incurred the hostility of the mob and a dead cat was hurled at him in the streets of Canterbury. To his sympathetic friend he remarked philosophically that he was thankful it had not been a live cat.

The humour with a prophesy which could have very nearly fulfilled itself, occurred at Harrow when Mr. Winston Churchill, the

junior boy, pushed into the pond sacrilegiously the athletic Sixth Form boy, Mr. Amery. How many of us wished that, when the former was the Prime Minister and the latter the Secretary of State for India, history could have repeated itself!

If the humorous settings, backgrounds and situations narrated above do not satiate you, and if you are a lover of winged words and verbal felicity that raise a whole panorama of aeon of historical relations, let the great Doctor and the Dean, the Chams of Wit and Humour, please you. Lady Carteret said: "The air of Ireland is very good." Swift fell on his knees and said: "For God's sake, madam, don't say so in England, for if you do they will certainly tax it." Boswell, on first meeting Johnson, said: "You know I cannot help coming from Scotland." "Sir," replied Johnson, "neither can the rest of your countrymen."

From a 'challenge' to a 'family' through 'bachelorhood' may be a far cry. You will not complain again if you know the answer of Canon Ainger, when some one asked his opinion at the wedding of a very short couple, "A fortuitous concurrence of atoms". Here is the essence of a wit or humour: 'fortuitous concurrence of atoms'; the only condition is that there should be a good hearer, for the prosperity of a wit or humour lies in the ears of him who hears it. As Sidgwick may say: "it may be nonsense, but it is the right kind of nonsense." If you earn the name of 'humorist,' other humours will slowly accrete to you, for, their train, like Honour's, is longer than the foreskirt. There is the instance of Bernard Shaw and his umbrella at the Society of the Gentlemen and Nobles. Sow a habit and reap the character. In war, law and humour every stratagem is admissible. But the greatest species of humour, in a superlative degree, is 'escape'.



Science, Liberty And Peace. By Aldous Huxley. (Published by Chatto & Windus, London. Price 3s. 6d.)

Decentralization—of population, of accessibility of land, of ownership of the means of production, of political and economic power—was among the 'good' means for achieving the Just Society advocated by Aldous Huxley in his earlier work *Ends and Means*. In the present short book of 63 pages Huxley restates and further emphasizes the need for such decentralization which, he claims, would increase "the economic self-sufficiency and consequently the political independence of small owners, working either on their own or in co-operative groups, concerned not with mass distribution, but with subsistence and the supply of a local market." This is offered as the only desirable third alternative to capitalism and socialism, with both of which Huxley is profoundly dissatisfied because they involve "the centralization of a large part of the population in cities and in the reduction of ever-increasing numbers of individuals to complete dependence upon a few private capitalists and their managers, or upon the one public capitalist, the State, represented by politicians and working through civil servants." And, according to Huxley, "so far as liberty is concerned, there is little to choose between the two types of boss."

The slumps and booms, the deliberate under-production and wanton destruction of goods and the unbalanced emphasis on industrial production at the expense of agricultural development—we are only too painfully aware of these concomitants of mass production under capitalist economy, which is the predominant system of economy in the world outside the U.S.S.R. Aldous Huxley is not unaware of the fact that the Soviet Union during the relatively short period of her socialist construction—rudely broken in and damaged by two foreign invasions—has rid herself of the periodical crises which play havoc with capitalist countries, has never had to restrict production in order to create profits for individuals, and has developed agricultural production quite as thoroughly as she has stepped up the industrial output. Huxley even admits that socialism "would in some ways be

preferable to the present dispensation." But then the red rag of centralization involved in socialist planning makes the author indignant: "Any government enjoying a monopoly of political and economic power is exposed to almost irresistible temptations to tyranny. There has never been a time when too much power did not corrupt its possessors, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that, in this respect, the future behaviour of human beings will be in any way different from their behaviour in the past and at the present time." So back we are amidst the good old admonitions of Lord Acton, the traditional beliefs about 'unchanging human nature' and, say, original sin.

Aldous Huxley does not tell us how his ideal decentralized society is to be created, unless we are to deduce the process from his appeal to "inventors and technicians" to apply the results of pure science for devising the instruments necessary for conducting subsistence farming and tool-making. Huxley does not consider the question whether the powerful "currently ruling minority of politicians and their managers" will be agreeable to giving up their present ways and taking to the decentralization technique that might be invented by technologists. It is at this point that the essential unreality of Huxley's entire theory becomes obvious. He rejects capitalism, not for its specific and immoral characteristic of exploitation for private profit, but for the 'centralization' which the capitalist system shares with other systems of social organisation. Huxley isolates centralization from its context of social organisation. His condemnation of it, therefore, becomes an arbitrary, abstract piece of moral doctrine. And, like many supposedly universal and eternal moral principles, like non-violence and love, his plea for decentralization loses its relevance to the realities of social organisation—realities which can be ignored by sociologists only at peril to the value of their sociological theories.

Aldous Huxley's tendency towards abstraction is also apparent in his treatment of nationalism. He repeats the well-worn though excellent case against nationalism as a blind passion, but gives no indication at all that he is aware of the economic motives of ruling

groups of capitalists which very often lie behind 'national' rivalries. There is nothing in Huxley's argument to explain the sympathy of the organized workers of Holland (contrary to their 'national' interests) with the nationalist movement in Holland's Asiatic colony. Huxley's obsession with the dangers of centralization leads him to many strange conclusions. Until the ideal decentralized society comes into being, what are the exploited majority in capitalist countries to do? Organize themselves into unions? No, says Huxley. Because "trade unions are as subject to gigantism and centralization as are the industries to which they are related. Consequently it happens all too frequently that the masses of unionized workers find themselves dependent upon, and subordinated to, two governing oligarchies—that of the bosses and that of the union leaders." Presumably, the worker in a capitalist State, if he really cares for individual liberty, would be well advised to prefer 'freedom' to better wages. To take another example, the decentralized "new type of agrarian society making use of cheap and inexhaustible power" will require some portable source of power which will not become the coveted object of the strong powers' lust for power. "From the political and human point of view, the most desirable substitute for petroleum," says Huxley, "would be an efficient battery for storing the electric power produced by water, wind or the sun." What an entrancing Utopia!

The air of unreality which pervades the book renders it unlikely that the idea of decentralization as the alternative to both capitalism and socialism will gather much strength, though it will undoubtedly cause much stir among 'intellectuals' who have been urgently concerned, during the last few decades of the developing struggle between capitalism and socialism, with finding various third alternatives. Finally it must be pointed out that, to Aldous Huxley, the decentralized society is but the means to an end. The end, believe it or not, being "the unitive knowledge of ultimate Reality, the realization that Atman and Brahman are one, that the body is a temple of the Holy Ghost, that Tao or the Logos is at once transcendent and immanent." The means suggested, we are afraid, are about as clear and intelligible as the 'Final End' of man as seen by Aldous Huxley.

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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.

August 15 Not A Festive Day

We are asked to celebrate August 15 as Independence Day. When the Mountbatten plan was known to the country, though not formally, Mr. Syed Ali Zaheer, former member of the Interim Government, said (May 30) that to concede the Muslim League demand for Pakistan under the duress of riots was a crime against the people of the country. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said on 1st June that it was wrong to partition the country, but if the decision was against partition, well and good; but if it was in favour of partition, we have to combat it on an united front. Mahatma Gandhi said (May 30), that the Congress should take its stand on the basis of the May 16th proposals. He reiterated his determination not to yield to force and declared that even though the whole country was burnt to ashes he would not yield to partition. But on June 7, in a 40 minutes speech, before the A.I.C.C., he asked the members to stand by acceptance of the division plan by the Working Committee, since rejection would entail a new set of leaders not only for the Working Committee but also to take charge of the Government.

The plan of June 3 has not brought joy to the country. Under the directions of the Hindu Mahasabha hartal was observed on 3rd July and it would appear that on the 3rd of every month, there may be similar demonstrations. The Forward Bloc has resolved to boycott the Independence Day celebrations on 15th August. The Government of West Bengal have declared that there will be no celebration on that day and that they are making preparations to meet all eventualities. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has said that we may continue to talk big but the dream of Independent India free from British Imperialistic control will become more and more a forgotten dream. Acceptance of the division of the country was expected to bring peace but violence of all kinds is raging as usual. There is therefore no reason for observing 15th August as a festive day. As however it is an eventful day, we can commemorate it year after year by hoisting the Indian Independent Flag, holding public meetings, denouncing division of the country, and declaring our determination to achieve re-union of India by all legitimate and peaceful means in the same way as we were observing 26th January of every year by

taking a solemn pledge to achieve independence for a united India.

Bezwada. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

One searches in vain the instructions given by the Congress for celebration of August 15 as the Day of Independence for anything that will bring home to the man in the street the great change coming over this land of ours on that day. Our mind goes back these days to the history of our struggle for independence that began in 1857 and continued through various phases till it reached its last phase in 1942 and to the volunteers on national service who perished in the fight for independence. In the programme of celebration of the Independence Day one finds no item in honour of these great warriors, most of them unknown. All the items in the celebration programme are modelled on the methods and standards of our (departing) foreign rulers. Now that foreign rule is to end, can we not make a departure from the pattern of political values associated with foreign rule and do something to keep alive the memory of our fallen dead, of the heroes who fought for our independence? Their invisible spirits are our guardian angels.

To people in urban areas it may be easy to get the conviction that Englishmen are leaving India, but to the men in the villages it is very difficult to bring home any such conviction. One way of achieving the right psychological atmosphere of independence in the case of rural people is to mark the Day by appointing only Indians to be the Governors of all the provinces. That will catch the imagination of villagers and set them thinking that something has at last happened in our favour. When I told an old man from a remote village that from the 15th August the Englishman is quitting India and returning to his home, his quick answer was "Where is his home? He has no home to go to."

R. NATESAN.

"Martyr Grants"

The best way of celebrating August 15 is not to forget those who have suffered and sacrificed for the country's cause. What is the earthly use of our rejoicing when thousands of our August heroes are mere destitutes, without cheer in their hearts and light in their homes? The Provincial Government can easily

arrange for suitable grants to those without any ostensible means of livelihood. The grants may range from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000 according to the number of dependents and may be paid on the recommendation of the Provincial Congress Committees after due verification by district authorities. The total expenditure may not exceed Rs. 15 lakhs for our province and nothing will be more proper or glorious than this. I trust that the patriotic Madras Ministry will show the way for other provinces to follow, by announcing these martyr grants. I have also no doubt that the Government will set free all political prisoners and detenus.

M. C. VEERABAHU, M.C.A.
Tuticorin.

Deplorable Demoralisation

Deplorable demoralisation has come over Congress bosses. They have come to deliberately disparage and disregard public opinion. It was not because the people of India favoured the division of the country that the Congress accepted the Mountbatten plan, but because of the debilitated incompetence of Congress leadership which could not muster up courage and strength to combat goondalism.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.
Amalapuram.

"The New State"

Your leader, under the heading "The New State", in your issue of 19th July, is well-timed. Pakistan will not see the end of Muslim iconoclastic fervour. I share the belief of a large class of non-Muslims that the Muslims in the various provinces of truncated India will act as pockets to breed and strengthen the same separatistism as before. Therefore the first duty cast upon the New India that is to be, is to scrap the old political method of countenancing communal moves and to forge a line of political action and thought envisaging a common policy and aim for the whole country. Separate electorates, denominational schools, weightage and all the hundred ways which have developed a perverse and topsy-turvy public life must be abjured for ever.

But you should raise your voice no less uncompromisingly against the caste tyranny in Hindu society which has been the breeding ground of communalism of the worst type. It is a notorious fact that Muslim unity achieved so much because of Hindu plurality. To weld together the fragmented units of Hindu society each spurred by its own law of motion and all tending towards drift, welter and confusion, is a big task indeed. The nationalist forces which have

already won their spurs in the political field should now turn to this task of social reconstruction and purge Hindu society of all its distracting and devitalising influences.

Kurnool.

T. S. R.

Choice Between Rich And Poor

The Congress grew to its present status on the financial strength of the capitalists and the moral support of the crores of Indian masses. As power is coming into the hands of the Congress, which has pledged itself to improve the lot of the poor, it must necessarily come into conflict with the zamindars, capitalists and big businessmen whose interests are definitely in the opposite direction. Unless the Congress bows to the capitalists, the capitalists with their wealth will blow up the Congress organisation and its Government, as happened to Sri Prakasam in Madras. The High Command's intrigues in collaborating with the nominee of the capitalists strongly suggests that, after all, the Congress is not so keen about helping the masses as about pleasing the capitalist.

Once power was achieved, the very principles on which the Congress grew, are being abandoned. The zamindars, the capitalists and the merchants have all earned enormous profits during the war years. The State should take over all their industries including retail selling of articles and run them on a co-operative basis, care being taken to see that no capitalist controls or gets into the new societies. Capitalists should not be nominated by P. C. Cs for M.L.A. vacancies. The Congress has now to choose either the capitalists or the masses. It cannot have both.

Anakapalle.

V. NANNARAO.

Trade In The Future

I was pleased to read your series of articles about the soundness of State trading through the co-operative method. The inspiration for writing this note is entirely due to your articles.

Permit me to state one or two facts about the method of organising trade in the future. Co-operative stores should take the place of private trade in consequence of a mass enthusiasm in rural areas to organise themselves as against private trade. Secondly, these stores will hardly require any share capital as their success will rest on the loyalty of the members to make their purchases only in the stores. Co-operative stores can be run with borrowed funds on the pledge of commodities and hardly require money bags to contribute share capital. Thirdly, the managing directors of a co-operative consumer store should consist of consumers. There

should be a complete elimination of either sellers of produce among the owners of land or traders from the directorate. Fourthly, if there is to be a producer's society at the source which supplies food grains to the consumers' society, such a society should comprise the real producers of paddy who are mostly the tenants. A producers' society as at present constituted is no more than a profiteering combine of the sellers of surplus produce at the source giving them a State monopoly in dumping adulterated and bad quality paddy on the consumer. The consumers' society again comprises inimical interests as traders or indifferent interests who purchase little. The test of both the types of societies lies in a reduction in the costs of distribution as compared with the margins made by traders. The provision of a trained staff, a joint council of producers and consumers and the maximum conversion of the present private traders into servants of these societies should form the features of the new policy.

But I do not expect much either from the leaders of the co-operative movement or the policies of the Madras Government. A genuine co-operative store should comprise in rural areas the great mass of peasant owners, tenants and labourers who at present have not been touched at all by the co-operative organisations. The co-operative movement in Madras is hardly that of the genuine producer and the needy consumer. It comprises rentiers of lands, traders and the better middle class who are not the real representatives of the large class of consumers in villages.

Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, the leader of the movement combines in himself two contradictory offices of representing the commercial class in the Central Assembly and the co-operative electorate. This can happen only in a co-operative movement lacking in internal vitality and the practice of genuine co-operation.

K. G. SIVASWAMY.

Increase In Sales Tax

In a recent broadcast talk, the Finance Minister said that there will be an increase in the rate of the general sales tax. The sales tax is an indirect tax and falls heavily on the poor. Instead of introducing progressive taxes for leveling down economic inequalities, the present Ministry wants to increase indirect taxes, thus proving itself to be the real representative of the rich. Congress Ministries in other provinces have already introduced the agricultural income-tax. The Madras Government will do well by introducing a tax on agricultural

income rather than increasing the rate of the general sales-tax.

K. V. NARASIMHA MOORTHY.
Rebala.

Consult Real Experts

It has of late fallen to the lot of mediocre brains to preside over important meetings of public institutions and social bodies. It is a pity that, in South India, really capable people well known in their respective walks of life, do not grace these occasions. What can be the reason? M.L.As. can inaugurate political meetings; they are people trained in that field. But they cannot arrogate to themselves the right to voice their pet theories as expert opinion on the religious, social and economic problems of the country. Many of the Congress members in office are of country stock and were selected not so much for their individual worth as due to a random selection. The man in the street knows that the Finance Minister in Madras is no financial expert and that the Labour Member is no labourer himself, nor chosen by the labour class. Their pet opinions should not be treated as final in matters of State policy. The Government must invite real experts in the various fields regardless of caste and party affiliations, and implement their decisions.

Nellore. S. SUBRAHMANIAN, B.A.

Ministers Blame Prohibition

Persons who vociferously clamoured for the simultaneous introduction of Prohibition in all the districts of the province, while Mr. Prakasam was in power, are now openly bewailing the loss of revenue caused by implementation of this item in the Congress constructive programme. Confronted with demands in their tours for the provision of social amenities, we find Ministers pleading inability to satisfy the needs of the people on the ground of the limited finances at their disposal and saying that Prohibition is at fault for their sad predicament. It is a gross misuse of words to describe as a loss the renunciation of what is illegitimately got at the expense of the poor. We can lose only what is honestly and justly ours.

K. SATYANANDA RAO.

Chick Sermon

The Madras Government severely punished the teachers of Madura Municipality by effecting their dismissal—a high-handed act,—and they are now holding the Sword of Damocles over the turbanless heads of the teachers. The Bombay Government did not go to that extreme. But what exasperates teachers most is the subsequent chick sermon of the Premier: "The teacher must

decrease his wants to the minimum, control his mind and lead a pure life . . . " Why can't the Ministers apply this high ethical code to themselves?
Gudivada. **A. V. RATNAM.**

Bapatla Agricultural College

Bapatla was selected for the location of the Agricultural College after careful consideration by eminent persons like Dr. B. V. Nath and Sir S. V. Ramamurthy. After the resignation of Dr. Nath the course of events in the college has taken a bad turn. Proposals for the acquisition of landed property for the college have been held up. In his recent visit to the college, the Acting Director of Agriculture is reported to have said that he would take immediate steps to remove the college from this place. I wish to urge the Government to prevent the Agricultural authorities from taking any such hasty step, and also not to accept the one-sided representations made to them as to the unsuitability of this place for the continuance of the Agricultural College.

P. L. N. SARMA, B.A., B.L.
Bapatla.

Ban On Merit Hurts The Poor

With the withdrawal of 20% reservation of admissions for merit, higher education cannot be had at all by the dispossessed, though intelligent and well fitted to rise to any position if given due opportunity. C. E. M. Joad says: "We shall never have educational justice, get rid of social and economic equality—never, therefore, get rid of snobbery—until all schools are made free for all pupils, when parents are no longer able to buy a superior brand of education for their children because they happen to have a balance at the bank." I suppose what is true of England is equally true of India.

K. SANKAR RAO.

Cause Of Disharmony

One of the primary causes of the present disharmony is that the Madras Presidency consists of 4 linguistic provinces. With the immediate separation of the Andhra province, half the problems will be solved.

The success of the M.L.A.'s was primarily due to the efforts of the various Provincial Congress Committees. As such the provincial committees should be the deciding factor in shaping the work of the Legislature. Till the provinces are separated, the heads of the four provinces can form a joint committee to take up common problems. The present practice of run-

ning to the High Command for every local problem should be given up.

If the electorate challenges the action of a particular M.L.A. or Minister he should resign and seek re-election on the issue in dispute.

The present Ministers, in spite of differences with the local public, should previously intimate their tour programmes to the local Congress Committees who should arrange public meetings where the Ministers should explain their policies. They should seek the protection of the public and not the police and the opportunists.

T. SATYANARAYANAMURTHY.
Tadepalligudem.

Future Of South Indians

To-day, the future of South Indians in other provinces is dismal. So far, the South Indians as a class have stood out from the rest throughout India, but paradoxically enough they have no place in their own province. Of late the question of division of the Province on a linguistic basis has come to the forefront as a possible remedy for all evils and it is better that we should settle this issue right now. Otherwise, in a resurgent India there is every likelihood of Mad-rassits—Tamilians, Andhras and Malayalees—being hounded from one province after another to find themselves nowhere.

Calcutta. **K. V. SUBBA RAO.**

Burma And The Communists

Under the heading "The Burma Tragedy" in your "Spotlight on the World" it was stated that the Communists might try to create disorders and provide the excuse for the British to maintain their troops and strengthen their hold. Permit me to point out that the Communists have not done such a thing in the past; on the contrary they have been in the vanguard to drive capitalist and imperialist forces. In Indonesia, Viet Nam and even in our country it is the Communist parties together with other Nationalist parties that are in the forefront to drive the imperialists out.

G. SRINIVASULU.

Whither, Humanity?

Any human being, member of any organisation, should have been shocked at the tidings of the dastardly attack on Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. Of late this tendency of terrorism and gangsterism is gaining ground in the country and if it is not checked at once, it will eat away the freedom won at such cost and sacrifice.

S. BALASUBRAMANIAM.
Negapatam.

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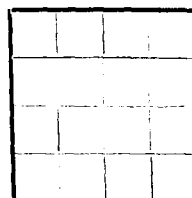
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SWATANTRA

Vol. II. No. 27.

AUGUST 15, 1947.

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SWATANTRA

SWATANTRA is published every Saturday at 156, Lloyds Road, Royapettah, Madras (India). Single copy, six annas. Subscription: Inland, Rs. 20 per year and Rs. 10 per half-year. Foreign, £1 16sh. or 8 dollars (U.S.A.) per year. If return of manuscripts is desired, a stamped, self-addressed envelope must be enclosed.



SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 27

AUGUST 15, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

INDEPENDENCE

AS the day on which the British have elected to quit the country, August 15 will be for ever memorable in Indian history. Warm praise is due to the manner of the withdrawal and the grace accompanying the act. They might have tarried longer had they less statesmanship. Their advancement of the date of leaving, without waiting for the actual moment of compulsion and inevitability, as so many leaders of lesser imperial systems—for example, the French and the Dutch—are even now being tempted to do elsewhere on Asian soil, stamps them as brilliant in the art of political compromise, of knowing when to strike and when to yield. There is no parallel in the history of the world to so grand an act of statecraft as the British renunciation of power in India by voluntary decision and not settlement by arms. Because of it, friendship between the two new dominions and the retiring power is made possible. It has wiped out the ill-will inseparable from foreign domination. British Governors and a British Viceroy are under the new conditions of independence the recipients of an amount of goodwill from the people of the country which none of their predecessors could command.

What will be the worth of the new freedom to the people into whose lap it has fallen? In the Union of India, power has fallen,

for the time being, into the hands of the Congress leaders and their chosen appointees. The theory that any set of leaders will prove to be inherently superior to others or that they can be depended upon to act paternally and benevolently towards the governed, is not in accord with the implications of the western system of parliamentary democracy which our constitution-makers have taken for their model. A democratic Government is the choice of the people. It is the people themselves who determine who should govern them and what their Government should do on their behalf. The quality of a democratic Government will depend on the quality of the people themselves. It is the natural desire of politicians actually holding the reins of government to go on continuing to enjoy the exercise of power, and any Government that has faith in itself is not likely to yield its position to others without struggle. If defiance of public opinion tending to convert a Government into an undemocratic autocracy is to be prevented, some machinery of politics capable of bringing ruling regimes under control is essential. For the effective working of such a machinery, it is necessary that every adult should have a vote and only one vote, that there should be elections at frequent intervals and there should be an

alternative party to take over Government from a defeated one.

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 subjected to depressing conditions of living. If democracy is to exist as a stable and progressive system, its rulers should accept social responsibility for the creation of a healthy and educated community, and abandon the conception of a State consisting merely of a combination of people driven individually or sectionally by their own self-interest. The right to power in a democratic State will have to be won on the basis of specific programmes placed before the electorate for their sanction as the most suitable ones for ensuring social welfare. Sentimental attachment for the leaders who have borne a gallant part in the freedom struggle, will wear out and will have to wear out, yielding place to competence in the promotion of constructive social benefit as the main criterion for popular choice and preference. Whether the Congress will retain its present position in the Government will depend therefore on the capacity exhibited by Congress leadership in the realm of economic planning for social good.

Hitherto, the Congress has stood for the whole people in the vanguard of national resistance to foreign rule, and for the time being, the momentum of past tradition is keeping Congress leadership intact, but the cleavage of interests within the organisation is bound before long to force on it a division into independent parties each with a divergent approach to the electorate. The Union Cabinet now got together is an impossible one con-

taining within itself conflicting economic interests bound before long to quarrel with each other and break away. It is a hotch-potch of orthodox Gandhism, liberalism, communalism, the Birla interests and incipient Socialism. Beginning at the Centre, the competitive struggle for mastery between all these will spread to all the branches of the Congress in the provinces, and though it is uncertain which group will win, this much can be predicted that the ousted ones will form the nucleus of other organisations to compete with the Congress for the electorate's favour and the right of forming an alternative Government. We foresee the insurgence before long of a clash of ideas over fundamental issues between Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru and the Congress will pass into the hands of the one or the other. After the fructification of cleavage between the two, the Socialists under Jai Prakash Narayan will most probably throw in their lot with the Pandit. The political importance of the Communists is likely to grow with the impending inevitable division in Congress ranks.

Down here in the South, there are signs of a swing to open communalism of the Justicite brand on the part of the Congressmen in power. The monopolist spirit of the Brahmins has passed over to the ruling non-Brahmin clique who show no compunction in the matter of mobilising every possible resource for establishing an open communal rule. There is no refuge to which the victims of communal rule can turn to for succour when it contrives to secure the support of the majority of the population in support of it. Such a rule has given us Noakhali in Bengal. It has started giving glorious titles to every sort of crusade against merit in

Madras. Democratic progression calls for the inclusion of all citizens, irrespective of caste, class or party under one common citizenship, entitled equally with all others to all benefits accruing from the State, and its test lies in the protection of minorities from vendettas of ill-will and hatred at the hands of the ruling party. In order to make the world safe for democracy, to prevent the distress and potential tyrannies connected with the unrestricted operations of self-seeking authoritarian pressure groups likely to use Hitlerite shock tactics against numerically weak minorities, the United Nations Secretariat is getting up a World Bill of Rights emphasising the importance of human rights in building up world peace. We make a present of the following points from the proposed Bill for the attention of the public to serve as protection against wily saboteurs of democracy masquerading as benefactors and champions of communal rights:

Every one has the right to life. This right can be denied only to persons who have been convicted under general law of some crime to which the death penalty is attached.

Subject to any general law adopted in the interest of national welfare or security, there shall be liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the borders of each State.

Subject only to the laws governing slander and libel, there shall be freedom of speech and of expression by any means whatsoever, and there shall be reasonable access to all channels of communication. Censorship shall not be permitted.

There shall be freedom of peaceful assembly.

Every one has the right, either individually or with others, to resist oppression and tyranny.

Every one has the right to take an effective part in the government of the State of which he is a citizen. The State has a duty to conform to the wishes of the people as manifested by democratic elections. Elections shall be periodic, free and fair.

Appointments to the civil service shall be by competitive examination.

Every one has the right to education.

Each State has the duty to require that every child within its territory receive a primary education. The State shall maintain adequate and free facilities for such education. It shall also promote facilities for higher education without distinction as to the race, sex, language, religion, class, or wealth of the persons entitled to benefit therefrom.

Every one has the right to such public help as may be necessary to make it possible for him to support his family.

Every one has the right to social security. The State shall maintain effective arrangements for the prevention of unemployment and for insurance against the risks of unemployment and for insurance against the risks of employment, accident, disability, sickness, old age, and other involuntary or undeserved loss of livelihood.

Every one has the right to good food and housing and to live in surroundings that are pleasant and healthy.

No one shall suffer any discrimination whatsoever because of race, sex, language, religion, or political creed. There shall be full equality before the law in the enjoyment of the rights enunciated in this Bill of Rights.

Ministerial Muddling Over Food

CERTAIN events during the last week should be an eye-opener about whither we are

marching. The Hon'ble Minister for Food, when explaining his food policy at the Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association on 10th August emphasised certain features of the existing food crisis. According to him the reduction of rice ration is due not to want of production but to hoarding. Secondly, in answer to a question he said that the Adviser Government procured better than he as there was no democracy then, no village and taluk food committees. Thirdly, the Minister patted himself on the back that as his Government is taking all possible efforts by way of inducements and punishments to procure rice, he should not be judged by the result, namely, the diet of partial starvation he is offering the people, but that the blame should be thrown on the landholders who do not surrender their surpluses. It is noteworthy that during the course of his remarks the Minister eulogised the new Provincial Food Council which he has formed as consisting of 'giant producers' to co-operate with him in his food policy.

Any Minister who has any respect for democracy and wants to build sound democratic traditions in the country ought to have resigned under the circumstances mentioned. The Minister is not the servant of a bureaucratic Government but an elected representative. The tragedy of the situation is that the Minister himself does not realise that he is answerable to the people for his failure to procure. He does not say that circumstances are beyond human control but that somebody else is responsible for his inefficiency. Another statement of his is that democracy is the stumbling block in the way of efficient procurement, and by way of explanation he referred to the obstructions created by food com-

mittees. Is the system bad or its working? Who wanted the Government to pack the committees with the very people from whom surpluses are to be procured? And when the Minister talked of the 'giant producers' whom he has appointed for his Provincial Food Council, he was unconsciously letting out the real truth, the real cause of the failure of procurement. 'Powerful rentiers' who hardly cultivate but collect rents, anti-social elements with no compunction in the matter of causing death and starvation for the sake of profit, the very classes whom the Minister himself has condemned as obstructing procurement, it is these that are represented by an overwhelming majority in his Provincial Food Council. Certainly it is not democracy but the handful of the selling class who have been given a political importance far out of proportion to their number and directly in proportion to their capacity for unsocial acts that is to-day choking procurement. Will the Hon'ble Minister explain the basis on which he has constituted his Provincial Food Advisory Council? He not only referred to the 'giant producers' for whom he had given representation but he stated that there were also a 'few representatives of consumers' in the Council. Does the Minister know at all that the real producers of paddy are the small owner peasants and the millions of tenants in paddy growing areas? Does he know that a large number of partial producers are consumers only in certain months and there is a substantial class of consumers, far greater than holders of produce, in many villages and in certain months? Is the price of foodgrains to be fixed by neither producers nor consumers but by a handful of rentiers who cannot form more than about 2 per cent. of the pattadars? Is

this the class to decide our fate about decontrol, rationing, informal rationing, etc.? Wisely the Provincial Food Conference decided on the same day under the presidency of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari that a People's Food Council should be formed which should comprise a majority of representatives of trade unions, scheduled classes and agricultural and industrial producers so that black marketeers may be hunted out, control may be made more efficient, and fair price properly fixed by the concerned groups. The working of the food councils nominated by the Government has been a black chapter in the history of food administration in this province. Whenever they met, they have demanded higher and higher price upto 50 per cent., shed crocodile tears over excess cultivation charges while recommending no relief either for the tenant who has to bear the brunt of such charges, or for the labourer who sweated for a century-old grain wage; talked of decontrol so that they might profiteer out of starvation; pleaded for normal trade channels which had failed us miserably; accused officials of corruption for which they alone were the cause—and it is such a type of council that was given the burial by the last Ministry that is being revived to-day. Its very enthronement is an encouragement to hoarders to think that the Government is well under their control and they may merrily go on indulging in their old devil dance while satisfying their

greed with the misery of the starved people.

The Hon'ble Minister for Food referred also to the growing population as a cause of the food scarcity. He does not seem to know that there has been an excess of deaths over births in many districts since 1943, that the birth rate has fallen from 36.2 in 1937 to 29.39 in 1944, that the ratio of births to deaths has fallen from 153 in 1939 to 115 in 1944, and that the excess number of deaths over the normal was 3 lakhs in the two years 1943 and 1944 (26 lakhs as against the normal figure of 22 lakhs). Nor does he seem to be aware of the phenomenal increase of cases treated for nutritional diseases in all hospitals? We wonder if he has read the report of the Public Health Department which says "that extraordinary increases in living costs, etcetera, reflected themselves in a general increase in mortality, a phenomenally outspread and severe cholera epidemic, outbreaks of plague, epidemics of malaria, etc." and that the cost of living has given rise to considerable hardship, under-nutrition and loss of resistance to disease? Having driven the middle class to one meal a day, and the poorer class to partial starvation and cheap unhealthy foods, does it lie in the mouth of the Hon'ble Minister for Food to twit us from a lofty pedestal with recklessly increasing the population? Let him on the other hand examine his own position and realise and admit that he is helpless in controlling the black markets.

The chief lesson that I have learned in a long life is that the only way to make a man trustworthy is to trust him, and the sure way to make him untrustworthy is to distrust him and to show your distrust.—HENRY L. STIMSON.

Sotto Voce

Glory To Bharatavarsha!



"**B**E merry," is the order of the day. And though my heart is rather sad, I shall try to be merry after my own fashion. While they are celebrating the birth of new India let me find a proper name for her. Though in the old days our nationalists considered "India" un-Indian and rather smacking of inferiority they now fiercely resent any suggestion that it may be dropped. Poor fellows! Let them have their India; it serves to foster an illusion. And let the sticklers for accuracy flaunt if they like that abortion "Residual India." To all such I would say *R.I.P.*—meaning "Residual India and the Princes" of course!

It is a good old custom among us to name the newborn infant on the seventh day. And we name it after the grandfather. So I am confident that, in good time, we shall revive an ancient and honoured cognomen, mercifully saved from tarnishing by disuse through many centuries of humiliation and travail. It is Vyasa in the *Vishnu Purana* who utters it with the impressive simplicity and stately majesty of the *arsha*: "That land which lies to the north of the sea and the south of the Himalaya is known as Bhaarata and its progeny as Bhaarathee."

The disruptors and the appeasers, the dishonest historians, the philistines who deny their parentage, all these get short shrift at the hands of the sage who is the spirit of Bhaaratavarsha incarnate. Not content with defining the northern and southern boundaries he goes on to say that this land, which

measures a thousand yojanas from mountain to sea, has to its east the country of the Kiratas and to the west the country of the Hunas. And he strings as on a rosary the names of its shrines and sacred streams. He proclaims the unique greatness of this Karma Bhumi, where to be born is the ambition of the immortals themselves as that is the only gateway to Beatitude. It is the eternal ground of Freedom.

There were three Bharatas famed in song and story. And well may the land be proud of their name, for something of their virtue has passed into her. The first was Bharata, the son of Rishabh Deva, "the eldest and best," as the Bhagavata puts it, "he from whom this land is known as Bhaarata." Compassion is great but collectedness is greater. Self-love is a great deluder—and never more dangerous than when it masquerades as love for one's fellows. Bharata, having learnt this to his bitter cost, became Jada Bharata, dead to himself. But his compassion took on a keener edge. And King Rahugana and we are eternally in his debt.

Jada Bharata for detachment, Bharata the son of Dasaratha for loyalty, Bharata the son of Dushyanta for valour—it is on this tripod that Bhaarata Dharma securely rests. And for every true son of Bhaarata Bhumi she is at once mother and goddess. There is a mystic presence behind her myriad shapes and forms. There is no *vana* but has its *vana devata*. And not all the political chicanery of partition and division can persuade me—and

millions like me—that we must look with an alien eye on any spot in this sacred land that has since the dawn of creation owed allegiance to the supreme ideal of Nara-Narayana.

It is a silly gibe that we never knew patriotism till Britain came to teach us. Who that has read Sri Rama's farewell to Ayodhya can recollect it without his eyes dimming or remember Lakshmana's thrilled recognition of the Kovidara Dhwaaja—the proud flag of the victorious Ikshvakus—without being thrilled to his core? Thoughts of home bring an intimacy of rapture which can never be simulated. Kalidasa telling his cloud messenger that his eyes would be cheated of their due if they should fail to light on Ujjayini declares his nativity even more explicitly than in that touching verse in the *Sakuntala* on the blessedness of parenthood he mourns his own childless, loveless lot.

In the heyday of our civilization the cities were identified with the life of *artha* and *kama*, the village with *dharma* and the country as a whole with the last and greatest of the *purusharthas*. "Filled with happy and contented folk, overflowing with corn and kine, resounding with the puissant echo of the revealed Word were regions fit for wise kings' rule"—thus does the royal accent of Valmiki proclaim the smiling countryside that acknowledged Dasaratha's sway. Ayodhya, the abode of Majesty, is impregnable and awe-inspiring, "verily like the lions' lair." But in the heart of the King of kings there is the love that unites the world and enfolds it in peace. "Ramameva-anupasyanto naabhyahimsan paras-param," (absorbed in Rama, they harried not one another). May this lovely country of ours know once again that divine self-forgetfulness!

VIGHNESWARA.

INDIA CAN BE PROUD OF JINNAH

by K. RAMACHANDRIAH

MR. Jinnah has contributed a good deal for future historians to think over. It is not just to charge Mr. Jinnah with being pro-British and anti-Congress. Events have proved clearly that he is both anti-Congress and anti-British. His greatness lies in the fact that he forced unfavourable circumstances to become favourable and reaped an advantage out of them. If ever he appeared as pro-British the fault was not his. The British in their desire to suppress the Congress leaned on his side and Mr. Jinnah made good profit out of this. He fought with the entire National Congress single-handedly and hence he could not but take a negative attitude. But when time ripened he marched with double speed, took the reins of government even from the British Viceroy, while the Congress which had fought with the mighty British, accepted the British Viceroy, hoping that thereby

they would be having better relations with the British than the Pakistan State.

Mr. Jinnah exhibited a patience rarely to be found in ambitious politicians. He created a nation within a nation. He achieved his Pakistan State, criticised as an Utopian dream, ridiculed or laughed at by one and all.

Professor Laski holds that the future of Pakistan will decide whether Mr. Jinnah has become great by circumstances or is really great in himself. But it should be admitted that the bringing into being of Pakistan is by no means a mean achievement.

India can be proud of a personality like Mr. Jinnah. In whatever dominion he might be, both States will enjoy freedom in the future. Mr. Jinnah has proved his worth in his late years and none need fear as to the progress of the Pakistan State so long as he is the head of it.

SIDELIGHTS : :

From exactly the same materials one man builds palaces, while another builds hovels.—G. H. LEWES.

TWELVE of the 32 Presidents of the United States were elected to that high office without a majority of the popular vote. This could happen because, in most of the States, the people do not have a chance to vote directly for the President. They vote for electors who in their turn are pledged to vote for the candidate of the party to which they belong. William Langer, one of the Senators, has now introduced in the Senate an amendment to remove the outworn machinery of the electoral college, and to provide for the election of the President by a direct vote of the people.

Describing the electoral college as a relic of the stage-coach era when there were no facilities for rapid communication, Langer says, "I want to make absolutely certain that the man sworn into the Presidency of the United States is the man that the majority of the people want." One other very important change advocated by him is that the job of nominating candidates for the Presidency should be "taken out of the hands of the politicians and placed where it belongs—squarely on the shoulders of the American people." The selection of the highest executive officers of the State, he argues, should be taken "out of the atmosphere of smoke-filled backrooms and political horse-trading." He appeals to the people of the United States "to rise up in their might" and demand the abolition of the electoral college; to insist upon their fundamental right to nominate and elect the President by a direct popular vote. He assures them, "The people can have that right if they want it, and as soon as they want it. But they will never get it if they wait for the politicians to give it to them on a silver platter."

This worn-out mechanism of electoral college, this relic of a by-gone stagecoach era, which they are now attempting to get rid of in America, is just what the framers of our constitution here in India have chosen to borrow from the American constitution. This is a great pity. Before the discredited electoral college system gets established permanently as an integral part of the constitution, public opinion should be roused to the need of preventing it and act promptly to prevent it. In a democracy people have no rights other than the over-riding right to appoint their own Government. If they lose that right, they lose all. They have to protect it against the professional people wanting office, seeking it with a hunter's instinct, looking upon Government as their trade and drawing the line at nothing in the effort to get power and hold power.

Not only the electoral college system, but every device that conduces to the defilement of political democracy with trickery and chicanery should be resisted. One such device in Madras is worth noting as a revealing exhibition of the character of the present leadership. One of the first acts of Omandur's regime was the introduction of a rule precluding any change of leader except with a two-third's majority in the party. The rule makes nonsense of the High Command's argument in connection with the dethronement of Prakasam—"He had lost the confidence of the majority of members in the party, so what could we do about it?" If the rule had preceded the crisis, the ex-Premier could not have been dislodged at all. The present position is that with only one vote more than one-third, Omandur can successfully defy any attempt on the part of the rest of the legislators to oust him. The rule is a fraud on democracy.—SAKA.

OUR INDEPENDENCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA, M.A.

THERE is a good deal of truth in the statement that history repeats itself. A survey of modern world history reveals a number of parallels to the Indian independence movement. In one sense modern history from the sixteenth century onwards—from the time of the discovery of America and of the sea route to India—may be regarded as consisting in the rise of numerous imperialisms, the opposition to it from a number of politically conscious nations and the liberation of these nations from the foreign yoke. It is true that in some cases the liquidation of one imperialism did not result in the liberation of the dependent peoples but in the substitution in its place of another imperialism. But there has always been a persistent fight against foreign domination as such in many dependent countries.

The sixteenth century saw the rise of Spanish and Portuguese imperialisms in one part of the world, and of the Ottoman imperialism in another. It also saw the first great war of independence—the war waged by the heroic Dutch under the leadership of William the Silent against Spain. It was a great war and though the Dutch finally triumphed it was not a united independent Netherlands that came into existence but a partitioned one—the Dutch portion alone becoming independent while the Belgian half continued to be under the Spanish yoke. This is the first example of *Pakistanisation*. In the Spanish Governors-General and the cruelties perpetrated by some of them we can see Willingdons and General Dyers.

The next great independence movement was that of the Americans settled in the thirteen British colonies in North America, in the latter half of the 18th Century. For seven years the War of American Independence was fought under

the command of George Washington. It saw the liquidation of the first British Empire. It did not immediately give birth to one united American nation but to the establishment of thirteen independent sovereign States. It was only after the evils of disunion were experienced for some time that far-sighted statesmen and leaders—like Hamilton, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson and Washington—were able to convince the separationists of the advantage of one union and bring it into existence in 1789. The controversies in which Americans were then engaged as to whether there should be one union or several unions, and the compromises on the basis of which one union was ultimately brought about, are very much like what we have become familiar with in connection with our independence movement. The *Federalist* throws much light on these controversies and deserves to be read by all for some of the permanent truths on political unification which it contains.

The nineteenth century saw the liquidation of the Spanish and the Portuguese imperialisms, and the partial liquidation of the Ottoman and the Hapsburg imperialisms. It also saw the establishment of independence by the republics of South America, Greece, Italy and Germany. No direct war for freedom was waged by the peoples of South America for overthrowing the Spanish and the Portuguese yoke. There is a close parallel between what happened in South America then and what has now happened in India. It is the blow that Spain and Portugal received at the hands of Napoleon that was really responsible for the inability of these two countries to maintain their hold over their colonies in South America, just as the losses sustained by the British in the two world wars in the twentieth century are the

underlying factors that have compelled the British to quit India today.

The twentieth century witnessed a very large number of independence movements. The noteworthy point however about most of these movements was that independence was achieved by the liberated peoples not so much by their own direct efforts in fighting the imperialist power dominant over them as by the weakening of the power in a general war. Poland, the Baltic States of Esthonia and Latvia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—all these became independent at the end of the first world war as the imperialisms of the Russian Czars and of the Hapsburgs were destroyed in that war.

The second world war is really responsible for the liquidation of the Japanese, the British, the Dutch and the French imperialisms. The independence of China, of India and of Burma and the independence movements in Indo-China, in Indonesia and in the Islamic countries of Northern Africa from Egypt to Morocco are all the outcome of the forces emerging out of this war.

We are apt to say that in our case it is the non-violent struggle that has given us independence. But this view is only partially correct. We waged a non-violent war no doubt on three occasions and on

each occasion the British had to yield, partially at least, to our pressure. But it is exaggeration to say that our success is due solely to non-violence. In the final surrender by the British, the violent disturbances of August 1942, the achievements of the Indian National Army raised by Netaji Bose, the mutiny of the naval ratings in 1945—these played a significant part. More than all these it is the destruction wrought by the second world war and the losses sustained by the British in that war—the losses that have created the acute crisis through which Britain is passing today—that are really responsible for their quitting the country. Violence therefore—though not violence organised solely by us—played a substantial part in the Indian independence movement achieving its victory.

The fact that the feeling of happiness at our liberation from the British yoke is being tempered to a great extent by the sorrow arising out of partition, is an indication that the nation has already realised the danger of the country's division in the context of the rivalry between leading members of what was meant to be the United Nations. Our next effort, therefore, should be to take effective measures to ward off the danger of the division that has been effected.

NEHRU'S PROPHECY COMES TRUE

Speaking on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday on October 2, 1945 under the presidentship of Babu Purushottam S Tandon at Puroshottam Das Tandon Park, Allahabad (which is his first appearance after his '42 imprisonment) Pandit vaharlal Nehru in a reminiscent mood said:

"In 1938 when I was talking to an English friend of mine, he asked me to predict when I expected India to be free. Friends, without the least hesitation and almost spontaneously I said, 'Within ten years'. Seven years have elapsed since I predicted this and even now when I am confronted with this question I give the same reply. So, within three years we will be free and be prepared to receive it."

(This is of great significance in view of the actual realization Indian Independence on August 15, 1947.)

K. V. GOPALA RATNAM.



STORY OF THE TRICOLOURED BANNER

by P. PARASURAMAYYA

IN the early days of our struggle for independence, when the Indian National Congress was in its infancy, we had no National Flag. We were hoisting foreign flags even in our national assemblies. In the year 1905, during the stormy days of the partition of Bengal, Madame Cama and a few other Indian patriots gathered in Paris and designed a tricoloured (green-saffron-red) flag. This was first hoisted in Berlin in the same year but it failed to attract the people.

The idea of designing a National Flag for the country first occurred to Mr. P. Venkayya, a native of Masulipatam in 1907 and he began tackling this question with persistent zeal. In the year 1916, a booklet entitled "A National Flag For India" with 30 coloured designs was published by him, with an introduction by the late Sir B. N. Sarma of the then Viceroy's Executive Council, and it was circulated among the members of the Subjects Committee of the Indian National Congress of 1916. The late Ambikacharan Muzumdar, President of the 1916 Congress, was so greatly interested in the question that one of the two seats privileged to be nominated by the President to the Subjects Committee of the Congress was allotted to Mr. Venkayya, to enable him to move a resolution on the question of a National Flag. But that year, owing to Mrs. Besant's Home Rule resolution, which took up most of the time of the Congress, the resolution on the flag could not be moved. Again, an attempt was made by him at the Delhi session of the Congress presided over by the late Pandit Malaviya, but for want of time the subject was again postponed. Gandhiji, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Prakasam, the late Nyapathi Subbarao Pantulu and many other old Congressmen were aware of these attempts to get recognition for the

flag. Mr. Venkayya also went to Calcutta where the illustrious poet Rabindranath Tagore, savant Brajendranath Seal, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and others readily gave him their opinions on the flag suggested by him.

As a result of his agitation over this question, a Flag Committee was formed at the Congress session of 1917 presided over by Dr. Annie Besant. An Indian National Flag Mission was established by him in the same year to convince the public of the necessity for a National Flag for our country.

For the first time in the history of British India, a National Flag, truly symbolic of India, was unfurled by the Home Rule Flag Committee at the memorable Lucknow Congress of 1916. This Flag was designed and offered by Mr. Venkayya. In 1919, Lala Hansraj, the grand old man of the Punjab, suggested that the Charka (spinning wheel) should find a place on the National Flag. Gandhiji appreciated and adopted this suggestion.

When the All-India Congress Committee met at Bezwada in 1921, Mahatmaji asked Mr. Venkayya to give him a tricolour flag containing a spinning wheel. The flag was produced, and Gandhiji wrote thus about it:

"It will be necessary for us Indians to recognise a common flag to live and die for. Mr. P. Venkayya of the National College, Masulipatam, has for some years placed before the public a suggestive booklet describing the flags of the other nations and offering designs for an Indian National Flag. I have always admired the persistent zeal with which Mr. Venkayya prosecuted the cause of a National Flag, at every session of the Congress for the past four years. At Bezwada, I asked Mr. Venkayya to give me a design

containing a spinning wheel on a red (Hindu colour) and green (Muslim colour) background. His enthusiastic spirit enabled me to possess a flag in three hours."

The first great fight for the flag, known as "Flag Satyagraha," took place at Nagpur on 1st May 1923. This arose from the police objecting to a procession carrying the National Flag. Many of the volunteers violated Section 144 which was enforced and they were arrested and sentenced. One Subhadra Devi was the first girl volunteer to be arrested in connection with this Satyagraha.

This Satyagraha popularised the flag more than any thing else could have done. The sacrifices and sufferings undergone by the volunteers from all over India in defence of the honour of the flag enhanced its sanctity and popularity. Even people who were opposed to the Congress began to recognise it as the National Flag. In this way, the tricolour flag increasingly became an object of worship, commanding respect and reverence from all, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or community.

With the growing political consciousness, Congressmen began to dislike the communal meaning given to the colours on the flag. As a result of the Sikhs' agitation at

the Karachi Congress held in 1931, a Flag Committee was formed for examining objections taken to the three colours as having been conceived on communal basis and recommending a flag for the acceptance of the Congress. The Committee was authorised to take evidence and send up its report before July 1931. It was resolved by this Committee that the colours on the National Flag should stand for qualities, not for communities, "that the saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and chivalry, and the spinning wheel, the hope of the masses."

With the passing of this resolution, the great controversy over the colours of the National Banner came to an end.

In July 1947, the Constituent Assembly of India appointed an *ad hoc* committee on the National Flag. It presented to the Indian Union the new flag which is the old tricoloured flag, with a slight variation.

The only change between the old and the new flags is that the former contains the Charka in the centre whereas the latter contains Asoka's Wheel or Dharma Chakra which represents India's ancient culture and glory.

GREEN, WHITE AND SAFFRON

(15th August, 1947)

We stood rejoicing when our flag was borne,
As, with the wreath of freedom on our brow,
We watched it flutter in the wind at dawn.
Yet, how we sorrowed that the symbol drawn
Upon the Green and White and Saffron now
Has of its fulness been so sadly shorn!
Still, raise this banner that shall ever be
To us no happy turn of human art,
But something stirring us on land and sea,
And stirring up a flame in you and me,
That we may ever keep by deed and heart
This emblem of our nation living free.
And far from letting it be soiled with mire,
We'll honour it with patriotic fire.

IAN HOYLE, S.I



AND so the long, dark night of centuries had come to an end, and freedom's dawn was slowly silvering the Indian horizon.

The banner of the motherland, the brave Tricolour, saffron and white and green with the Asoka Wheel embossed in blue in the middle, was unfurled in a solemn hour on the floor of the Constituent Assembly.

"This is not a flag of empire," spoke the leader, the adored of the people, in accents dignified, eloquent, and passionate, "this is not a flag of empire, a flag of imperialism, a flag of domination over anybody, but a symbol of freedom not only for ourselves, but of all people who may see it..... Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai!"

"Under this flag there is no difference between a prince and a peasant; between rich and poor, between man and woman," declaimed the poetess.

Tumultuous cheers.

"On the centre of the flag is white, the path of light, truth, and simplicity. The Wheel of Asoka represents virtue: dharma and satya; it protects the nation against stagnation. The saffron colour represents the spirit of renunciation and humility, and green our relations with the soil. Under this flag, in all humility and in a spirit of renunciation, a paradise would be built up in India," interpreted the philosopher.

Hushed reverence.

Leader, poetess, philosopher—the major voices of these three to which were added the voices of the minor in a humbler key, which moved many to the ends of ecstasy, were not moving enough to the head or heart of Rao Bahadur R. Kalyanarama Sastri, Retired Deputy Collector; reading the text of their speeches as reported by journalists in the daily newspaper, he was not infected with any kind of emotion. The words left him cold.

Freedom! To do what? Democracy! Good god, how many brands of it! Government of the people by the people for the people! Comradeship! When your neighbour trusts and mistrusts you

at the same moment! Unity! It's the twin brother of diversity! Words, words, words that were bandied about in the realm of concepts and ideals; words that were emptier in the mouths of empty patriots who angle for ministerships, who fawn on the people only to gull them—phew! how disgusting!

The Rao Bahadur curbed himself. At his advanced age—he was on the wrong side of sixty—and when he was looking poorly, he should not excite himself so. And in fairness to him it must be said that he was not making any serious political observations; they were merely the personal reflections of an embittered man whose politics, if he had any, derived its particular hue from loyal service to and shelter under the Union Jack for thirty long years.

The Tricolour prodded his memory, provoked his bitterness. The Sastri remembered. The thing in his breast showed its edge still keen.

(2)

R. Kalyanarama was one of the first batch of Brahmin lads who went in for higher education at the University in the earlier half of the eighteenthies. After graduating himself from the Christian College, Madras, with the distinction of winning the Miller Gold Medal for topping the list in English in the entire Presidency, he entered the Revenue Department as R. Kalyanarama Sastri, B.A., Clerk, to earn a monthly salary of fifteen rupees. He was a middle-class man out of a decent home who had his own share of a decent patrimony. Marrying when he was only seventeen, his taking the academic degree coincided with the birth of a son to him. His wife too was middle-class, a sweet girl brought up in the tradition of a perfect domesticity, and together they had made their life happy. Kalyanarama Sastri had two worlds: his home and his office; however, his intense devotion to both welded them into one. Nagalakshmi, the Sastri's wife, in the vernal years of their conjugal life always thought of him as a paragon among males; his handsome figure, his broad forehead lustrous with the three streaks of sacred ashes or sandal paste,

his hair as thick and black as her own which he tied into a knot (and what a charming way he had in tying it!) and hid under the turban when going to office—this image of him fashioned and re-fashioned every hour and every minute, with many a little detail thrown in lovingly to complete, turned her into a vessel full of sentiments and without her being conscious of it, teardrops of joy like the early morning dew would brim her eyes and soften her face to the molten mellowness of the sarat moon. Not one among a hundred young women had a husband who would think so lovingly, understandingly of his wife as did her own; Nagalakshmi was proud but not vain. As partners in the holy bond of matrimony they were admirably fitted, content with each other in their ardours of body and soul, and happy as the day is long with their growing son. And thus absorbed, they had no time to widen the circle of their social contacts which was necessarily small, limited to the families of certain fellow-clerks; their hibernation seemed to be in the interests of some higher purpose in life.

R. Kalyanarama Sastri did exceedingly well. Within a few years of entering service, he passed the Departmental examinations in all the four subjects, Revenue, Criminal, Account Test, and Translation by the Higher Grade; in the superior stratum of officialdom—if it is not revealing a secret—his answers were talked of as models; especially, his answers to the questions in the paper on Civil Service Regulations were, for their clarity and originality, considered as equal to Sri Sankara's commentary on the *Bhagavadgita*. As Revenue Inspector, his record of work was splendid. His *azmaish* was a wonder; exactly by the end of the official year—he never once extended it to the *fasil*—the collection of kists was complete and his *firka* was clear, much earlier than the rest of the Taluq. His highest achievement, however, was his bringing to light four new sub-divisions, two of them cocoa-nut gardens and two wet lands, in which concealed cultivation was going on for over half a decade; it was an atrocious swindle of the Provincial Exchequer; the salt of His Majesty's Government that he was eating seemed to turn into *dhatara* in his mouth, and the sense of righteous indignation made the Sastri blame himself for not having made the discovery sooner; and a part of that indignation he did not refrain from directing against his predecessors whose omission, he felt, was intentional. For this meritorious work he got a gracious nod of approbation from the powers that be, a finely-phrased appreciative reference through the pen of Henry Martin

Winterbotham, I.C.S., Revenue Divisional Officer, and a promotion as Sub-magistrate. And close upon this joyous event Mr. Winterbotham was installed in bromide as one of the household gods of Kalyanarama Sastri, along with Queen Mary and King George V whose portraits in natural colours the Sastri had cut out from one of the annual calendars of Huntley & Palmers Ltd., and enclosed in gilt frames, an inch wide, adorning them with paper garlands *gorge de pigeon*.

The star of Kalyanarama Sastri was in the ascendant. He began to exercise his magisterial powers with great probity; hardly any of his judgments was reviewed by the Sub-collector who was struck with their legal profundity and simple vigour of expression. The District Collector again took note.

The twelve-month period of probation for the Sastri, as Sub-magistrate, was ending. And as though the Allies knew it and its significance to the administration of the empire, they fired their last shot at Manheim; the Treaty of Versailles was signed, and Kalyanarama Sastri plunged himself heart and soul in the victory celebrations of the Taluq—feeding the poor and distributing clothes to them, flitting through the scenes of merry-making, raree-shows and folk-dances and acrobatic displays. And already marked for preferment he found himself suddenly promoted to the post of Tahsildar, and he could not help remembering the conjuror's trick in which a mango seed had sprouted and shot into a plant and bore fruit—all under a basket and in the wink of an eye. The wand of H.M.G. was really that of a conjuror! Invisibly it was waved again and the King's Birthday Honours brought him the title of Rao Saheb.

(3)

Meanwhile things had changed in the world outside. An entity known as the Indian National Congress which aimed at the political emancipation of India was becoming increasingly powerful; there were riots and killings all over the country, largely in the North; and Gandhi, the Saviour was pouring his voice of living waters into the ears and hearts of the masses.

A servant of the British Government can have no politics except that of his master; and a mind regimented as the Sastri's by service to the ruling race, a service of blind obedience, can never think for itself and discover the psyche of a people groaning for centuries under a foreign yoke and struggling to overthrow it. The compost in such

mind is made up of fear and cowardice, hardening itself at the core for self-protection; it despises what it is afraid to understand but intuitively knows to be true, and anything that threatens its sense of security it treats with a high and dry cynicism. Rao Saheb R. Kalyanarama Sastri, Tahsildar, became cynical of the anarchic, unconstitutional methods of the Gandhian Movement. Gandhi, he told his wife Jagalakshmi whose adoration for him increased with the increasing years, was trying to make the world in his own image, it was labour lost. The poor woman nodded her head as if acknowledging the wisdom of her husband, and her smile which alternated between utter blankness and bewilderment registered the fact that although the world outside had changed a lot, nothing had happened to impede the placid flow of their domestic life, enriched by a daughter aged ten and to whom she had transferred a greater part of her loveliness. And a greater part of her attention too, for Raja Raman, the first born and now a lad of sixteen, did not clamour for it; his interest was rooted in his studies; he was a student in the Sixth Form and nearing the end of his High School course.

To the casual eye of the fond mother, Raja Raman was still Raja Raman, immersed in his lessons, cheerful in his games. But to the critical eye of the father who was away on camp for two months in the quarter, there was more in the son than met the maternal gaze.

And the Headmaster had talked. Much against his will. He had to maintain discipline over the boys—including sons of Tahsildars.

"Such a bright lad, Raja Raman," he said to the Sastri. "I've nothing to complain against his studies. But of late he has grown a little careless and negligent."

"Is he getting into bad company?" asked the father, anxious.

"Not exactly." The teacher looked uneasy.

"Then—"

"I meant to say his negligence has a cause, and it surely is no bad company. I don't spare the cane, Sir, when it comes to that, then it's only once in a blue moon. Raja Raman is extraordinarily intelligent but he should not allow certain ideas to get into his young head."

"What ideas?"

"Politics," said the headmaster, a faint sneer twisting his lips.

"Politics!" echoed the Sastri, astonished, "what?"

"Swaraj for India and all that nonsense Gandhi and his Congress are propagating. I suspect influence from outside."

"I hope you aren't making a mistake."

"I've never made one, my good Sir, in all my service of twenty-five years as a schoolmaster. I made the discovery unexpectedly. Every morning at ten minutes to ten, before the classes begin to work, all the boys assemble in the Common Hall for prayer. I conduct the prayer personally. One of the assistant masters would call a boy by name; he comes forward, stands on the dais and sings a hymn or two after which he unfurls the Union Jack and salutes it. The boys then disperse in order to their respective classes. Raja Raman has been singled out by me more than once, for you see he has a musical voice; whenever he could, he excused himself on the score that he had a sore throat or a bad headache, and I was indulgent. But recently, Sir, he refused outright. I was angry with him for the first time since he entered school, and after class hours, in my room, asked him, with a little heat, what made him behave so impertinently. And believe me, Sir, do you know how he answered me? It was an insult to our motherland, an insult to our self-respect, he said, to go on saluting the Union Jack when our patriots were being gagged and muzzled, beaten and thrown into gaols by the white man. He would sing a hundred hymns at the prayer meetings, every day, he would sing till his throat split, but never more bow to that flag that has abased us."

The headmaster broke off for a while with the effect of his talk,—for his was an aided school subsisting on grant from the Government and any deviation from the norm would damn him and the institution; a disgruntled assistant teacher would easily be a spy; then calming himself, continued:

"So warn your son, Sir, in good time and make my task easy. 'It's dangerous to have such ideas for a mere boy. I'm enquiring from where this baleful influence is emanating and I will crush it. Raja Raman, I repeat, is a very bright boy, I foresee a splendid future for him. And I've to keep the less bright boys in my charge where they belong to. I've to maintain discipline. Now excuse me, Sir, if I have spoken too long and too warmly," and bowing the headmaster took leave of the Tahsildar.

(4)

Rao Saheb R. Kalyanarama Sastri was troubled beyond measure at what

he had heard about his son. The words of the schoolmaster had sounded apparently simple, but they were barbs embalmed with courtesy, sure of their target; plainly he had meant to say: "You are a responsible officer of the Government, head of a Taluq. And your son, an absurd little stripling prates of politics as if they were pumpkins. Check him before it is too late, else it will spell disaster to your position, your high standing with Authority."

But the Sastri was not one easily to be intimidated, he knew how to hold his own. All the same he was irritated, distressed. It was *Jamabandi* time and work in the kacherie was heavy. Revolving many thoughts in his mind he found them taking an abrupt turn towards his youngest brother, now no more; a brilliant fellow who had left the University without a Degree, having been in his undergraduate days attracted by the dynamic personality of Dr. Besant, Theosophy, and the Home Rule Movement, taken to journalism learning his craft in the *New India*, worked on the staff of the *Indian Patriot*, wrote like mad, talked like hell, and burnt himself out long before his time. Was little Raja Raman taking after his late paternal uncle? How gentle the slip of a boy looked! But beneath that gentleness, the same that the dead brother had—the perception was startling—there was the same unyielding obduracy which like a bit of granite in a ball of clay broke the edge of anything that came to dislodge it. It is a wise father that knows his son. But he was not going to be wise after the event. The boy obviously did not know what he was talking about; thank god, as yet no harm had been done. He must be put out of mischief's way.

(5)

There is no knowing beforehand whether a trifle will remain as a trifle or will assume serious proportions. The circumstances, the complexion put on what is involved, and the character of the persons concerned decide its levity or gravity.

"So you had had a disagreement with your headmaster," the Sastri asked his son, straight.

Instinctively Raja Raman knew that the headmaster had visited his father at the office, to present the 'progress report' in person. The sneak!

"There was nothing to disagree, father. I stated what I thought was right."

"At your age, Rajam, right or wrong is not a thing to be decided by you. Your elders should decide it for you."

"Certainly the headmaster has nothing to do with any decision outside the studies of a pupil."

"While at school you've to obey him implicitly, studies or no studies."

"I'm sorry, father."

"Sorry for what?"

"That I don't find it possible to obey that man in what he wants me, rather what he forces me to do."

"Man! Remember he's your teacher," cut in the Sastri; "talk of him with respect."

Raja Raman was silent; his quivering lips and nostrils betrayed the sensitiveness of a thoroughbred. The Sastri watched him. The face of his dead brother flashed across his mind. The same mettle!

"I'm ready to sing a hundred hymns every morning at the prayer-meeting in the school, but father, I won't salute the Union Jack. It's silly, it's awful," sputtered the boy.

The very words the headmaster had reported, thought the Sastri, looking at his son, intent on the bit of granite within the innocent ball of clay.

"What's it that offends you?"

"Everything—the flag, the formula, the unfurling and the furling."

"The formula?"

"Yes." And Raja Raman began, unfolding an imaginary flag: "I salute the flag of my country and the empire for which it stands, with many nations but all one and indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

A slap on his cheek, that struck like lightning, put abruptly out of joint his pose of mock-seriousness; his father had hit him. He felt the world around him spinning, spinning and a buzzing noise in his head and he saw in a daze the anxious strained face of his mother with a comb in her hand which to him looked like a monstrous spade, the half-parted, half-combed curly black locks of his pretty little sister who had followed the mother roared like an umbrageous bush on fire; but in a moment he had recovered and rushed out from the presences that frightened. Suddenly, at his wake, there came a crash, a tinkling metallic clatter, as of gravel being thrown violently on panes of glass; the Sastri caught up with his son, and before him shocking enough, on the floor of the study, lay the portraits of Queen Mary and George V smashed to spillikins....

That instant was like a thunderclap on the snug little world of Kalyanarama

Sastri from which he was wont to look at the world beyond. Of a sudden he changed from a handsome, middle-aged man to one old and weary, with lines of bitterness deeply etched around his mouth and across his forehead. He never forgave his son who had desecrated his temple and trampled on his gods.

They talked of a new India but he refused to see anything new around him. There were the railways and the telegraphs; the monsoons were either early or late to set in; ricecrops were bumper or poor; vegetables plentiful or scarce; he went on camp for two months in the quarter; drew his salary and travelling allowance; slept with his wife, petted his daughter (thank heavens for the gift of a daughter!); waited for the event of his lift to the rank of a Deputy Collector; and retired as one with the title of Rao Bahadur.

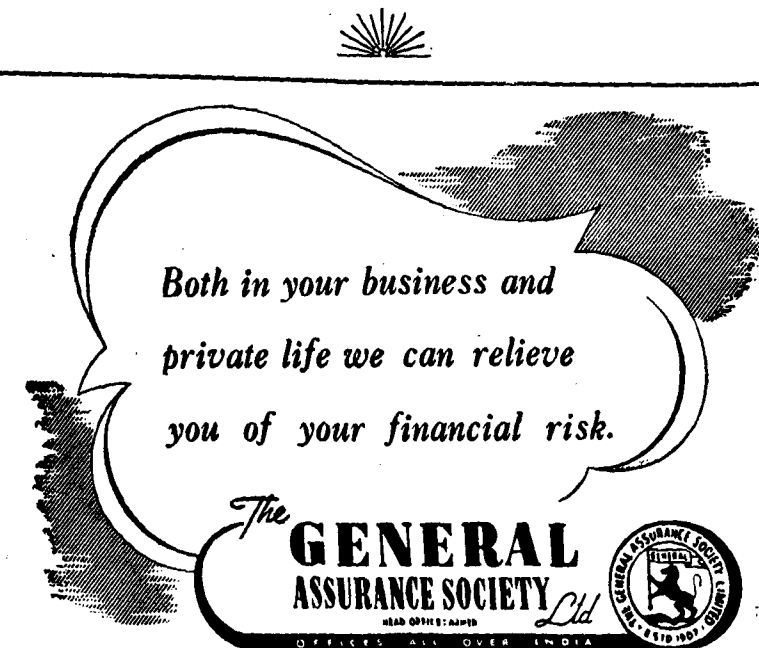
But unmindful of his small world to whose wreckage he clung tenaciously,

India advanced. The sun lessened his brightness on Pax Britannica. India advanced. It turned out a generation of Raja Ramans, courageous, selfless youths who, working under the inspiring guidance of heroic leaders counted no sacrifice as too great for the cause of the motherland. And was his Raja Raman alive? Who knows? He may or may not be. But he remains as the deathless symbol of an independent spirit that has won, waving the banner of Free India, singing the song of ecstasy.....

Rao Bahadur R. Kalyanarama Sastri, Retired Deputy Collector, inclines his head and listens. He looks incredulous, bewildered, angry. Two voices fight for supremacy, confusing his feeble audition:

I salute the flag of my country and the empire for which it stands.....

This is not a flag of empire, a flag of imperialism, a flag of domination.....



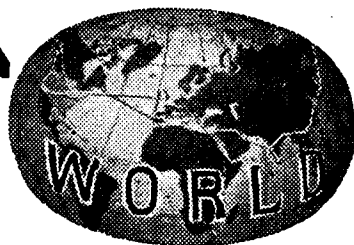
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SPOTLIGHT ON THE



THE nature of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine is not unlike that of our own Hindu-Muslim problem in many respects. There have been the same frequent outbreaks of apparently senseless violence, the same hatred propaganda of one community against the other, and the same tendency on the part of both to cajole or curse the foreign ruling power rather than attempt to arrive at a joint understanding. And Britain, the third party in Palestine as in India, has not failed to fish in the troubled waters. The situation, in recent years, has been further complicated by the penetration of American capital into the Middle East and consequent American interest in the economic and military possibilities of this vitally 'strategic' area. A fourth party has thus entered the field of Palestinian politics.

JEWISH INFUX

Briefly, the following are the main facts of the Palestine problem. Before the first World War what is now Palestine was part of the Turkish Empire. The British troops occupied the area, promising 'liberation' from the Turkish tyranny to the Arabs. The troops, however, stayed on and have not left the place to this day. Ever since 1923, Britain has been administering Palestine as a mandate. Already in 1917, the British Government had issued the Balfour Declaration which promised aid to the Jews to migrate to Palestine which was to become the Jewish National Home. By 1922, the French, Italian and U.S. Governments endorsed the policy outlined in the Balfour Declaration. The population figures will illustrate the consequences of

this policy. In 1922 the Jews in Palestine numbered 84,000 in a total population of 750,000. By the end of 1944 the Jews numbered 554,000 in a total population of 1,765,000. The Jews had, in other words, grown in strength from 13 per cent to 31 per cent of the population. Nearly three-fourths of this increase is estimated to have been due to the Jewish immigration (both legal and illegal) from Europe. The number of immigrants became particularly large after the rise of Hitler to power. Jews naturally fled in large numbers from the brutal persecution in the Fascist-dominated countries of Europe. The end of the second World War has left the problem of the surviving Jews in Europe unsolved—for only about 1,153,100 Jews were alive in Europe in 1946 out of the 6,015,700 who were there in 1939. Of these survivors, hundreds of thousands are now what are called 'displaced persons', uprooted, as a result of the migrations during the war years, from their original communities and having no home at all. They are now living in various Jewish camps run by the Allied occupation authorities, and are most of them eager to get out of Europe, the scene of so much suffering and tragedy in their lives. In the East European countries, where the Governments are of a semi-Socialist character, anti-Semitism has been abolished and made punishable as in the Soviet Union. In Poland, for instance, the Jews are now given special protection, privileges and representation in the Government. Nevertheless, the majority of the Jews in Europe want to start life afresh, away from the scene of their recent miseries. Palestine is their chosen destination since it has been their

traditional Holy Land and promised National Home; and, even otherwise, immigration restrictions prevent them from settling anywhere else in large numbers.

ARABS WANT FREEDOM

But Palestine is as much the actual and natural home of the Arabs as the historical and sentimentalized homeland of the Jews. It is true that the Jews in Palestine have shown great initiative and resourcefulness in developing trade and agriculture. They have introduced modern industry and the higher standards of life of the West. The Jews also practise a sort of internal democracy which has resulted in striking advances in education and social services within the Jewish community. This is in contrast to the backward conditions of the Arabs who are not as united as the Jews, and are still tied to an outworn economic and social system. There are only 15 Arab secondary schools in the whole of Palestine. The Arabs are also divided politically by the personal bickerings of the leaders (who are mainly feudal chieftains) and divided socially by the gap which separates the small upper class from the mass of the peasants. But with all this, the fact remains that the Arabs are the majority of the population in Palestine, and are as much entitled to freedom as any other people. In tune with the rising national consciousness throughout the Arab world, Palestinian Arabs have come to demand that they should be free from British rule. They consider the mandate to be a violation of their right of self-determination, since it is forcing upon them a body of unwanted immigrants which they feel to be intolerable. While they are prepared to receive their quota of Jewish immigrants under a comprehensive world-wide scheme for Jewish immigration, it is not fair that the Palestinian Arabs alone should be compelled to atone for the sins of Western peoples by accepting into their country hundreds of thousands of victims of European anti-Semitism. It is outrageous, they say, that the British should

withhold self-government for Palestine until a Jewish majority is artificially and deliberately created.

The best solution would be, neither the continuation of British rule nor the formation of an exclusively Jewish or an exclusively Arab State, but the creation of a free and democratic Arab-Jewish State which would concentrate on raising the Arabs to a better economic level and on developing the country's resources so as to support any future Jewish immigrants whom the Arabs might voluntarily agree to receive into the country. This is, in fact, the kind of solution which the young Left-wing groups in both the Arab and Jewish camps desire. The Jewish Agency, which is the recognised spokesman of political Zionism and which links the Palestinian Jews with the Jews outside, has not so far taken this line. But there are other small groups among the Palestinian Jews—for instance, the Hashomer Hatzair (a Socialist group)—which, while advocating unrestricted immigration, stand for co-operation with the Arabs and the emergence of binationalism to take the place of the present partisanship. Among the Arabs, too, there are increasing signs of opposition to the traditionally British-controlled leaders of the Arab League. The growth of the industrial working class in numbers and in political consciousness has contributed not a little to the increasing awareness on both sides that the present conflict under British rule should be replaced by unity and freedom.

OIL AND POLITICS

But this awareness is still in an infant stage, and any hopes of its growth are seriously threatened by the play of Anglo-American power politics in the Middle East. Oil imperialism in this area has so far been a monopoly of the British, but America has now entered the lists with the 'concessions' which she has secured in Saudi Arabia. While the British and the U.S. Governments have conflicting interests with regard to the exploitation of the oil resources of the Middle

East, they have a common interest in the consolidation of their power in this area as part of their concerted effort to stop 'Russian expansion'. It was because of the fear of a possible demand for trusteeship under the United Nations that Britain recently bestowed 'independence' on Transjordan, with the assured knowledge that her economic and military concessions in Transjordan would continue. British interest in Persia was strikingly demonstrated when troops were despatched recently to safeguard the interests of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. British and American anxiety over these Middle Eastern neighbours of Palestine is adequately explained by this extract from the report of the joint Anglo-American committee of enquiry regarding Palestine: "The significance of Palestine derives largely from the fact that it lies across natural lines of communication. Major railway and road communications pass through the country. It is on the route between two great centres of Arab culture, Cairo and Damascus; between Egypt, the administrative centre of the Arab League, and the other member States; and between Iraq and the newly independent State of Transjordan and their outlets to the Mediterranean; and it has great potential importance in the air traffic of the future. There are no oil wells in Palestine itself, but a pipeline delivers a stream of crude oil to the great refineries at Haifa and from there tankers take it around and beyond the Mediterranean. The American concession in Saudi Arabia may produce another converging stream." When it is remembered that Haifa, the terminus of the oil-pipe line, is also the main naval port (next to Alexandria) in the Eastern Mediterranean, the importance of Palestine in the Anglo-American scheme of Middle Eastern 'strategy' will be fully understood.

MIDDLE EASTERN 'STRATEGY'

As long as foreign interests are thus involved in Palestinian politics, there is no hope of a solution to the present Arab-Jewish conflict.

During the last decade there were Arab revolts because Britain was supposed to be favouring the Jews at the expense of the Arabs; now there are Jewish revolts because Britain is supposed to be favouring the Arabs by stopping the Jewish illegal immigrants. Palestine is no exception to the operation of the divide and rule policy, which has always meant the ruling power's alternating patronage of each of the hostile subject groups, and continued control over both. Palestine is the unique instance of a country with an educated and fairly advanced community which is yet governed by an administration which has no roots among the people at all. Neither Arabs nor Jews have even the shadow of representation in Government; it is the British administration which controls every activity of life in Palestine. It is a semi-military administration whose only backing is the brute force of 100,000 British soldiers. The moral duty of keeping the peace between Arab and Jew coincides exactly with the requirements of Mr. Bevin's foreign policy which involves the stationing of British troops to act as America's capitalist policemen prowling on the borders of the Russian 'sphere of influence'.

This same policy of Mr. Bevin was responsible for the breakdown of the talks for revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which began in March 1946. Among the demands raised by Britain during the talks were a five-year period for the evacuation of British troops, a special regime for the Suez Canal, and the formation of a Joint Anglo-Egyptian Defence Council. Egypt is quite as important for purposes of Anglo-American 'strategy' as Palestine, for Egypt is the most economically advanced, most populous and most influential of the Arabic-speaking countries and is the main key to control of the Middle East. Britain has broken more than one promise made to Egypt. Jawaharlal Nehru, writing over ten years ago, counted nineteen promises made since 1882 by the British that they would eva-

cuate Egypt. The Egyptian Government has obviously got fed up with Mr. Bevin's negotiators, and has taken the matter to the Security Council where Sir Alexander Cadogan (Britain's permanent representative) has been trying to argue that the 1926 Treaty was freely arrived at. Probably he does not remember the remark made by his chief Mr. Bevin (in connection with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran): "It is a cardinal point of my policy that you cannot negotiate with a country while your troops are in occupation of that country". This brings to mind another interesting remark made by Mr. Bevin, when he addressed the Anglo-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce in November 1945: "I began when I took office to tackle this

problem of the Middle East, and may I say that I have approached it as one entity. . . . I have seen indications of rising nationalism in Egypt, but I beg you not to overdo this nationalist business. A United Nations organisation, you know, presumes a sacrifice of a certain amount of sovereignty. . . . We do not want to dominate Egypt. I would like to see our defence built up, not on a basis of our protecting you, but on joint co-operation, a partnership paid for and manned by both of us, between the Middle East and ourselves." Joint defence against whom? And where does the United Nations come in? Egyptians for their part, appear to have ignored Mr. Bevin's request that they should not overdo 'this nationalist business'.

LAWYERS AND INDEPENDENCE

by V. K. THIRUVENKATACHARIAR

THE legal profession has to its credit the largest contribution to our struggle for independence. What we shall make of that independence also depends greatly on the objectives and standards that the profession will adopt. It is a great responsibility and involves a radical revaluation of the conceptions based on the teachings of the nineteenth century. Much of our jurisprudence was evolved at a time when the pressure of population on the natural resources of the globe was negligible and the idea of the State was that it was a policeman to keep the peace. Economic factors have changed and it is now the question of a fairer distribution of the world's goods among the citizens. People also look to the State to bring about the social and economic changes needed from the point of view of social justice. If reformers won't legislate at leisure, revolutionaries will act in haste.

Among large sections of the community, respect for law and the lawyers is at a low ebb. The profession cannot but accept some responsibility for this. Today we must evolve a philosophy of what we con-

sider necessary for the common good and consciously work for it. Meanwhile the profession has to live by working the law as it is. If the latter activity breeds the idea that no change is necessary or that the legal profession has no duty to make the change, the public will be entitled to regard the lawmen as reactionaries. Even in working the law, the counsellor's duty is to help good men to act according to law and to warn the bad men what they must expect if they disobey. When the lawyers secure the acquittal of a black-marketeer or other unsocial animals, they can perhaps claim that they are doing their job in a not too perfect world; but when they gloat over their success and publicize it they are themselves performing an unsocial act. We think that there ought to be an organisation of lawyers to direct the legislation required to bring about the changes which will make freedom mean something to the farmer, the trader and the labourer. August 15 will be a day for us to look back upon either with pride or with shame according to the use we make of our opportunity.



WE all have our periods of inexplicable depression; and Srinath knew better than to question his wife directly when she was feeling out of sorts. They understood each other well. Theirs was a 'love-marriage.' It had nothing to do with Srinath's sure berth in the I.C.S. or Vimala's medals for Social Service which arrived with monotonous regularity during her High School and College days. There was grace and virility in the love that bound them—the grace and virility of a well-bred horse.

This time, however, Srinath's indirect kindnesses and attempts to guess at her troubles failed. But chance provided a key. Reading a news-item about the South Range Shooting Tourney, he found that his friend, Jerry Rozario, I.C.S., had come out, as usual, with flying colours. "I have watched him twice," he commented with pleasure; "his unerring judgment is uncanny. One would think that his bullets knew their job."

"Then why doesn't he take his rifle to his court? People will get a better deal," suggested Vimala acidly. And she added, "I thought that they kept men of his class on the executive side."

Srinath looked up with a jerk. The volcano had cracked the crater open and belched forth fire and lava. Rozario's judicial ability was being questioned, and a slur was being cast on I.C.S. judges too, of whom he was one.

"I guess you are hurt over the *thali* affair," he said, wishing to see the matter through by a frontal attack.

"Wonder if 'hurt' is the right word! But I am not surprised. I am sure that Don Rozario's ances-

tors were Master Inquisitors who not only did their official work dutifully, but took pleasure in improving on the processes!"

"Vimala, don't get over-strung. Be charitable and think that perhaps he knows his job. These are difficult times—with unprecedented problems, and every question has two sides—"

"As the Komutti said!"

"Well, a Komati is not a fool. He knows what is what, much better than most book-learned people—"

"Neither is our friend, *thali*-snatching Don Rozario a fool. He knows which side his bread is buttered."

"For goodness' sake, Vimala, forget Rozario. What have we to do with him and his judgments?"

"How can I forget him, Sree? Whenever I touch my ornaments and particularly the *Tirumangalyam*, I think of poor Thangammal, and, naturally, of this wonderful Daniel."

"I am sorry you are so cut up over this, my dear. . . . I think a change will do you good. I shall try to snatch a week off. And let us go in the car right up to the Cape, and come back." He had sold his 'tin-can', and bought a roomy, high-powered car recently.

"Seconded by Mrs. Srinath, and supported by Vimala. Carried *nem con*. But really, dear, he was a cad, wasn't he, to make her give up her *thali* too, in place of her husband's fine. The C.D. Movement might not be to his taste.—"

"How can I sit in judgment over him, Vim?—And besides, I am not paid overtime to do this job. The Court rose for the day at 5 p.m." He tried to be facetious.

But she was not taken in. "But don't you ever sit in judgment over others after office hours? And were you paid for your job when you praised that Spaniard for drilling a hole in the innocent bull's eye? Each part of the Steel-frame, it seems—"

"Please, Vim, my dearest, I beg of you,—I say, today is Wednesday, isn't it? What a fool! I have to see a friend off! Hardly ten minutes left.—Excuse me, shall be back in no time.—And sweep out that cobweb like a good girl!"

But the cobweb stayed, and grew more tangled. Cape Comorin remained unvisited. Vimala ran the house as before, but mechanically, and kept herself to herself. Srinath was helpless and let matters drift. He could hardly meet her eyes. Forgetfulness appeared to be the rule with him now; and, every now and then, he suddenly remembered an engagement and dashed off at the last minute. So it was sometime before he noticed that she had put away all her ornaments—including the *thali*.

Controlling his sense of shock, he asked her, "Have you not had time to put on the things again?" It was the oil-bath day.

"Please, Sree, let us quarrel, if we have to; but let us not try to be tactful with one another."

"If that's the cue, I am agreeable—for a change. Now, straight and clear, what's the grand idea?"

"I am trying to see how Thangammal feels."

"Vicarious suffering. eh? How long will it last?"

"I really don't know. I shall wait and see."

"Wait for what? The Inner Voice?"

His taunting tone put Vimala's back up.

"Having a dig at poor old Gandhiji? Sitting in judgment over him? Being paid for it?"

She had cut deeper than she had meant to.

The cleavage widened. Vimala went to her father's village, took to the Gandhian way of life, and merged herself in Khaddar work,

Harijan uplift, upbringing of Congress-orphans, and so on.

Srinath tried his best to wean her back from 'this neurosis', but failed to. And whenever he visited her and and watched her virile out-door activities and complete immersion in others' well-being, and her light step and girlish laughter, he could not very well think of her as neurotic. And when she accepted with gratitude his diffidently offered promise of money-help for her activities, he felt relieved and grateful.

Thus, years passed. And, one day, Srinath received a telegram—*Vimala suffering fever ten days typhoid suspected.*

He hastened to the village along with an able physician and two nurses. But purgatives and pungent medicines had done much mischief. Vimala's end was nearing. She tried to console her husband by assuring him that life could offer her repetition, but no fresh happiness. "I had unmixed happiness during childhood and while in school. Our life together was the envy of many, 99% of the time. These few years, I was perhaps the most blissful person in the world—I was hardly aware that I existed. So, there is nothing more to except afresh—excepting, of course, the attaining of Swaraj. That is one thing that could induce me to wish to live.—Do you know, Sree, how long it is between death and rebirth?"

"As you know, darling, I am an ignoramus in such matters. But why this strange question?"

"You see, if I am to be re-born, I wish to be born in a nationalistic family, so that I could catch up with the work without dissipating in blind wanderings. But if the interval is to be 50 or 100 years, I don't wish our country to have to wait that long, just to give Srimati Vimala the pleasure of serving her.—It's all childish, isn't it?"

"I don't know, Vim, but, you know, real Servants will be needed even after we get Swaraj.—But are you not straining yourself, dear?"

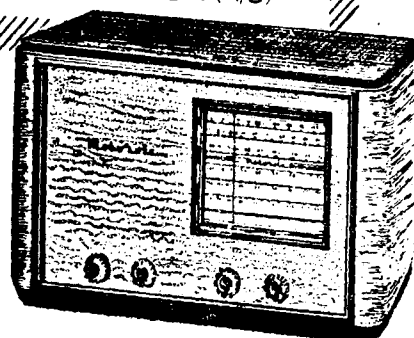
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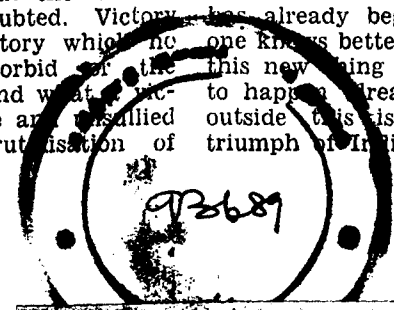
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THE FUTURE OF GANDHI

by G. RAMACHANDRAN

DECADES of passion and faith lie behind us—the passion in us for the freedom of India and the faith in us in Gandhi, our leader. For over a quarter of a century, as we marched forward under Gandhi's generalship from victory to victory, our faith in him hardly ever wavered or faltered. Even those of us who had no need for some or the other of Gandhi's fads stuck to our place in the ranks of the great marching army of our common people, knowing that no one had a clearer vision or greater courage than the leader who led us. And today, a great nation of four hundred millions of people has arrived not only at the gates of victory but our hands are stretched out to open the very doors through which we shall pass presently from subjection to liberty. As we look back at the long distance we have travelled, through much storm and stress, through the toil and the sweat and the blood we freely gave without taking any from the enemy we fought, our minds are filled with wonder and thankfulness that, in the battles we waged, we had a leader with such unerring judgment and such exalted character. Here and there occasionally some of us might have questioned some act or other of his or the wisdom of some of his decisions. But we knew and accepted the fact without reservation that he alone could lead us to our freedom. No nation in all history has travelled so quickly and nimbly to the goal of freedom, walking as we did, on a non-violent road. Thirty years ago no one could have believed it possible. Even we, who put our faith in our great leader and walked behind him with firm steps, were not sure whether the final goal could be reached in a non-violent way. But the miracle can no longer be doubted. Victory has come to us, victory which no one except the morbid of the insane will doubt. And what victory it is! It is pure and unsullied by any serious brutalisation of

human nature. Why should any one doubt the fact that Gandhi has effected a change of heart in the British people and their rulers? The rapidity with which the British Parliament passed all the legislation to make India free is something of a record in the history of that institution. It has become the fashion to say that world events have compelled the British to quit India. But let us remember it is a peaceful and friendly quitting. Is not that due to Gandhi? If world events constitute the compelling factor, why does it affect only the British, who won the war, and not the French or the Dutch who lost the war and were crushed by their enemies? Why are the French still torturing Viet-Nam and the Dutch slaughtering the people of Indonesia? The quitting of India by the British in a peaceful and friendly manner is something unique in history. It is possible because the battles we waged under Gandhi for our freedom were unique in their non-violent technique. Those battles were unique because Gandhi, our leader, was unique. When, on the 15th of August, the British flag will be hauled down in a thousand places in India and our National Flag will be raised instead, there will be no wave of anger or hatred sweeping the country. Who can or will forget on that historic date the meek and mighty man who made an unarmed people rise in ceaseless and victorious rebellion against their alien rulers armed to the teeth and with every weapon of violence at their command? Will not the prayer go up from a million hearts that Gandhi might yet live long to shape New India and there-through a New World? Surely that will happen. But, even while that happens, something else will happen too. In fact, that something else has already begun to happen. No one knows better than Gandhi what this new thing is which has begun to happen already. To the world outside this is the hour of the triumph of India and of its leader.



No doubt, India stands today at the point of a great and historic victory. But strangely, it is at the same historic point of India's victory that Gandhi has arrived at the point of a great defeat, of almost everything for which he has stood so far with surpassing sincerity and courage. Till very recently Gandhi had wished to live on for a hundred and twenty-five years of age; but now he says he has neither the desire nor the will to live much longer. There is nothing that Gandhi says which does not come from the depth of his mind and therefore he says nothing which he does not mean.

Those who understand Gandhi and what he has stood for realise that what Gandhi faces today in the hour of the victory of his people, whom he has led to freedom, is the tragedy of a great repudiation by those very people. There are enough signs on the horizon to show that something is going to happen to Gandhi which has happened to all the great heroes of action in world history. No great leader of action in the world has escaped the tragedy of repudiation by the very people whom he has led to their destiny, at some stage or other. For Gandhi that stage seems to have arrived. Did not Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel say sometime ago that while India was struggling for her independence, Gandhi was the unquestioned leader, but now when the country had to face the task of administration and self-government, he (the Sardar) was only a sepoy under his new leader Nehru? This should not be mistaken merely as a thesis of loyalty to colleagues in the Interim Government. It is something more. It is the first clear echo from a person like the great Sardar of the coming repudiation of Gandhi's leadership, his ideals and his methods of action. We have also the evidence of how Gandhi's closest lieutenants in our Satyagraha revolution are now repudiating him and what he stands for from their new places of power and position in the Governments of the provinces and the Centre. One by one, the values built up by Gan-

dhi in the last 30 years are repudiated, his ideas ridiculed as impossible and his programmes thrown on the scrap-heap as useless for Free India in the present world context. Is all this an overstatement of facts? It is not possible to go into all the details, but the broad facts can be stated to prove the thesis.

Till the last moment Gandhi wanted to resist the division of India, but the Working Committee not only agreed to the division of India, but asked further for the division of Bengal and the Punjab. Even at the last moment before division became an accomplished fact, Gandhi invited Mr. Jinnah to rule undivided India on his own terms rather than vivisection the country, but the Working Committee ridiculed the idea. Gandhi did not want the assistance of the British army of occupation to preserve the peace between Hindus and Muslims, but the Central and the Provincial Governments called out British troops on many occasions of emergency. Gandhi did not want the new Ministers at the Centre and in the Provinces to live and work except as poor men in a poor country, but our Ministers live in high style and move about in glittering cars, so that the common man wonders what is the change that has taken place. Congress Governments have not only used obnoxious provisions of the old law which they once repudiated, but have forged even new and more obnoxious legal weapons to suppress the liberties of those opposed to their own ideas and ways. For 25 years we shouted from the house-tops that the Congress wanted power to implement the constructive programme which the genius of Gandhi had shaped in accordance with the basic facts and needs of India. But today, when power has come into our hands, the constructive programme has no longer any claim on our attention. Khadi, which was once the symbol of our growing identification with the life of the common people in our country, is fast becoming a static sign of our hypocrisy. Village industries have only

to be mentioned to be dismissed with contempt. Basic education, instead of occupying the centre of the stage in educational reconstruction, is treated as a side-show. Having destroyed untouchability and roused the minds of the Harijans we are angry when they claim not symbolic but factual day-to-day and practical social and economic equality by the total eradication of caste. We are willing to give the labourers and the peasants some measure of justice, but not the opportunity to govern this land which belongs to them more than to anybody else. Non-violence was good enough to overthrow the mighty British Empire but is not now good enough in facing and solving communal misdeeds or in dispersing an unfriendly crowd.

Every revolution has to pass through these stages of struggle, victory, repudiation and further struggle for ultimate victory. We have struggled in India and we have won and now we are facing the era of repudiation of the very values we have sought to build up. We are going to travel far from Gandhi in the coming years. We are going to compel Gandhi to witness the ruin of his hopes and his dreams. The new social order based on non-violent sanctions for which Gandhi has lived and toiled will now be snatched from him. But Gandhi himself will never falter or retreat. Till now he fought the British with his clean weapons. He will now have to fight his own countrymen with the same weapons. Christ was betrayed thrice before the cock crew on the day of his crucifixion. But it was only one disciple who betrayed Him. Gandhi has more disciples and therefore many will betray him in the coming years. Millions have shouted Gandhi-ki-jai in every part of India during the last 30 years and they will still do so without understanding the full implications. Gandhi's aim was never political Swaraj. He has always aimed at the creation of what might be called a Satyagraha Social Order. Such an order can be defined very simply. It is not only a completely just social order but

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an equally completely peaceful social order. That means it will enshrine within itself not only the complete political and economic justice to the common man as taught by the Socialists and the Communists but also non-violence, as method and sanction, as taught by Gandhi. In fact, no justice can be real except in conditions of non-violence. If justice has to be maintained by violence, then justice itself becomes corrupt. We are in India undoubtedly going to establish a fair amount of justice to the common man but we are going to maintain that justice in the old way of violence. Gandhi's dream of a just and non-violent social order will be betrayed again and again in the coming years, perhaps more by those who have stood close to him in the political struggles of the past. Gandhi's supreme instrument in building up the Satyagraha Social Order was and is the constructive programme. The next ten to fifteen years in India will witness the repudiation of this programme by the people who have shouted loudest about it so long.

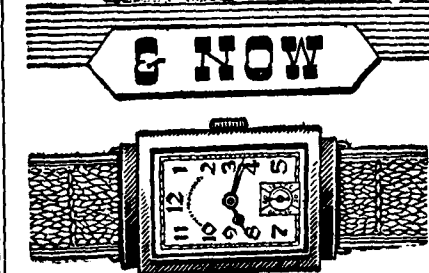
But the time will come, it must come, when India will rediscover that her great mission is to build up a just and non-violent social order within her own boundaries and to help the world to do the same in every country. That time must come inevitably, because otherwise the world must face total destruction in wars of violence. Are we not already on the threshold of war on the level of the atom bomb? When India thus rediscovers her own great mission, she will understand more than ever before the need and the challenge of the constructive programme. Perhaps a new generation will complete the tasks of the constructive programme with which we have only played so far. The constructive programme is greater than Gandhi. Its roots are in the historic process which envelopes the life of our masses. Gandhi is great be-



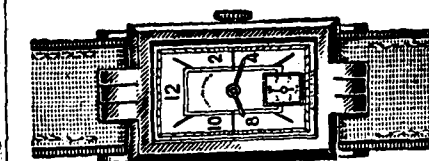
Sri O. P. Rangaswami Iyengar, M.A., L.T., Assistant Professor in Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, aged forty-two, who passed away on Sunday, 10th August at Tambaram Sanatorium.

cause he symbolises in himself the basic facts and the basic needs of Indian history. It is those who will stand with Gandhi in the coming years of his defeat and repudiation who will ultimately help to build up the new just and non-violent social order in India and in the world. But how many will stand with him in the coming days of defeat and repudiation? We must therefore harden our faith and our will in the coming time; those of us who claim to understand or value Gandhi. Gandhi himself will march on undefeated because in his own inimitable words, "The Satyagrahi has eternity in front of him." Gandhi's greatest achievements are yet to come. There is no greater challenge to the younger generation in India in the coming time, nor a more inspiring call, than to stand with Gandhi and help him build a greater and nobler India in which we shall have complete justice in terms of non-violence. It is the greatest adventure in human history. Will the youth of India be worthy of that challenge and the opportunity it brings?

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FIFTEENTH OF AUGUST 1947
SRI AUROBINDO'S MESSAGE

Sri Aurobindo makes the following declaration on the significance of the day of Indian Independence:

AUGUST 15th is the birthday of free India. It marks for her the end of an old era, the beginning of a new age. But it has a significance not only for us, but for Asia and the whole world; for it signifies the entry into the comity of nations of a new power with untold potentialities which has a great part to play in determining the political, social, cultural and spiritual future of humanity. To me personally it must naturally be gratifying that this date which was notable only for me because it was my own birthday celebrated annually by those who have accepted my gospel of life, should have acquired this vast significance. As a mystic, I take this identification, not as a coincidence or fortuitous accident, but as a sanction and seal of the Divine Power which guides my steps on the work with which I began life. Indeed almost all the world movements which I hoped to see fulfilled in my lifetime, though at that time they looked like impossible dreams. I can observe on this day either approaching fruition or initiated and on the way to their achievement.

I have been asked for a message on this great occasion, but I am perhaps hardly in a position to give one. All I can do is to make a personal declaration of the aims and ideals conceived in my childhood and youth and now watched in their beginning of fulfilment, because they are relevant to the freedom of India, since they are a part of what I believe to be India's future work, something in which she cannot but take a leading position. For I have always held and said that India was arising, not to serve her own material interests only, to achieve expansion, greatness, power and prosperity,—though these too she must not neglect,—and certainly not like others to acquire domination of other peoples, but to live also for God and the world as a

helper and leader of the whole human race. Those aims and ideals were in their natural order these: a revolution which would achieve India's freedom and her unity; the resurgence and liberation of Asia and her return to the great role which she had played in the progress of human civilisation; the rise of a new, a greater, brighter and nobler life for mankind which for its entire realisation would rest outwardly on an international unification of the separate existence of the peoples, preserving and securing their national life but drawing them together into an overriding and consummating oneness; the gift by India of her spiritual knowledge and her means for the spiritualisation of life to the whole race; finally, a new step in the evolution which, by uplifting the consciousness to a higher level, would begin the solution of the many problems of existence which have perplexed and vexed humanity, since men began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society.

India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom. At one time it almost seemed as if she might relapse into the chaos of separate States which preceded the British conquest. Fortunately there has now developed a strong possibility that this disastrous relapse will be avoided. The wisely drastic policy of the Constituent Assembly makes it possible that the problem of the depressed classes will be solved without schism or fissure. But the old communal division into Hindu and Muslim seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country. It is to be hoped that the Congress and the nation will not accept the settled fact as for ever settled or as anything more than a temporary expedient. For if it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled: civil strife may re-

main always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest. The partition of the country must go—it is to be hoped by a slackening of tension, by a progressive understanding of the need of peace and concord, by the constant necessity of common and concerted action, even of an instrument of union for that purpose. In this way unity may come about under whatever form—the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, the division must and will go. For without it the destiny of India might be seriously impaired and even frustrated. But that must not be.

Asia has arisen and large parts of it have been liberated or are at this moment being liberated; its other still subject parts are moving through whatever struggles towards freedom. Only a little has to be done and that will be done today or tomorrow. There India has her part to play and has begun to play it with an energy and ability which already indicate the measure of her possibilities and the place she can take in the council of the nations.

The unification of mankind is under way, though only in an imperfect initiative, organised but struggling against tremendous difficulties. But the momentum is there and, if the experience of history can be taken as a guide, it must inevitably increase until it conquers. Here too India has begun to play a prominent part and, if she can develop that larger statesmanship which is not limited by the present facts and immediate possibilities but looks into the future and brings it nearer, her presence may make all the difference between a slow and timid and a bold and swift development. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done, but even then the final result is sure. For in any case the unification is a necessity in the course of Nature, an inevitable movement and its achievement can be safely foretold. Its necessity for the nations also is clear, for without it the freedom of the small peoples can never be safe hereafter and even large and

powerful nations cannot really be secure. India, if she remains divided, will not herself be sure of her safety. It is therefore to the interest of all that union should take place. Only human imbecility and stupid selfishness could prevent it. Against that, it has been said, even the gods strive in vain; but it cannot stand for ever against the necessity of Nature and the Divine Will. Nationalism will then have fulfilled itself; an international spirit and outlook must grow up and international forms and institutions; even it may be such developments as dual or multilateral citizenship and a voluntary fusion of cultures may appear in the process of the change and the spirit of nationalism losing its militancy may find these things perfectly compatible with the integrity of its own outlook. A new spirit of oneness will take hold of the human race.

The spiritual gift of India to the world has already begun. India's spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever increasing measure. That movement will grow; amid the disasters of the time more and more eyes are turning towards her with hope and there is even an increasing resort not only to her teachings, but to her psychic and spiritual practice.

The rest is still a personal hope and an idea and ideal which has begun to take hold both in India and in the West on forward-looking minds. The difficulties in the way are more formidable than in any other field of endeavour, but difficulties were made to be overcome and if the Supreme Will is there, they will be overcome. Here too, if this evolution is to take place, since it must come through a growth of the spirit and the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers.

Such is the content which I put into this date of India's liberation; whether or how far or how soon this connection will be fulfilled, depends upon this new and free India.



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SRI AUROBINDO: PROPHET OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

by SISIR KUMAR MITRA

THE movement for the political freedom of India has yet to be properly appraised in all its bearings, since it is not always, at least in the early days, that the Congress had organised all kinds of political action in India. Its spiritual side apart, the movement had behind it forces that in various ways were preparing the country for the upheavals which came about later. The vision of India as the Shakti, the Mother, reinstalled in all her greatness and glory, came to that seer, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and he expressed it in that magic mantra of force, *Bandemataram*. And when the meaning of it was revealed by Sri Aurobindo to the children of the Mother, they leapt up into an impetuous striving to liberate their country and recovered to her all that she has lost during the period of her decline.

The history of the Congress will be far from a true story of India's struggle for independence, if it fails to take proper note of these forces and trace the growth of nationalism in India in the light of how they worked to shape the destiny of the country. New forces threw up new personalities. So we find a number of rare souls in the Swadeshi days, men of character and spiritual seekers, to whom God and their country were greater than anything else. In words of fire, they re-emphasised to their countrymen not only the immediate and imperative necessity of freedom as the only condition of their growth as a nation, but also the noble ideals for which India has stood through the ages. That is how they inspired young men of India to free their country from foreign rule so that they may accomplish those ideals in their life and thereby make their motherland great again.

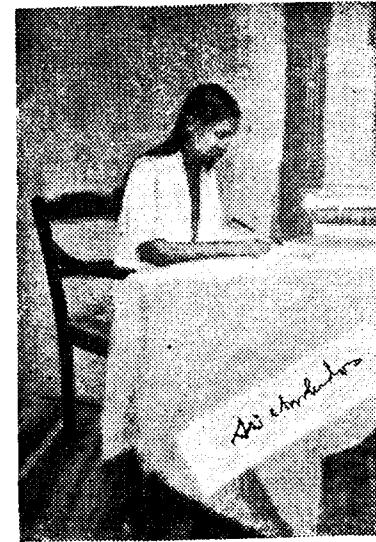
Sri Aurobindo's work for the freedom of India cannot be character-

ised as mere political action. When very young, he came to realise that he had a mission to fulfil for which God had sent him to the world. This consciousness deepened in him with age. When he took to political activity, he did so only as a part of his greater work which could not be securely done so long as India remained in bondage. He knew that the supreme Word for the spiritual liberation of mankind would come for India, and that she must be free to be able to deliver that message.

Sri Aurobindo developed his own line of action for the effective fulfilment of India's political aspirations. As a matter of fact, in all her later political activities India more or less has followed his ideas and lines of action. Sri Aurobindo never believed in the timid constitutional agitation which the Moderate Party was carrying on in those days only through talking and passing resolutions and recommendations to the Foreign Government. While at Baroda, long before he came into the public view as a leader of the nationalist movement, he contributed a series of articles to the *Induprakash* of Bombay trenchantly criticising the moderate policy of begging and petitioning as pure mendicancy. Incidentally, the Moderate leader Ranade frightened the editor of that paper and checked any full development of Sri Aurobindo's ideas in that paper. Sri Aurobindo vehemently opposed the Moderate aim of colonial self-government as the aim of the Congress. We find the first public expression of this view in the *Bandemataram* in December 1906. He wrote "We want complete autonomy, free from British control." He was not satisfied with these somewhat cautious and complex terms and soon substituted them by the single word Independence. When the Moderate aim was re-

affirmed in the Calcutta session of the Congress under the presidency of Dadabhai Naorojee who used the word Swaraj to mean "self-government on colonial lines," Sri Aurobindo's first pre-occupation was to declare openly for complete and absolute independence as the aim of political action in India and to insist on this persistently in the pages of the *Bandemataram*. He was the first politician in India who had the courage to do this in public and he was immediately successful. The Congress took twenty-five years to openly adopt complete independence in its Karachi session in 1931.

The vision of an India free from any alien control came to Sri Aurobindo even much earlier than the *Bandemataram* days. In fact, it was this vision that had impelled him long before he came to Bengal to draw up a revolutionary programme and to organise centres in Bengal as a beginning, with the sole object of bringing about a revolution in the country against British rule. Freedom has a charm all its own. The very mention of it thrills the heart. And when a subject people wakes up to its light and glory, there is no knowing as to what method it should follow for the attainment of its liberation from the foreign yoke. Sri Aurobindo wrote in the *Bandemataram*, "Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation. Without it a nation cannot grow, cannot expand. . . . The work of national emancipation is a great and holy *yajna* of which boycott, Swadeshi, national education and every other activity, great and small, are only major or minor parts. Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice and the Mother-



Sri Aurobindo

land the goodness to whom we offer it; into the seven leaping tongues of the fire of the *yajna* we must offer all that we are and all that we have feeding the fire even with our blood and lives and happiness of our nearest and dearest; for the Motherland is a goddess who loves not a maimed and imperfect sacrifice, and freedom was never won from the gods by a grudging giver."

It was not only independence, complete and absolute that Sri Aurobindo began to hammer on in the *Bandemataram*. He also declared and developed in its columns a new political programme of the Nationalist Party. It included non-co-operation, passive resistance, Swadeshi, boycott, national education, settlement of disputes in law by popular arbitration and similar other items. Sri Aurobindo also wrote a series of articles on passive resistance, another series developing a political philosophy of revolution, and also many articles showing the hollowness of the idea prevalent at that time about the benefits of British rule in India. These writings, all inspired by vision of a free and independent India, proved to be the most potent force in the creation of a new spirit in the country. In the enthusiasm that swept surging everywhere with the cry of *Bandemataram* ringing on all sides, men felt it glorious to be alive and dare and act together and hope. And it is indeed the same spirit reborn time and again that has carried India to the beginning of a complete victory.

All through the days when he was in the thick of a political struggle, Sri Aurobindo had been doing yoga, living a spiritual life all his own. This inner life of his was not how-

ever separate from his outer activities. Indeed they were one, one in the vaster work that Sri Aurobindo was to do for the spiritual uplift of India and humanity in the future. And was not freedom of India a condition for her so as to be able to fulfil her mission in the world? A higher will was guiding Sri Aurobindo. And he could feel the working of the same will in the country's struggle for freedom. Early in 1910 Sri Aurobindo predicted in the course of an interview to *India*, a Tamil Nationalist weekly, that after a series of wars and upheavals raging all over the world which were to begin in four years, India would attain her liberation. Years before he said in one of his public speeches: "We cannot fail, because God is our leader."

In 1910 Sri Aurobindo received the Command from above that he should withdraw from all external activities and go to Pondicherry. A few months before his departure from Calcutta he addressed an open letter to his countrymen, his last will and testament, in which he outlined his political ideology reiterating almost every item of the plan he had chalked out and later elaborated in the *Bandemataram*. He wrote: "Passive resistance means refusal of co-operation to the Government in the industrial exploitation of the country, in education, in government, in judicial administration, in the details of administration. . . . 'No control, no co-operation' should be our watch-word. This is one aspect of our policy. Another is necessity of boycott to help our nascent energies in the field of self-help. Boycott of

foreign goods is a necessary condition for the encouragement of Swadeshi industry, boycott of Government schools is a necessary condition for the growth of national schools, boycott of British courts is a necessary condition for the spread of arbitration." In one of his speeches Sri Aurobindo said: "Passive resistance means two things. It means, first, that we shall not co-operate with the Government of this country until it gives us what we consider our rights. Secondly, if we are persecuted, if the plough of repression is passed over us, we shall meet it not by violence but by suffering." These are words that indicate the very principle on which have been based all later political movements in India.

The extreme form of political activity of which Sri Aurobindo is the acknowledged inaugurator has led India to the attainment of what she has cherished as the most glorious objective of all her political endeavours. Indeed the day of his birth, the fifteenth of August, will be enshrined in the history of our country as one of her most memorable days, on which she got back her own right to live, grow and fulfil herself as a free nation. But is it only a chance coincidence? Or is it a dispensation of a higher Power that India should achieve her independence on the day on which was born the one who initiated the struggle for this glorious victory and who would herald the dawn of a yet greater glory, of a new world of Light, Truth and Freedom that are forever? For, that is the work in which Sri Aurobindo is at present engaged.

MOB VIOLENCE

When India has Swaraj, how are her Governments to deal with brickbat-throwing mobs? Are they to be allowed to kill and maim as they choose, to fire houses, to burn living men to death? It is just in the moment of popular excitement, necessarily accompanying any movement for a Nation's Rights, that the lovers of freedom must speak out for the preservation of order, and restrain their followers from every act of violence. While we continue to work for Freedom, violent conspiracy, which uses bombs and revolvers, must be put down by the strong arm of the law.—
ANNIE BESANT.

KEY TO THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

by KOMPALLI ADINARAYANA

RELIEF over the liberation from the galling yoke of British imperialism is our natural reaction to the declaration of freedom on August 15. But the next moment's stock-taking of our achievements cannot but leave us sober. No two facts concerning the country stand out so prominently as its paradoxical wealth and poverty. The country possesses abundant supplies of coal, iron, manganese, gold, lead, silver and copper as testified to by the American Technical Mission in their Survey in 1942. The coal resources of Bengal and Behar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam and Nongstoin have been estimated at more than 77 billion tons. India's bauxite deposits are estimated at 250 million tons. About 30% of the world's output of manganese ore, and three-fourths of the world's supply of sheet and block mica belong to India. India is also the world's largest producer of lac.

India's iron ore reserves are stated by the Mission to be probably the largest in the world and superior in quality to those of any other country. In the Singhbhum district alone the reserves are estimated at 20 billion tons. Bastar and the Rajhana Hills in the Central Provinces are estimated to contain 724 and 2½ million tons respectively of high quality ore. In and around Calcutta, at an average distance of 125 miles from the Bengal coal fields, there are, according to the Indian Tariff Board, 20 billion tons of high grade ore.

Immense are the potentialities of water power for the electrification of the country, and equally striking is the woeful neglect of these potentialities. Though the country is second only to the United States in water-power resources with its 27 million potential horse-power as against 35 millions of the latter country, she uses only 3 per cent of

them compared to 33 per cent in the United States and 72 per cent in Switzerland.

In agricultural too we have vast unexploited sources awaiting development. The Statistical Abstract for British India shows that, of the cultivable area of 355 million acres, only 59% is sown with crops, 13.2% is fallow and no less than 27.3% is cultivable land left waste. The obstacle to the reclamation of waste land is admittedly lack of capital, the bulk of the cultivators, in their extreme poverty, having little capital to spare.

Quite in contrast with the potential wealth of the country is the terrible poverty of the masses. The pre-war *per capita* national income was Rs. 63 per annum as against England's Rs. 1010 and Rs. 1184 of the U.S.A. The low standard of living reflects itself in 50 per cent of the population getting only one full meal a day and a high death rate causing the average duration of the life of a male to be only 26 years 9 months as compared with 58 years 7 months in Great Britain.

Thus a superficial survey leaves us a picture of limitless potential wealth and of woeful neglect and failure in developing it under the imperialist rule just ended. India remains today one of the backward countries of the world, economically and industrially.

Mushroom deals between the British and American and Indian Big Business are apt to strike at the roots of our industrial expansion at this juncture and result in the subordination of the national economy to the monopoly interests of Great Britain and its dominant partner, U.S.A. The nullification of the deals and the nationalisation of the key industries are essential for the promotion of widespread prosperity. Without succumbing to the viles of the vested interests in land, we should unflinchingly carry out the

abolition of zamindaries, redistribute the land laying down a maximum limit for individual possession and settle landless labour on the cultivable waste land released for redistribution. All these measures should serve as a prelude to co-operative reorganisation with a view to the application of scientific methods to agriculture.

Co-ordinated and balanced economy requires planning on an all-

India scale. It involves effective co-operation between the two 'Sthans' and the 583 Indian State enclaves. Should the powers that be prove recalcitrant, public pressure should act as proper corrective. Here as elsewhere, it is public pressure that provides the sovereign remedy for all the ills of the masses. But it should be mobilised effectively through all the various class organisations.

REMOVAL OF CASTE DISTINCTIONS

by K. Y. NARAYAN

THE bill seeking to abolish distinctions of caste, given notice of by a prominent member of the Madras Legislative Assembly is a welcome move and is sure to bring relief to all those who have been helplessly watching the trend of events in the country. The object of the bill is 'to foster a casteless Hindu society in the interest of the solidarity of the nation' and as a first step in this direction, it proposes, 'to remove all official recognition of distinctions of caste, sect or community within the Hindu fold.'

It is the bane of the politics of our country that no part of it is free from the communal problem. On analysis, one finds that the Brahmin and non-Brahmin problem in the South has its origin in the race for posts and power. As long as the Government continue to accord recognition to distinctions of caste, favouring one caste as against another, they will be helping only to create caste consciousness and breed bad blood between the communities. There is some truth in the argument that tradition plays no negligible part in the cultural upbringing of a man. But the non-Brahmin leaders can no longer use the same argument for obtaining concessions and privileges for their

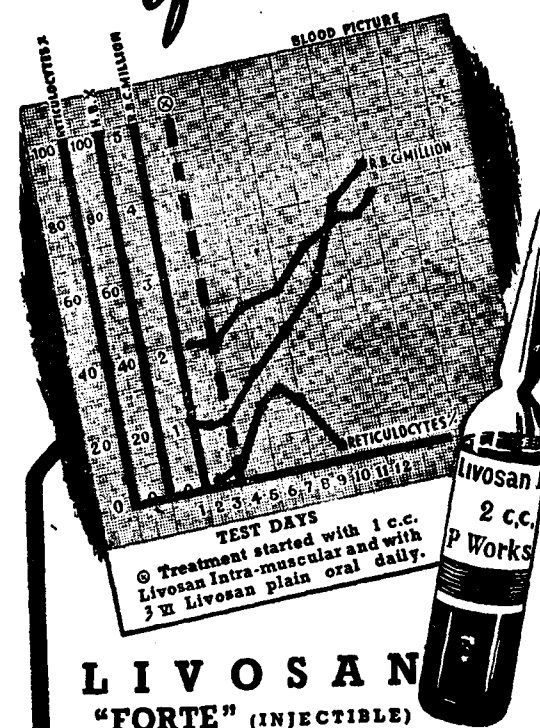
own communities, as the non-Brahmins also are at present almost as well advanced as the Brahmins. The supposition that merit is the sole monopoly of the Brahmins arises from a sense of defeatism and is a mistake since it is not borne out by facts. Once the official recognition is withdrawn it will not take long for the communities to merge into one solid whole. It cannot be denied that the immediate advantages resulting from the passing of the bill into law will rest with the Brahmins, but bearing in mind the larger picture of the country's good as a whole, it is to be hoped that the bill will receive the support it deserves.

The bill will also serve as a test for the Congress Legislature Party. The activities of Congress leaders in the province and elsewhere since their release from jails, have given rise to a good deal of scepticism about the professions of Congressmen in general. The prestige of the organisation has been affected, perhaps irreparably, and if the leaders wish to see a part of it at least restored, and all their talk about founding a casteless, classless society to be taken seriously, they must not fail to seize the opportunity which has come in the shape of the proposed bill.

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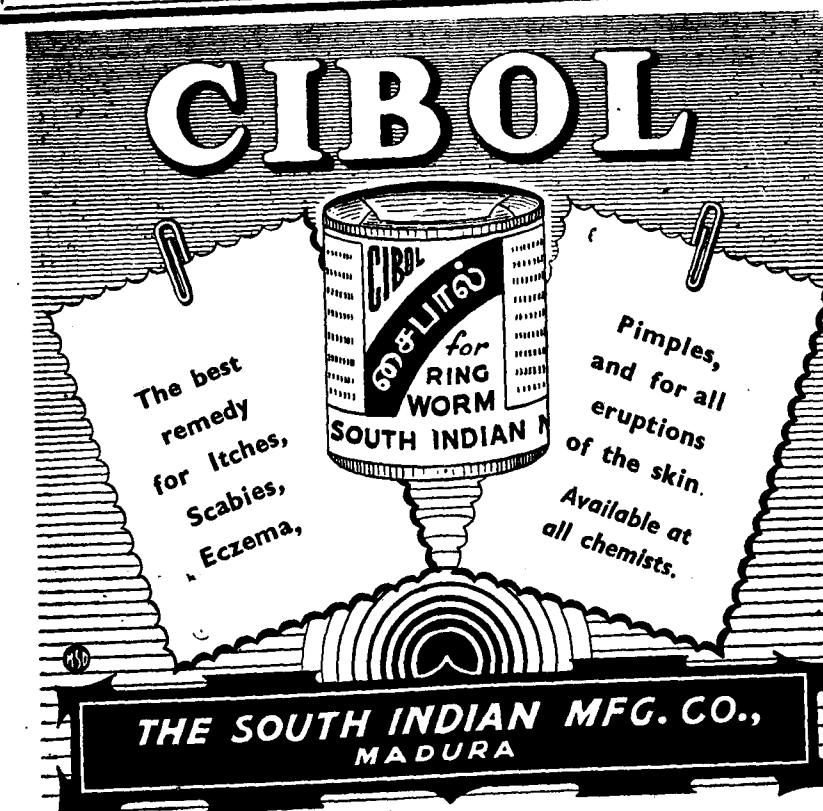
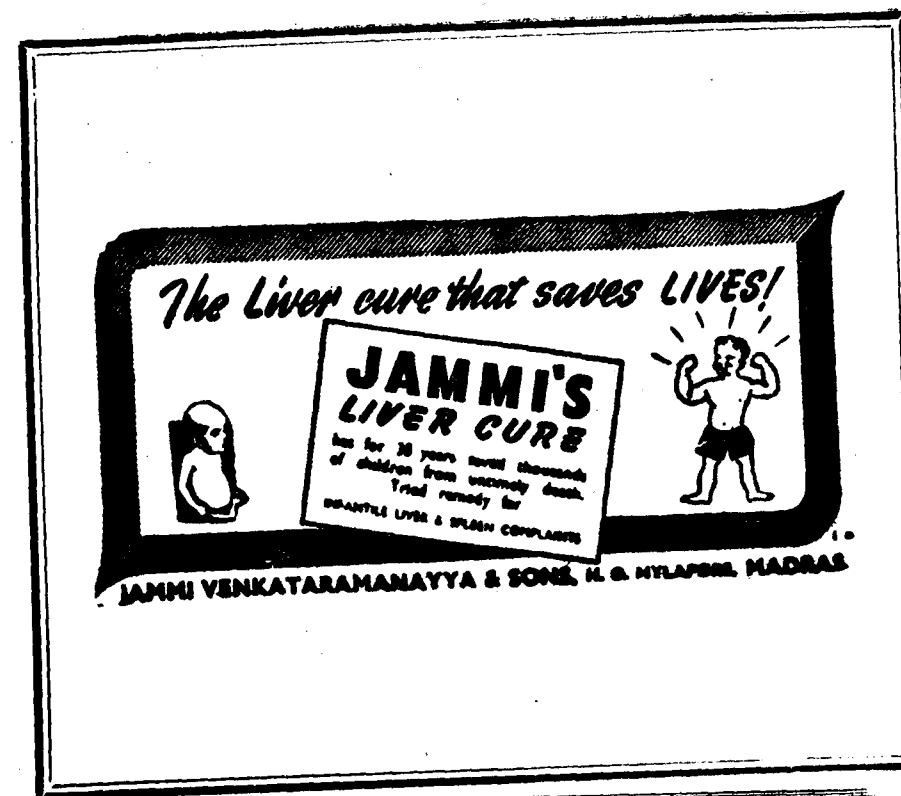
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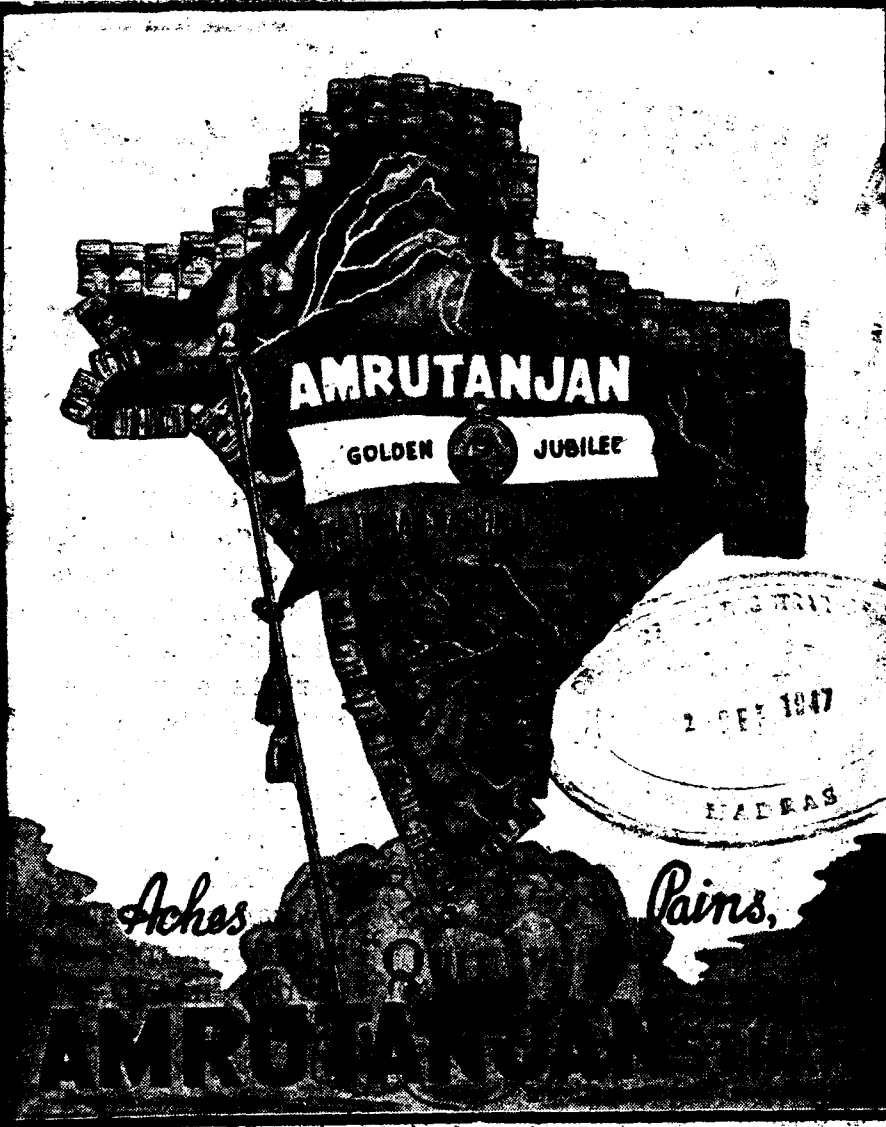
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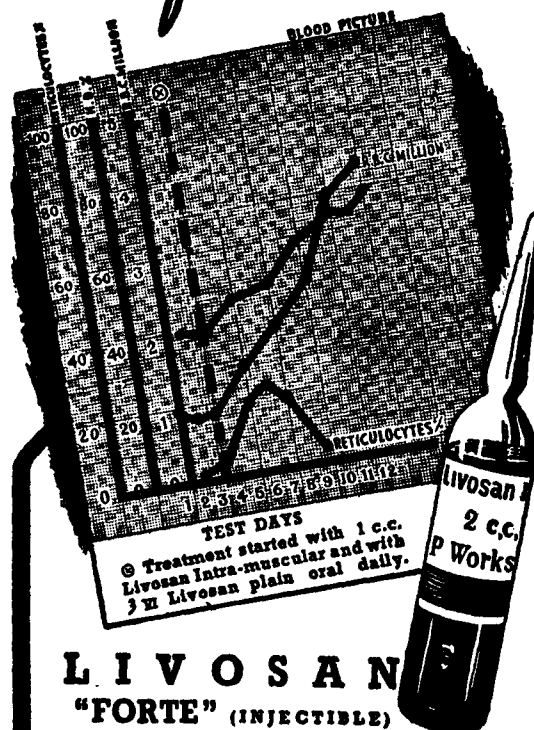
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Labourers' mid-day meal: They buy and eat it on the pavement. Drawn from life by H. V. Ram Gopal.

SWATANTRA

VOL. 11
No. 28

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

BETRAYAL OF THE COMMON MAN

NOTWITHSTANDING the celebration of Independence Day on a magnificent scale, the change in the nation's political status that it has brought shows no sign of registering itself in the form of any improvement in the condition of the common man. The food shortage would seem to have been accepted by the Ministry, with unperturbed complacency, as an evil for which somebody else is responsible. Ordinarily, the ministerial confession that production had improved though procurement had deteriorated, should have been construed as evidence of incompetence and lack of public support and influence with the people, and served as a signal for vacation of office by the Minister responsible in order that someone better qualified and capable of tackling the food problem with greater efficiency might take his place. But love of office would seem to have got the better of the plain decencies and proprieties of public life. And while everywhere people are disgusted with the mis-handling of the food situation and see in it a mockery of the new freedom ushered in on Independence Day, the Minister concerned quietly goes on as if nothing untoward had happened, taking advantage of the disorganised condition of the people unable to voice forth their feelings in effective ways. This problem of food shortage will never be solved unless deterrent punishments are

meted out to blackmarketeers. The existence of blackmarketeers is admitted by all. Their discovery and apprehension present no difficulty. Why, then, is there such little effort in evidence in the matter of making an example of the blackmarketeers responsible for the food shortage in order that procurement may have a better chance of success? Commonsense can offer only one explanation of the riddle. Service of the people through provision of adequate food is abandoned in favour of forbearance of the black market for the sake of the political support of the vested interests dominating it, in the absence of popular support to make up for the anger of the vested interests, should they be dealt with sternly and justly.

In the matter of cloth the position is no better. The whole position in respect of the production of cloth requires to be reviewed anew. The overthrowal of Prakasam is, in one sense, tantamount to denial of faith in Khadi on the part of the dominant section in the Congress represented by the supplanters. They have no right to waste public money in continued expenditure on schemes which they were resolved on preventing from being worked with energy and faith by the preceding regime. The practice of making Khadi a fetish for sentimental exhibitionism while withholding from it the full backing of the State is an instance

of economic double-dealing which none should be permitted to indulge in at the cost of the State. A dynamic campaign by a leader with faith could have supplied all the urgent clothing needs of the people with the aid of the spinning wheel. But recent events have shown that no such campaign will ever more have any chance of being tolerated by the leaders in effective control of Congress policy. The real trend is towards industrialisation and power-driven mills. The Khadi exhibitionism, maintained for show and tactical political purposes, tends to distort the actual realities of the situation in respect of cloth, and deserves to be abandoned as much because of the hypocrisy tainting it, as for the sake of the proper organisation of the needs of the poor on realistic lines.

Another item of the present programme that calls for examination and revision is Prohibition. It is now admitted that Prohibition has turned out to be a thorough failure. Can the causes for the failure be overcome and success ensured? If so, the whole province should be brought under the purview of the reform, in consonance with the clamour of the anti-Prakasamites now in power who a year ago were so utterly intolerant of the method of piecemeal introduction spread over a period of years. It is to be feared, however, that the relish of illicit distillation popularised already, will doom all further experiments in Prohibition to virtual ineffectiveness, so that the habit of drink will endure while the revenue alone will be lost to Government. With some of the Ministers themselves ranking as addicts, the atmosphere for Prohibition as a purificatory discipline for the masses is completely lacking in the present set-up of provincial administration. We be-

lieve honesty and sound finance will now be better honoured by a frank admission of the advisability of other methods to achieve the objective of Prohibition. The vast body of drink addicts are aged men. A system of licensed rationing of liquor is well worth considering as a device for saving at least the young from the liquor habit, while allowing the hardened habituals to run their course in moderation. A certain measure of intemperance is perhaps inseparable from human existence. And it were perhaps advisable, in the present condition of our strained economy, to admit the administrative impossibility of Prohibition as hitherto conceived, and waste no more money on it.

So far, the one original measure of relief advertised by the Government has come in the form of an offer of land grants to political sufferers under the British regime just ended. We realise that the impulse actuating the offer is laudable, but its application is sure to lead to the demoralisation of our public life. Patriotism, like honesty, should be its own reward. It is vulgarised when it is commercialised, or a value is sought to be set on it. The most precious of the services of patriotism are intangible, and often the heaviest of the tolls connected with it are paid not in jails or in measured forms of penalty, but in ways of suffering of an involuntary kind of whose significance as stimulus to freedom its very victims are at the moment barely conscious of. It is pernicious that a new vested interest in the sharing of old glories should be set up at a time like the present when the rampancy of clannishness has become a fearful scourge to destroy such slender resources of comradeship as have been left by the departing regime to serve as a start for

the new freedom. Government have duties to all in the matter of supplying such elementary needs as food, clothing, houses and education, and any canalisation of their discharge on exclusive sectional lines will break up the incidence of common citizenship and impair the ordering of Government and public life on democratic lines.

British Socialism On Trial

THE economic and financial crisis which Britain is now facing has two aspects. One aspect, and this has been emphasized and harped upon by the Government in its official statements and during the recent Commons debate almost to the exclusion of the other, is the alarming rate at which the dollar loan from the United States is being used up. The loan, which Lord Keynes negotiated for Britain in 1945, was expected to last for four years, during which time Britain hoped to reconstruct her war-battered economy on stable foundations. Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, now announces that at the present rate of withdrawal the dollar loan would be exhausted by October this year.

The other aspect, which has not received adequate attention, is more fundamental and concerns the very nature of British industrial production, is the serious lack of balance between Britain's exports and imports. The adverse gap between exports and imports is not a recent problem for Britain. The necessity for increasing exports had been felt ever since the end of the first World War, though the crisis has now deepened and intensified, due primarily to the loss of foreign investments during the recent war, and, to some extent, due also to competition from the techni-

cally superior and vastly more powerful American industry. Therefore measures intended to overcome the present dollar crisis must also conform, if they are to be really effective, to a policy which seeks to solve the long-standing problem of British exports. Let us take a look now at Britain's industrial structure and balance of payments before and during the war.

Between 1913 and 1929 American industrial production increased by 70 per cent while British production actually decreased by one per cent. This was because, among other reasons, investments were diverted from basic industries to luxury industries. Export trade declined and total exports fell by more than half during the years 1924-1933. This degeneration of industrial production and export trade continued until 1939 when the London *Economist* wrote: "Foreign investment is the nation's greatest single industry."

The decline in productive efficiency could be directly traced to the concentration of capital in the hands of a few monopolists. The amalgamation in the textile industry which was sponsored by the Government resulted in the destruction of 14 million spindles during the years 1920-1935. This was aptly described by Rajani Palme Dutt as "the peace-time scorched earth policy" of British monopolists. The Federation of British Industries, in whose hands Britain's industrial welfare was considered safe, put forward a programme in 1935 which was concerned not so much with stepping up production as with the control of price and output in such a manner as to preserve the profits of the big producers. The effect was a slow-down in technological advance and the freezing of British industry at a low level of efficiency. As the *Economist* put

it, "high profits and low turnover became the dominant slogan of British business."

With regard to the balance of payments problem, Britain depended exclusively upon her foreign investments in her various colonies and quasi-colonies to bridge the widening gap between exports and imports. Her exports had fallen so low and capital investments abroad had increased so much that in 1929 Britain's rentier income from foreign countries was actually seven times the income from real trade. World War II deprived her of this main source of income, due to the Japanese occupation of the Far Eastern colonies and the subsequent national liberation in almost all the colonies, which has led to the forced sale of several lucrative investments. Britain's income from foreign investment has now been halved. It could be seen, at the end of the war, that the lopsidedness of the British industrial structure made it impossible to make up for the lost rentier income through increased exports.

Apart from her inability to pay for her current imports, Britain has another difficulty. The war has changed her predominant creditor position into a debtor position in which she owes the Empire countries huge amounts of sterling. Therefore she cannot now dictate the terms on which she would trade with these countries, as she could and did when she was a creditor nation. And Britain has to increase her exports precisely to those countries and dependencies to whom she is in debt and from whom she must import her raw materials. The position has been made more difficult because American economic expansion, with its policy of multilateral free trade, has penetrated the previously closed sterling bloc. Free convertibility of

sterling was one of the conditions of the American loan to Britain.

The timely succour rendered by the dollar loan tempted the British Government to overlook the deep-seated maladies bequeathed to present-day British economy by Britain's colonial past. The Labour Government has signally failed to utilize American aid to remedy the country's economic condition. The reason for this failure was Mr. Bevin's continuation of Tory foreign policies, involving heavy overseas military expenditure. G. D. H. Cole did not mince his words about the truth of the matter when he wrote in the *New Statesman*: "The very existence of the loan has enabled the Americans to impose on us obligations which we should otherwise have been forced to reject because they would have been altogether beyond our immediate power. We should have been unable to go on garrisoning Greece against the Russians or dallying disastrously in Palestine, or acting as capitalist policemen throughout the Near and Middle East Rejection of the loan, had it been possible, would have forced us at once to restrict our military and imperial commitments and to come to terms with the Soviet Union We should have been under the sheer necessity of reorganising our own metal and engineering industries to meet the demands of industrial equipment."

Fortunately or unfortunately, the loan was obtained and has now been nearly spent. Why was it exhausted so soon? Dr. Dalton lists three main causes: the dollar starvation which is common to the rest of the world; the increase in prices of American goods that Britain had bought, by 40 to 50 per cent since 1945; and, lastly, the fuel crisis last February which set back British exports by £200 million. The Chancellor of the

Exchequer did not really exhaust the reasons. He failed to mention the enormous expenditure on British armed forces abroad. The White Paper issued early this year on National Income and Expenditure has revealed that out of the total deficit of £400 million in the balance of payments in 1946, no less than three-fourths, namely £300 million, was on account of overseas Government expenditure, of which £225 million is recorded as direct military expenditure. Here is the big drain on the dollar loan—which should very well satisfy America, for with her Truman doctrine, she can hardly conceive of a better use for dollars. The withdrawals from U.S. and Canadian loans in 1946 were entirely spent in meeting Britain's overseas 'commitments'; not a cent was utilised for the reconstruction of domestic industry.

The Labour Government has not been unaware of the danger of Britain running out of dollars before schedule, but the steps they have taken so far lead one to fear that the Attlee Cabinet is either ignorant of the principles of Socialist management or is, for some reason, unable to implement those principles. The tobacco tax is a case in point. Popular resentment against the idea of dependence on the dollar has been utilized by the Cabinet to increase the tax on tobacco as a supposed means of combating such dependence. But this kind of indirect taxation shifts the burden to the mass of the people—even Alfred Marshall, let alone Karl Marx, would have turned in his grave at this tax on a "conventional necessary." There has been a surprising omission of other methods of combating dependence on the dollar, such as a rigorous cut in luxury imports and, above all, in wasteful overseas expenditure. Dr. Dalton's slogan during his

Budget speech early this year was "Food before films". The slogan, obviously, was not worked out adequately, since the tax on film imports has had to be dealt with again.

It would appear that the Labour Government of Britain has not yet realised that (to quote R. P. Dutt again) "the old basis by which Britain functioned as a world imperialist power, dominating one-quarter of the globe, intervening and policing in a score of countries, drawing overseas tribute to pay for imports and build up the fortunes of the super-rich class, and neglecting the development of home industry and agriculture—that basis is finished for good and all As day by day experience drives home, in new and sharp and unpleasant forms, the consequences of the American loan conditions and dependence on American reaction, of delayed demobilisation and the shortage of man-power, of exhaustion of economic resources on extravagant overseas commitments, and of weakening of the stand against monopoly at home, the understanding of the true nature of the fight is deepened. In the modern world there can be no separation of home and foreign issues."

The Commons debate makes it clear that attention is being centred on exports, to the neglect of the equally pressing question of deficit due to overseas 'commitments'. Turning to the plans for the export drive, it is obvious that the only exports that Britain can make are of manufactures and not of raw materials and food. And Britain will be hard put to it to find a market, for even those industrial products that she might increasingly produce, in the present impoverished world market, especially in view of the superior competitive position of America with her greater

industrial efficiency and an ambitious export target of £2,750 million. Further, Britain is obliged to give up imperial preferences as part of the American Loan Agreement, and has already had occasion to receive an angry note from the U.S. Government for violation of the agreement in connection with the Anglo-Argentine sterling settlement.

One of the suggestions made has been that Britain should depend to a greater degree on closer co-operation with the Empire countries. The PEP (Political and Economic Planning) pamphlet on "Britain and World Trade" published in June this year says that, in the event of failure to get further American co-operation, Britain could meet the situation by pursuing full employment policies in concert with countries holding sterling balances and with other backward countries keen on industrialisation. Paul Einzig, who has inherited the bold economic vision of the late Lord Keynes, also advocates strong measures, including violation of the U.S. Loan Agreement, and integration of the sterling bloc as a defensive unit against American penetration. But this solution would only re-introduce in a heightened form, the pre-war economic rivalry between the U.S. and Britain—a rivalry which, the British economist McDougall finds convincing reasons to believe, could result in nothing but the defeat of Britain.

Britain's situation indeed looks hopeless unless her entire foreign policy is reconsidered and altered in favour of closer co-operation and trade with the planned economies of the world. The British Government itself has recognised that it is necessary to promote greater trade with the 'soft' (non-dollar) currency areas. It is highly regrettable, in view of the need for

such new channels of Britain's international trade, that the talks for the conclusion of an Anglo-Soviet trade treaty should have resulted in failure for the present. Russian timber and Russian foodstuffs would have been of the greatest value to Britain, even as Russia could have obtained some of her capital needs in return. That Britain *can* do business with Russia and with the East European semi-Socialist States ought to be clear from the successful working of the Anglo-Polish trade agreement.

The Labour Government will, no doubt, exhort the workers to tighten their belts and help Britain "ride the storm." Much gratuitous argument was also advanced during the Commons debate against any rise in the workers' wages. The usual 'virtuous' interpretation of the 'vicious spiral' of wages and prices chasing each other upward, was advanced by Tory speakers. What are the facts? The price level after this war was 61 per cent above pre-war (1939), which compares very favourably with the price level after the last war which rose to 225 per cent of the 1913 level. The favourable position in 1946 was due to the retention of price controls. Mr. Attlee seems to regret that they should have later been relaxed. "It may well be," he said, "that we have relaxed control too soon." The tendency of prices to rise above value as a result of scarcity is held in check partly by Government control of prices, partly by subsidies that keep down the purchase price of certain foods, and by the policy of cheap money. Besides doing all this, the Government should also go into the question of what the factors are which are pushing the prices up. These factors appear, in the main, to be increasing profits, increasing costs, and indirect taxation.

There was an all-round and, in view of a Labour Government being in power, an astonishing rise in profits in 1946. In the cotton industry, for instance, according to the *Economist*, profits in 1946 were higher than in any year since 1920. In 1945, the total amount of rent, interest and profit was nearly double the 1939 amount, and represented a higher proportion of industrial output distributed over these heads. These excessive profits find their way into the black-market for consumption as well as capital goods. Indirect taxation has served as a substantial counterweight to the 'cost of living' subsidies; hence the upward movement of prices of manufactures is outstripping the advance

in wages. Real wages are getting depressed. This represents the first step in the familiar and disastrous sequence of falling consumption, overproduction and unemployment, at a time when the prosperity of the people of Britain depends on ever-increasing production.

Pretty poor showing, it will be admitted, for a Socialist Government. The miners, who worked longer hours in the pits to see the country through the recent fuel crisis, deserved better. It looks as if Britain's Labour Government is not going to achieve much unless it takes its Socialist professions a little more seriously than it has done, in the management of both domestic and foreign affairs.

Sotto Voce

Half The Profits



HERE is a sober news paragraph from a Calcutta despatch: "In the first Eastern Pakistan special train which left Calcutta on August 6 were 717 Muslim vagrants (including 60 women), being the East Bengal Government's share of 1,000 beggars rounded up and maintained under Government expense under the Bengal Vagrancy Act." How many in Calcutta must be envying these lucky beggars! Taken with the other report that the same scrupulous division has been made of lunatic asylums and their inmates, it shows how terribly conscientious these modern Governments are.

In the old days armies on the march had their *vivandieres*, Emperors on circuit their jesters.

Musicians and courtesans, bards and pandars, ambitious scholars and astute worldlings attached themselves to the court and moved from place to place at the King's pleasure. The rest of the population had no inclination for gadding about; and not Akbar himself nor Asoka in his unregenerate days of military triumph would have found his kingdom worth an hour's purchase if he had tried to move any large mass of people from one part of the country to another. It is Democracy that talks of exchanging populations as if they were sacks of potato.

We are told that the various Partition Councils have been equally logical and meticulous in the division of assets. Their work has

reminded observers of the good old times when no division of joint family property took place without the women of the household tearing out handfuls of hair from each other's head. The males, in the end, settled the issue by "splitting the difference." Pestles, mortars and various other household goods, which each brother—or rather his wife—insisted should go to him, were impartially cut into two equal if useless halves and all were happy that justice was done.

The old sage who said, "All things are dear to you because the self is dear to you," had probably presided over many family partitions in his time. For nothing is more remarkable than the indifference, nay, positive dislike you develop for what till the other day you had looked upon with affectionate pride as your family possession. I have known men who had cherished some small bit of property—a little jewel of a garden, perhaps, or a bit of wet land famed as the most fertile for many miles round—as the apple of their eye. The moment it was irrevocably allotted to a brother or a cousin they made a vow that they would never more set eyes upon it. They regarded it with the aversion of the faithful for the apostate.

I am not suggesting that zealotry will go so far as to make the Pakistani harden his heart against the Taj Mahal or the Hindustani look upon the historic city of Lava as if it no more concerned him than Samarkand and Bokhara. But what I fear is that political rancour may breed in us a passion for atavistic self-deprivation. Islam was supposed to frown on music as profane idleness. But Hindustani music as we have it to-day is mostly the splendid gift of the *gharana* of Tan Sen. The famed

Moghul miniatures and the marvels of Indo-Saracenic architecture are the work of loving and devout Hindu hands. Shall we disown these common joys and welcome spiritual poverty like a bride?

The modern craze for self-sufficiency is the retribution that individualism run amok has called on its own head. Nature abhors this vacuity. "Nothing in the world is single," said the poet in one of his profoundest intuitions.

*See the mountains kiss high heaven
And the waves clasp one another;
No sister flower would be forgiven
If it disdained its brother.*

And that is the lesson that the supreme myths of the race reinforce. The Biblical story of creation—the first woman being fashioned out of a rib of Adam—has its parallel in Hindu legend.

Daksha, the mind-born son of Brahma, was ordered to propagate the species. His first progeny were, like himself, autonomous, mind-conceived. And they, not having been flesh, could not know the sweetness of bondage. Yearning for *mukti* they scorned to be progenitors. Daksha, thus foiled, saw the solution in the sovereign mystery of mutual attraction. He made Manu the first man and out of him Sataroopaa—"the myriad-formed," an appropriate name for woman in her infinite variety—and they peopled the earth. The very violence with which they rebelled against their destiny and oscillated between the polarities of feeling gave Creation its unique richness.

*All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle.*

Let us not forget that, Hindus and Muslims, Hindustanis and Pakistanis.

VIGHNESWARA.



SIDELIGHTS :

This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOUR of the members of the Indian Dominion Cabinet are real leaders of men in the sense that large masses of people hang on them for guidance. Three of them have risen to power on the crest of Gandhian influence, but three more dissimilar beings can rarely be found adorning the effective leadership of a single political organisation. Jawaharlal of the three represents a grand contradiction in Congress politics which has continued up to date under the shelter of national preoccupation with the major activity connected with the anti-imperialist struggle. But the moment for the resolution of the contradiction has come, along with independence—a moment foreseen by Subhash Bose, that can no longer be postponed indefinitely.

Subhash said of Nehru, "He is looked upon by almost everybody in India as an infallible guide on everything, even though on his own showing he vacillates at every step. You find the peasant hails him as his spokesman, labour as their protagonist, the Communist patronises him, the capitalist dotes on him, the artist hails him as a pathfinder in belles lettres, the mill-owner gushes over him ignoring the disconcerting fact that he is actually spinning away, without conviction, to prove a worthy heir to Gandhiji and a friend to the *Daridranarayana*—a word he abhors An artist may afford to be decorative He may even hug the charming inconsistencies to cut a picturesque figure. But for a man of action, a statesman, an administrator and above all for one who bids fair to grow into a world figure, it were madness even to dream that one could do without a backbone I will beg leave to prophesy: if he

really wants to serve India through politics he must first of all make sure of his foundations. For if he does not take care to seek solid ground under his feet, the ground won't seek his feet either." (From *The Subhash I Knew* by Dilip Kumar Roy, reviewed on page 43.)

Unlike Nehru, Sardar Patel is all backbone and no vacillation and the same can be said of Rajendra Prasad also. But Rajendra Prasad is an individualist immersed in practical work for social welfare, devoid of personal political ambition and with no taste for intrigues connected with power consolidation on party lines. He acts on the principle of "one step enough at a time" and refuses to be drawn into the controversies that lie beyond. A man with no rancour and incapable of making enemies. Power has come to him unsought through sheer character, universally recognised by all warring groups as one of unique purity and straightforward rectitude. His genius for evading conflicts tends now to concentrate the struggle for primacy in power between Nehru and Patel, though it is not unlikely that his very detachment may finally bring him to the top, over the heads of both. For the time being, all the glamour of titular limelighted premiership belongs to Nehru, while Patel goes on quietly gathering the strings of effective control over the party into his own hands, planting dependable lieutenants of his own in key positions in the administration and in the important offices that influence and dominate public opinion. The major voice in the determination of all the big appointments is that of Patel. He has capital at his elbow. Unlimited access to the wealth and resources of rich traders and owners of industry who look to him for patronage and protection, control over the most powerful and influential of the departments of Government at

INDIAN DOMINION CABINET



(1) Rajendra Prasad; (2) Jawaharlal Nehru; (3) Vallabhbhai Patel; (4) Baldev Singh; (5) Bhabha; (6) Dr. S. P. Mookherjee; (7) Abul Kalam Azad; (8) Rajkumari Amrit Kaur; (9) Dr. John Mathai; (10) R. K. Shanmukham Chetti; (11) Jagjivan Ram; (12) N. V. Gadgil; (13) Rafi Ahmad Kidwai; (14) Dr. Ambedkar.

the Centre and over the whole mechanism of vote-catching, his own single-track will, burdened by few scruples in the pursuit of power, and the supreme asset of a lifetime's close association with the Mahatma to an extent precluding for ever, under any circumstances, any possibility of an open breach between the two—all these have combined to make Sardar Patel the most dreaded and formidable among the leading figures propelled to supreme office in the new Dominion of India.

Dr. Ambedkar is the only non-Gandhian member of the Central Government entitled to political recognition on the basis of mass suffrage. Dr. Mukherjee of the Hindu Maha Sabha and Sardar Baldev Singh represent no doubt very important communities. But they have not attained that level of unchallengeable representative hold over their respective communities that belonged to Mr. Jinnah in the case of the Muslim League and is exercised by Dr. Ambedkar over the scheduled castes. They could have been ignored, or replaced by others from the same fold, without any convulsion being caused thereby. But Dr. Ambedkar is the very spearhead of the hopes and aspirations of millions of India's suppressed humanity dubbed and treated as untouchable over the ages. If democracy is a force symbolising the ambition of the depressed and the enslaved to redemption, and if that force can be said to be incarnated in one individual more than in others, that individual is Dr. Ambedkar. He is different from Jagjivan Ram who, according to all accounts has given a very good account of himself as a member of the Interim Government, but who required to be carried on the shoulders of Rajendra Prasad for initial recognition of his status as administrator. But Dr. Ambedkar's stature needs no stilts to be brought to the level of the topmost leader of any other party. His ability is as great as his learning and knowledge, and both

are well matched by the vigour of his resistance to monopoly and privilege and his devotion to the cause of the downtrodden in the land.

Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Ambedkar are thus the only ones in the Cabinet whose political importance is equal to their official position as administrators and who can therefore be depended upon to exercise their judgment independently without nervous fear about the consequences of dissenting from the wishes and viewpoints of powerful patrons. In the case of none of the others can it be said that their position as members of Government is matched by their influence as leaders of men. Maulana Azad who shone so well as Congress President and conducted himself with such unwearying dignity during the recent most difficult period in Congress history, makes somehow a far from happy impression as Member for Education. He has lost his historical position and sunk into comparative unimportance since he assumed a portfolio. In the case of some of the other members, lack of political importance as judged from a national scale, is counter-balanced by admirable individual qualities. Dr. Mathai, for example, has vast experience in the management of industrial concerns without the capitalist bent of mind which is the besetting bane of industrial magnates. The Tatas in whose service he rose to distinction have ever been less concerned with profit than with national prosperity and the advancement of science—and they have not monkeyed with the intrigues of power politics. They have to be differentiated from the Birlas who have taken patriotism in the stride of business, whose whole outlook is one of acquisitiveness and whose strangle-hold over the Congress exposes that great institution today to the taint of capitalist bias and the aversion of millions of socialistically inclined anti-capitalist people. But Dr. John Mathai is that invaluable rarity, a Socialist of

liberal outlook with managerial experience of capitalist industry. Rare qualities are credited to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur too, and to Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. But in their case as well as of those among the rest not so well endowed, promotion has come by favour, which means that the ambition of securing camp-followers has prevailed over other considerations with the arbiters of our national destiny responsible for the formation of the country's Government.

Shanmukham Chetti's appointment as Finance Member is of special interest for the displacement of C. R. involved in it—a step well in accord with the power-hunter's repugnance for tall poppies in his neighbourhood, and ominously illustrative of dark and unhappy possibilities in the relations between the South and the Centre in the coming days. Shanmukham Chetti is an advocate of relaxation in political standards, given to taking such

pleasures as come his way without squeamishness. I reproduce here what I wrote of him six years ago as it might be of some interest to readers now: "Sir R. K. Shanmukham has revealed himself to be a progressive constitutionalist. He has shed the trappings of the patriot, but he has acquired considerable success as an administrator. He has the true administrator's gift of discovering dependable men for fulfilling difficult tasks. He is an economist of vision and insight, and is very able in the expounding of complicated themes. His sense of logic is keen and vigilant, and in all administrative matters, he strives to render justice by keeping an open mind. He is prudent and tactful and is endowed abundantly with commonsense. He has got entangled into membership of a reactionary political party, but his Justicite persuasions, based on expediency, are apparently a result of his frank acceptance of his own limitations for the hardy functions of Congress membership."—SAKA.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

by "CHITRAGUPTA"

COMRADE!—There was a time when you delighted in that unvarnished appellation as honour and honorific enough between man and man. To-day, as you are stepping into the seats of the mighty, I greet you with it because I am sure your radical and egalitarian fervour still burns pure and serene, and because as a free citizen of a free country, I can think of no better way in which I could give expression to my new-born feeling of personal responsibility for your apotheosis. Bear with me then if I seize this historic moment for a survey (in retrospect and prospect) of your role in Fettered and Free India. Let me assure you that my purpose in attempting this appraisal is neither adulation nor censure, neither to darken counsel nor to dissipate the fund of abundant goodwill with which you start. I pray earnestly that you may make a clean job of your great assignment, and ensure for yourself a place in the undying affections of the people no less than in the company of the creative statesmen of the world who, with the help of simple but germinal ideas, have wrought fruitful revolutions in the course of history.

Looking back on your career, there has been nothing to rival it in the drab and dusty politics of our country during the last thirty years. The romance that has clung to you had many elements of modernity, unlike in the case of the Mahatma who has been cast for an immemorial type which never palls on the Indian imagination. He has rung novel changes on the ancient tune of Renunciation which forms the very texture of Indian history through the ages. But you were

different. To say that you were born with a silver spoon would be an under-statement; I would add that it was gilded 24 carat gold during the period of your gestation! Anand Bhavan which has now become a half-way house between a national museum and a national pantheon cradled you and brought you up in the lap of a luxury and sophistication that borrowed zestfully from the refinements of East and West, ancient and modern. Was it not whispered of your mighty parent that, despairing of finding a good enough dhoby in all-India to launder his clothes, he organised a weekly trans-marine service to and fro Paris to assuage his sartorial sensibilities? He kept table so lavishly and with such choice dishes that it groaned under the weight of delicacies gathered from three continents! It was more than a legend that alleged how the British Governor of the province, finding himself reduced to Lilliputian scale beside the Brobdingnagian proportions of Anand Bhavan, its appointments and appurtenances had the provincial capital shifted to Lucknow in desperate (and unavailing) self-defence. You had the further advantage of being an only son, and so became the premier of a domestic cosmos in prophetic anticipation of becoming the Premier of India.

There were other intriguing factors about you which rendered your personality piquant to the vulgar gaze. You were an aristocrat expounding the principles of socialism with an assurance that left Marx far behind blushing but a mild pink! You denounced capitalism while owing all your distinction, individuality and culture to an abund-

ance of the cash nexus at your disposal. A high-caste Brahmin, you denounced caste with a sincere gusto which brought to the down-trodden a fleeting glow of deceptive self-satisfaction. An early English domicile and training gave you a twist which made you an exotic in both directions. The more you break away or try to break away from Gandhiji the more securely are you tied to his chariot wheels, emotionally speaking.

With such a composite equipment which might have taken you whithersoever you cared to go, you plunged suddenly into the seething cauldron of Non-co-operation and spent the goldenest years of your life behind prison-bars. You sacrificed yourself, if not cheerfully, at least without repining, and even parted with the partner of your domestic felicity as part of the price of Freedom. In those years of an enforced and hated idleness, I like to think that you became chastened and mellowed, and discovered yourself and your India in the context of a flaming certitude of feeling more than of thought. It was indeed the crowning mercy of the old regime that expired on August 14, that you were more rigorously imprisoned in the war years than any one else, in spite of the fact (or perhaps because of it?) that you were one of the earliest opponents of Fascism, and cherished your opposition to it with a constancy which not even a Churchill or a Stalin could have equalled, much less excelled?

But the whirligig of time has brought in its revenges. With the assumption of office, power and responsibility, the idolatry of the crowd is apt to give place to iconoclasm. Although cushioned over for the nonce with satin and gold lace, you are sitting over a smouldering volcano. Beyond the enunciation of vague generalities and rounded periods, the public has no idea of

how you and your colleagues intend to ride the whirlwind and guide the storm that is gathering strength on the industrial and agrarian fronts.

Nor is the political issue fully liquidated yet. Time alone will determine whether you were wise or otherwise in truckling to the demand for Pakistan; but the present settlement has left too many loose-ends to be ignored or underestimated. Every one of them has the makings of a major *casus belli* in itself. If the interregnum is to be used for getting the stage ready for the final tussle with Pakistan, as seems likely from the trend of responsible utterances on both sides, there is hardly any scope for the initiation or fruition of economic reforms urgently called for by the acuteness of mass poverty and mass starvation. If the latest communal settlement is to be the last word on the subject, and irredentism and Sudetenism are to be equally taboo, then we may witness a political miracle without parallel in the annals of state-craft.

May I next draw your attention to the potentialities for mischief implicit in all this talk of setting up joint councils for Pakistan and India in some fields while the bifurcation goes on merrily in others? I suspect that joint councils are being mooted in all cases where they are likely to benefit Pakistan at the cost of India, while separate bodies are set up in all cases where they tend to weaken India! Why should we have a Joint Defence Council in all military matters, at the highest level? Would not such a body amount to the vesting of a veto in the junior partner on the decisions or inclinations of the senior? They who clamoured for partition must be asked to lump it all along the line. It should not be a case of: "Heads I win, tail you lose."

Indeed the army which holds the key to the entire situation is, notwithstanding the transfer of power, an unknown quantity from the

national viewpoint. British personnel are being recruited on a 'voluntary' basis at top-levels, and there is a disquieting curtain of silence over the pace of Indianisation as a whole. I know that the Mahatma's voice has been raised against the formation of communal armies; but they are the logical consequence of communal States, and are the only guarantee of safety for either part. Quislingism has been an ancient Indian pastime, and we would be tempting Fate if we allow doctrinaire ideas to make a mess of the sheet-anchor of our new State.

On the question of patronage, you have naturally created many disappointments for each of the appointments which you have made. Of the probity, talents and qualifications of your nominees, there can be no two opinions. But may I risk your displeasure by drawing your attention to the equivocal character of some of the appointments? To bury political hatchets is a good thing, but at what point generosity becomes appeasement is a very wide and awkward question. The ability of Dr. Ambedkar is undoubted; but there is widespread uneasiness that advocates of the Safety First principle should also find favour in your eyes. Some shining lights of the I.C.S. and some politic turn-coats have found their account equally under the old order and in the new. This administers a gratuitous shock to the faithful, and puts a premium on the political art of trimming which you at least should not countenance. It is inexpressibly grievous to find a few Civilians abroad speaking for Free India but in accents reminiscent of the bad, old times, their thoughts and sentiments clipped and docked to a predetermined standard. Many of them were apparently afraid of mentioning the name of Gandhi, the only

exception being Asaf Ali. Our foreign ambassadors must be recalled *en masse*, and a new team sent out who will be robust representatives of the new India. Above all, there are too many Nehrus dotting the international landscape; very picturesque they are, it is true. But the country has many more, but so as with a difference!

In our foreign policy too, an urgent re-orientation is called for. It will not do any more to speak vaguely of bringing freedom to all Asia, of a Monroe doctrine, *et hoc*. Your international outlook has been much publicized, and has received an importance out of all proportion to its intrinsic worth. In one of his genial confessions of ignorance of foreign politics, the Mahatma constituted you his Laputan Flapper for all External Affairs, and you embraced abstract humanity in a mystic circle where the great unwashed and the great untaught were patted on the back, but otherwise left to stew in their own juice. But now that we are free, it behoves you to pick your way carefully through the jungle of international relations, and with stern realism as your only polestar.

Let me illustrate. India has been vociferous in her sympathy for the Arab as against the Jew. So long as it was mere persiflage, it did no harm. But can India back the Arab in Palestine as against the Jew and the British? What in the name of geography is the Arab doing outside Arabia? Is it not notorious that the Arabs have been using the Middle East as a sort of permanent latifundia during the last thousand years? Has not the face of Palestine been changed in thirty years beyond recognition by the pioneer-efforts of Jews from all parts of the world? Is it our pre-ordained mission to entrench the worst kind of obscurantism, privilege and feudalism in the Holy Land to win the

dubious goodwill of an insignificant and uncertain group of exploiters? If the Arab claims Palestine by virtue of conquest, then the Muslim has as good a right to claim the whole of India by virtue of penultimate possession. And in any case, let the Arabs and Jews settle it between themselves. We have trouble enough nearer home to keep us fully engrossed all the time we can spare.

So also with regard to Egypt. It is exactly India—all over again. The Muslim who has got away with it in India finds that the Sudanese can play the same game as against the Egyptian and Arab *Effendis*. India has been partitioned against the wishes of an overwhelming percentage of the total population living in the country. The spirit of Pakistan is in the air—let it come home to roost! Sudan is the Pakistan of Egypt; the three-fold division of Germany is to give scraps of Pakistan to be chewed leisurely by the Big Three. There is Pakistan coming to birth in Indonesia whose case has been so beautifully argued at your instance before the Security Council! There is Muslim Indonesia, there is a faded, forgotten Hindu Indonesia, and there is a non-descript Indonesia compounded of the best and worst of all waifs and strays, the heathen Chinese, the Jap, the Dutch and their camp followers. Such is the menagerie which we have to go through in our Foreign Affairs. All that I suggest is that you should consider individual cases on merits, and not commit yourself to the espousal of causes which are doomed.

One final reflection suggests itself to me, and I shall close with it. Let me remind you of two types of revolutionaries known to history. There are those who start as revolutionaries, but who insensibly become the most powerful brakes on

the revolution itself. Napoleon is the most melodramatic instance of it. It is also true of your Lenins, Stalins, Robespierres and Marats, every one of whom committed the tragic mistake of cribbing the revolution to the limits of their egos, instead of expanding their egos to the exigencies of the cause without unduly enhancing the price of progress. There are others who start from the extreme right, and drift to the left under the compelling force of decisive circumstance and the innate resilience of their minds. You will remember how Macaulay hailed Gladstone as the rising hope of the Conservative party, and how in the course of a long and tempestuous career, he became their embodied and accusing conscience! Office and responsibility have mellowed and broadened and deepened the mental and spiritual outlook of many famous men. Let me cite the case of Turgot in France. Even Walpole of the corrupt Whig oligarchy is a case in point. To come nearer home, may I cite N. Gopalswami Iyengar vis-a-vis the Constituent Assembly. In between are the beautiful, but ineffective angels, beating their luminous wings in the void inane. I can think of Kerensky in pre-Bolshevik Russia, and of the architects of the Weimar Constitution after the first world war; they were swept into the limbo of oblivion because they had neither enough faith in themselves nor in their cause!

I have spoken as a common man, the man in the street to whom you make frequent references. Only, do not lean too heavily on me. Lead me with grit and courage, and I shall follow you to the death. Remember that although you have arrived at the summit of your human ambitions, the country has yet to go a long way to reach its goal.

God speed you and me in this longer and more perilous march!



"SWAMI, excuse our impertinence, but won't you move into our village for a while—please?" begged road-cooly Vadivel.

The other devotees seconded and supported the request.

The Swami smiled. Of course, he knew the reason for their anxiety. A tiger with his wife and two children had taken his abode—temporarily, may be—in the Shola in which the Swami's cave stood. Attacks on cattle had already begun; and the air was full of tearful stories—some needlessly overdone.

"Don't feel worried about me. Nothing will happen to me," he replied lightly.

"Of course, that is what you would say, being an Enlightened Soul; but we ignorant people —" explained Murugan.

"Oh, no, there you are mistaken. Oftentimes, I feel small before you. But I don't think you will understand—or agree. — And what does it matter, if I end this way? No kingdom will totter, heirless!"

"You set no value on your life, sir, and no wonder. But what about us? What about the medical help, the secular and spiritual advice, —" began Ahmad. As an efficient cattle-doctor, his word had weight in the village.

"I know that you are sincere; but remember that you managed very well before I came here; and you are sure to get on after I disappear. I am not living in every village in the world, helping and advising! Your humility and my vanity, together, —"

"But, really, what is the harm, sir, —" begged Solomon.

"Somehow, I have got accustomed to this sort of life. — Of course, one who tries to live like a Sannyasi ought not to be a slave to a pattern; but I have much to learn, and —"

"Then, at least let a couple of us sleep here, —"

"Oh, no, never! Impossible!"

"You are hard on us, sir. At any rate, please keep a log-fire going at the mouth of the cave."

The Swami smiled, grateful for their love. "Very well, I shall think of it. But the fire may scare my sleep away, along with the tigers. — You know very well that tiger-families have covered sixty miles in a night, and yet — Twice or thrice a year we are having tiger scare — I have tried to teach you to trust in God and —"

"True, sir; but why add to His troubles?"

The Swami was well-known in the hills round about. He had many names — Ghat Road Samiyar, Mudakku Alai Samiyar (the Swami of the Cave at the Bend), Ghat Road Pandaram, Pakkiri Baba, Pulichchola (Tiger Shola) Samiyar, Bairagiyaru, and so on.

Nobody knew whether he was a Hindu, Mussalman or Christian. But his devotees were of all religions. His wisdom was ripe and soothing, his medical knowledge homely and effective, and his company un-interfering. He was peculiar in many ways. He never received gifts of money, however lovingly and gratefully offered. Fruits, milk, prepared food (in small quantities) and such like, he could not refuse with grace; but much of it was given away lovingly to hungry wayfarers and monkeys in the jungle. And, most un-Swami-like of all, he wrote verses and articles and stories for magazines, and kept an account in the savings bank at the post office, six miles up the road!

Days passed. The tigers were having things their own way. They chose for their lair a cavernous arrangement of rocks by the side of a cascade. Half-eaten carcasses were thrown about at the mouth of the den, with no thought of concealment or hygiene. The place could be approached and viewed only from across the stream; and the track ran along to rocky ledge which offered nominal purchase when one was deliberate, and none at all when one had to flee. And at that part of the year, the breeze blew from the hunter to the lair

—so that little stench reached the observer on the rock for all the rotting flesh, whereas the tiger scented his approach easily. That was the tigers' stratagem. So all attempts to kill the group in their den failed. And the animals avoided the usual traps and snares with uncanny cunning. They also set the school-readers at nought and appeared on cultivated terraces in broad daylight while a party of men was working.

And day after day, people were warning the Swami of the needless risk he was running. He thanked them for their solicitude, but went his own way. He did not even seek the protection of a log-fire at night.

And then, one night, he changed his mind, and went in for a blazing fire that painted the trees nervously ruddy, and vulgarly intruded on their privacy.

When the devotees saw the tell-tale ashes the next day, they were pleased—all but one. He was a young man called Rajappan; he was a sort of spiritual C.I.D. constable spying on the Swami. He remarked, "Swami, I was told that you had tied the tiger's mouth by some mantram!"

"Is that so? Could not the people be affectionate, and also wise?"

"But you know the mantram, Swami?"

"Brother, I know no mantram even to keep my mouth shut! How can I tie a tiger's mouth?"

Vadivel was listening to all this and feeling annoyed. Rajappan further asked, "Then how do you manage to lay here at night?"

"Perhaps because I prefer quick death to a protracted, final illness!"

Vadivel shivered. Rajappan persisted with, "If that is so, why did you save a fire last night?"

Vadivel cut in with, "Please, Rajappan, don't make him change his mind—we should now try to get him into the village!"

But the Swami continued in the same even tone voice as before, "I suppose, I abhor the tiger's fangs and claws too!"

"Any sensible man would," agreed Rajappan and went away.

Vadivel asked his Master, "Swami, I really wish to know what prompted you to kindly change your mind."

"You were listening, my son."

"I was, sir. But your answers were not to the question, but to Rajappan."

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"You are right. I am sorry I had to behave like that."

"Please, Master, tell me. I know that there is a lesson in it for us."

"Don't exaggerate things, Vadivel. I reasoned like this—luckily, the tiger is

not a man-eater, so far. And I don't wish to give birth to a man-eater!"

Vadivel laid his head on the Swami's reluctant feet, and turned back with silent tears of joy.

HU SHIH, FATHER OF CHINESE RENAISSANCE

by V. G. NAIR

MODERN China has produced many eminent men in the realm of poetry, literature and the arts. But the most brilliant luminary among them is Dr. Hu Shih, father of the 'Literary Revolution' or the New Culture movement of China. What Gurudev Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru have contributed to the literary and political regeneration of India, Dr. Hu Shih has contributed to the re-birth of China.



Dr. Hu Shih.

Hu Shih was born in Anhwei in 1891. He proceeded early to the West for higher education and graduated with distinction from Cornell and later took his Ph.D. from the Columbia University. He also secured a number of honorary degrees from American and British universities. Returning to China, he inaugurated the 'Literary Revolution' in 1917. He advocated the adoption of Pai-hua or the spoken language as the uniform language for education and literary composition throughout the country. China has one written language but two forms of literary composition, namely, the classical and the plain. Pai-hua was found to be the most effective medium of expression for educating the illiterate masses. Hu Shih's movement, therefore, received popular support and before long the

Government adopted Pai-hua as the national language of China.

Dr. Hu Shih was Chinese Ambassador to the United States from 1938-1942. During his sojourn in America, it is said that he declined to accept any remuneration for his official work. Such was his great love for China. About last year, Hu Shih was appointed President of the National Peking University and he is now in China.

Hu Shih is a poet, essayist, author and diplomat. He is credited with having written more than one million words in poetry and prose. He writes in Pai-hua and English with great charm. His best known works are: The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, History of Chinese Philosophy, The Collected Writings of Hu Shih, and Experiments (a collection of poems written in Pai-hua).

Here are two excerpts from his writings:

i
Let me not hear one vain ambitious word of titles or promotion to be got.

To make a reputation for a single lord

Ten thousand poor men die and rot.

ii
"China must understand the evolution of modern West. My reading of Ibsen, John Morley and Huxley taught me the importance of honest thinking and honest speaking. . . . It is from Professor Dewey that I have learnt that the most sacred responsibility of a man's life is to endeavour to think well."

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



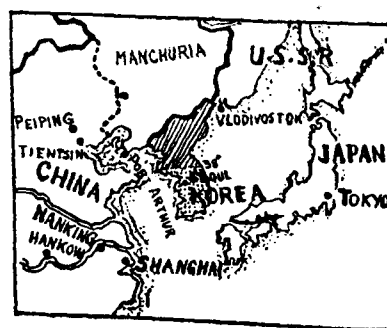
ON August 12 *Reuters* published a small-size news item which said that Major-General Archer Lerch, U.S. Military Governor in American occupied South Korea, had ordered the arrest of all leaders of the "extreme Left-wing parties" in the U.S. Occupation Zone. The report added that 2,000 had accordingly been arrested during night raids in Seoul (principal city of South Korea). It will be wrong to imagine that Major-General Lerch has launched on some new policy with these wholesale arrests. Already in September 1945, Lieutenant-General John R. Hodge, who headed the first American troops to march into Korea, announced that he would, for the time being, retain the then existing Japanese administrators. When the Koreans made protest demonstrations against the retention of their hated oppressors in positions of power, numbers of them were shot down by the Japanese police. What are the Americans up to in Korea?

FACTS ON KOREA

As the map shows, Korea is a peninsula protruding southward from the Asiatic mainland below Manchuria. Korea is very important in any scheme of Far Eastern power strategy since it is at just hopping distance from both Japan and China and since its northern tip actually touches the extreme south-eastern land border of the U.S.S.R. Japan knew this when she grabbed virtual control of the country in 1905, and America, with her hemispheric schemes of 'defence', is fully aware of Korea's importance today. The Koreans number about 28.5 millions, and their country is 85,000 square miles in

extent. Its northern hills are rich in coal, copper, iron and other minerals. Its rolling southern fields grow abundant crops of rice, barley and other grains, while the heavily indented coast has given rise to extensive fishing and ship-building industries. In spite of the country's rich resources, its people have lived in conditions of extreme poverty and backwardness. 66 per cent of the land is owned by just 2 per cent of the population. More than 75 per cent of all farmers live on farms of less than 3 acres, owned by absentee landlords. The tenants keep only 18 to 25 per cent of what they produce on the farms. As a result, the Korean masses, though famous as rice growers, cannot afford to eat rice themselves and have had to subsist on cheap millet imported from Manchuria.

The Japanese conquerors made the conditions even more severe. They allowed only a handful of the wealthy class to get education, while they compelled the rest to learn Japanese in primary schools (though the Koreans have a language of their own with a genuine



phonetic alphabet). It is interesting to note that under Japanese rule, policemen far outnumbered

teachers. How small a group of people enjoyed a share in the nation's wealth is demonstrated by the fact that only 11.3 per cent of the paid-up capital of Korea's industrial corporations was in the hands of native Koreans in 1938. During the long occupation, many of the Korean landlords and businessmen became collaborationists of the Japanese, and were doubly hated by the people as exploiters and as tools of the foreign conqueror.

Even before Allied troops set foot on Korean soil, People's Committees of Law and Order were set up in various parts of the country to take over control from the Japanese, to oust collaborators and to organize rice distribution on a fairer basis than previously. Representatives of these committees met in a Congress at Seoul and formed the Korean People's Republic under the leadership of Lyuh Woon Hyung, a Socialist journalist. After the Allied occupiers came, however, the People's Committees in South Korea were either ignored or suppressed by the Americans who acted just as they had already done in China, where the American-propped Chiang-Kai-Shek prohibited the Japanese from surrendering to the local people's administrations in the so-called Red areas. As already mentioned, Lieutenant-General Hodge preferred the Japanese ex-enemies to the native Korean patriots. Even after the Japanese had been slowly removed from offices, the American Military Government chose the extreme Rightists among the Koreans to take their places. Some of these Rightists had been pro-Japanese as, for instance, one named Yu Uk Kymm who had made recruiting speeches for the Japanese army during the war.

The Russians, in contrast to the Americans, allowed the People's Committees to function under their Occupation Administration, and they let the revolutionary tide among the peasants run its course.

At Potsdam the Big Powers decided that American and Russian

troops would occupy Korea, their zones to be divided by an arbitrary line running along the 38th parallel. Originally intended only as a device to prevent confusion among the occupying forces, the line soon became a wall that completely divided Korea into two countries--and we want One World! This division, which has stopped interchange between the comparatively industrialized North with its mineral resources and hydro-electric power, and the South with its rich farming land, has nullified Korea's economic nationhood.

The ultimate independence promised to them by the Cairo and Potsdam declarations of the Big Powers, as also the economic unification of their country, appeared to be approaching the people of Korea when, in December 1945, the Big Powers decided on a plan for a 5-year civilian trusteeship for Korea, with the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain and China acting as trustees. During these five years the Koreans were to be trained for full self-government. Even this plan for a postponed freedom could not be put through, mainly because of the opposition of the Korean Right-wing, led by Syngman Rhee, to any trusteeship plan which included Russian participation.

During the autumn of 1946, the worsened economic conditions in the American zone of Korea brought on a wave of strikes and demonstrations. The American Military Government responded by declaring martial law, mass arrests and a ban on Left-wing newspapers. The recent arrests are, therefore, but a continuation of the policy pursued by the Americans ever since their occupation of Korea in 1945, of backing the landlords and the anti-Soviet Right-wing politicians as against the impoverished peasantry which forms 90 per cent of the population.

SOVIET IMPACT ON THE FAR EAST

This policy is bound to have far-reaching repercussions on the future of American-Soviet relations. Russia's position in the Far East is

vastly different today from what it was in 1931, when the Japanese started their aggressive expansion. Then, the Soviet Union, emerging from the devastation of the first world war, of the foreign intervention, and of civil war, had just regained the productive level of 1913, and was politically isolated from all countries (with the sole exception of Japan) which had colonial and quasi-colonial interests in the Far East. In 1931 Soviet Russia was not yet a member of the League of Nations; she had been excluded from the deliberations of the Washington Conference of 1921-22 at which a structure of post-war international relationships in the Far East had been erected. It is of interest to recall the Soviet reaction to the Western powers' attitude towards Japanese intervention in Manchuria: "It is characteristic that neither in Geneva at the session of the League of Nations, nor in Washington has the Japanese action been met by a protest anything like that which in all probability the Chinese had hoped for. The Geneva discussion club accepted 'with satisfaction' the report of the usual assurances made on this matter by the representative of Japan, while the United States State Department stated directly that it did not find anything contrary to the Kellogg Pact in the actions of the Japanese troops which had occupied Manchuria... It is absolutely inevitable that there will be further and very significant sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialists whose interests conflict. Japanese action in Manchuria is an event of greatest international significance, not because it inevitably is becoming the object of the usual pseudo-pacifist hide-and-seek game of the Geneva comedians but because it of necessity will be the cause of further tension in the already strained international situation." (N. Pakhomov in *Izvestia* of September 21, 1931). Are the Lake Success comedians of to-day less funny than the Geneva ones?

The 'strained international situation' continues to exist in the Far East today, with two significant changes however. For one thing, "the sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialists whose interests conflict" is no longer a feature of the present situation, with the emergence of America as the one supreme power in the Far East besides the Soviet Union. It is America that is sustaining the dilapidated feudal structure of the Kuomintang in China, and it is America that exclusively runs the Japanese administration. With the growing success of the nationalist liberation movements in Burma and Malaya, and the military and ultimately financial inability of Britain to retain her colonies by force, British power in the Far East, compared to that of America, has ceased to be important. The other significant change in the Far Eastern situation since 1931 is that Soviet Russia is no longer weak and isolated. By virtue of the amazing growth of her industrial production, and the planned strengthening of her economy as a whole, and by virtue of the role played by her in the victorious termination of the second world war, Soviet Russia has now attained a commanding position in the East as in the West. She is no longer isolated, at least in the formal sense.

America is the only country in the world to-day which is even more powerful than the Soviet Union. And it is precisely these two countries that are involved in the tussle for power in the Far East. Preoccupation with the Soviet impact on the West has so far obscured the fact that the U.S.S.R. is also a potent power in Asia. But if the armed truce which now prevails between America and her camp-followers on the one hand, and Soviet Russia on the other, should ever break out into armed conflict, American policy in the countries of the Far East, like Korea, will be not a little responsible for such a disastrous development.

M. J. GOPALAN

by E. K. RAMASWAMI

FEW sportsmen in the world have achieved the unique distinction of representing their country in more than one game in international matches. India has the proud privilege of having produced two Double Internationals—M. J. Gopalan and C. Ramaswami. While both of them are Test cricketers, Gopalan was a member of the Hockey team that went to New Zealand in 1935-36 and C. Ramaswami represented India in Tennis in the Davis Cup contest in 1924.

Gopalan has received comparatively little publicity in the press or the radio of his own province. A great all-round cricketer, and in Hockey the finest player in the pivotal position, he has been the backbone of Cricket and Hockey in Madras for over two decades. But for him and A. G. Ram Singh one wonders how Madras would have fared in the Ranji Trophy tournaments all these years.

Gopalan's career as a cricketer may be divided into two periods—an early period as an opening bowler and hitter, and a later period as a batsman and bowler, the dividing line being his tour to England. He began as a bowler, and in 1928 got his first big chance when he was selected to play for Indians in the Presidency match, the biggest sporting event in those days. He was then included as a medium fast bowler who could be relied upon to keep his length for a fairly long spell. But the big-hearted bowler seized the opportunity, and under the able guidance of the famous Madras captain, the late Mr. H. P. Ward, became one of the finest opening bowlers in India. Gopalan used to bowl like a man inspired, in big matches, when Ward kept wickets. His beautiful rhythmic run to the wicket, graceful delivery, scrupulous length, and variety all proclaimed the master. At his best



Gopalan and C. Ramaswami, the Double Internationals.

he could easily stand comparison with Maurice Tate or Amar Singh.

When the Vizianagaram team which included the famous English opening pair, Hobbs and Sutcliffe, visited Madras in 1930, Gopalan thrilled his admirers by sending Hobbs' ball flying in the air when the later was well set for a century. In those days Gopalan had a tuft, and there was a legend connected with it. It used to be said that if ever Gopalan wanted a wicket all that he had to do was to untie the knot of hair and do it up again before starting on his run to the wicket. Curiously enough, it happened so during his memorable performance against the Ceylon team led by Dr. Cunesekhara which came to Madras in 1931, when he skittled them out for 72 runs, capturing 7 wickets for 24 runs including a hat trick. As he clean bowled M. Kelart, Jayawickreme,

Shockman and Joseph in succession, he was observed to untie and tie the knot of hair before each delivery.

Gopalan was at the peak form as a bowler when the Australians under Jack Ryder visited Madras in 1935 and his brilliant performance against them will always remain green in our memory. He ran through a strong batting side consisting of Macartney, Ryder, Morrisby and Hendry for a meagre total of 42 runs in the first innings, taking 6 wickets for 23 runs. In all he took 11 wickets for 105 runs in that match and thus gained a place in the Indian team selected to tour England under the captaincy of the Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram. Unfortunately the tour was not a happy one for him as he remained more of a spectator than a player. Madras will never forgive the Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram for the treatment he accorded to the greatest cricketer the province has ever produced. However the tour was a turning point in his career. After his return from England his admirers never saw the old brilliant match-winning bowler who could pierce the defence of the most stolid batsman, though many critics expressed the view that he had become more scientific in his bowling. Instead he emerged as a finished

batsman, possessing beautiful strokes all round the wicket. Two years later, when Lord Tennyson's team came down to Madras, Gopalan played one of the finest innings ever seen in the Chepauk ground. Without an exception he punished all the English bowlers, but was unlucky to miss his century by two runs. No one was more sorry for this than Lord Tennyson himself, who was astounded by the terrific power behind his strokes, and remarked that Gopalan had a steel plate hidden inside his willow. As a batsman it had often fallen to his lot to take the crease in a crisis. But rarely had he failed to pull his side out of the fire. His elegant stance at the wicket, and majestic drives along the carpet, particularly his favourite drive past extra cover which crosses the flag before the fieldsman in that position is able to move his leg, reveal him as a batsman who is a class by himself. Gifted with a big match temperament, batting to him is a gay adventure. Never once has he let his side down by hitting out against good bowling. As a fieldsman he is safe and sound, and could field anywhere, but his favourite position is the slip.

It is the feeling of every lover of the game in this province that had Gopalan played for any other province except Madras, he would have

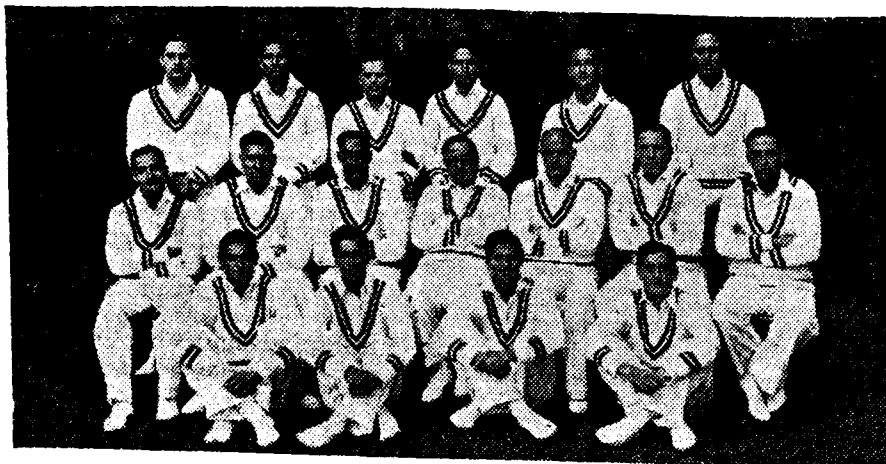
easily walked into any All-India side as a batsman. Mushtaq Ali, in spite of a hundred failures in England, has been given the chance to go to Australia, while C. S. Nayudu, Sohoni, Adhikari, Shinde, Phadkar, Gul Mahomed, Abdul Hafeez and a host of others are taken into the All-India side because they hail from provinces in the North and are strongly backed up by their representatives or god-fathers in the selection committee. But Gopalan was condemned without being given a chance. Good old Gopalan is nearly 40, but it would be no exaggeration to say that he is by far a better all-round cricketer than many selected to go to Australia this year. Indian Cricket is poorer today for not having recognised or rather wantonly ignored his merit.

Writing about Gopalan as a Hockey player my memory takes me back to the year 1932, when the famous Indian Olympic Hockey team led by Dhyan Chand (the best that India ever sent abroad) visited Madras. Playing for Madras City against them, Gopalan gave such a magnificent display in the centre-half position, that at the end of the match the members of the Olympic team including the wizard expressed their regret that Gopalan was not accompanying them to Los Angeles.

In the half back line Gopalan is an artist without peer. His genius lies in his ability to feed the forwards and keep them moving. The characteristic shove passes with which he feeds the singmen and the forwards are a joy to watch. Barring perhaps Pinniger, Gopalan is the greatest centre-half the game has ever known. Had he only chosen to join the Indian Olympic Hockey team to Berlin, instead of the unfortunate Indian cricket team which toured in England in 1936, he would have easily attained international fame as a Hockey player.

Morappakkam Josyam Gopalan was born in the year 1909 and is descended from a family of astrologers. He joined the Kellet High School where even as a boy of 12 he gave promise of becoming a great cricketer. He used to slip away from the classes in the afternoons to play for senior teams in the Old Engineering College grounds, adjoining the historic Chepauk ground which later was to become his happy hunting ground. If his absence was discovered, his brother Doraiswami Iyengar used to hold an enquiry and if he found that the boy had done well in the match he would let him off with a smile. It was during these days that Gopalan watched the great play at the M.C.C. ground and developed his game on the same pattern. It was from Summerhayes that he learnt his famous shove pass.

No cricketer in India is so popular in his province as Gopalan is in Madras. Whether in Hockey or Cricket he is the idol of Madras crowds. His popularity could be judged from the fact that once when he dropped an easy catch in a critical moment the spectators, instead of booing remained silent, and some even murmured "Hard luck." A few minutes later however he justified their confidence in him by bringing off a spectacular catch. His immense popularity on and off the field could be attributed only to his modesty. Whether he scored a duck or century he is always the simple unassuming man, and his character and disposition never changed in the midst of all his triumphs. Sir Robert Denniston rightly described him as "Gentleman Gopalan." He played the game in the best spirit in which it should be played. In many a Hockey final when tempers were frayed he was conspicuous by his calm disposition and clean game. He is the ideal sportsman for our young men to emulate.



The Indian Cricket Team which toured England in 1936.

When I am dealing with a gentleman, I'm a gentleman and a half. When I'm dealing with a crook, I'm a crook and a half.—
BISMARCK.

MEN ONLY · **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY**



MEN ONLY **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY** **MEN ONLY**

3

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MADRAS CELEBRATES DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE

**"Ex-Premier Prakasam began his work
at zero hour . . . "**

In aristocratic Mylapore with the first cock's crow, young women in saffron saris, sang **Vande Mataram** in the yellow-painted Ladies Club. In the glimmering light of dawn, their supple limbs had an added freshness and the anthem soared into the sky. A hundred youngsters of Mylapore, shouting themselves hoarse, two of them acting as standard-bearers on horses, paraded the streets, while a well-known patriot walked with them, wearing a shy smile.

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crete many-storeyed premises in the North Line Beach, hoisted the tricolour, along with the national flag of Denmark. The company granted a half-month's pay as bonus to its employees. In the harbour alongside the quay, the B.I.S.N. steamer 'Karoa' proudly flew the Indian tricolour while its captain gazed at the celebrating crowds from the poop. At the other end of the quay, hospital ship 'Amarapura' likewise flew the tricolour. The Custom House officials had thrown open the harbour to the visiting public for the day, and an enterprising film concern was shooting the crowds and the decorations. The M.E.S.C., over each one of its many divisional stations, hung the largest tricolours to be seen in Madras and the doors of the offices were closed. Temple trustees and priests in George Town celebrated Independence by taking the gods out in procession.

A burly bus conductor in a city bus sold tricolours, printed by the Provincial Welfare Fund, his persuasive speech and engaging yet blunt personality coercing people to succumb to the temptation of buying yet another flag. Before a primary school on Mowbray's Road, a roaring crowd of schoolboys stopped a route bus, and coaxed the conductor to supply them with tricolours free. An enthusiastic passenger volunteered the donation. The bus regaining speed after this was cheered to an echo by the youngsters.

Over in Theogarayanagar within the premises of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, which Bapuji consecrated by his three weeks' stay last year, the oldest inhabitant proudly hoisted the tricolour. He wished he were young again to live in a free India all his old years once more.



Sri Prakasam addressed 28 meetings on Independence Day. Here he is seen at one of the meetings.



The Premier and the Mayor of Madras at the flag-hoisting in the compound of Ripon Buildings.

At 9 A.M. in the Fort St. George, which Captain Day built for the East India Company and bought from Damerle Venkatappa, Nayak of Wandiwash, Governor Archibald Nye, Prime Minister Omandur and his team of eleven Ministers took the pledge for India's service. Over their heads athwart the blue sky, the tricolour waved from the flag-mast for the first time. A youngster from a car, sightseeing with his parents, waved a tricolour in the faces of benevolent looking pale-faces, passing him in an automobile over Stanley Bridge. The automobile had five tricolours, one waving on the bonnet, two on the wind screen and two others behind.

To a Moslem, wearing a tricolour on his shirt sleeve, said a passenger in a city bus—"Mussalman bhai! Where is your Pakistan flag?" The Moslem shot back the question, "Pakistan? Where is it?" The upper class daily newspaper "The Hindu," put out the poster 'India Becomes Free,' while "The Mail" advertised itself—"Your Mail is 32 pages today." The Indian Express group of papers, owned by an ardent capital-

ist, published the Independence Day supplement a day earlier and sold it at a price. Said an American—"We do not use our National Flag as an advertising medium;" he was referring to the Provincial Welfare Fund, printing its name on the tricolours sold in the streets. Bad signs these, but many hope they will disappear from the face of this country with its message of pacifism. Three college girls, with ever inventive minds, wore green, white and saffron saris, and walked gaily down Elliotts Road, as a tricolour.

An usurious Kabuli ran berserk in Mint Street, George Town and embraced many brethren, for it was Independence Day. A toddy-tapper more than half drunk, swaying on his feet, an unfinished pot in his hands, forswore drink from then on, for the country had become independent and he would have enough money henceforth. Twitted a companion, another toddy-tapper, "You and I may grow richer, but the toddy trees want tapping." On the edges of the town, on the seashore, a brawny fisherman, put out to sea in his catamaran, a few tricolours sewed to the sail cloth.

Most beautiful function of the day was in the premises of the Andhra Mahila Sabha, founded by Congress woman, educationist, Consumably Member, Durgabai, at the moment away in Delhi assuming power with others, for India's teeming millions. Bevy of handsome girls in Khadi uniforms of Desa Sevikas, tricolours in hand, sang the national anthem while the old warrior, ex-Speaker Sambamurti, hoisted the National Flag. A saffron-sari-clad brunette, with a strident voice, commanded, "Kadam Khol." Standing shoulder to shoulder with Sambamurti, was ex-Premier Prakasam with a leonine mien. Both the leaders addressed the gathering. Said Prakasam—"Real freedom for the masses consists in the levelling up of economic inequalities." Round the flagpole with fluttering tricolour stood the morning-faced girls, like a bunch of flowers. While 'Janagana Mana' of Poet Tagore was sung, a 10 minute long procession of youngmen riding motor bikes supplied the din, in the street outside.

Earlier in the day veteran administrator Sonti Ramamurthi hoisted the National Flag over the premises of Subhodaya Publications, the embryonic daily newspaper venture of the Andhras. Recalled Ramamurti—"Professor Whitehead, philosopher, mathematician of Harvard predicted a decade ago that a free India with China would in the future lead the world. His words are coming true." Exultant was Ramamurti over the National Flag which he called the 'banner of the soul.'

In the afternoon, two hours before scheduled time for the Governor's parade, pavements filled with jostling crowds. By the appointed time, a crowd of a hundred thousand, grouped round General Munroe's statue. Girls and boys stood on hoods and bonnets of cars, lorries, station wagons, and trucks, while an enterprising few clung to tree branches, overlooking the spot. A few bold young men dodged the vigilant police and climbed up to the pedestal of the statue. In the

privileged space, 'Section A,' in the oval round the statue, a perspiring young lieutenant in uniform, repeatedly offered a chair to two buxom Parsi girls, standing on tip-toe for a view. In the end the whole of 'Section A' mounted on chairs to get a glimpse. Before the function commenced, a procession headed by two elephants, in sable silk cloth, and the camels in grey, was led by the frail manager Rajagopalan of the T.N.C.C. and mixed with the throng. At about the same time, a half-mile long procession with Bapuji's photograph in a chariot drawn by 64 bullocks, led by prominent Andhra Congressmen, including Prakasam, started from the Victoria Public Hall, and vended its way to the Nageswara Ghat on the beach. There people's man Prakasam reminisced about the Congress march to freedom, and after him Sambamurti and Sadiq Ali addressed the ten thousand strong gathering far into the night.

With no loudspeaker arrangement and hidden from view by the 'Section A' crowd and the pedestal of Munroe Statue, the doings and sayings of the Governor and the Ministers during the parade were unheard and unseen. All round, the crowd heaved and pushed, necks were craned and police kept order. Overhead, a double-engined Dakota with its engine heads draped in tricolours circled the place. Thousands of automobiles and trucks filled the Island Ground. Gunfire and tympanum - blasting cheers marked the hoisting of the tricolour by the Governor. A string of five tricoloured kites flew at a 1,000 feet overhead while the parade went on. After soldiers and sailors with brawny chests bursting with pride, paraded before people, a string of military trucks, heavy duty bulldozers, tanks, boys scouts and girl guides followed. The crowd broke up at 6-30 p.m.

The Punjabi Association arranged a Mohiniattam recital in their premises on Royapettah High Road.

After a long night of sightseeing, the light of many lamps dazzling their eyes, crowds returned home to

sumptuous dinners usual only on festive days. Many an innovation was resorted to by the housewives, to supplement the starvation ration allowance. During the day dinners

in hotels were equally sumptuous. The city wore an unprecedented air of festivity. The very air was light and the trees a heavenly green. For a nation was reborn.

SO IT'S INDEPENDENCE ?

by R. SIVARAM

I am working in a chota paper office. I collect, prune and season news and views. I correct proofs. I also attend to the make-up side. Sub-editor is the designation for such a person, I suppose. And Addison would have found no better word for it. But my boss who is a cleverer guy refers to me as an Editorial Clerk. What's in a name and what does it matter as long as I get my sixty-five bucks even though not promptly on the 10th of every month? I have been promised an increment and if the rationing continues on the eight ounce basis I think I can whistle like the Miller of the Dee.

I have been looking forward to the Independence Day like the boys in a workhouse waiting for the breakfast hour. And it came suddenly and it took me by surprise like a boy in the poor house being awakened at midnight by another kind kid who had hidden a loaf under his pillow for him. I was very happy that Freedom was at last coming to me and my people. And to one to whom life had been one big chapter of toil and tears it seemed that the day of redemption had come.

But Freedom took me by storm. It shook me. And still my limbs are aching.

Being a newspaper man my Editor thought the he could celebrate the Independence Day by bringing out a Special Number and fittingly pocketing the proceeds. And so the work began. Day and night. Manuscripts, proofs and the make-up stone. Oh, the birth pangs of Freedom!

But the work could not go on according to plan. A few more pages of advertisements were necessary to make the Special look like a price-list. But we had to wait for the blocks. It was the 14th already. My chief's nerves were like those of Gen. Eisenhower before the Day and mine like those of Napoleon at St. Helena.

The number could not come out in time and on the 14th night I was on duty. Just before the midnight the printing machine shrieked aloud and came to a standstill. The foreman said that it was due to working beyond capacity. An engineer was telephoned. Even a machine made its voice heard, but I, a human being, had to keep mum!

It would take another two hours to get it in order and so I could have a small nap before that. I stretched myself on a table. The clock struck twelve. Freedom had dawned. Mosquitoes sang Vande Matheram in my ears while bugs tortured me for allowing the partition of India to take place!

The machine was set in order and work resumed. At about nine in the morning the work was over. I left for home thinking that I should have a wash and a bite before I joined the crowds that were rejoicing. I reached home. I sat down in my easy chair and spread my limbs. . . . The next morning my room mates woke me up.

So that was Independence! Any way I am happy. I may not be given five acres of land. I may not have the chance of becoming a Governor but my children or grand-children have a brighter future and a happier life. That makes a lot!

A Lahore Diary

by BAROO



A lot of speechifying has been done lately by League leaders about the manner in which they will look after the minorities in Pakistan. From their utterances it would appear as if a minorities' paradise was just round the corner, and that all that has happened thus far was in the nature of a regrettable mistake. But fine words butter no parsnips, and the way in which the non-Muslim people have instinctively turned away from League blandishments is a sure index of the lack of sincerity behind such professions of honourable intentions.

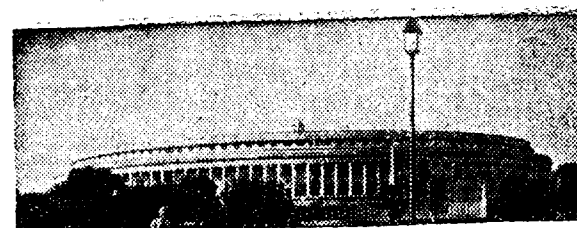
But even assuming that the League High Command sincerely desires to turn over a new leaf in its policy towards its erstwhile targets of hatred, it is extremely doubtful whether it will be allowed to do so by its rank and file. A friend of mine, a Hindu and a senior officer in a Central Department, related to me a story of experiments in search of goodwill that will well bear narration here. He is very greatly attached to this part of the country, and possesses, like so many others, very happy contacts among Muslims. In particular, his immediate official superior was a Muslim and, what is more, a personal and lifelong friend of his. When the time came to choose between the two dominions for purpose of service, this friend of mine opted for Pakistan without a moment's hesitation. Personal predilection as well as official advantage pointed the same way; and no doubt there was also a thought that he was setting an example for other enlightened people to follow.

That was six weeks ago. Six weeks that have left him a sadder and a wiser man—also a very much

different man as far as his faith in the future of Hindu-Muslim relations is concerned. For this friend of mine, despite all his goodness of heart and his freedom from religious intolerance, despite even an official rise that followed the transfer of more senior Hindu and Sikh official rise that followed the transfer has been converted into a pucca Hindu by the way in which he has been treated by his Muslim colleagues and clerks—and that during the brief week or so since his office has been completely Muslimised. He told me that none of his new co-workers and subordinates trusted or showed any confidence in him, but rather suspected his motives in remaining behind, a lone Hindu amidst so many Muslims. They cannot understand why he should have chosen to be an exception to the rule that has taken away from their midst every other non-Muslim, from the Director to the last peon. There is only one explanation that strikes their indoctrinated minds—this Hindu is here to spy on us, to act as a fifth column, to be a saboteur in a time of peril!

When distrust reaches such morbid depths, it is futile to imagine that a miracle will happen or that the Hindus will not react to the situation by an even greater distrust. Fact is, we have been caught in a beautiful little vicious circle, and one that is not going to be easy to get out of, for the simple reason that the common man is neither a hero nor a saint, but a bit of an animal. I have heard during these last few days—days that have been a series of ordeals and trials—plenty of talk of an ultimate war between the two dominions, but not one single expression of faith in ultimate understanding.

NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

THE lack of enthusiasm, which during the past few weeks was a significant feature in the mood of the Indian people, waned as August 15 approached. Crowds ran wild on Independence Day. About ten people died at the Red Fort as the result of a tree fall, a few minutes before Pandit Nehru hoisted the National Flag. The tree fell because it could not bear the burden of a hundred people who sat on its branches or who hung perilously from the slenderest twigs on the tree.

Government servants were rather enthusiastic about Independence. So were the contractors and the business community. Dalmia went so far as to describe the Nehru Cabinet as "our Government". It is freely stated that Shanmukham Chetty was Birla's nominee. One of the young lions of Birla told me that for a long time Birla had been trying to find a suitable partner in South India and that he had pitched upon Shanmukham Chetty. He had been trying to introduce him into the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry year after year. It is a pity that Dr. John Matthai should not have been given the Finance portfolio. His recent thesis on the profit motive and the service motive in man's activity had singled him out as a competent theoretician for the Indian Government, but it looks like the Dominion Government wants to grope along without any theories as it did for the past one year. What is wanted is an altogether different Cabinet with Nehru at the head. We had heard a month ago that Nehru wanted to have a Socialist pro-

gramme, and to include as many as four Socialists. But forces of reaction seem to have triumphed. Nehru, I regret to say, did not even have the courage to right an old wrong. It is well-known in the Capital—and probably in other parts of the country—that C. H. Bhabha was chosen by Nehru on someone's recommendation under the impression that he was the Scientist Bhabha. Nehru was reported to have told several people, "We must have a Scientist like Bhabha in the Cabinet." Should he not have included the Bhabha at least when an opportunity for Cabinet changes afforded itself on August 15. In the light of this, it appears rather odd that he should have told the people in his Red Fort speech as well as in his AIR broadcast that the people could remove him the moment they wanted. When he himself dared not remove one man, an insignificant member of his own Cabinet, who got in when others thought he was the scientist, how can the people, who are far less courageous, and less vocal (almost to the point of being mute), be expected to remove him? The only way out is for Nehru to take courage in both his hands and form an all-Socialist Government. Otherwise the nation will be in peril.

Jawaharlal Nehru should not act as a shield to a reactionary Government. If he does that, it would be putting his "world renown" to very ignominious use. His well-known intolerance of criticism of himself should cease; and he should show more readiness to listen to others, especially to those who are in touch with the people and those

who have the technical knowledge which makes them competent to be helpful to him. I have in mind people like Prof. Ranga. It is to be regretted that there is a tendency in the Congress High Command to dismiss criticism from people like Dr. Pattabhi, Shri Prakasam and Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar on the ground that it comes from Madras, and that it therefore cannot be seriously noticed. Criticism should be considered on the merits of its contents, and not from an examination of the topography of the place from which the critic happens to come.

There is scope for rejoicing on the achievement of independence in that it provides us with the instrument which can be utilised to secure the kind of Government we want.

Jawaharlal said in the Constituent Assembly: "At the dawn of history, India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her strivings and the grandeur of her successes and her failures." The good old *Rig Veda* put the same idea thus: "To strive,

to seek, but not to find, and not to know."

I would be unscientific if I did not mention an error in Pandit Nehru's speech. Mention becomes necessary especially in view of his taking over the portfolio of Scientific Research. He said: "At the stroke of midnight when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom." The fallacy lies in the fact that at the strike of midnight in the Constituent Assembly, it is midnight only in this country, (even there, Bengal excepted) and sleeping time only in most of the countries in Asia. In some countries it is midday, and in others breakfast time. In a few countries, of course, people will be taking their afternoon nap, but I do not think that the afternoon nap is as universal in any country as it used to be in Ancient Greece. It is said that once a foreign army invaded a City in Ancient Greece and took possession while everybody was having his afternoon siesta. (This might appear to be hyper-criticism, but that should be put down to the scientific spirit, of which there is a tremendous lack among us. Appearance, moreover, is not Reality.)

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RECONSTRUCTING DIVIDED INDIA

by Prof. K. S. VENKATRAMAN

ON August 15 the British Rule in India will end. The Indian and Pakistan Dominions will come into being. Paramountcy will lapse and Native States will become independent and be free to join either of the Dominions. It is a day of national rejoicing, for it witnesses the birth of national freedom, the fruition of years of struggle and sufferings of countless patriots. Our salute to them.

Freedom has come in the wake of a mad communal frenzy yet uncontrolled. It threatens to be perpetuated and to spread to all parts of the country, thanks to the political indiscretion and mischievous statements of top-ranking politicians. With unresolved political differences, the Mountbatten plan, and along with it the integrity of the two Dominions and our freedom, are in jeopardy. The confidence of the minorities is shaken when the major political parties, organising themselves behind one or the other Dominion, are planning to settle undecided issues by force. Communal suspicion and feuds are kept up. The confusion is heightened by the role of some Princes and the options given to Native States. The peoples of the State are nowhere in the picture; they appear only as pawn in the game. The seeds of disintegration are sown widely. It is in this context of undissolved hatred and perplexing uncertainties that India comes to her freedom and this freedom has ushered into existence the two Dominions. The future will reveal whether these two Dominions will grow together in strength and prosperity or perish in the internecine wars that threaten to engulf them. This will depend on us as responsible citizens and on our leaders who will act in the Political scene. But let us with one mind resolve to nourish this freedom and assist the

two Dominions to grow into mighty strongholds of freedom for all.

Indeed the next few years will be most critical and fateful in the history of our freedom. For these are the years of transition of the two Dominions from an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility to one of good neighbourliness and perfect understanding, from a diluted responsible government under the modified Government of India Act to one of fullfledged democratic and socialist states which the common man is yearning for, from the dictatorship claimed by parties to the dictatorship of the people. It is the duty of every patriot to expedite and smoothen this transition. Let us briefly indicate the conditions for this progress of the transition which will assure peace and prosperity to the Dominions and secure for all the reality of this political freedom.

Firstly, it is imperative that the parties which accepted June 3 plan should avow their adherence to the plan with all its implications and pledge to work it without seeking to alter it unilaterally or by force. The principles underlying the plan as gleaned from the context in which it was recommended and accepted are: (i) self-determination that is, "The people are to make their own constitution and choose their own form of government", (ii) the application of this principle to specific areas where the Muslims are in majority; (this rejects the doctrine of national self-determination and accepts territorial self-determination, (iii) the definition of the Muslim Homeland in the only practical way possible, by applying the following rules, viz.,

- (a) the district to be the unit;
- (b) Muslim majority;
- (c) non-transfer of population for referendum purposes;

- (d) contiguity; and
- (e) minimum inclusion of non-Muslim minorities.

The Boundaries Commission will finalise the demarcation of the boundaries separating Pakistan from the Indian Union. It is the duty of all parties and communities that accepted the plan to honour the plan with all its implications and to accept the award of the Boundaries Commission and the Partition Councils without demur. Therein lies political grace.

Secondly, the Congress, the League and the Panthic Party should drop their claims and slogans as an earnest of having accepted the plan. The slogans of 'United India', 'India a nation', 'Religion in danger', 'the Indian Muslims are a nation', 'viable Pakistan', 'the demand for corridor', 'Sikhistan', etc., should be dropped. This will be the most eloquent gesture of reciprocal goodwill and mark of political chivalry.

Thirdly, now that the Unions are established, the major political parties that guide their destinies should agree to treat the division of India as a closed affair. It follows that as a convention the Congress and the League as political organisations should cease to function on an all-India basis. Let them recognise that they claim no extra-territorial rights. Let them be governed by practices in other countries and in other Dominions. An outside political party cannot directly seek to influence the policies of a domestic party in a system of political democracy and the domestic party cannot complain that its right of associating is infringed if the government bans it.

Fourthly, it is imperative that the two Dominions should have a complete divided status so that all chances of friction and suspicion can be avoided and each Dominion can act on its own responsibility with energy and speed. The Reserve Bank, the currency system, railways and communications must be divided as they have been divided.

Such assets as cannot be divided like the rivers, the irrigation and power systems, etc., should be subject to the control of a representative Inter-Union Commission. If it is agreed upon there may be a customs understanding; and later on when suspicions subside and the interests of the Dominions cease to be conflicting there may be a joint administration of subjects like external affairs, defence, etc. But it must be clear that neither of these should be forced on either of the Unions. It must also be clear that the Indian Union should not even indirectly raise the question of the re-union of the two States. The move must come from the Pakistan Union and from the Muslims of the Pakistan Union. The Indian Union should be prepared for a re-union, but not at any price which will negate the freedom of the people or their rights. This is the only way in which mutual confidence of the Dominions can be established.

Fifthly, each Union must be able to tackle its different problems free from the meddling of the other. Many and complex are the problems that the two Dominions will have to solve. For instance, the autonomy of the Pathans and the Baluchis, the inter-unit rivalry, the fear of the domination of Bengal and the Punjab in the Union affairs are some of the problems of the Pakistan Union. And it would be highly improper if either the Indian Union or the Congress does anything to prejudice the solution desired by the Pakistan Government. Similarly the main problem of the Indian Union will be that concerning the Native States which at present are in a position to prejudice its administrative and economic unity. It will be equally the duty of the Pakistan Union and the League not to encourage the Princes to resist and weaken the Indian Union. In fact it is imperative that the Pakistan and the Indian Dominions as well as the Congress and the League should adopt a common States policy. The League will have to reverse its

policy in this regard, give up its reactionary doctrine of legitimacy and stand for the adoption of progressive responsible government in Native States. The two Unions should adopt a policy of self-denial by agreeing not to encourage the Princes either to declare their independence or join any Union inconsistent with the geographical situation and the will of the people of the States. The two major political parties should support the cause of the freedom of the peoples of the States.

Sixthly, the Constituent Assemblies of the two Dominions should be worked in a co-operative spirit with zest and confidence by all parties and communities represented therein. Non-co-operation and civil resistance can have a place afterwards, if the constitutions are unsatisfactory. But now they are ill-advised. It should therefore be the endeavour of all members of the Constituent Assemblies to see that the constitutions of the two Dominions provide those conditions that will secularise politics and the political framework that will assist in creating a new national consciousness based on the territorial or neighbourhood principle rather than the illusive functional or religious principle and that will be conducive to the growth of democracy in a real sense preserving the dynamic efficiency of the mechanics of democracy. The provision of adult franchise and of joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities and the making of all ministerial offices elective will transfer power from the parties to the people, from the few to the many. Let these constitutions of the two Unions be hammered out, adopted and put into operation in the two States with as much expedition as possible. The sands of time are running out; and if we are to prevent further economic and political deterioration, let us hasten to enable the people of the two Dominions to be articulate and to have the power to make their voice

felt. Herein lies the solution to all our problems.

Power to the People. This is the keynote to the solution of all our inter-Dominion and domestic political problems. It will tone down and liquidate the present conflicts of communal-nationalisms. Let us also remember that nationalism is a product of an acquisitive society. In this country it has assumed a communal or religious garb just as it did in all feudal societies where people were ignorant and illiterate. Nationalism is a liberal force when the disinherited aspire for freedom and it assumes a disruptive and militant character when the haves-nots are denied this freedom. The Muslims in India are the disinherited, they are backward; that their aspiration is a liberal force cannot be denied simply because it has its origin in the British game of divide and rule or because it is the aspiration of the Muslim middle class and intelligentsia. Nationalisms find the conditions of their equilibrium in democracy and socialism; for the former makes the existence of privileges impossible and the latter baulks the acquisitive motive or profit motive and substitutes the service motive. If this is philosophically valid, let the constitution-makers of the two Dominions evolve constitutions which are truly democratic and socialistic both in their contents and spirit.

Lastly, the Indian Union and the Congress and Panthic Party and the Mahasabha should not fight shy of the transfer of population if it is forced on them by the League. If the constitution of the Pakistan Union does not proceed as it is visualised that it should, if it does not instil confidence in the minorities, if it perpetuates the separatist consciousness by adopting functional representation and separate electorates and if it claims dual loyalties or citizenship for Indian Muslims, the future is grim. It will be then tragic if the minorities are asked to stay in the Pakistan Union and annihilate themselves in

the altar of patriotism and absolute values and the people of the Indian Union seek revenge on the Muslims. The Indian Union cannot take a complacent view and believe that time will be the healer. The Indian Union should clinch the issues and adopt the following measures:

(1) It should prepare itself to resist all territorial demands of the Pakistan even by force if it becomes necessary.

(2) It should evolve a scheme or an agreed basis for exchange of population and a scheme of compensation for properties, etc., left behind by the people so transferred.

(3) An inter-Dominion migration committee may be set up which will control all future migrations of population on a selective basis.

(4) This assisted repatriation of non-Muslims from the Pakistan area and of those Muslims in the Indian Union who declare for Pakistan nationality may be voluntary but in the border between the two Unions, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab and Assam, the exchange will have to be on a compulsory basis.

This is imperative in the interests of the security of the defences of the Indian Union and of the prevention of the repetition of the German Sudetan tactics. Other precautionary measures limiting the rights of the Muslims in India and revising the whole standstill agreement will have to be adopted. All this would be unfortunate but it cannot be avoided. The Indian Union should not allow any room for the League to persist in its pressure tactics. The League may still talk of the danger Hindu invasion and conspiracy and of world Muslim federation with a view to maintaining its hold on Pakistan. But it is only when the problems of Pakistan are left exclusively to the Muslims that there is hope for the progressive forces of the Muslims to emerge and the chance for the

League fascism to end, the democratic forces of the two Unions to assert themselves and the two Unions to live in peace and prosperity.

The immediate future is the most critical period in the history of our peoples. The problems to be grappled are many, complex and urgent. Famine is knocking at our door. The scars that the war left are still deep. Poverty, scarcity, black-markets and profiteering supported by communal excuses are undermining the social foundations. Strong, stable, and competent Union Governments responsible to the common man to tackle these problems have to be created in the two Unions. The foundations of the Unions are to be made stable and sound; their structures have to be built brick by brick. Democratic traditions have to be fostered. The task is stupendous. It is the duty of all patriotic parties to co-operate in this task. Let them realise that this is not the time for forcing their ideological differences, nor the time for indulging in political wits but it is the time for utmost co-operation and constructive statesmanship and for mobilising and consolidating the progressive forces in the country. The Socialist Republics which political parties have promised and the common man aspires for in both Dominions are to be made a reality. August 15 creates a totally new situation. The freedom it ushers in demands new terms, a new outlook, new technique and new leadership. Let us remember that the problems of freedom cannot be solved by force; that they cannot be solved either by correct thinking alone or by correct feeling alone, but only by the combination of both. Right thinking can contribute to neutrality in the estimate of facts; right feeling is needed to give dynamic force to knowledge. Let us combine both; for this is the essence of responsible citizenship and right leadership and is most appropriate to the present context of freedom.



he Subhash I Knew. By Dilip Kumar Roy (Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1353, Bombay, pp. 224. Price Rs. 5-4).

The very nature of the always bold, often spectacular, activities of Subhash Chandra Bose has tended to create in the public mind the picture of a hero, cast in the traditional and recognisable mould. But, as Dilip Kumar Roy's book reveals, Subhash was not merely or always the man of force, determination and action. There was another side to his personality, an aspect of self-questioning and profound humility. "That is why," says Mr. Roy, "he could swiftly recapture in jail the authentic voice of spiritual humility, an accent so conspicuous by its absence from his public life with its loud cocksureness." Subhash's letters to the author from all and from abroad which are printed at the end of the book, bear ample evidence to this aspect of Subhash's life. Belonging as he did to the innermost circle of Subhash's intimates, the author is eminently equipped to perform the difficult task of convincingly presenting a new picture and a new evaluation of the total personality of Subhash. It is done with a breadth of vision, delicacy of approach and artistry of language which make the book at once an enjoyable study of Subhash and a record of the author's own faith.

Mr. Roy states at the very outset that he "felt inspired by Subhash not because he was a patriot on the surface, but because he was a mystic deep within." And he is equally clear in stating his view that "Subhash did not care to win peace nor even a truer vision because he loved the cause of his country too dearly . . . I have always thought it a thousand pities that the mystic in Subhash should have deviated from 'the All-transcendent' through an error of egoistic worldly conscience." It is a daring phrase that—egoistic worldly conscience. Nevertheless Mr. Roy firmly believes that participation in active politics (though patriotic) is essentially harmful to an individual's spiritual development." But—and this was the very basis of Dilip's spiritual kinship with Subhash—there was a true mystical strain in that very patriotism: "He was a mystic in the essence of his being, who counted the world well lost for

God; only he had, for the nonce, put his Motherland on his dream-throne of Divinity."

The other major theme of the book is the personality of Jawaharlal Nehru, for the author was deeply struck by the unbridgeable gulf between Subhash and Nehru who yet had a deal in common, both being "aristocratic to the finger tips, generous, magnetic . . . and utterly inaccessible to fear." Here are some of the remarks privately made by Subhash to the author, which point to a delightfully intriguing, nevertheless impossible, contradiction in Nehru's position that continues up-to-date and whose resolution, one way or the other, cannot be indefinitely postponed: "He is looked upon by almost everybody in India as an infallible guide on everything, even though on his own showing the vacillates at every single step of his. You find the peasant hails him as his spokesman, labour as their protagonist, the communist patronizes him, the capitalist dotes on him, the artist hails him as a pathfinder in belles lettres, the mill-owner gushes over him, ignoring the disconcerting fact that he is actually spinning away, without conviction, to prove a worthy heir to Gandhiji and a friend to the Daridranarayana—a word he abhors . . . An artist may afford to be decorative, Dilip. He may even hug the charming inconsistencies to cut a picturesque figure. But for a man of action, a statesman, an administrator and above all for one who bids fair to grow into a world figure, it were madness even to dream that one could do without a backbone . . . I will beg leave to prophesy: if he really wants to serve India through politics he must first of all make sure of his foundations. For if he does not take care to seek solid ground under his feet, the ground won't seek his feet either."

As for Subhash's going over to the Axis powers, the author says he could not look upon it "as anything but a most stupendous and grievous blunder. . . . Subhash was a victim of a conspiracy of forces which, by exploiting his heart-sickness, induced him to seek a kind of catharsis through adventure."

If the opening pages of Mr. Roy's book reveal a somewhat crudely gushing adulation of his hero, it is because

the young Dilip did gush like that over the young Subhash. But that is only the clamorous beginning of what is actually a fine and clear exposition. Seen 'from the inside,' as he is by Mr. Roy, the different aspects of Subhash's personality fall into their place in a pattern that yields a plausible harmony. Here is the book for anyone who wants to extract a meaning from the seeming enigma of Subhash's life.

The Nazi And The Soviet Systems. By V. Y. Kolhatkar (Published by "Good Companions", Baroda. Available from People's Publishing House, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 200. Price, Rs. 3.)

Mr. Kolhatkar's book is much more than a comparative study of Germany and Russia; it analyses the theories and programmes of reform advanced by various 'sociologists', Mr. M. R. Masani's second thoughts on Socialism, Professor Hayek's fears about serfdom in the planned society, and Mr. Burnham's theoretical discoveries are all examined and sought to be answered.

The author emphasizes, to the point of dullness through repetition, that the Nazi system was nothing but the final and violent form of the fight of finance capital against its own internal contradictions and against the growing revolutionary working-class movement. But the emphasis was perhaps necessary because many, like Mr. Masani, would like to hide this fact by lumping together as 'totalitarian States' two such diametrically opposed systems as those of Hitler Germany and Soviet Russia. When Mr. Masani turns against his former Socialist self and offers a psychological explanation for Fascist dictatorship, we can only conclude, with Mr. Kolhatkar, that "here in India, where the habit of clear thinknig is conspicuous by its absence, very few people understand what Fascism is."

It has become fashionable to raise the cry that collectivised economy entails the loss of individual liberty. The author fully examines this complaint, and illustrates the world of difference that exists between "the market democracy of capitalism and the planned democracy of Socialism." Hayekian freedom or 'absence of restraint', in the present stage of monopoly capitalism which has to maintain scarcity in order to make profits, is a freedom that is enjoyed only by the few producers who decide what to produce on the basis of market quotations and not on the basis of human needs. Consumers enjoy only the freedom to be passive participants in the social function of production.

The difference between the Nazi and Soviet systems is effectively brought out by Mr. Kolhatkar when he compares the Nazi occupied areas of Europe and the colonies of the imperialist powers on the one hand, and the Central Asian Socialist Republics on the other. The Nazis put through a scheme of agrarianisation in occupied Europe, making it dependent on German capital. The Asiatic colonies of Britain, France and Holland are similarly kept predominantly rural. But the Central Asian Republics, starting almost from scratch, have become rapidly industrialized. India's industrial production is less than 20 per cent of the total volume of production whereas Kazakh and Uzbek have now reached 58 and 75 per cent respectively from about 6 per cent in 1920.

As for the managerial revolution which Mr. James Burnham tells us has taken place without our knowing it, it is not necessary to go beyond the 'Report on the Russians' which Mr. White submitted to the world through the columns of *Reader's Digest*. Mr. White, who is by no means enamoured of Soviet Russia, testifies that authors, painters and assistant foremen in Russia have greater incomes than the managers. Again, is Russia officialdom-ridden? The author refers to the unique feature of Russian administration—the election of officials subject to public criticism and to recall—as the expression of real democracy in administration which cannot be claimed by any other country in the capitalist world.

There is a competently done chapter on dialectical materialism, though in somewhat text-bookish fashion. The lists of reference books at the end of each chapter furnish excellent guidance to students who desire fuller knowledge. The book is a timely effort to dispel the fog of loose thinking, and sometimes deliberately mischievous but pretentious theorising, which tends to confuse the layman about the significance of the Soviet system.

SWATANTRA

SWATANTRA is published every Saturday at 156, Lloyds Road, Royapettah, Madras (India). Single copy, six annas. Subscription: Inland, Rs. 20 per year and Rs. 10 per half-year. Foreign, £1 16sh. or 8 dollars (U.S.A.) per year. If return of manuscripts is desired, a stamped, self-addressed envelope must be enclosed.

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.

Administrators Feathering Their Nest

The popular Ministries came into power two years ago and we are growing less food and making less cloth. Why was not planned production attempted, instead of public funds being wasted on Prohibition, Khadi, rehabilitation and innumerable committees for all imaginable things? There are lands lying idle on which paddy could be raised instead of our waiting for food to come from Brazil or Indo-China. Does not the Government know that the cultivator is sick of raising paddy which never pays his expenses of cultivation and is in many areas taking to other commercial crops? Men who have no sense of priorities in the problems of administration and who take up fetishes when people starve and go naked are not fit to govern. These various committees are apparently only meant as a provision for the serviceable camp followers of one or the other of the Ministers. The choice of the member for the Food Council from Malabar is an insult to the intelligence of the people of the district. Evidently the Food Minister obliged his Malabar colleague. On the District Harijan Committee for Malabar, Kelappan who has lived a life of service in the Harijan cause, finds no place. Most of the committees are packed with men from among the ungifted henchmen of the Minister from Malabar. It will be a revealing study to ascertain the number of these committees, the amount of public money spent on them and the advantage that the public have derived from them. If administrators can so openly and staunchly flout public opinion to feather their own nest, what will not they do in private?

'TRUTH.'

No More Blind Allegiance

Persons with knowledge and integrity, of unimpeachable character, imbued with patriotic spirit, and with no prejudice against any section of the people, should be at the helm of affairs now. It will be a sheer mockery of democracy if such men are not returned to responsible posts. We shall be living in a fool's paradise if we expect any benefit to accrue to society from a Government run by persons crippled in mind and spirit and moved by selfish ends.

But what are the conditions to-day? The legislatures are not altogether abodes of efficiency and certain incapable and undeserving persons are found returned to important positions in the name of a party. The illiteracy of the greater part of the electorate tends to make influence more effective than wisdom and efficiency in determining a candidate's success in election.

As freedom is dawning, it is incumbent on the part of the intelligentsia of India to pay no more blind allegiance to any particular party and they should use their discretion in electing members to legislatures paying due consideration to individual competency. But as the intelligentsia constitutes only a small minority, the actual rectification, of the present anomalous state of affairs is possible only if the whole electorate is properly educated. Adult suffrage has no meaning if the electorate is not alive to its responsibilities. Education of the electorate is essential and calls for priority of attention from our administrators, if democracy is to be worth its name. The roots of political democracy can be well watered only by popular education.

A. SATYANARAYANA.

Blow To Morale

It has been often reported in the press that the Congress Working Committee and Pandit Nehru in particular, are strongly opposed to the inclusion of non-Congressmen in the lists of Governors and Cabinet Ministers of the first Free India Government. While the new appointments to the governorships of provinces confirm these reports, nobody can be happy over the selection of such a notorious anti-Congressman as Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti as member of the first India Cabinet, and that too, to such an important portfolio as Finance. His appointment, overruling the claims of several prominent Congress leaders of the South, will come as a blow to the morale of the organisation.

Why should C. R. be sent out of the Central Government?

It is a disgrace to the various P. C. C's of Madras that they could not unitedly choose a leader to represent them at the Centre, but that does not in any way justify the High Command and Pandit Nehru selecting a positively unpopular non-party man to the first so-

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called 'popular' Government of the Indian Republic.

M. KRISHNAMURTHI.

Freedom Denied To Man In The Street

It is as if Congress leaders alone are getting independence and not the people. Look at the manner in which they have been appointing members of the Union Government, Governors, Governor-General, etc. While Pakistan won prestige by choosing an Indian as its Governor-General, our Congress leaders have been caught in a web of romantic passion over Lord Mountbatten. Again look at their callous neglect of Andhra Desa. In the whole of Andhra, they have not found one man worthy of being included in the Union Government, or appointed as Governor.

The freedom which is supposed to have dawned on Aug. 15 is confined to the few persons who hold sway at the Centre. It is denied to the man in the street. The postponement of elections on the widened basis of adult suffrage has further robbed freedom of its thrills. The fact is, Congressmen are afraid of elections. If fresh elections are conducted, most of the Congressmen holding office now are sure to be ousted and they are terribly disheartened at the prospect of parting with power. The celebration of independence on August 15 would be a ghastly mockery unless people are assured of being afforded an unfettered opportunity for deciding their leaders, statesmen and administrators immediately at the polls.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Rajahmundry.

Rashtriya Swayam-Sevak Sangh

The Hindu Maha Sabha has, according to a recent press report, embarked upon a campaign of direct action in Lucknow to coerce the Government to accept certain demands formulated by them. One of the demands call upon the Government to lift the ban prohibiting Government servants from taking part in the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS).

Sri. M. S. Golwalkar is the present head of the RSS. He is the author of a book "We" in which he has given expression to the following views:

Hindus alone are the nation in India.

Non-Hindus are not entitled to any privileges—not even citizenship rights. The following editorial comments in *Swatantra* are instructive in this connection:

"Communalism cuts across the whole system of the basic principles pertaining to democracy, with aberrations pledged to the creation of a

dominant favoured class, distinct and separate from the rest, and encouraged to regard itself as entitled to special treatment. Muslim communalism has set in motion a series of imitating communalisms with the result that very little is left now of anything by way of a common citizenship for all."—(June 28).

"If there is to be a common citizenship in India, it should be made a punishable offence for any official of Government to regulate any exercise of State power, for good or evil, with reference to caste. All citizens must have equality of access to all benefits provided by the State."—(July 26).

The Government have thus ample justification to refuse to withdraw the ban imposed on their servants. To safeguard the rights and privileges of Hindus is one thing, and to deny similar rights to non-Hindus is another; the latter is detrimental to the peace and prosperity of the country and must be avoided.

A. V. APPA RAO.

Bezwada.

"Mynah at the Zoo & Other Essays"

While thanking your reviewer for his very kind review of my book (August 2) I wish to say that the page-headings were inserted without consulting me, and that I loathe them as much as the reviewer did. These will be omitted from subsequent editions.

And I am more than grateful to the reviewer for drawing attention to this sentence: "And whatever that be, there must be a few whose destiny is to serve as mediums for the spirits of the Dead." What I wrote was: "there must be few" meaning hardly any. The offending "a" which makes nonsense of my whole argument must be ascribed to a printer's devil.

No blame is attached to the publishers who had to do a rush job of printing the book.

J. VIJAYATUNGA.

Colombo.

A Test Case

Every Hindu must have been shocked to read of the brutal massacre of Ramasimhan and his brother Narasimhan and two others in Perintalmanna, South Malabar, in their own house, at midnight by a gang who resented their rejection of Islam and adoption of Hinduism. The massacre was long threatened and feared, ever since the conversion of Ramasimhan whose original name was Khan Saheb Killiman-nil Unnian Saheb. The fanatical Moplahs had learnt a bitter lesson after the Khilafat rising of 1921 which

was suppressed with an iron hand by the British Administration and they had refrained for the last twenty-five years from their usual pastime of murder of Hindus, desecration of Hindu temples, and forcible conversions in which they used to indulge periodically, as the recent history of Malabar shows. Now, on the eve of the British quitting India, the Moplahs are feeling the exuberance of Pakistan and wondering whether the Congress Government can deal with them in the only manner which they can understand. This is a test case. If the culprits of this fanatical and brutal outrage, the result of planning by a numerous party none of whom have so far been apprehended, should escape the arms of justice, one shudders to think of the consequences to Malabar Hindus. Consternation reigns in Malabar. Can Hindus expect protection, that is the question on everybody's lips. Unless Government take quick and decisive action, widespread disorder may result. "One drop of blood saved by expediency will be paid for by twenty drawn by the sword" said Wendell Wilkie. Is the Congress Government going to adopt the policy of expediency or going to face realities?

M. V. GANAPATI.

What Sort of Journalism?

One is amazed to read the editorial "What sort of freedom?" in your issue of 26th July, airing an obsession with the superiority-complex of the Brahmin and riding rough-shod over the present Ministry for meeting the just claims of the Non-Brahmins, who form the bulk of society.

Your attribute to the present Congress rule an unholy "rancorous communal war on Brahmins." When did you discover this canker in Congress rule? Just now! It started with the "sharp-witted" C. R. But *Swatantra* was then mute!—perhaps with admiration. You may be reminded that communalism in Congress had its origin even in the 1938 Congress regime.

Oh! Andhra Journalism! Cast away your caste-ridden canker! And, from August 15, may the renaissance of *Swatantra* renovate you, and, (till Hinduism becomes casteless)—widen your vision to hold the scales even between all classes and thereby uphold and sustain the traditional glory of the Fourth Estate as the bulwark of justice.

V. PUNYAMURTHY.

Rajahmundry.

Rayalaseema And Andhra Province

Andhra leaders in the Circars are conducting a hectic campaign for the immediate formation of a separate Andhra province. But this agitation and over-anxiety is being engineered by the leaders of only six out of the eleven Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras province. Not a single responsible leader from any one of the districts in Rayalaseema has been taking any interest in this agitation for a separate province. On the other hand public opinion in Rayalaseema is unanimously and definitely against the immediate formation of a separate Andhra province and the re-affiliation of Rayalaseema colleges with the Andhra University. Have the people of five districts no right of self-determination in this matter? Regarding the controversy over Madras, whatever its historical origin and growth, there is no gainsaying that the city has become a common one for all South Indians and not an exclusive one for any section of people.

Our appeal therefore to all the leaders in Tamil Nad and the Circars is to agree to keep Madras as a common and free city and allow us, the people of five districts in Rayalaseema, to look to Madras City for our education and for administrative purposes. Just like Delhi province, Madras city could (after the formation of Andhra and Tamil provinces), become a small province exercising jurisdiction over Rayalaseema.

C. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI.

Cuddapah.

Honorary Presidency Magistrates

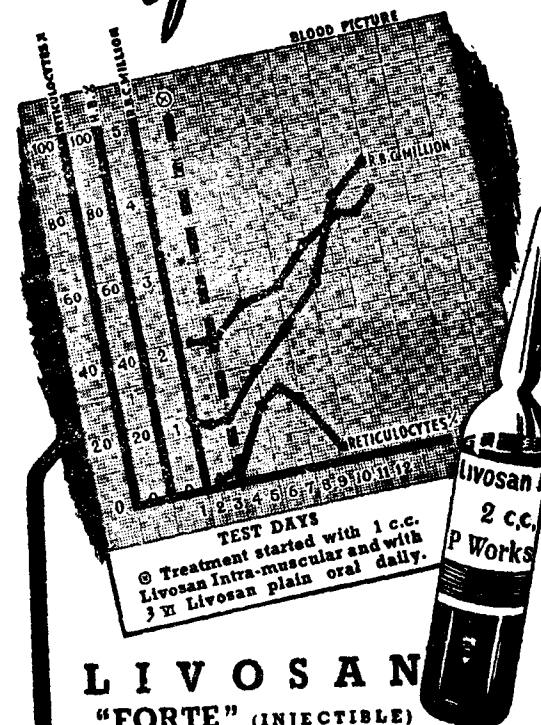
With my service as an Honorary Presidency Magistrate extending over a long period in Madras City, I can vouch to the high sense of duty and great popularity of these courts, here in this Presidency. These courts, dispense thousands of cases, many of which are contested. Some cases that go by way of appeal to the High Court are very well commented upon and the courts that tried such cases are always praised. There have been, among those chosen for this work, an ex-Governor of Madras, Presidents of Council, great educationists, doctors and big retired Government servants. They can safely be entrusted with the trial of most of the criminal cases as suggested by the recently appointed Royal Commission. Men chosen as Honorary Presidency Magistrates here are really much better than those that are employed for similar purposes in England and elsewhere.

MUHAMMAD AKBAR ALI SAIB.

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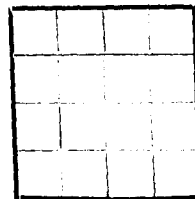
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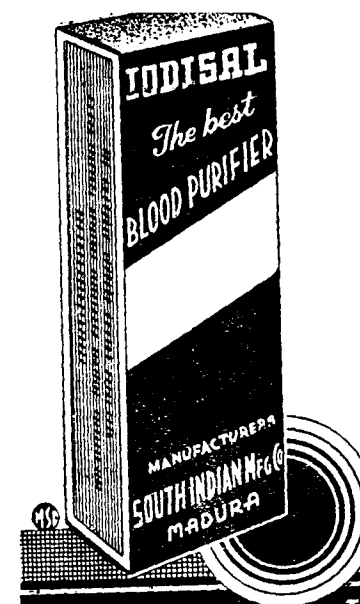
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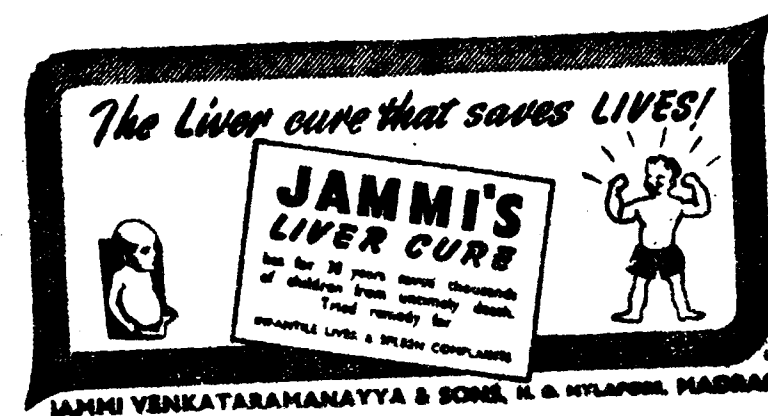
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30-6-46	13,00,340	2,90,88,375	7,60,886	2,22,440	8% „	2,00,000
30-6-47	24,58,890	4,21,92,912	9,79,684	2,34,043	8% „	8,33,450

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SWATANTRA

VOL. II. NO. 29

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1947.

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SEEKING ALMS.

—by H. V. Ram Gopal.

SWATANTRA

VOL. II
No. 29

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1947.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

STORM BREWING IN HYDERABAD

IN our issue of June 21, we had argued that "if the disappearance of Paramountcy were to result in independence, it would mean that in the State concerned the ruler and his subjects would for the first time be compelled to adjust their relations with each other without the intervention of a powerful third party." Applying the argument to Travancore, we wrote: "Divested of the extraneous support deducible from Paramountcy, the days of Sir C. P. as an autocratic Dewan are ended, and if he cannot very soon re-establish himself on public goodwill, he cannot help having to quit the State itself." Sir C. P. has quit and his quitting is an indication of the inevitability of a similar result in the case of other Dewans or Rulers, similarly placed, in other States. But Hyderabad differs from Travancore in several important particulars, and the difference between the two States is likely to make for a difference in their respective paces of progression towards responsible government. In Travancore, the Ruler is not encircled by any protective ring isolated from the bulk of the people to serve as a citadel for autocracy. But in Hyderabad the Nizam is served by a force of Arabs and surrounded by a compact minority community of Muslims who look to him as a guardian of special privileges and benefits for themselves as against the major community of Hindus comprising over 80 per cent. of the State population. Responsible government in Hyderabad is opposed by a truculent communal minority and will involve a civil war between Hindus and

Muslims, though the communal alignment may be broken here and there, what with the existence of some Hindus supporting the ruling power and some Muslims making common cause with the Hindus for the termination of autocratic rule.

Mr. Jinnah used to criticise the Congress demand for freedom as a declaration of civil war on Muslims. The demand for responsible government in Hyderabad is likely to be treated by the Muslims in the State as a civil war on themselves to be resisted with the same vigour with which Mr. Jinnah resisted the Congress. All the help that Mr. Jinnah can spare as head of Pakistan, without prejudice to his other more pressing preoccupations, will be at the disposal of the Muslims of Hyderabad in their fight against the demand for responsible government. The domination of the Muslim League, severed to some extent in the Rest of India by the establishment of a separate sovereign State, continues unabated in Hyderabad under shelter of independence, and the elimination of Paramountcy has not meant to the State redemption from third-party interference and control as in the case of Travancore. The Muslim advisers of the Nizam continue to act in close consultation with Mr. Jinnah in all important affairs of policy. The strings of the Government of the State are pulled from Karachi. The cause of responsible government in the State has to reckon not only with the Ruler, but with the powerful League Party in the State commanding virtually the loyalty of the whole of

the Muslim population, the reinforcement of the Ruler by the Government of Pakistan, and a military combination of all the three.

What chance has the State Congress, in its fight for responsible government, against so formidable a combination? The membership of the State Congress is divided by competing linguistic allegiances. Habituation to the technique of non-violence has rendered it inferior to its opponents in the matter of striking capacity on military lines. A leader of the calibre of the Mahatma might succeed in non-violently leading the people of the State to eventual victory in their fight for responsible government against all the forces ranged against them, however mighty. Other leaders of the Congress have shown no disposition hitherto to get mixed up too uncomfortably with the affairs of the States people. On the other hand, the Muslim League has shown itself to be relentless and unscrupulous in its policies and programmes, and it has already achieved a considerable success in the organisation of violence and terror for political ends.

A hard time is apparently in store for the people of Hyderabad in their struggle for liberation from autocratic rule. Their opponents will have no scruples and will show no mercy. Every resource of brute violence and organised oppression will be employed to cow down their spirit. Congress leaders in power at New Delhi will have to make up their minds promptly about effective measures for strengthening the progressive political forces in Hyderabad before they get demoralised and over-awed. If the changed psychology of office-holding should mean the forging of bonds of affinity between the States Department and the Rulers of the States without reference to standards of government, or any refuge in punctilious neutrality, the League will make a grand harvest of mischief at the

expense of the Congress. Recent provocative utterances of Mr. Jinnah and his lieutenants over the Punjab horrors leave no doubt about the intentions of the League. They mean to continue to fan the fires of communal hatred both in their own territory and India, with all the leverage of their new sovereignty status, and to apply wherever possible a Sudetan technique of Hitlerite pattern for the disintegration of India. Hyderabad seems marked out as the area most suitable for the maximum havoc of disruptive communalism in the whole country. We plead for abandonment of the policy of aloofness that has characterised top-ranking Congress leaders in their handling of the affairs of Hyderabad, so far. The occasion seems to call for the direct assumption of responsibility for the conduct of the Satyagraha campaign in the State by Mahatma Gandhi himself. Or else, the Union Government must take prompt measures to counteract the League's militarism with adequate opportunities for defence and self-protection to the people of the State.

Destruction of Food Crops

WE are indebted to Mr. K. G. Sivaswami of the Servants of India Society for a copy of the letter quoted below which he received from the Secretary of the Malabar Kisan Sabha:

"On 15th July 1947 the Joint Magistrate of Tellicherry passed an exparte order without any provocation, prohibiting any fresh 'agricultural activities' or entry into the fenced area for any purpose including the harvesting of the tapioca crop planted last year. On the 15th of July a batch of forty M.S.P. men went to the area and removed all the recently planted 10,000 tapioca seedlings. The matter was represented to the Hon'ble Mr. K. Madhava Menon, Minister for Agriculture and to the Hon'ble Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, Minister for Land Revenue. Mr. Madhava Menon told us that the Joint Magistrate was perfectly justified in ordering removal of the 10,000

seedlings though we referred him to the Government Press Note dated 2nd June 1947 extending concessions for the Grow More Food Campaign "exempting technical infringement of irrigation rules" and guaranteeing "non-destruction of forfeited crops on encroachments." We also told him that the peasants were in legal possession of the plot. But he said that if the peasants were allowed to cultivate this year also they would claim the land as a matter of right. We represented to him that the Government could have levied fresh tax for the seedlings planted and could have given notice to the peasants not to cultivate the area after the present crop (which might be ready next year) was harvested. The food situation is serious and in view of this critical situation the Government could have stayed its hands for the present and allowed people to grow more food. But in spite of all the pleadings the Minister for Agriculture was adamant and would not like discussing the question. That is how the Minister for Agriculture views intensification of food production in Malabar.

"If only the Government had really wanted to supplement the meagre food resources in Malabar they could have given facilities for cultivating

the vast extent of cultivable waste land in possession of the Government as well as compelled the landlords to give their lands for cultivation according to the recommendations of the Kuttu Krishna Menon Committee. The Kuttu Krishna Menon Committee had recommended that all available land must be cultivated either by the Jenmis within a fixed period or the same must be granted to the peasants by the Collector for cultivation. This recommendation was made when there was no food scarcity in Malabar. Now when there is food famine the Government does not care to implement these recommendations. The Agricultural Minister's contribution to the 'Grow More Food' campaign is his defence with a gusto of the destruction of food crops in Malabar."

With so much of scarcity and starvation everywhere, it is incredible that the police should destroy a crop and Ministers should quietly let them do so. A Minister for Agriculture who takes such a light-hearted view of his responsibilities as the one revealed in the letter quoted above, is scarcely the right person to be allowed to continue at the helm of affairs in these famine-ridden days.

Sotto Voce

The Divine Science



I have noticed that few subjects provoke cold ferocity and biting contempt in anything like the same measure as astrology. I can understand and make allowances for particular antipathies—as, for example, of the allopaths for other systems of medicine or of G.B.S. for vivisection. In the one case it is inflamed humanity, in the other it is outraged vanity that explains the outburst. But the motiveless malignity with which astrology is pursued by its enemies baffles me.

The cocktail parties thrown to ring in Independence were scandalised by the report that the Nehru Government had consulted astrologers. And the Communists will no doubt make that the principal plank in their election platform. But your critic *pur sang* is the snake in the grass; he lies in wait for the unsuspecting passer-by, injects his venom and glides away "quicker" than wind." You are contentedly turning over the pages of a new book by a favourite writer with anticipatory

pleasure and you are hit in the eye by some such statement as this: "I could never understand how any society which believed in astrology could be regarded as civilised. For my part I should feel much more comfortable among practising cannibals." If at that moment it had been in my power to gratify his wish I should have consigned him with pleasure to such congenial company.

Note that these apostles of Reason rarely bother to give reasons for their dislike; their forte is general invective. And among those who pooh-pooh astrology are to be found some of the most ardent votaries of games of chance. Monte Carlo is strewn with the bleached bones of men who had worked out "infallible" systems for breaking the bank. It was not the bank that broke.

These supercilious folk kid themselves with high-sounding formulas. They are not after that vulgar thing luck, you must know. It is an intelligent application of the mathematical theory of probabilities that interests them. But all the same, they are not above taking a hint or two from "Kabbala: or the Book of Numbers." What is more amusing, some of the authentic mathematicians are themselves as irresistibly and shamefacedly drawn to astrology as the man who has taken the temperance pledge is drawn to the nearest pub as the clock strikes six.

Others take the facetious line. There was a worthy astronomer of my acquaintance who devoted a lifetime to the mathematical side of astrology, while loudly protesting his unbelief in it; he said his purpose in life was to unmask the pretensions of this pseudo-science! He reminded me of the Congress leader who, when discovered smoking a cigarette, told the Mahatma that he was helping to burn foreign goods. Some of the arguments these scientific denigrators advance are extremely diverting.

They ask, "How can you possibly foretell anything by the movement of the stars if you insist on taking your data not from the observatories but from some old almanac-maker's wild guesses?" I retort, "But, my good man, it works—and that is the utmost that can be claimed for any scientific hypothesis so called." Others exclaim that it is silly to think that the planets, clouds of matter, could influence the destiny of anything. Hoity-toity! as if *they* didn't believe that the moon influences the tides and that sun-spots cause trade-cycles.

As a matter of fact, astrology, as an able writer on science, Willy Haas, has pointed out, "does not at all maintain that a certain constellation causes a certain destiny. It merely says: a certain destiny corresponds to a certain constellation." The philosophers, who have little zest for life, are particularly severe on the childish curiosity that sends people to astrology. But is that impulse more unreasonable than the craze for news, hourly, minutely, which makes this the newspaper age par excellence? Let it, however, be remembered that Jaimini and Parasara were not the product of a sensation-mongering civilisation.

Jyautisha is a Veda-Anga. Its study was enjoined as an aid to self-knowledge. "The most modern continuation of the general Relativity theory, which reckons with a curved space-time continuum of space, has as its hypothesis (or as its result) that the universe can have no origin and no end;" and this is admitted by men of science themselves as invalidating the mechanistic thinking with which science was so long identified. Well, we Hindus have always believed that the world is *anadi* and that Reality is one. You may find human destiny writ large in the firmament and writ small in the hearts of men.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

The strength of criticism lies only in the weakness of the thing criticised.—LONGFELLOW.

THE present Ministry has been in office for five momentous months—time enough for a review of their work. Individually the record of the Ministers has been inglorious. Most of them have been barren, some positively reactionary, and one or two, in charge of important portfolios, so conspicuously incompetent as to have become a public menace in their present positions. From none has any outstanding constructive policy, conceived in the public interest for improvement of the prevailing miserable conditions of life, so far come.

At all times sycophants gather round Governments. At a time like the present when so many controls are in operation, existence is impossible without official favour for certain classes of people engaged in particular occupations. These are now the life and soul of the prodigiously advertised "receptions" that the Ministers get, and they have learned to do a very flourishing business out of it. They and the police form a buffer between the public and the more unpopular of the Ministers. The old enthusiasm of the people for Congress and Congress leaders is rapidly vanishing.

The present set of Ministers have already cost the Congress the general goodwill of the masses. The Ministers have sunk to a position lower in public confidence than even the Advisers. It is recognised that the Advisers were good administrators in a bad setting, unlike the Ministers who are squandering the invaluable advantages of a good setting by bad administration.

The Food Minister has created round himself an atmosphere of challenge about his own personal response to his department's procurement injunctions. He is thrown on the defensive—a plight far from

dignified for the holder of an office whose good faith is to be taken for granted if he is to do any good work, and on whose wisdom and reputation for disinterested public spirit the whole food economy of the province and the success of its procurement operations hang. Dr. Rajan has deteriorated considerably since the days he acted as Health Minister in C. R.'s Cabinet. He has lost his guts. While formerly he commanded respect as a strong man, he now evokes derision as a dabbler in intrigue concerned only in tenaciously clinging to a post of which the main object he has signally failed to justify.

Of the other Ministers, the Finance Minister has by now completely succeeded in establishing his position as one who knows very little of finance. It is dangerous to the safety of the province to permit Sri. Gopala Reddi to administer a subject of which he knows so little. Sri. Chandramowli has confessed in public his impotence as against the permanent administrative service. Why should a self-confessed impotent Minister stay on? For whose benefit? As for the Industries Minister, precious little has come from him by way of plans for industrial regeneration. But he seems very willing to place the power of the State into the hands of his own business colleagues of pre-ministerial days—a thing that calls for careful investigation about the advisability of ever entrusting the Industries portfolio to a company-promoter. Sri. Avanashi has gone about like a veritable Don Quixote waging hectic battles against imaginary evils in public education, ignoring its essential needs, confounding its cultural mission with the sowing of illwill and communal passion, and generally making a mess of things and vainly mistaking it to be so much of progress. The other Ministers have just fallen into the ruts of old routine. They show no sign of ever being able to break new ground in conformity with the need of the times.

Sri Omandur the Premier is reported to be having a tough time with his colleagues as they with him. He has turned out to be no weakling. He has shown that he possesses personal rectitude. He has exhibited a firm will in the matter of calling erring Ministers to order when in his opinion they erred. He has abstemiousness, he is non-acquisitive and he is not disposed to throw out his favours rashly. He is capable of dealing with nepotism sternly. But all his virtues are fashioned into a small mould and spoiled by a narrow outlook; they are applied to trifling

details; they are therefore lost in the sands of littleness. The Premier lacks constructive vision and the spacious judgment appropriate to his great office. He has a parochial mind that is being perpetually lost on the fringes of the stupendous problems confronting him as the head of the administration. In history, it is not the easy-going licentiate but the puritans of irreproachable personal character and sectarian temperament living in the iron cages of rigid pre-determined values, that have done the greatest harm.—SAKA.

VIOLINIST SUNDARESA IYER AND HIS ART

by T. V. KRISHNASWAMI

TIRUVALANGADU Sundaresa Iyer is one of the most isolated figures in the history of music. He belongs to the school of tradition, and his style is practically the result of pure genius. He works at music utterly indifferent to money, honours and the applause of the crowd. He never bothers to become closely acquainted with the so-called influential musical circles, which in their turn are slow and reluctant to recognise him as a man of extraordinary merit. His music therefore is heard only at rare intervals.

Comparatively speaking, there is not much of variety in his technique. His music floats past you as a dream vision of ineffable beauty, the source of which lies in some indefinable region beyond the world of logic and reason. He believes that music should be a simple and intimate thing, direct and immediate in its appeal from soul to soul, a thing of instinct rather than of learning, of the heart rather than of the head.

He has an intimate, contemplative style, with little or nothing about its parts that is showy, but plenty that is decorative. His method is the "simplest" in the general outline of structure rather than in the details of its sectional

treatment, for within the limits of a single variation the utmost subtlety and complexity of technique and expression are achieved.

He is noted for uncompromising directness of production and bone-dry economy of structure. The words and music grow up together and there is a spontaneous freedom in the rhythm that makes each phrase sound inevitable. In a picture gallery, we do not always measure beauty by the area of the canvas, and Mr. Sundaresa Ayyar is piercingly, and sometimes even bitterly, clear as to the size which he can fill to satisfy himself. The canvasses then are small. We ourselves must discover whether the musical material is big or whether it is just rapid and transient.

He is no devotee of note-spinning, of blowing up frog ideas into bull-like proportions. He has little liking for scene painting, for the vague sweeping line that means so little even if seen from afar. We are not confronted with acres of musical thistles and bindweed, but are kept within the confines of a comparatively well-ordered and well laid-out garden.

He does everything with exquisite precision. Instead of an incoherent

sequence of ideas, he offers a texture that is economical and closely knit. The result is an alliance of design and emotion, that reaches the innermost corners of the heart. There is no striving after effect, no exaggeration. In its simplicity and in its fervency, lies its profound appeal. It is the quality of urgent sincerity, and not merely technical adroitness, that has made his music so acceptable to all. He uses, with absolute mastery, a technique which has so become second nature, that it seems forgotten by him, as it is by us who listen. The glove now fits the hand; under it the muscles move unseen, with their own natural freedom. His ragas are beautiful tone-poems, shapely in design, compressed, concentrated and economical, delicate in colour, and done in an idiom that offers no problems to the normally experienced ear. There is a complete absence of padding—every note is an essential part of the whole design. Emotion is by him controlled by fastidious craftsmanship and exquisite taste. His music can be, through its subtle implications, more poignant or exhilarating than music that is obviously and directly sensuous.

He is a master both in the art of slow and quick movements. If the opening movement is austere, the great passionate climax of the slow movement—the highest emotional peak of the work—should convince the listener that the player has a heart and not a book of theories in his head.

Originality does not consist in avoiding what is familiar, but in using the available material in the



Sri. Sundaresa Ayyar.

most effective way. An artist finds himself not by self-conscious attempts at originality, but by learning from others. Sundaresa Ayyar is disciplined, and even when he seems most novel, pays tribute to tradition. What he takes from the spirit of the past, he transforms into the idiom of the present, an idiom so personally and unmistakably his own.

He is one of the few who have mastered the secret of "going on" when dealing with a raga, that is to say, he is never thrown back upon the device of joinery to conceal an untoward transition. He has the artistic sincerity, the quality that makes the thing or object the only consideration at the moment of performing.

He is too much of an artist to put worldly considerations and success before his own musical inclinations.

It is strange that Mr. Sundaresa Ayyar's genius is not properly assessed and appreciated, for here is a golden treasury of lovely musical material, for a really musical mind.

HELPFUL HUSBAND

I love to show my little wife
how greatly I appreciate
The things she is, and says, and does,
and all she means to me.
And so I buy her sweets, but since
she thinks that she is dieting,
I help her to consume them, and
she's grateful as can be.

—Russell Pettis Askue.

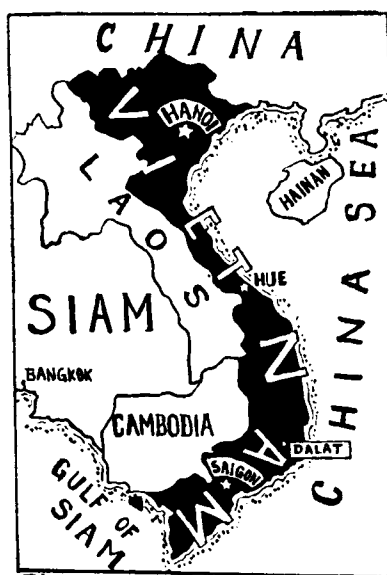
VIET-NAM'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

TWO YEARS OF STRUGGLE

THE people of Viet Nam will celebrate the second anniversary of their independence on September 2, while yet fighting to preserve and consolidate it. Viet Nam, like Indonesia, has become so significant a part of current history that it is almost difficult to believe that it was only two years ago, on Aug. 25, 1945, shortly after the Japanese surrender, that the twenty million people of Viet Nam proclaimed their independence through the Provisional Government of Dr. Ho Chi-Minh. They celebrated the second day of September with great enthusiasm as the day of their liberation from colonial status, achieved through armed revolt against the French and Japanese rulers.

Viet Nam derives its name from the fact that it lies to the south of Viet, a province of China. It consists of three provinces, Tonkin in the north (capital Hanoi), Annam in the centre (capital Hue) and Cochin China in the south (capital Saigon). Viet Nam has a very long history, during a large part of which—from 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D.—it was linked with China as a tributary nation. It was only around 1000 A.D. that the country secured itself from the inroads of Imperial China and of the Chams from the south. The emperors of Viet Nam ruled the country from the Court of Hue. Rich in rice and rubber, with large deposits of coal and iron, Viet Nam began to attract the attention of foreigners, especially the French, during the eighteenth century. The French made their influence felt for the first time when they intervened in a royal dispute and placed their own protege on the throne. After several more or less peaceful attempts at penetration into Viet Nam, the French finally revealed their imperialist designs in 1862, under the reign of Emperor TU DUC. Taking advantage of the internal strife and religious quarrels in the country, the French colonialists forcibly imposed

their domination. The people resisted, and there was intermittent warfare, but Cochin-China (the 'rice-bowl' province of Viet Nam) was fully occupied in 1867, and by 1884 the two other provinces of Viet Nam, as well as the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia, passed under French domination.



The French broke up the natural unity of Viet Nam by placing Annam and Tonkin, along with Laos and Cambodia, under French Residents Superior, who administered these areas through their puppet feudal rulers. Cochin-China, the richest part of the country, was separated and brought under direct French rule. The formation of the first political party in Viet Nam was inspired by the confidence generated by the Japanese success in the war against Czarist Russia, and by the Boxer rebellion in China. This party formed in 1908, was called the Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc—meaning the Party of Restoration With the Aid of Tokyo. But no aid came from Tokyo, and the movement was suppressed. The next big national upsurge followed the successful 1917 Revolution in

Russia and the nationalist Revolution of China. Vietnamese patriots turned to the new technique of mass political struggles. Many Vietnamese revolutionaries went illegally to China to study at the feet of the father of the Chinese Revolution, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Others went to Europe to study the Russian technique. Among these was Dr. Ho Chi-Minh, the present President of the Viet Nam Republic. The Yen-bay revolt of 1930 was largely organised by the Viet Nam Quoc-dan Dang—the Nationalist Party of Viet Nam, formed in 1927. The Communists also steadily gained in strength and influence during the thirties. When war broke out, the leaders of all these political groups were thrown into jail by the French. In 1940 France fell. Admiral Decoux, French ruler of Viet Nam, promptly signed a pact with the Japanese.

What was the state of Viet Nam under the French? Though the country is rich in mineral resources like tin, zinc and tungsten, the French made little effort to develop these. While industrial growth was retarded, the production of rice was enormously increased. In 1933, 1,932,000 metric tons of rice were produced; within four years, by 1937, the figure increased to 2,350,000. The Vietnamese, however, never benefited from this huge production. They had no control over the land, which belonged to big French landlords and to the French Bank of Indo-China. France drained the wealth of Viet Nam, without giving her anything in return. In 1935, the exports to France amounted to 432,702,000 francs. In 1936, the figure rose to 922,705,000. Imports, on the other hand, dwindled from 599,986,000 in 1935 to 523,261,000 in 1936. The Vietnamese lost their freedom and wealth, and the French brought them in return, poverty, opium, illiteracy and imprisonment. The number of kilometres of opium grown in the country increased from 57,592 in 1939 to 71,736 in 1941. At the same time the number of prisons increased from 14,350 to 20,852. This was the state of affairs on the eve of the French collapse.

The Japanese occupation only made things worse. Vietnamese

patriots did not want the country to pass from the hands of the French colonialists into those of the Japanese Fascists. They decided to start a Resistance movement. The aim of the Resistance was to eliminate by force the Vichyite and pro-Japanese elements in the administration. The French and the Japanese joined hands to crush the revolt but the rebels withdrew into the jungles and saved the bulk of their forces. It was out of the anti-Japanese uprisings that the League of Independence of Viet Nam—the Viet Minh—was born. It was the fighting alliance of all the patriotic parties, representing all sections of the people. Between 1941 and 1944, many exiled leaders found their way back into the country through a net-work of underground organisations. Dr. Ho Chi-Minh returned and took over the leadership of the Viet Minh.

First among the Allies to enter Viet Nam were the British, and they were warmly welcomed by enthusiastic Vietnamese crowds carrying the flags of the United Nations. As already said, the people celebrated September 2, 1945, with great éclat. But within a few days the atmosphere changed. There was tension in the air which was thick with French-inspired rumours of Vietnamese atrocities. Peace was finally broken on the 23rd, when, in the early hours of the morning French troops, armed by the British, attacked the Government buildings of the Viet Nam Republic. This fighting has continued up-to-date, in spite of the truces and agreements now and then announced. The French, in plain words, are not prepared to give up their colonial possessions. Adopting a tactic that has become universal among imperialist statesmen, the French want to separate Cochin-China from Viet Nam. Dr. Ho Chi-Minh went far in order to meet the French demands by consenting to the terms of the Hanoi Agreement of March 6, 1946, which contained three main clauses. First, the French recognised the new Republic as a free State, with its own parliament, army and finances. The new State was to be a part of the Federation of Indo-China and the French Union. It was agreed that

The Vietnamese patriots are fighting under the leadership of men who recognise that "patriotism can be kept alive only by the realisation that independence means general welfare." Therefore, immediately after the successful insurrection of August 1945, the Vietnamese leaders set their minds to the task of reconstruction. National reconstruction has been going on continuously side by side with the diplomatic and military struggles. Within one year, the Department of Popular Education of the Viet Nam Republic has organised adult literacy classes on such a large scale that the percentage of illiteracy has been brought down from 85 to 15. As the people enjoy full democratic rights, over 10 million, nearly half the population, have joined various mass organisations. Journalism has received much encouragement. In Annam and Tonkin the number of

Mr. Gandhi seldom, if ever, speaks ill of any man. I discussed several men with him who had used him harshly, but he managed to find some good to say of them and no ill.

If Mr. Jinnah were to resign from the leadership of the Muslim League, the demand for Pakistan app suri would before down.

If I were a member of the Scheduled Castes, I would be very content to have Dr. Ambedkar working and fighting for me. They need someone who isn't afraid of anyone.

(Based on "Viet Nam Fights For Freedom" by Subrata Banerjee. With a Foreword by Mr. Mai The Chau, Viet Nam representative in India. People's Publishing House, Sandhurst Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1. Mr. Mai The Chau writes of this book: "It is the first document in English on Viet Nam published in this country since the establishment of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. Its belated appearance may be redeemed by its factual and accurate contents . . . the work may be regarded as the faithful echo of Viet Nam's voice.")

By

"Well," said his friend Ramu, "You know we are all in difficulties about that bit of translation, and I am sure you will get Miss Uma's notebook for us. She is very good at translating." "My, my!" said Purna in the corner, with a wink.

He could never forget the agony of the next few minutes. He could hardly hear himself when he instructed the peon to ask Miss Uma to step out of the women students' room for a few minutes. And the peon looked at him as if an erring planet had got out of its appointed path! Around the corner he knew his friends would be watching every one of his movements.

He spoke to his sister about himself a good deal now-a-days and he felt sure she would convey all that of Uma. He told her that he did not at all mind Uma doing better than himself in the examinations for he had respect only for her brains among those of all his class-mates. He was quite satisfied if she were the first and he the second. And he asked his sister what Uma could find so interesting in Ramu and Purna, "the two dullest asses of the class."

His sister had smiled at the description and had told him laughingly that Uma thought the same thing about them. "But then," said his sister, "You can't blame her at all for talking with those asses if brilliant geniuses like you are so afraid of her that they dare not even go near her and talk to her." His sister smiled, and he blushed and left the room in a hurry.

Through the medium of his sister, he knew more about Uma than ever Ramu and Purna could. Shyly, but confidently, he now waited in the hope of catching Uma's eyes when the lectures were in progress, and he caught her looking at him on the sly on more than one occasion. And they would both turn away in discomfited embarrassment! There is a language of the eyes more powerful than the spoken word, or even the written one. In that language they talked to each other, more clearly and intimately than they ever could have by word or mouth.

Thus they spent the three years of their degree course at the college and never even exchanged a few words beyond those they did when he had borrowed her notebook and returned it to her. Every year their Honours' Association used to give two parties—one, at the beginning of the academic year to the students who had come out successful in the examinations, and one at the end of the year to those that were appearing for the ensuing examinations. At every such party, Chandar made up his mind to go up to Uma and talk to her to his heart's content. But the crisis his nerve always failed him, and he sat by, sick with envy, when Ramu and Purna sat on either side of her and flirted with her with a desperate intensity. He felt green with jealousy. In his own secret fashion he loved her with all the passionate abandon of a very shy nature.

At the end of the three years came their turn to attend the party as the successful candidates of the year. The results had been quite satisfactory. Uma was the first in the presidency and Chandar second only to her. Between them they had carried off all the prizes the college had to offer, and Chandar's satisfaction reached a malicious perfection when he noted that Ramu and Purna were somewhere at the bottom of the list.

"Serves the bounders right!" he told Shantha, "And what does your friend think of me now?"

"Oh! She thinks you very clever and considers herself very fortunate at having come out above you in the examination," countered his sister, with a

smile, and reduced him to speechless bashfulness in a moment, with feminine ease.

At the final party he would be enjoying at the college his resolution to go up boldly to Uma and talk to her came to the usual end. But he noted that neither Ramu nor Purna was present. They seemed to have had the decency to take the poorness of their results to heart and to have stayed away from the party. Chandar sat beside Prof. Raman, a man whom he liked, a man who hid a heart of gold beneath a gruff exterior and a cynical tongue. But all the dry humour of his professor could not take Chandar's mind away from the fact that this was the last opportunity he would ever have of talking to Uma and telling her what he wanted so much to say. "You seem pre-occupied" said Prof. Raman, "Can't bear to part from the girls, I suppose? And Chandar blushed. "Hum," said the professor.

At last the party came to an end. Amid good wishes the students parted from their teachers. Uma and Chandar were naturally the centre of attraction and they received warm congratulations from all their friends and professors. Finally they all parted and the new "old" students left the college slowly, quite aware of the fact that they were leaving behind them the pleasantest parts of their lives.

Near the gateway Chandar lingered awhile. "Can I give you a lift?" asked Prof. Raman. "Thank you, sir," he replied, "If you don't mind I shall walk home after some time."

And then came Uma through the wide gates. She saw Chandar but walked on, ignoring him completely. He followed after her swiftly and soon overtook her.

"Good evening, Miss Uma", he said.

"Good evening".

"Did you enjoy the party?"

"Yes".

They walked along for some time.

"I suppose this is the parting of the ways?" asked Chandar.

"I think so."

"We have had a pleasant three years at the good old college", he said.

"Have we?"

Her cold replies quite vanquished all the courage he had gathered up so desperately.

He became silent and shy again. She seemed to realise it.

"Yes, we have had a nice time on the whole", she went on thoughtfully. "But I am sure you will have an equally pleasant time hereafter too."

"Well—I don't know", he began, when she cut him short smilingly with: "Please don't become sentimental." Her smile was infectious.

He felt wonderfully at ease with himself.

"What are you doing next?" he asked her; that was an inevitable question.

"Oh! I don't know" she replied, "Become a teacher somewhere, I suppose." She added, "I am a heiress you know, and can afford to waste my time"

She smiled provocatively.

"Yes, but not your brains," he said quickly and saw with satisfaction that she blushed with pleasure at his compliment. That was the first time he had seen her blush and he liked it.

They were walking along the Marina by now and Chandar found himself wondering at his own nerve in thus walking along with her. He noted with pardonable pride that many people turned round to look at them; they were such a well matched pair.

"After all, I am a woman," she said, after some time, "It really does not matter what I do in the future. What do you intend doing?"

"Really, I don't know myself", he replied slowly.

"Why don't you sit for some competitive examination? You are very clever"—he blushed with pleasure—"and you are certain to pass. You are not a mere bookworm. Why, Shantha was telling me that there was hardly anything that you did not know."

"I am afraid she has been exaggerating," he said laughing.

"Oh! no," she said quickly, "I wish I had a clever brother like you."

He looked her straight in the eye, and she looked down shyly.

They instinctively increased their rate of walking.

"You will soon tire yourself," he said, "Are you in such a tearing hurry? After all, we may not meet again, you know."

"Yes," she murmured, and slowed down.

"Moreover," he added some time later, "I am unambitious, I find no glamour in competitive examinations. I want to write, to be an author."

"Oh! that's splendid" she agreed warmly, "I am sure you will become a great writer."

Her practical femininity asserted itself in a moment.

"But one has to live," she said hesitatingly and slowly.

"Thank God, I am not worried about that," he said, "I am really much richer than I look, by God's grace."

"I wish you all success," she said with sudden formality.

"Thank you," he answered gravely; and then they both burst out laughing merrily at their solemnity which struck them as preposterous.

They went along silently.

"Shantha was telling me you were getting married. When is it and who is the lucky girl?" she asked.

"What!" he almost shouted, "What did that devil say?"

"Don't shout. They will begin looking at us. She said you were getting married."

"Nonsense! How can I marry without getting a job?"

"Why, just a moment ago you told me you were too rich to worry about a job." He knew he was trapped, and all his shyness came back to him. He wondered how he came to be talking so intimately with her all of a sudden. He became nervous and silent. She felt the change and tried to put him at his ease.

"After all, rich young men should get married, you know," she said soothingly.

He never knew how he had the guts to say it, but in a flash he replied, "Yes, and even rich young heiresses have to get married."

He saw the shot go home. He watched her lovely face become more exquisite under the influence of the crimson blush that mantled her face. In a moment he became the conquering Male and she the Maiden Meek. Three years of waiting and shyness vanished completely in a flash. Their roles were now reversed. She was shy, not he.

"Look here," he said, gruff with emotion, "I don't care what you think, but I love you. I know," he went on swiftly, "that I am unfit to lick your shoes"—he silenced her protest with a gesture—"and that all this is too sudden."

"Oh! no," she cried impulsively, "Not at all sudden," and bit her lip in chagrin immediately.

"Not sudden?" he shouted, "What do you mean?"

She answered nothing.

"Come on, say something," he insisted.

"I knew all along, from the moment you entered the classroom on the first day," she said weakly.

He gave a gasp of surprise and pleasure.

"Why, that's splendid," he said. "Thank God for that!"

They walked on too full of their own thoughts to talk.

They soon neared her hostel. "I must be going," she said quickly, "Thank you for a pleasant walk."

"Going! What do you mean?"

"Yes good night."

"Have you nothing to say to me?" he asked her.

"What have I to say?"

"Whether you will marry me."

"You never asked me to."

"Look here, my girl," he said, as he drew near to her, with an ominous deliberateness, "Do you think you are being very clever? Either you answer my question now, or I—I will kiss you in front of all these people."

"Oh! Don't please," she cried in pretended alarm, as she drew away.

"Well, then. Answer me."

"But what am I to answer?"

"My question."

"What is it?"

"You clever, lovely, little devil," he answered with a smile of pride and pleasure, "Will you marry me?"

Her answer was scarcely audible.

"Yes," she murmured.

And instinctively they drew together and clasped each others hand, blissfully unconscious of the passers-by who stared at them with amused surprise and tolerance.

With a start they came back to realities.

"Very well," he said, trying to appear absolutely unruffled—and not at all succeeding in that—"I hope to have the pleasure of meeting Miss Uma here to-morrow at the same time."

"The pleasure is yours," she granted, with a smile.

"Good night, Mrs. Chandar," he said softly, leaning towards her.

"Good night, darling," she replied, equally softly.

That was a bit like the films! Un-Indian, they felt at once.

And with a tinkle of bangles she turned from him and ran into her hostel. He stared after her for a full minute.

He was very glad.

LITTLE KNOWN FACTS ABOUT GREAT MEN

by M. S. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

BACON in his 'Advancement of Learning' refers to Alexander the Great thus: "the admiration of whom, when I consider him not as Alexander the Great, but as Aristotle's scholar, hath carried me too far." Mankind would find immense edification in history which is neither "that great dust-heap" nor "the register of crimes, follies and misfortunes" if the stupendous trinity, the Emathian, the Roman and the French conquerors, is represented as builders, not destroyers, civilians, not soldiers. Gibbon prophesied that as long as military leaders are extolled at the cost of human benefactors "the thirst for military glory shall ever be the vice of the most exalted personages." But the impresario is the historian and the audience do not care on whom they bestow their applause so long as they are led and entertained. A few incidents of great men which have escaped the historical taskmaster's eyes are recorded here.

Alexander considered the Iliad "a portable treasure of military knowledge" and had a copy, called the casket copy, corrected by his master Aristotle and kept it under his pillow with his sword.

His sense of humour was incisive. Once he had distributed to his friends all that he had, as was his wont, and when someone asked him what he had reserved for himself, he replied, "Hope." When he visited the philosopher Diogenes who basked in the Corinthian sun nonchalantly and asked him "to stand a little out of my sunshine", he remarked, "if I were not Alexander, I should wish to be a Diogenes."

He was victorious over Darius, the Great King, and his followers requested him to visit his wife, the most beautiful woman in Persia. He retorted, "Sleep and commerce with the sex are the things that

make me most sensible of my mortality."

The quarrels between him and his father were notorious. In one of the royal banquets Alexander behaved insolently. Philip, heavily drunk, rose up and drew his sword, but stumbled and fell. The callous son laughed and said, "Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! He is not able to pass from one table to another without falling."

Alexander was religious-minded. On one occasion he went to Ilium where he sacrificed to Minerva and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles' tomb with oil, and ran round it naked, according to custom.

Viscount Mersey, in a recent poem, describes the ambition and aim of the Macedonian:

"... to win and rule and teach.
To link all lands together, each
to each,
Among men's leaders still he
leads the van,
True to his name, which means
Defence of Man."

Cicero said of Caesar, "When I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." But whoever remembers Caesar the Scholar! As Bacon says, "Caesar, in modesty mixed with greatness, did for his pleasure apply the name of a Commentary to the best history of the world." Caesar's oratory surpassed that of others who had practised no other art. Froude remarks: "From the time of his boyhood he kept a commonplace book, in which he entered down any valuable or witty sayings, inquiring

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carefully after any smart observation of Cicero's." The pointed observations of the great Roman himself have become part of literature. It was by accident that he took up the profession of a soldier, and yet his idol was the versatile Alexander.

Either Napoleon's civil administration or his 'Code' would have rendered his colossal name immortal, even if he did no military exploits. His maxims about the forms of government and their characteristics must still bear repetition. "The heart of a statesman should be in his head" is the liveliest remark we have had on the egregious species of politicians. "Aristocracy always exists" is as penetrating as it is profound.

Demosthenes felt, after getting over the physical impediment of stammering with the exotic aid of pebbles, that his oratory was deficient in gestures, the grace and dignity of action. He, therefore, built a subterranean study where he forced himself to remain for months together by shaving only one side of his head. This artifice was nobler than that of Sheridan who concluded his two days' speech on the Begums of Oudh by falling into a deliberate swoon in the arms of Burke.

The Roman counter-part of Demosthenes, Cicero, "the least mortal mind", was, no doubt, a great orator. But Cicero the Man and Cicero the Politician are more interesting. He said of Aristotle that he was "a river of flowing gold" and of Plato's Dialogues that "if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." When he was asked which of Demosthenes' orations he thought best, he replied, "The longest".

Once he praised Marcus Crassus from the rostrum and a few days later as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True," answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment to see what I could make of a bad subject." When Metellus Nepos told him that he "had ruined

more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate", Cicero retorted, "I grant it, for I have more truth than eloquence."

Caedmon, the Father of English Poetry, was an oaf and, as in the case of Kalidasa, divine favour waited upon him and he wrote his poems. Inigo, as Ignatius Loyola was earlier known, was a philander before he became a Master of the Affects. As a youth he wanted to slay an Arab who had slandered Virgin Mary. He left the decision to an external 'sign', the wishes of the mule which he was riding. He gave the animal a free rein and it scorned to trot after a baptized heathen. He allowed the Arab to escape.

Voltaire, "the sinewy genius of stark reason," told the Paris custom officials, "I believe there is nothing contraband here except myself." The most seditious statement that he ever made was: "The great wall of China is a monument to fear; the pyramids are monuments to vanity and superstition. Both bear witness to a great patience in the peoples, but to no superior genius." He who was caned by the servants of a nobleman whom he had snubbed, and suffered the horrors of the Bastille, was an anvil at home and a hammer abroad. Frederick the Great referred to his French master as an orange of which, when one has squeezed the juice, one throws away the skin. Voltaire retorted that correcting his royal master's verses was like washing dirty linen.

The Duke of Wellington, the son of one of the leading composers of England, was musical-minded. In one of the campaigns which he led, he shed tears twice. Afterwards he remarked, "Take my word for it; if you had seen but one day of war you would pray to Almighty God that you might never again see even an hour of war."

In the House of Commons Disraeli proposed the vote of condolence on the death of the Duke of Wellington. Two editors of the 'Globe' who were sitting under the gallery were

struck by his speech as being something they had read before. They found that Disraeli's speech was abstracted from a review of the 'Memoirs of General St. Cyr' by Thiers. Next day in the 'Globe' appeared the following poem:—

*"In singing great Wellington's praise,
Dizzy's truth and his grief doth appear,
For he let fall a great flood of tears (Thiers),
Which was certainly meant for sincere (St. Cyr)."*

Gladstone was obliged nearly every year to have his hat enlarged. One of his fingers on the left hand was amputated and whenever he had to write he used a black finger-stall over it. He left as a legacy for posterity all the letters and papers of his crowded lifetime and preserved them in a special fire-proof room called 'The Octagon'.

Bismarck said that no one should consider himself as having led a worthy life unless he smoked 100,000 cigars and emptied 50,000 bottles of champagne. He himself was Nature's lavish response to these rigorous conditions, for he fought twenty-five duels in his first three terms in his school and found the swift waters of a river easier of negotiation than his resolute creditors.

Acton was a miracle of learning. He took down extracts from the books which he read and had them arranged according to their subjects in cardboard boxes. He had hundreds of such boxes.

Mr. Winston Churchill's conception of education is typical of the man. He writes in *My Early Life*. "When I am in the Socratic mood and planning 'my' Republic, I make drastic changes in the education of the sons of the well-to-do citizens. When they are 16 or 17 they begin to learn a craft and to do healthy manual labour, with plenty of poetry, songs, dancing, drill and gymnastics in their spare time. They



(Photo, Sury.)

Flag-hoisting ceremony at Messrs. Associated Printers, Mount Road, Madras. Mr. W. E. Ruskin is seen here unfurling the flag on the historic Independence Day.

can thus let off their steam on something useful. It is only when they are really thirsty for knowledge, longing to hear about things, that I would let them go to the university." Another side of his life is revealed when he states that he delights in the spectacle of "a great newspaper office, with its machines crashing and grinding away, for it reminds me of the combination of a first-class battle-ship and a first-class general election."

Lord William Bentick, in his zeal for the introduction of Western reforming principles into India, thought of breaking up the Taj Mahal and selling it away for what it was worth, if it was a paying proposition.

Great men should be great not only on the aggregate but in details, and the historian should present them in their proper setting so that the God and not the Satan in Man might be elevated.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE



HARDLY two years ago, while negotiating the American loan of 3,750 million dollars for Britain, Lord Keynes asserted that there would be no dollar shortage in the foreseeable future. He believed that British imports were much too dependent on the dollar to allow of any alternative scheme of separate trade agreements with countries of the British Commonwealth (all of which, except Canada, are in the sterling area) and with other countries of the Eastern Hemisphere. He said that any such attempt to escape from dependence on the hard currency area would be "to build up a separate economic bloc which excludes Canada and consists of countries to which we already owe more than we can pay, on the basis of their agreeing to lend us money they have not got, and to buy only from us goods we are unable to supply." The fact that Britain's imports from outside the sterling area had increased considerably during the years 1939-44, while imports from inside the sterling area had actually declined by 1.3%, would appear to have encouraged such a belief, though these figures reflected the special conditions arising out of the exigencies of the second world war. It was this feeling of a necessary dependence on the dollar area as the main source of Britain's imports which induced Britain to reconcile herself, however reluctantly, to certain stringent conditions in the Washington Loan Agreement with regard to her trade and monetary policies. These conditions were accepted at a time when no dollar shortage was envisaged. But today dollar shortage has become a palpable and disastrous reality.

What is the reason for the present acute dollar shortage? One obvious answer is the enormous gap between America's exports and imports. America's exports exceed her imports annually by as much as 5,300 million dollars. The countries which import U.S. goods are not exporting their own goods to America to an equal value, which means that they do not acquire enough dollars to pay for their imports from America. This dollar difficulty of all the countries of the world naturally increases in direct proportion to the expansion in U.S. exports. It will be useful to recall here that it was precisely the same kind of dollar shortage which drained the rest of the world of its monetary gold, and brought about the Great Depression of 1929 whose disastrous effects on the wellbeing of people all over the world (except Soviet Russia) in terms of unemployment and misery many will still remember.

How is the present dollar shortage being tackled? Let us take Britain for example. She is living at the rate of £500 million a year or more above her income which means she has an import surplus to that amount, almost the whole of which is obtained from America. This deficit in Britain's balance of payments, which has been a permanent feature of British economy ever since the first world war, used to be met by the interest payments on her foreign investments in her colonies and political dependencies. Britain was therefore enabled to enjoy a standard of life which her export of real goods did not earn for her. Doubtless the lords and bankers led a life of much greater luxury than the farmers and workers. But Britishers as a whole were very much better off than the other peoples of

Europe. Today however this rentier income from the colonies has largely disappeared as a result of Britain's inability to retain her colonies any longer by force. With this disappearance of her unearned income Britain at the end of the war was forced to find a new method of financing her import surplus. The American dollar loan was the answer to her prayers.

UNCLE SHYLOCK CALLS THE TUNE

America did not of course act the benevolent philanthropist. She was in a position to dictate the terms, and was certainly not squeamish about doing so. As was stated at the outset, the British negotiators headed by Lord Keynes agreed, though reluctantly, to the incorporation of certain conditions, insisted upon by the U.S., in the Washington Loan Agreement. The two most important of these conditions have now been thrust violently on world attention as a result of the sensational news during the past week of the high-level Anglo-American financial talks.

The first of these is what is known as the convertibility clause. The Washington Loan Agreement, which was concluded in December 1945, laid down that on the stroke of midnight of July 14, 1947, sterling should be automatically convertible into dollars. The implications of this clause are truly momentous. Britain was obliged to provide dollars for sterling released according to the agreements which she had arrived at with those creditor nations which had accumulated sterling balances in London during the war years. Not merely that, but Britain was also obliged to find dollars for sterling currently acquired by any country through trade with Britain. In a situation in which Britain is herself dependent on the dollars loaned by the U.S. for meeting her own import requirements, it will be easy to realise that Britain could not possibly find dollars for other countries. Evidently the export drive of Britain, however greatly intensified, cannot suffice to earn enough dollars to maintain the convertibility of sterling guaranteed under the Washington Loan Agreement. Naturally inroads were made

into the already shrunk American loan. Convertibility did take effect as from July 15th. The consequences were alarming. It was feared that at the rate at which flight from sterling to dollar was taking place, the American loan would dwindle to a ninth part by August 29. Hence the British Government rushed its financial experts to Washington to plead with Uncle Shylock for relaxation of the conditions he had attached to his loan.

When the first session of the talks opened on 18th August the British representatives had to give an "explanation" to General Marshall and his American confreres as to why and how the loan which had been meant to last for 4 years had neared exhaustion so soon. There were a number of press reports from America—many of them presumably flying the kite for the U.S. Government—suggesting that Britain should, for all practical purposes, give up what little of Socialism she had achieved, and retrace her path to Capitalism and Coalition if her application for American sympathy was to receive favourable consideration. One report said, for instance, that before providing any relief, the U.S. would insist on examining the "record" of the Labour Government's administration of Britain's economic affairs since it assumed office. Because the rulers of America, like Winston Churchill, have no belief in the efficiency of Socialist administration and are wedded passionately, if anachronistically, to free enterprise. We do not know what political "concessions" Britain has made to secure American permission for their recent Treasury order temporarily suspending the convertibility of sterling by holders who are not residents of the sterling area. Only events will show what has been the price paid to secure American sanction for this infringement of the Washington Loan Agreement.

THE PRICE OF BEVINISM

It would be as naive as it would be incorrect to imagine that Britain is the virtuous but helpless victim of circumstances beyond her control. As was emphasised by *Swanstra* editorially last week, Britain has

been recklessly squandering her already meagre dollar resources in pursuit of her crypto-Truman foreign policy. Out of the total deficit of £400 million drawn from her dollar loan to meet the deficit in her balance of payments in 1946, less than three-fourths, namely £300 million was on account of overseas Government expenditure. Of this, direct military expenditure alone was responsible for £225 million. This was madness on the part of a country that depends for its indispensable food requirements on imports from the U.S. to be paid for out of the dollar loan which, be it remembered, was extended for the ostensible purpose of helping Britain to "reconstruct her economy." So high is the cost of Bevinism; yet it would appear as though Britain's Labour Government would prefer to cut its imports of food, rather than of politics, from America.

This has been clearly realised and frankly stated by many genuine friends of the Labour Government. Making a factual examination of the question whether Britain can any longer afford the luxury of having 'foreign commitments,' Major Woodrow Wyatt says: "The dilemma that the Government thinks it is in can be stated briefly. Anglo-American policy is directed at preventing possible Russian encroachments by show of force. The Americans have a well-known reluctance for maintaining overseas forces in peacetime. Our garrisons in Germany do not merely exist to control the German population, but are a bulwark against Russian aggression. In the Middle East the Palestine problem demands troops; but the Russian (problem) demands them too. In both areas the troops are British because Britain is one of the three world Powers and British interests are involved. If the British were to tell the Americans that they agreed with their policy but that they could not afford the commitments the policy entailed, then Britain would cease to be a world Power And pride has prevented such a solution up to date. Instead of admitting that we can no longer pay for a large overseas army, the Government has felt that it is our duty to behave

as though we could." Woodrow Wyatt sees the solution only in "a final recognition that, in terms of armament and war, Britain is no more one of the Big Three." The moral is drawn even more pointedly by a writer in the *New Statesman and Nation*: "Either the Labour Government redeems the disaster of 1931 by mastering this crisis with Socialist measures and Socialist incentives, or it must, sooner or later, accept the necessity for deflation and for unemployment as a whip for the working-class. Either we continue to ape the real strength of Russia and America with hollow pretensions of armed force—until bankruptcy overtakes us—or we evolve a foreign policy commensurate with our strength and take our place alongside France as a *European Power*."

THE CRIPPLING ARTICLE 9

So much for the first of the two conditions that were imposed by America on a Britain that was desperately in need of the dollar loan. The other condition, embodied in Article 9 of the Washington Loan Agreement, is quite as damaging to Britain's foreign trade as the first. This article places Britain under the obligation of abstaining from any kind of 'discrimination' against America in her foreign trade arrangements. The main forms of discrimination might be stated thus: (1) Preferential customs tariff under which a higher rate is charged on U.S. goods than on the goods of the countries within the area covered by the preferential system; (2) Limitation of import of U.S. goods by means of quotas; (3) The working of bilateral agreements under which an export surplus to Britain can only receive payment through the purchase of British or Empire goods; and (4)—the most important—the purchase of goods at higher prices than those prevailing in the U.S., whether through Government bulk buying or through subsidised private buying. For instance, Australia could export fruit to Britain, but since Californian fruit is cheaper, the U.S. insists that Britain is prohibited under article 9 from diverting her fruit purchases to Australia.

While the above might be taken as representing the most rigid interpretation of article 9 and, evidently, the most likely to be insisted upon by the U.S., there is no doubt that Britain for her part would do her best to secure American acceptance of a much softer application of this non-discrimination clause. It is only necessary to consider the possible effects of a rigid enforcement of Article 9 upon the much-advertised colonial development scheme recently sponsored by Britain. Under this scheme £100 million is to be invested in the backward and industrially undeveloped areas of Britain's colonial Empire in order to increase the output of those raw materials which are needed for Britain's manufacturing industry, so that she would not have to waste dollars in buying them from America. Even when the investments bear fruit and raw materials like cotton and tobacco become available in the colonies, there is no certainty that they would sell at cheaper prices than the same articles from America—in which case alone could Britain import them from the colonies. The rewards of colonial investment are thus hypothetical.

Again as Paul Einzig points out: "Britain is not in a position at present to make the best use of her limited dollar resources by the purchase of U.S. machinery, for such capital goods are at present unobtainable. The wise course would be to husband our dollar resources until the U.S. is in a position to deliver the much needed machinery. It is indeed a pity to spend the dollar now on consumer goods which could be obtained from soft currency countries (even if at a higher price). But non-discrimination prevents us from doing so. Article 9 forces Britain to waste her dollars for consumer goods. By the time the American mining equipments and other capital goods become available, Britain may not have enough dollars to buy them." It is for these very good reasons that Britain is urging the U.S., with pathetic anxiety, to agree to a reinterpretation of article 9 in a softer light.

Discrimination is, in fact, the only method by which Britain could attempt to insulate herself, even at this late hour, from the catastrophic impact of the expected American slump. An American boom, as G. D. H. Cole has said, will boost the rest of the world into prosperity and an American slump will drag the world into disaster. This is because America's internal market forms nearly two-thirds of the capitalist world market and any violent disturbance in American prices—and the last such disturbance is only too fresh in our memory—will plunge into chaos the rest of the world excepting, of course, the Soviet Union and her East European Socialist neighbours. It is precisely such a disturbance in prices that threatens to overcome American economy now. Inflation is now clearly recognisable. *Business Week*, an American financial journal, found a drop of 19 per cent in real wages in thirty out of the thirty-six categories of firms which it investigated. The consumer's dollar is certainly waging a losing battle. This inflationary tendency is the direct result of the removal of price controls which President Truman effected, under the pressure of Big Business, with indecent haste at the end of the war. With the disappearance of all prospects of "purposive direction" of American industry with a view to ensuring stable near full-employment (such as was advocated by Henry Wallace in his plan for "60 million jobs"), the danger of prices toppling over from their present inflated heights into the "valley of deflation" has become very real. In this context, multilateral trade as demanded by Article 9 would only generalise the U.S. deflation. Russia and her East European bloc were perhaps not quite so cussed or foolish as they were made out to be when they refused to be inveigled into that dependence on the unpredictable dollar which is now in such pathetic evidence among Britain and her West European allies, deciding, on the contrary, to retain the integrity of their planned development.

WISE AFTER THE EVENT

It is interesting to find the London *Economist* being forced to pay a

tribute, though, in the nature of things, a belated and backhanded tribute, to the economic foresight of the Communists which enabled them to predict and warn against excessive British dependence on America. The *Economist* says: "American opinion should be warned (sic.) that over here in Great Britain one had the feeling of being driven into a corner by a complex of American actions and insistences which, in combination, are quite intolerable. Not many British people believed the Communist thesis that it was the deliberate aim of American policy to ruin Britain, but the evidence could certainly be read that way. If every-

time aid is extended, conditions are attached which make it impossible for Britain ever to escape the necessity of going back for still more aid, obtained with still more self-abasement and on still more crippling terms, then the result will certainly be what the Communists predict, whether or not it is what the Americans intend."

British Communists will certainly not be happy to have their thesis proved, if the proof is to consist in Britain's disaster. One therefore wishes that wisdom had dawned earlier than it has on professional economists and on the Labour Government alike.



Members of the Indian Dominion Cabinet coming out of the Government House after the swearing-in ceremony on Friday Morning.



Journalistic assignments have taken me to several parts of the country. I have seen crowds lathicharged by the police in Bombay's Azad Maidan.

I have stood in tears amidst the reeking shambles of what was once Quetta.

I have listened to the thunders of Lala Lajput Rai in the Central Assembly in Delhi. I have witnessed the pomp and pageantry which marked the installation of the present ruler of Travancore.

All these roused emotions in me—grave as well as gay.

I was one of the two score correspondents from all parts of the world who saw the birth of Pakistan Dominion from an aisle seat.

The event left me untouched.

Here is the story:

THE last Union Jack proudly flaunting its colours over the red building housing a part of the Pakistan Secretariat was pulled down and rolled up in the festive city of Karachi.

It was the sunset of the British Empire in the westernmost tip of India, in a patch of territory, the last to fall to John Bull.

"Pakistan is a baby of Britain and I want to see whether it suffers from birth pangs", said a cynical American correspondent to me. They had all come, the ink-slingers from all parts of the world, to see Mr. Jinnah make a triumphant entry into the city of his birth.

On a stuffy Thursday afternoon, a silver-winged Dakota circled over a crowded Mauripur air port and made a perfect landing. It carried the Governor-General of Pakistan, his sister Miss Fatima and their personal entourage.

They had to run the guntlet of a battery of cameras. Cine camera-

men were cranking their machines from an exalted platform. Muslim women in burqua were craning their necks and trying to catch a glimpse of that great figure who had moved Karachi audiences to frenzied pitches of exultation during the spacious days of Muslim League conferences.

There was a faint flicker of a subdued smile in Mr. Jinnah's inscrutable face as he stood for a moment in the gangway of the plane, his sister close behind him. Then the surging tide of humanity burst the police cordon and mobbed the architect of Pakistan.

It was with difficulty that he could extricate himself from the crowd which had repaired to the air port, consisting of the elite of the city.

"Get back, get back," said Mr. Jinnah to the surging crowd, a la Jawaharlal.

Escorted by immaculate Mr. Yusuf Haroon who acted as his



Mr. Jinnah replying to the speech of Lord Mountbatten.

bodyguard during the first League conference held in this city, the Quaid-e-Azam took a round of the air port at whose fringes were collected a number of fans.

Then he sped back to a swanky limousine which was waiting to whisk him to the prim Government House from which the last British Governor of Sind had left only that morning.

The Union Jack fluttering from the flag mast was hauled down and the League flag went up. He took salute from the men of the armed forces who had lined up the emerald lawn.

Meanwhile, Karachi was getting crowded. Sunday, August 10, was chosen for heralding the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It held its initial session in the midget Sind Assembly hall that was. Dark, unimpressive Jogendranath Mandal presided over the first day's meeting.

Mr. Jinnah's regal entry in the Assembly was the signal for a

spontaneous outburst of cheering. The scene inside was not a patch on what was witnessed at Delhi where the Indian Constituent Assembly was floodlit on its first day with the coruscating stream of oratory from Radhakrishnan, Sarojini Naidu and others.

Mr. Mandal's maiden speech was a paen of praise for Mr. Jinnah whom he called one of the greatest statesmen of the world.

The rest of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly were drab and colourless. There was a sop to Jinnah in a resolution sponsored by Mr. Liaquat Ali, laying it down that he should be called in all correspondence, letters and official documents as "Quaid-e-Azam". In an age which has witnessed the crash of titles in Hindustan, there was something medieval in this provision of a decorative appendage to Mr. Jinnah's name. "If Gandhi is to be called Mahatma and Subhas as Netaji, why not Jinnah as Quaid-e-Azam?" asked the Leaguer.

The question of Pakistan flag provoked some controversy, but ultimately Mr. Liaquat Ali piloted his motion.

Making a historic dash from Delhi, Lord Louis Mountbatten received a great welcome.

Right from the day he landed on Indian soil he has been a favourite and even persons who do not see eye to eye with him cannot help admiring his charm, sincerity and knack of getting things done. On August 13, Mr. Jinnah whose guest he was during his stay at Karachi threw up a banquet in his honour which was attended by the elite of the city. The next day, the high water mark of enthusiasm was reached when Mountbatten, accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, drove to the Pakistan Assembly hall and addressed its members. It was a speech from the throne. He looked a resplendent figure dressed in his white uniform of Admiral with his shining array of medals and other war decorations.

The Assembly hall and its approaches were very heavily guarded. After an hour, he emerged along with Mr. Jinnah, Lady Mountbatten and Miss Jinnah and posed for the army of cameramen and photographers. Then a procession of cars wended their way through some important thoroughfares of the city to the accompaniment of lustrous cheers. The flags and buntings and the arches of welcome were the outward symbols of free Pakistan. The Viceroy returned that very day to Delhi and almost all the special American and British correspondents made a beeline to the Imperial city.

August 15 was the crown and climax of a week of unprecedented enthusiasm. It was historic day in Karachi's annals. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah took the oath of office on that day.

Rigid formalism and ceremonialism reminiscent of the days of Kipling marked the accession of Mr. Jinnah to power. Starched shirts and stiff collars and crisp lounge suits jostled with gorgeous saris and glittering uniforms.

In an odd corner away from the fierce light that beat upon Mr. Jinnah's chair sat the aging Chief Justice of Lahore who had specially come to administer the oath of office.

Mr. Jinnah made a dramatic entry to the verandah of the Government House to get through the ritual of swearing-in ceremony.

Recitations from the Koran added the necessary Islamic touch to the ceremony. Then, in slow accents, the oath of office was administered. Came the swearing-in ceremony of the seven members of the Pakistan Cabinet, headed by burley, brilliant Liaquat Ali Khan. There was a carnival of cameras in action.

The Quaid-e-Azam slowly descended the steps, inspected the guard of honour. His cadaverous face was lit up with a strange joy when he saw the League flag going up the flagmast in the lawn of the

Government House compound. Then guns barked their salute and crowds outside roared lustily "Pakistan Zindabad"—"Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad."

At night, Karachi was a veritable riot of colour. It was a fairy land. All the important buildings had been illuminated. Triumphal arches acclaimed the bloodless triumph of the League. Urchins lisped the battle cry of Pakistan. "Laughing we got Pakistan, fighting we shall take Hindustan!!"

Amidst all these scenes which ushered a new Dominion, I felt an aching void. The tragedy of division had entered my soul.

I missed the familiar faces of Congressmen from all these festivities. Only a week back, Acharya Kripalani had come to his home province to ginger up the morale of the Hindus. He had a hard task.

The Hindus are feeling despondent and dispirited. They do not attach much importance to the oft-repeated assurances that they



Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan moving the flag resolution.

would get a fair deal. Their hearts are heavy. They think of the bloodbath of Noakhali, of the grim and gory happenings in the not distant Punjab.

They scent mischief in the drilling, the regimentation and the goose-stepping of the green-shirted National Guards.

The Muslims who have invaded Karachi are already having their head in the clouds. They think it is Kingdom Come. They see in the emergence of Mr. Jinnah not only a portent but also a phenomenon. They cannot help thinking of him as the Shah-in-Shah of Pakistan.

While hunger and destitution hold large tracts of India in their

grip, there is feasting and merriment in Sind, the granary of Pakistan. Whisky flows like water in Karachi Club. The India Coffee House is crowded with parties every day.

There is a strange fear not only in the minds of the Hindus but also in the minds of the far-seeing Muslims that liberty achieved at the cost of partition is not worthwhile. The lines in Mr. Jinnah's furrowed face are showing up. Those who enjoy his confidence say that even he is filled with misgivings about the fate and the future of the State he has carved without firing a shot.



ABOLISH CASTE

by P. GOPALAKRISHNA

The essence of Hindu sociology is that rights flow out of duties performed. But as time went on and men's minds got fossilised in the rigid matrix of caste, things changed. Rights were claimed but duties went by default. A system of privileges gripped the whole system of relationships. The poorer castes went lower down and split up into several sects, each exclusive in itself. With the coming of the British, the economic system and with it the caste system received a permanent shock. Each person tried to identify himself with a name that was no more his. The Maharajah was a servant of the Empire; the Brahmin was the clerk under the British sergeant, all the rest slaving hard to keep the national income at the level of two to three annas per head per day. That is the equality that the British gave us. We were equals as slaves.

There is a school of thought in India, that aims at the return of past conditions of life. It wants to revive Hinduism and thinks that 'Varnasarma Dharma' should be followed in a Hindu society. It is a queer, if not dangerous, way of thinking. The old pattern of life has changed and decayed. It must give place to the new. Today the society that is based on religion has no place. There is a great past behind us. We may take pride in it. We may learn from it. But we can't really bring back the past, we will only be

bringing out a dead pattern into which present society cannot fit in. Our country has had too much of communalism. Let us not submerge the country in any attempt to revive religions. The Constituent Assembly would do well to include a clause in the constitution that no person be eligible to sit as the member of any public body if his election is by a religious or sectarian electorate.

The bill that is sought to be introduced by Sri T. Viswanadham is a very commendable legislative effort to abolish caste. The passing of the bill will legalise equality and penalise exclusiveness and privilege. In the wake of it there might be trouble and difficulty. Cases of Harijans being refused equal treatment might come up for judgment. Separate dining halls in public eating houses may elicit the notice of the judges. There might be quarrels over the use of wells. But these will not last long. If the Government is fully behind the law, people will get used to it. There must also be proper education and propaganda. The Sarada Act was also resisted, and it was prophesied that it would fail. But now, except in the case of very backward classes who are not educated, the Act needs no forcible application. On many an occasion India has accepted change and gone on smoothly. Why not now?

LOCAL BODIES AND POLITICAL FREEDOM

by "V. B."

RECENTLY, Sri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee, said that in his opinion the local bodies were better abolished and hoped that the Ministry would seriously consider this proposal. One hears this view expressed frequently nowadays. It is as a sort of solution to the problem of local administration that the view is put forward. In the case of Sri Nadar it was the disgust aroused in him by the wrangles of Congressmen in the matter of setting up candidates for seats in municipal councils and local boards that made him feel that from the point of view of the healthy functioning of the Congress organisation these centres of fight for power were better done away with.

Recently more than one Town Congress Committee has resolved not to set up candidates officially for the ensuing municipal elections. The resolution of the Tiruppur Congress Committee is perhaps typical of the stand against the Congress officially contesting elections to local bodies. The Committee felt that as Congress councillors had failed on previous occasions to carry out the Congress programme in the councils and as the Provincial and Central Governments were now in the hands of the Congress Party, there was no need to set up candidates officially to contest the forthcoming elections. A large number of members in all the Provincial Congress Committees in Madras share this view and made efforts to get it endorsed by their respective Provincial Committees; but the majority was against them.

The disastrous confusion of thought giving rise to such opinions needs immediate examination and correction.

Many of the impatient friends who would sweep away all establish-

ed local self-governing institutions in the name of efficiency or some other reason, are probably impressed with the woeful failure of local bodies in general to attain and sustain a satisfactory standard of modern civic administration as well as with the waste of time and energy resulting from the existing process of local administration as contrasted with the urgency of the vital problems awaiting solution.

First of all, the assumption of a conflict between democracy and efficient government is unfounded. With a thoughtfully-drawn up constitution the working of which is sympathetically supervised by the Provincial Government, there is no inherent reason why, in the changed circumstances of today, these quasi-Governmental bodies need not function as efficiently as departments of Government. The Government of tomorrow would be a Government related to public opinion in the most vital manner, and the contrast between a Governmental machinery severely aloof from changing public opinion and keeping a high standard of efficiency through an iron-frame civil service, and local self-government institutions mismanaged by inexperienced non-officials, need not exist any more. Just as the Governmental machinery would be humanized and brought under the influence of public interest, so also local self-governing bodies could be reorganized so as to attract the best non-officials of each locality and given adequate guidance from the centre, which has been lacking upto now.

This age has definitely chosen democracy as against totalitarianism, however glittering the efficiency of the latter. Democracy is unthinkable without a network of flourishing local self-governing institutions. Democracy cannot be

introduced on a fine morning by an act of Government. And are there better training grounds for democracy than local self-governing institutions?

The importance of local bodies in the execution of schemes of national reconstruction is a strong point in favour of their retention. We are in for a period of colossal reconstruction—the building up of a modern, progressive and mighty nation of 30 crores from mere scratch. Every local body must be pressed into service, allotted a specific task and made to feel that it is taking part in the mammoth endeavour of nation-building. This point is forcibly brought out in the recommendation of the Bhole Committee in respect of district health councils for administering curative and preventive medicine. While recommending that the public health functions of existing local bodies be taken away from them, the Committee felt it necessary to have a body of elected representatives of the public in each district to work out its plan of public health administration and actually proposes more power to this body than is now possessed in this respect by existing municipal councils and local boards. Their recommendation to take away public health functions from existing local bodies is due to their feeling that these bodies as now constituted could not function as efficient instruments in this respect; but their alternative is to substitute in their place another predominantly elected body, thereby proving that a reform in this vital field cannot be a success without associating the representatives of the public in the task. If, even in a field like public health administration which could stand a great deal of centralization, elected bodies of citizens are felt indispensable in each locality, how thoughtless it is to think of their abolition when considering the question of reform of local administration most of whose functions are or should be mainly of local interest.

Truly it is like throwing away the baby of Democracy with the bath-water of avoidable administrative waste.

Let us now take the arguments put forth for the Congress not contesting the elections to local bodies officially. To say that because the Central and Provincial Governments are in our hands, there is no need to take part in the field of civic administration betrays a ludicrous ignorance of the processes of democratic freedom. For freedom to be a fact in the lives of the masses, it is not enough if they exercise their votes once in 4 or 5 years, though this might result in setting up a Government of the ablest in the land. There must be the widest spreading out of opportunities to people to exercise the actual functions of administration. Particularly in a country like ours where the different provinces are big enough to form independent States, the average citizen, ignorant and illiterate and cowed down by repression for centuries, would be lost completely as far as day to day politics are concerned, if smaller spheres of administration intimately related to his daily life, are not organized and every means provided to draw him out into its activities. And one cannot think of better institutions for this purpose than the existing local self-government institutions which, in spite of their being mainly creations of the foreign Government, have taken root among the people. The tendency of all national sovereign States is towards centralization and autocracy and there are no better bulwarks against these anti-democratic processes than vigorously functioning local self-government institutions.

The idea that Congressmen would fail to carry out the Congress programme in local bodies in future as in the past is the result of the ignorance of the causes of such failure in the past as well as of the implications of the newly-won political freedom. What were the circumstances under which Congressmen were sent into the local bodies

on previous occasions? Were there any definite plan and programme of action for the Congress parties in local boards and municipalities? Certainly not. Not even the Congress had such a programme. Even now it has no programme for civil reform, or even for efficient civic administration. The magic of the name of the Congress was in the fight for freedom; in the field of reform through long-established and complicated Governmental bodies, obviously there is no scope for magical results, whatever the political body working them. So when the Congress sent in its members into the local bodies, without any programme for reform of civic administration, they failed to make any difference and joined the general current of a listless drift, relieved by occasional bursts of self-

seeking energy. If this is realized, and the fact that from now on we are to rule our country as freemen is remembered, there is no need to fight shy of local bodies anymore. This of course means that we should have a well thought-out practical programme of action in the field of local administration. There is no reason to doubt our ability to make one, if we will it.

To boycott the local bodies and allow them to be captured and worked by self-seeking men free from the discipline of any traceable programme, would be, in the context of a free India, a suicidal misapplication of the policy of non-co-operation, just as to abolish them would be to cripple the soul of a resurgent people in the name of a soulless efficiency.

ANOMALIES OF PADDY PROCUREMENT

by KOTA SUBBA RAO

NO millennium has dawned with the advent of the Congress Ministry. Food shortage has become universal. In a country like India there must be a uniform food policy and it is bad politics for provinces to develop a provincial outlook and run at a tangent. There is a great principle involved in Rajan Babu's declaration that paddy price should not be raised any further, for if the price of the main article of consumption should go up, the price of other commodities must necessarily go up also. What the agriculturist gains by higher price for his paddy, he loses by paying higher prices for other articles and higher wages for labour. C. R.'s slogan that labour wages also should be controlled has a deep and sound significance which economists must endorse. The ryot is now getting two and half times the normal rates and he must rest content with it even at a little sacrifice to himself.

In an agricultural country like India, the ryot is the mainstay of

the nation. If the ryot grows only enough for himself, his family and his servants it would be simply monstrous to compel him to part with his life store. But what of the surplus grower? He is a trader and grows for exploitation and gain. It is sound economics, morality and politics that he should be compelled to part with his surplus stocks at rates prescribed by Government. What is the difference between a merchant not selling his goods at controlled rates, and the surplus-grower not parting with his excess produce at Government rates? Granting bonus and encouraging the black market are synonymous. Government's offer of bonus is only licenced blackmarketing.

Sri Prakasam blundered in first offering bonus. This offering of bonus has resulted in encouraging the ryot to withhold paddy for prospective bonuses, banking on the unwisdom of an inefficient Government. The present Ministry at first bluffed that it would not grant bonus but has made a somersault by

offering bonus with some apologies and riders. Where is the limit to this bonus bribe and what guarantee is there that the ryots would deliver all their surplus paddy, when they are sure that the bonus would augment itself with the growing inefficiency of the Government?

Prakasam's exhortation to the ryot to part with his paddy as part of national service and his advice to the Government not to resort to commandeering and compulsion is like the instruction of the old Board of Directors to Warren Hastings to "be honest and send us more money." Sometime back a number of meaningless and impracticable circulars were issued to villagers that they should first report about the estimated yield in their fields, that they should not harvest their crop without permission and so on, which resulted only in panic. It must be accepted that ryots owning ten acres and below must consume or sell away their whole store of paddy in the course of the year. As for big agriculturists owning

more than ten acres or doing extensive cultivation, there may not be more than half a dozen such surplus growers in each village. Such surplus growers can be made to furnish statements of their yearly requirements which can be easily scrutinised by revenue authorities. Such big surplus growers might be ordered to deliver their surplus stock to Government. The whole thing can be simply managed—we need no consumer's and producer's co-operative societies.

A foreign Government knows how to govern but it does so mercilessly. A national Government can do it with love. Unfortunately for the country, the Congress Government wants to perpetuate itself in legislative chambers for all time to come and knows the value of the agriculturist's vote. The middle class is totally neglected and is made to starve and die on 8 ounce rations. It augurs ill for the land that ever since the inception of the Congress Government, its presence is felt in no department of life.



The Madras bloc of the Constituent Assembly which attended the historic session. Messrs. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, Subbarayan, Mallaya, Pattabhi, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, T. T. Krishnamachari, Munuswami Pillai and others listening to Mountbatten's speech on Friday morning.



URGENT summons came from the Grand Moghul; the ninth Guru was to go to Delhi. He entrusted his son Govind with the sword of his grandfather and entreated him to use it bravely in defence of his religion and people. He had one last request to make, that he should recover his father's body in case Aurangzeb took his life.

Tegh Bahadur was taken to Delhi and he submitted himself to all tortures for the sake of the religion which he would not abjure. He was ordered to perform a miracle as a proof of the divinity of his creed; but he bore witness to the truth of his religion by giving up his life.

But Aurangzeb's spirit of vengeance could not be satisfied. He ordered that the body of the Guru should be exposed to public view and ridicule in the public street and that no one should be allowed to come near it. Sentinels with drawn-up swords were there by turns and the dead body was fixed to a pole as a warning to all those who could think of defying the Emperor.

The shocking news reached Guru Govind. He could not rest content with himself till he set out all alone towards Delhi in order to fulfil his revered father's last request. As he neared Delhi, at dead of night, he saw an old Sikh carter and his son coming along in the cart, and when he made himself known to them and spoke to them of his dangerous mission, the two faithful Sikhs caught hold of his feet and offered their services. It was with difficulty that the Guru permitted his humble followers to risk themselves for his sake.

The next morning an old Muslim and his son were seen in their cart loaded with fuel near the gates of Delhi and they got admission into the

city. They sought some unfrequented part of the city and managed to spend the day without the mishap of the discovery of their real selves. But as the darkness enveloped the city, they stole near the place where the Guru's corpse was guarded.

They found, however, to their agreeable surprise that the watchmen were off their guard and that the way was clear. In a minute they secured the deadbody. But their hearts beat fast and disturbed the dead silence of the night. They had made up their minds that one of them should take the place of Tegh Bahadur's stolen corpse; but who was it to be, the old carter or his young son?

For another minute, their hearts argued but their lips could not move. Then the father drew his dagger, and without a cry or a scream, he plunged it into his heart and fell down. The son's grief was great but it failed to overcome him. He took off his father's clothes and put them on the corpse of his dead Guru. The Guru's robes covered the body of his father.

He took the noble burden on his shoulders and placed it in his bullock cart, he covered it with straw and grass and came out of the city. He then drove his cart towards the place where the Guru lay hidden, with his soul on the racks. His joy knew no bounds when he got back his father's body.

But when he found the old carter missing, his grief was equally great. The son gave the Guru some hasty explanation but when he learnt that the poor Sikh had lost his father for his sake, he embraced him and bathed him in his tears.

Now that the body had been recovered, the problem was to dispose of it before it was too late. For they

knew that when the day dawned at Delhi, the theft of the Sikh Guru's body would be discovered, and every road to Delhi would be searched. The Moghul horsemen could surely overtake them and all the sacrifice and daring of the carter and his son would have been in vain. Govind's life itself would have been imperilled.

It was by chance they saw an old Sikh lady in her cottage and when they sought shelter under her roof, her suggestion was found to be as brave as that of the dead carter. She begged the Guru to perform his

father's funeral ceremonies in her own hut and when the funeral pyre would be lit, she would see her own hut reduced to ashes. No one could guess that a cremation had taken place.

The sacred rites were over. The Guru and the humble carter's son went back to Amritsar. The Guru's vision regarding his future fight for his faith brightened. Out of the blood of such martyrs, the Sikh temple would arise and would shine more resplendent than the Golden Temple of Amritsar.

ANGLO-AMERICAN VERSUS RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY

by K. RADHAKRISHNA MENON

THE Russians have always claimed that their form of society is better and more advanced, and the Anglo-Americans have insisted that parliamentary democracy of their type is the best. The differences between these two forms of organisation are vital and deeper than appears at first sight. The Russian system of democracy has its roots in the French Revolution and in Rousseau's all powerful General Will, whereas the Anglo-American systems were born out of dissent and conflict between King and Parliament and between religious sects. Russian democracy is not the antithesis of dictatorship but it is the antithesis of plutocracy, aristocracy or the predominance of a privileged or select class. In England political influence goes with riches and birth. For Russia the General Will is that of the toiling workers and peasants and rule by the proletariat is the very fulfilment and flowering of democratic ideals. But the Russian claim that they have achieved a classless society and that there is a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia is absurd when we study facts, because it is actually the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the proletariat that was secured. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" has become in practice dictatorship by a single party that has ruthlessly

suppressed all opposition and dissent.

It is actually on this question of toleration of opposite views by the Government in power that we find the real difference between Russian and Anglo-American democracy. The latter implies government by discussion and the understanding that differences can be reconciled by discussion. This implies toleration of different opinions and of a recognised opposition and of fundamental liberties like freedom of speech, freedom of the press and of publication and freedom of association. The constitution respected by all allows the growth of centres of discussion and therefore there cannot be totalitarianism. The essence of political democracy is freedom of the press, though it is admitted that the press in the liberal democracies of the West needs a great deal of reform and freedom from interested financial forces and capitalists.

To say that Russian democracy is economic democracy and that Anglo-American democracy is political democracy is vague. "Economic democracy" without freedom of opinion is not real freedom at all, for those who express opinions unpleasant to the Government in power will find themselves in State prisons or concentration camps.

Prof. Laski has given the world a brilliant and clear exposition of the modern notion of "functional democracy." He differentiates between democratic society and democratic government. The first is defined as a community in which the citizens accept the maximum satisfaction of demand as its supreme purpose. If the maximum satisfaction of demand is accepted as the supreme object of the community no group or class should be allowed to have any special privileges in society. Democratic government implies that those who make the laws of the community are chosen by their fellow-citizens, authority is exercised by procedures that prevent arbitrary decisions, and at frequent intervals the Government submit themselves to their fellow-citizens for approval or disapproval on the basis of their record in exercising their authority. This implies that no Government is democratic which imposes arbitrary procedure in elections to compel the approval of their fellow-citizens. Therefore, the right to organise for collective expression of disapproval is the core of democratic government.

If these principles are applied to Great Britain and Russia respectively we would see that Great Britain is not a democratic society although she has a democratic Government and that Russia has a more democratic society without a democratic Government. In Great Britain special privileges are given to birth and wealth though the Government is chosen by the people and has to accept the verdict of the electorate and exercise their power by rule and not by discretion.

In Soviet Russia on the other hand no special privilege attaches to birth or wealth and there is a wider attempt to satisfy maximum demand than in other countries. Vested interests cannot frustrate national ad-

vancement and there is no maddening social distinction between intellectual and manual labour. Access to courts in civil suits is not dependent on wealth. But the Government of the Soviet Union can never justly be called democratic. It may be there by universal approval but it does not tolerate organised criticism of its actions. The rulers of the Soviet Union exercise their power in an arbitrary manner and there is no effective *habeas corpus* against the highly organised and efficient secret police which acts by discretion and not by rule. No organised opposition to the party in power, the Communist Party, is allowed. To say that this is dictatorship in the interest of the workers does not lessen the fact that it is a dictatorship. The rulers are bound only by their own view of what is in the interest of the workers. In actual experience the "dictatorship of the proletariat," in spite of Marx and Engels and Lenin has been the undemocratic dictatorship of the Communist Party, over the proletariat.

The world has to strike a medium between Russian democracy and Anglo-American democracy and combine a democratic society with a democratic government. India can try this unique experiment in human organisation if her statesmen are wise and her people vigilant. But it is not easy to evolve a democratic society when meaningless customs, traditions and religious dogmatism hold our society in a death-like grip and neither is it easy to evolve a democratic Government in a land where millions of human beings are developing a mob sensationalism when they are released suddenly from the shackles of foreign domination. The wisdom, the sobriety and the inborn toleration of the Indian nation must show themselves in all their vigour if India is to rise in glory out of the impending national crisis.

When necessity comes, the 'kanganies' to whom we owe our seats in the legislature muster us together like a shepherd mustering his flock of sheep to cast our votes to their dictation.
—M.L.A. in People's Health.

RIGHT WAY TO SOLVE HOUSING PROBLEM

by P. S. NAIR

WHEN the Second World War broke out, there was a rush of population to the cities. But the end of the war did not see any return-back of people to the villages. Many military establishments were disbanded, but the people who had tasted the amenities of modern material civilisation and a higher standard of living were unwilling to go back to the rustic simplicity of the country side. Hence this problem will continue to exist till it is tackled in a systematic way by the Government.

Indian cities are not so crowded as the cities of New York and London. New York is the greatest of the planned cities of modern times and because of the planning it is able to contain the biggest of any city's population within it. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, although modern cities, were not planned, but grew up in a haphazard way. But New Delhi, the capital of Great Britain's Indian Empire, was planned and constructed by one of the greatest architects of modern times at a fabulous expense. If the British Government had shown but a small fraction of the zeal they had shown over New Delhi on the other cities of India in the matter of planning, the latter would not have been the sorry, ugly, dirty spectacles they now are, with their malaria-ridden people.

The problem of housing in India is part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of cities. All the dark and dingy houses in the cities should be destroyed and in their place big buildings with five to ten storeys should spring up, so that in places where only 10 to 20 persons lived, some 500 persons can be comfortably accommodated on the same ground space. It is high time for some of the big cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta to develop vertically like New York and London. Sky-scrapers successfully solved the problem of housing in New York. The possibility of constructing floating houses over rivers and canals is also

worthy of investigation in cities like Calcutta.

Formation of co-operative housing societies will go a long way to tackle the problem of housing organisation. If Sri Prakasam could collect crores of rupees for his scheme of producer-cum-consumer societies it should not be difficult to initiate formation of co-operative housing societies to take up the work of accommodation. Or the existing producer cum-consumer societies may themselves be turned into such housing societies provided the Government take the initiative and explain to the members the utility of a change in their scope of work.

The great leaders of Indian industry like Tatas, Birlas and Dalmas are spending large sums of money on charities. Charity should begin at home, and they should first see that their own workmen are well fed and well-housed and live well.

The abominable conditions in the villages, especially in the case of Harijans, require to be promptly improved. I have visited some Tamil Nad villages. The houses there are so congested and clustered together that there is practically little difference between the village slum and the town slum. Winning the battle of the slum is as much a problem of the village as that of towns. This is unlike Malabar where the villages are more extensive with more spaces between houses. One cannot find a single house in a Malabar village which has not a compound where vegetables and fruits are grown. This gives to the houses a charm and an atmosphere conducive to the health and well-being of the dwellers.

A town and village development commission with extensive powers should be established to tackle this problem and to mark out specified areas for utilisation by co-operative housing societies and other organisations of local people and experts nominated by the Government. There should be a Central Fund for town and village housing development.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

by D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

THE need for the re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was recognised by the Congress more than twenty-five years ago. Most of the existing Indian provinces are not formed on any pre-conceived rational basis. While there are provinces with more than fifty million population and more than forty crores revenue as, for instance, Madras, there are others with barely a population of nine million and scarcely a revenue of four crores. The re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis would help to a considerable extent in bringing about not only cultural and linguistic homogeneity but also a reduction generally in disparities in size, population and revenue.

There are some who feel that the formation of linguistic provinces might lead to more separatist and exclusive tendencies; but if we remember that the present friction between various linguistic groups is largely due to the fact of their being thrown together into heterogeneous provinces and to the lack of a definite and uniform policy with regard to the status of linguistic minorities—particularly in bi-lingual areas—it will be realised that in all probability the formation of linguistic provinces would lessen the present friction. The formation of linguistic provinces should not however be allowed to stand in the way of the enjoyment of the fundamental citizenship rights of any Indian in whichever province he might find his permanent habitation. It has also to be recognised that the re-distribution of provinces linguistically is based fundamentally on grounds of linguistic homogeneity and administrative convenience and nothing more; and no province should be allowed to be viewed as the exclusive homeland of the people speaking a particular language. The Indian population is so spread and mixed up that there are bound to be bi-lingual areas in

almost all the border districts even after the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis, as for instance Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa. It should be insisted upon as an all-India policy that all the inhabitants of a province should be treated alike whether with regard to domicile rules or facilities for instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue, although a working knowledge of the main language of the province may be made a condition precedent for public appointments.

The sad fact is that we have yet to develop an all-India outlook uncontaminated by narrow racial or provincial parochialism and we have yet to cultivate a truly national character. In China too there are as many language groups as in our own country but they do not call themselves separate "races" and "nations" as some in our country tend to do. Is it not strange that while the Andhras, Kannadigas, Keralites and Maharashtrians have mainly taken up the cause of linguistic provinces, the people of such provinces as happen to be at present on a broadly linguistic basis should have been keeping lukewarm generally? If the principle of linguistic provinces is good for some, it is equally good for the others and the lead should have come from those who are in an advantageous position, having already provinces broadly on a linguistic basis.

It would be wrong however to conclude that the formation of linguistic provinces would be an impediment in the way of bringing about a single, united national consciousness. It is not the formation of linguistic provinces but an incorrect appreciation of its true implications added to the lack of a uniform policy with regard to the status of linguistic minorities, especially in bi-lingual areas, that is the real impediment in the way of

Indian unity. It is not by postponing the issue of linguistic provinces that the much needed unity and harmony will be achieved, but by satisfying the just aspirations of the various language groups which are large enough to be constituted as provincial units, insisting at the same time on the necessity to pursue a uniform policy towards all the inhabitants of a province without any discrimination on grounds of race, religion or language. Although the Congress has broadly indicated such a wholesome policy in its Bardoli Resolution of Jan. 13, 1939, unfortunately, it has not seen to its full implementation in all the provinces. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken with a view to its early implementation. If people realise that in whichever province they might find their permanent habitation they can be equally happy without being discriminated against, then, they will cease to attach so much importance to provincial boundaries as they tend to do at present. With the adoption of Hindi or Hindustani as the *lingua franca* and with the fostering of closer inter-provincial cultural contacts with, for instance, each University opening Chairs in the languages of its neighbouring provinces, a rich and full blossomed national consciousness may be achieved at no distant date.

It is unfortunate that this simple issue of linguistic provinces should have given rise to so much controversy and confusion. Persons even among the eminent are not wanting who compare this to the Pakistan movement. If the formation of linguistic provinces is analogous to the Pakistan movement, why not do away with the existing linguistic provinces—and, indeed, why not do away with the provinces altogether and have a single unitary government? Then, too, there are those who, while advocating a separate province for their language area, piously warn others about the danger of applying the same principle to their areas! It is high time that

our leaders at least begin to think about this issue clearly and face it squarely.

It is interesting to note that while the Andhras and the Oriyas have been the earliest sponsors of the movement in favour of linguistic provinces, the Oriya aspirations in this connection have been largely fulfilled with the formation of the Orissa Province in 1936 while those of the Andhras and others still hang fire. It may be noted, too, that the implementation of this principle effects mainly the provinces of Madras, Bombay and C.P. out of which would emerge Andhra, Tamilnad, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Guzerat and Mahakosal, each of which would probably have greater revenues than that of Orissa.

Unfortunately, our national leaders, while on the one hand they seem to fight shy of facing the issue of linguistic provinces squarely, on the other seem to be equally indifferent to the need for an early enunciation and implementation of a uniform policy with regard to the status of linguistic minorities. The sad result of this dilatoriness with regard to the issue of linguistic provinces is that the services of a leader like Prakasam who is the idol of the Andhras and who undoubtedly would have been and would have continued to be the Prime Minister of the Andhra Province had it been formed, are denied both to Andhra and the country, while the same dilatoriness with regard to the linguistic minorities is resulting in unfair discrimination against minority language groups in some provinces.

It is to be earnestly hoped that linguistic provinces would be an accomplished fact before the new Constitution comes into force. Let the dawn of nobly won freedom and the achievement of the long cherished dream of the country's independence be also the herald for the fulfilment of the natural and just aspirations of the various language groups and the happy settlement of an issue long overdue.

A DAY AT M. U. C.

by N. S. RAMASWAMI

IT is possible that, of all games, cricket is most amenable to systems of philosophy, and hockey the least. Orators with no imagination may continue to prate of the great moral experience provided by the need for eleven players to work in collaboration to defeat another similar number of men, also similarly intent. But, the philosopher will have shot his bolt with the utterance of this dreary platitude. While literature is full of Shelleyan rhapsodies, Keatsian odes, and Miltonic essays about cricket, the poverty of hockey literature is remarkable, but not unnatural.

While I recently watched the Mysore Hockey Association defeat the Madras Association by two goals to nil, on a ground which appeared a miracle of vegetation and greenery (considering the fact that I have transacted cricket in the same tract, when it was indistinguishable from a not unrespectable desert) it occurred to me that the reason was not far to seek. Excitement there was in plenty, especially when Rajagopal, towards the conclusion, took the penalty bully. There was the agreeable interest induced by two combinations, nearly equally matched, striving to outwit one another. There were some figures of imagination and character, especially the diminutive Rajagopal, who brought to the fixture, revived as we were told statistically after the long interval of fourteen years, his wealth of experience, gained in the recent tour of the Indian Hockey Federation.

Nevertheless, to one who had savoured the delights of cricket, the attractions of Hockey proved stale and unprofitable.

The cause was a factor which had nothing intrinsically to do with the game. No crowd can enjoy itself if it is not brought

together for a considerable number of hours. The spectators cannot be united in the bond of common sympathy within the brief period of little more than an hour, which is all that hockey asks for. But the tyrannous demands of cricket, against which some unimaginative souls have foolishly declaimed, are able to provide for this agreeable community of spirit. Cricket talk is the best in the world; it is at its most resplendent at a cricket field, though studies and clubs are not to be neglected. It may be my peculiar misfortune, but in a long period of persistent haunting of hockey fields, I cannot remember to have heard two discriminating spectators argue the respective merits of Dhyan Chand and Thangaraj.

This consideration, which is extraneous and even fortuitous, should obviously not be allowed to affect an estimate of that particular fixture. Teams from the Mysore State have always proved attractive to watch. The quintessence of their skill was much more so. The fair Jani Sait, whom Madras has seen for countless years, endeavouring by finesse to circumvent the opposing defence, served yet another display of dexterity. The habitue mourned the disappearance of Palani, another veteran of character and determination. But, the painful void was filled with credit by Rajagopal whose skill and vigour were the main rewards of the evening. He certainly exhibits signs of sensational development.

The defeat of Madras was accepted by the large gathering as in the course of nature. The time was when Madras sportsmen used to sneer when Mysore was mentioned. Happily, that period has disappeared, and the erstwhile contemptible players have proved that in sports, no less than in life, they also serve who only wait.

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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.

Executive Interference With Law

Sri. Muthukrishna Das, who was formerly Deputy Tahsildar at Srivaikuntam, Tirunelveli district, had been charge-sheeted by the Special Branch Police for corruption and bribery and as many as four cases against him have been taken on file and the majority of them are pending before the S.D.M., Koilpatti. Evidence for the prosecution is almost over and the stage for framing charges has come. The only remaining witness is the Investigating Officer.

At this stage, orders were received from the Government staying further proceedings, presumably on an application made by the accused before the Ministers.

We have a special police staff to investigate into cases of corruption and this is the first case in this presidency where the secret police have charge-sheeted an official. This is also probably the case to which the Hon'ble Minister for Law and Order made a reference on the floor of the House when the work of the anti-corruption staff came up for discussion.

The Government are supposed, when they gave instructions for charge-sheeting the case, to have gone into all the relevant records and made a decision. Interference of the executive with the due process of law at this late stage seriously impairs public confidence in the capacity of the present Cabinet to put down corruption.

We appeal to you as the editor of the most independent and fearless journal to take up this question and deal with the merits of this type of interference by the executive in your powerful editorial columns.

T. M. SUBRAMANIAM, R. JAGAN-NATHAN, C. GANAPATHIAPPAN, N. T. VANAMALAI, Advocates; S. SHANMUGAM, Journalist.
Tinnevely.

Waste Of Public Funds

As one associated with public life in Guntur district for over 30 years as Municipal Councillor and member of the Taluk and District Boards, I am impelled to draw attention to the following instance of waste of public funds.

In my village of Lam, the village munsiff appropriated Rs. 300 which was the subsidy paid by the Government for a new well which he claimed to have constructed. In fact, this well is an old one and the village records speak to the fact. I felt shocked and reported the matter to Mr. Karanth, Ex-Minister for Revenue, on October 21, 1946. The enquiry ordered by him proved inconclusive and dilatory and in the meanwhile the village munsiff tried to make it appear that he had constructed a new well by effecting certain repairs to the old well. After a further petition by me, a member of the Board of Revenue was deputed to conduct a personal investigation. After his visit, the final order by the authorities seems to be that it is an old well, repaired, and that the village munsiff, therefore, should return the surplus amount appropriated by him. The munsiff has been given a mild warning.

This is an example of the Government's professed anxiety to root out corruption.

P. SITARAMIAH,
Ex-President, Guntur Taluk Board.

Rice Crisis

Madras Ministers do not seem to be worried about the present food situation in the province and especially in cities like Madras. The present ration of 8 ounces is absolutely insufficient even for an ordinary middle class consumer. The rations that are bought every week are being consumed within four days, with the result that people are forced to resort to illegal means to tide over the rest of week. It is a wonder how the Ministers are managing with the present ration—they must have been getting quantities of rice from their respective villages.

Many living in Madras possess lands in their own villages, but unfortunately they are not allowed to bring their own produce from their places.

There are heavy stocks of foodgrains in the surplus districts. There is no meaning in the Ministers issuing press notes from the Secretariat; they must try to tour the surplus districts. If they cannot solve the food problem, it is better they clear out instead of starving millions of people. If they wish to continue in office, the only way to

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solve the food problem is to lift the ban on export of rice or paddy from one district to another.

If the Hon'ble Minister for Food undertakes a tour from Vizagapatam down to Madras, he will find in trains thousands of people carrying head-loads of rice and dropping them at every station. Such stocks are being sold in the blackmarket in almost all the villages. There is not even a single officer who is able to check such illicit transport. Is the Food Minister aware of this situation? If so, what steps is he taking to check it?

'SUFFERER'.

Waste of Talent

One of the most urgent things we have to do is to remedy the present deplorable waste of talent. Reforms fail or succeed according to the life put into them by the teachers. They won't do the least good unless the teachers are first-rate men with the correct attitude to studies. At present, the remuneration of teachers is so low that the brighter people go into other spheres. Such a state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. The intellectual cream of the country should be brought together in the colleges. A thorough sifting and training of the teaching profession is one of the many urgent necessities in education which have been inexplicably ignored till now.

Two important schemes have to be forthwith evolved and supported by the Government: (1) A scheme by which every Indian boy and girl is required to undergo a course of elementary education at the expense of the Government. (2) A scheme by which a large number of studentships and scholarships are made available to suitable candidates for advanced studies and research in technological and industrial subjects. These have a much stronger claim on the financial resources of the Government than the system which gives us graduate-clerks.

I am sure that fifty graduates who come out of the college with a healthy and practical attitude to life and fifty men of the world without a college-education will together be of more service to the country than a hundred weary scholars and degree-holders turned out by the present system. Government has full justification for increasing college fees if the money which comes in is used for the creation of an intelligent and psychologically sound system of education suited to the requirements of self-governing country.

N. P. ALEXANDER.

Indonesia Ravaged

Of a total population of 7 crores in Indonesia, only 36,000 were found in 1938 to be liable to pay income-tax. In other words, only 1/2 per cent of the population had an annual income of about F 1910 (F=1 sh. 8 d.). On the eve of the second world war when the last taxation was levied, the average income of the Indonesian peasant was computed at only F 45 a year (about Rs. 50). The average income of a European was no less than F 4,780 or 105 times the average income of the Indonesian people. This gives an idea of how the Dutch ravaged the country.

K. AUDINARAYANA

Bapatla.

Economic Justice

Enforcement of economic justice in this country is of paramount importance and it should be the first and foremost duty of our Governments. Administration in India has certain peculiar difficulties very different from those which other countries have confronted. We have an iniquitous caste system. Minorities in India are not racial or national minorities; they are religious minorities. There are no strata or grades in our society. There are only two classes, the very few rich magnates pitted against the down-trodden, impoverished millions. Our natural and material resources have yet to be harnessed in the right way. Extirpation of these evils which have eaten into our social fabric would mean the vindication of economic justice and the day of that vindication is not distant, let us hope. The success that attends the efforts of our Governments to establish economic equality will depend on the co-operation they receive from the younger generation, from those who have now the fortune to obtain a good education. The duty devolves largely on the shoulders of these educated young men of trying to wipe every tear from every eye.

S. JAYARAMAN

Hindus Unhappy

Mr. Muhammad Ismail, President. Madras Provincial Muslim League, in asking the Muslims of Madras Province to participate in the Independence Day celebrations, contrasted his own generosity with the lack of it in the Congress President who had stated that the minorities in Pakistan need not celebrate the Independence Day. Let us examine this point more closely. Muslims of the League persuasion in India

have reason to be jubilant because they got what they wanted, Pakistan, whereas the Hindus and other minorities in Pakistan did not get what they wanted, United India. On the other hand they see India cut up. That is why they have no reason to be jubilant. They have on the other hand every reason to be unhappy, and there is no point in asking unhappy people to be jubilant artificially.

M. SATYANARAYANA SASTRY.

Jamshedpur Andhras

Jamshedpur is a city of many languages. In spite of the fact that they constitute a good bulk of the city's population, the Andhras are forced to undergo education through the medium of Hindi, a language alien to them. Abolition of the English medium has been useful to Hindi-speaking boys, but it is not fair that the Andhras should be baulked of facilities for acquiring rudimentary knowledge for reading and writing their own tongue.

The Andhras have come here to eke out their livelihood and most of them are struggling for a hand-to-mouth existence, having migrated from a distance of more than 500 miles. The workers keep their boys illiterate; the middle people reluctantly educate their boys through Hindi; only the rich send their boys to Andhra.

A Telugu High School ought to be opened in a central locality. The Tatas themselves with their enormous resources, can do it easily. The Benares Hindu University has been helping Andhra boys living even a 1,000 miles away, by having Telugu as a second language, and by allowing the pupils to appear privately for the University examinations. I am sure that the Patna University will not refuse similar aid to the large number of Andhra boys who live in this area which falls under its orbit.

The Premier of Madras, the leaders of the Andhra Congress and the Bihar Government should help in removing existing disabilities in the matter of the education of Andhra youth in Jamshedpur.

J. KRISHNAMURTHI, B.A., B.Ed.
Jamshedpur.

Andhras Neglected

Andhras have been completely neglected in the recent selections to the Dominion Cabinet as well as provincial Governorships. Southern India in general did not get its due.

Our leaders ought to learn a lesson, forget their past differences and present

sent a united front. Let there be mutual understanding. Kamaraja Nadar now praises C. R. while exactly a year ago so much fuss was made over the C. R.—Nadar controversy. When are we going to see the happy day when both Prakasam and Pattabhi together will tour Andhra Desa? That day will mark the inauguration of a new era of independence for the Andhras. Let not prestige stand in the way of unity. Let internal dissensions and squabbles cease.

M. PATTABHI RAMAIAH, M.A.
Ellore.

Reckoning Without The Host

Some years ago, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar issued a lengthy statement to the press, which had a passing reference to Pakistan and the N.W. Frontier Province, much to the chagrin of Mr. Jinnah. He said, "I can understand the demand for Pakistan. The most important part of Pakistan is the Frontier Province, where the host is Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, not Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah is reckoning without the host."

Mr. Jinnah has succeeded in getting his Pakistan but even now the host in the Frontier Province is Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, not Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Nishtar.

V. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Retain English

May I add my voice to that of others who have pleaded for keeping India enriched in literature by retaining the universal English language, as it is the 'lingua franca' of the civilized world.

I do not plead that English language should continue to be the medium of instruction, but we cannot at present afford to neglect English altogether in the scheme of education.

If we condemn English today, we will not only limit the scope of learning for our future generations, but also kill the spirit of literature by degrees—the slow vivisection of the soul.

Tirupati. V. J. WILLIAMS.

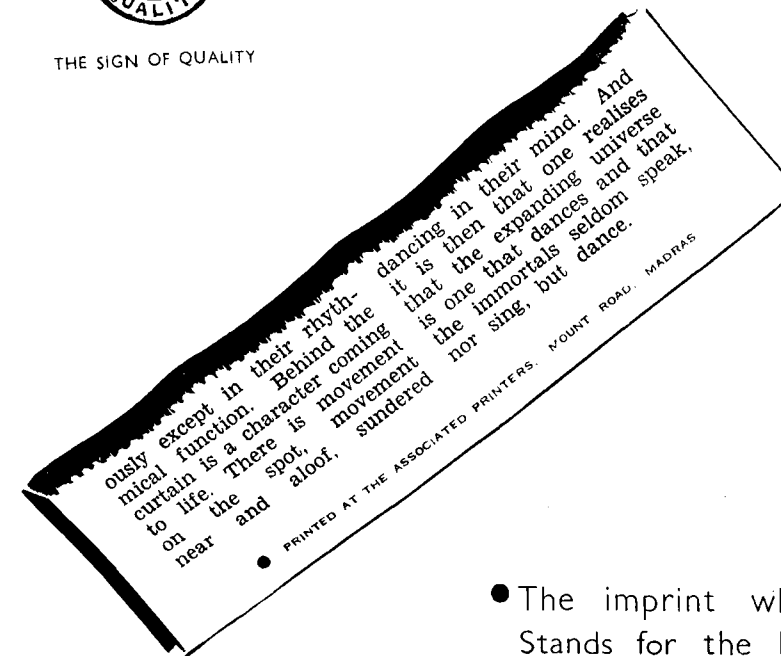
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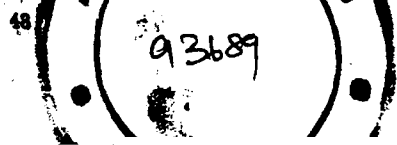


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Of course we should all eat so much of this and so much of that so as to balance the essential food-elements—proteins, vitamins, minerals, fats and carbohydrates. What really happens? We go on eating what we are used to—though we know there will be a deficiency somewhere!

It's nearly always the protective vitamin group and one or two mineral salts that are short. These can be supplied in Meclec's Multi-Vitamin tablets. There are Meclec concentrated foods to provide against protein or other deficiencies. So you can eat what you like—and make up shortages with Meclec Nutriments.



Ask for explanatory literature from:

Meclec Nutriments & Pharmaceuticals, Ltd., 99-A, Armenian St., G.T., Madras

MNP 44A

Printed by E. Sendall at The Associated Printers, Mount Road, Madras
Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 156, Lloyds Rd., Royapettah, Madras-MS 481