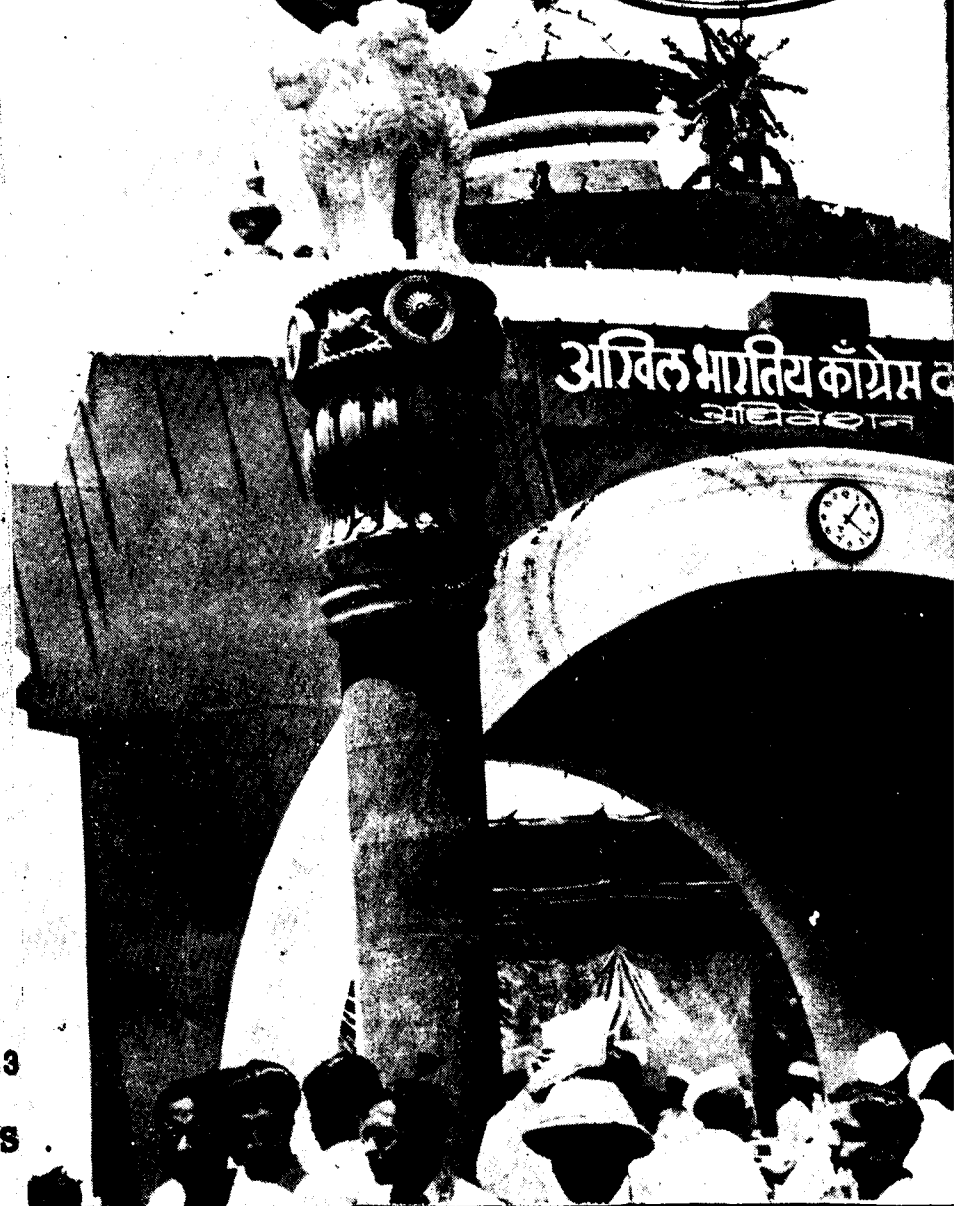
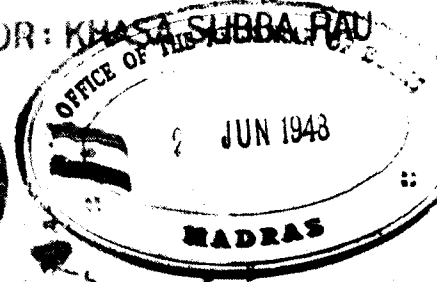


609

SWATANTRA

EDITOR: KHASA SUBBA PAU



III No. 13
MAY 8, 1948
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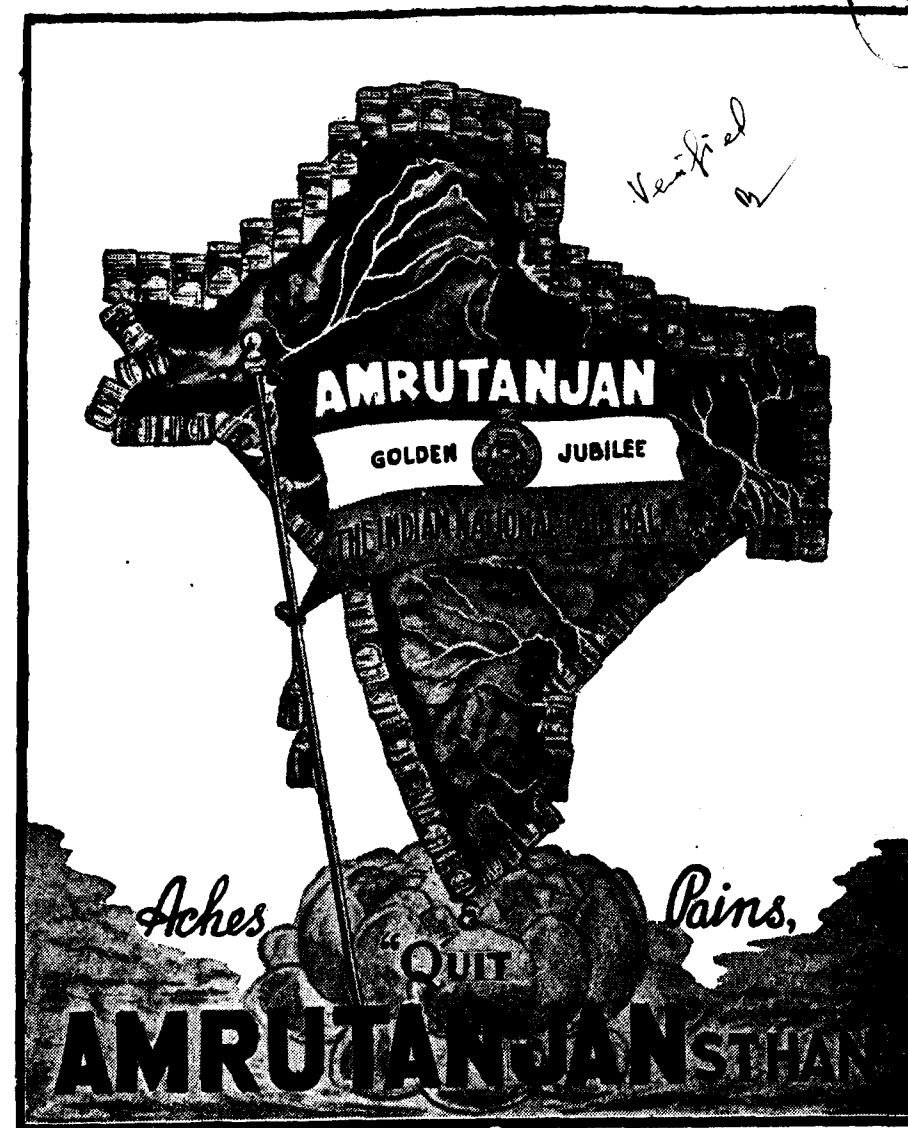
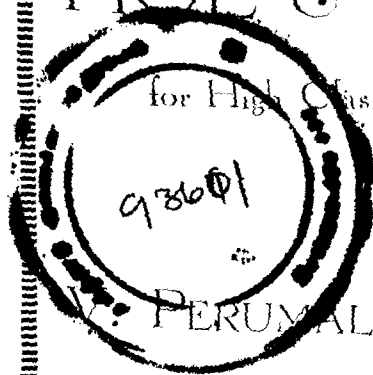
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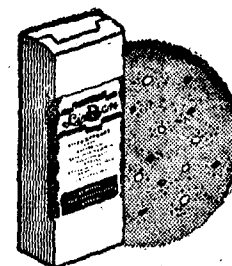
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SWATANTRA

VOL. III. No. 13.

(SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1948)

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Kasim Razvi has assured the Nizam that he will shed his last drop of blood for the Asafjahi Dynasty. Courtesy National Herald

SWATANTRA

VOL. III
No. 13

SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1948

ISSUED
WEEKLY

POWER MADNESS

SOME of the Letters to the Editor published in this and other issues reveal misunderstanding of the attitude of *Swatantra* to the Communists and to the present Ministry, especially the Premier. No party holds a monopoly of wisdom or righteousness, and the Communist Party is certainly no exception. Nor is it invulnerable to criticism. But approval or disapproval of a party is not relevant when the issue is one of civil liberties. All citizens and all groups of citizens aligned in party formations are entitled to civil liberties, not excluding those opposed to the ruling regime and seeking to substitute themselves in its place. The challenge of party by party resulting in the impermanence of the personnel of Ministries constitutes in reality the discipline of democracy. It contains in it the precious substance of the sovereignty of the people through the vote. Interference with the rights of persons and parties to influence public opinion for or against Governments is interference with the working of democracy. Occasions are conceivable when such interference may be justifiable on grounds of public safety. But there is always the danger of the executive confounding the interests of its own power with the requirements of public welfare, and persecuting opponents likely to supplant it in public favour with specious pretexts of impersonal

administrative duty. It is the role of the judiciary as much to protect citizens against executive tyranny as to protect the executive itself from the temptation to abuse its authority in wrong ways for selfish ends.

There is no gainsaying that many of the Congress leaders in power have no love for members of the Communist Party. Part of the Congress leaders' dislike of Communists is due to difference in political and economic outlook. But some at least of it is due to rivalry and fear of potential danger of the supplanting of Congress power by the Communists. Neither of these considerations should be allowed to come into effective operation for the suppression of the Communists for the sake of the preservation of proper standards of freedom in emancipated India. Just because of the prejudice of Congress leaders for the Communists, there is need of protection for the Communists as citizens against oppressive acts of an unbalanced kind from the executive. It should be sufficient to leave to the judiciary the task of inflicting suitable punishment for actual or contemplated extra-legal acts, whether emanating from Communists, or from others.

The attempts of some to invoke prejudice against the Communists on the ground of past treacheries have also to be discountenanced as fatal to a

balanced conception of citizenship rights. Patronage may depend on trust, but not freedom which should be unconditional. The right of citizens to freedom is independent of any tests of character in their pasts. The good and bad are equally entitled to the State's comprehensive protective function in the matter of elementary rights. As for treachery, some stigma of it seems to cling to all nowadays, and if treachery means breach of pledges or elevation of selfish purposes above social ends, there is scarcely a party that can claim complete immunity from it. In our own presidency, the conversion of Congress power to communal objectives in the hour of victory can only be characterised as an example of rank political and administrative treachery.

We plead therefore for the elimination of censorious impulses based on prejudice and hatred and even on worthier motives, from all exercises of executive authority bearing on elementary citizenship rights like civil liberties. Otherwise the old spirit of British bureaucratic autocracy will survive into our new State substituting for our ended political slavery the far worse condition of civil strife. The right to freedom except under judicial verdict belongs to all irrespective of party and the worst of Communism in the eyes of its critics is the scant respect paid to such a right in regions of the world under Communist governance. There is a paramount need for a better example if the future is to be saved from the chaos of competitive ruthlessness between parties at loggerheads immersed in fierce ill-will.

Our attitude to the provincial Ministry is one of alert readiness to greet with acclaim anything good. But its potentiality for good would seem to have got

paralyzed under its inhibitory zests. A model Premier should spare no pains to improve the lot of the poor, not forgetting that the poor are a dispersed casteless multitude. Actually they are consigned to a purgatory of deepening privation, while with their blood, sweat and tears a delightful paradise on earth is fashioned for the profiteering rich. Prodigious is the canalisation into purposes of personal or group consolidation of the powers of Government and the resources of the State. The privileged few make merry at the expense of the defrauded many. There is no statecraft except that of intrigue and excitement over trivialities that contribute little to the stock of productive public good. It is a regime of fundamental barrenness covered by a smoke-screen of systamatised animosities. People are fed on the passion of hatred as food for their hungry stomachs and all the grand opportunities of Congress rule have culminated into sly communalism. With what conscience can we hail the architects of a regime like this as the saviours of the community, however formidable the power at their elbow might seem to be for the time being?

Welcome

C. R. was the inevitable choice for Governor-General despite feeble forecasts to the contrary published in some newspapers. His Governorship of Bengal was an unqualified success. The Bengalis are a difficult people to deal with for an outsider, parochial, sensitive and quick to take offence. But C.R. has shown a masterly comprehension of their qualities and won his way to their affections with swift artistic touches of association that gave to his characteristic didactic purposes the pleasant gloss of

a tributary appreciation. He eschewed the appearance of didacticism warily and strove to please while he planned to instruct. To C.R. who is fond of fancying himself exiled anywhere outside Tamil Nadu, this stay in Bengal might mark the beginning of an expansive assimilation of all-India spirit, of which South Indian Congress leaders have great need, especially now, cut off as they are from the central national current of Hindi culture. In one important particular, C.R.'s elevation to Delhi might bring about immediate welcome repercussions. None among the Congress hierarchy of the top rank is so highly thought of in Hyderabad. The relations between that State and India have been rapidly deteriorating, and from negotiations on the political plane there has been a decline of late into talk of military measures. Even the fire-eating Kasim Razvi has likened the Indian Union to a big mountain and the forces opposed to it in the State to small streams, and so nobody can doubt about the result in the event of a showdown between the two powers. Not many days would be required for the Indian Government to bring under complete subjugation all the refractory elements specialising in hostile outbursts and violent activities inside the State. The Razakars might look terrible to the disarmed civilian popu-

lation. But a first-rate army like that of India would make short work of them within perhaps a week. While the result of a military conflict is in no doubt, the disquieting feature of the situation lies in the havoc that the Razakars might easily inflict within the time the Indian troops will need to get into grips with them. Razakar atrocities in Hyderabad might provoke retaliatory communal movements in India and Pakistan. The extent of possible carnage is such as might make the humanitarian heart of Pandit Nehru quail, with the wounds of the recent partition still fresh and raw.

In a situation like this, C.R. as Governor-General will prove invaluable. Not that, with any magic wand he will exorcise the devilry of the Razakars and miraculously produce peace and harmony in its place. But he may succeed, where others failed, in fashioning out of cold logic a weapon to frighten the blustering Razvi with. If there has to be bloodshed, his ingenuity might be able to devise psychological safeguards for limiting it to the barest unavoidable minimum. Others might be more competent to wage war against Hyderabad more sternly and efficiently. But C.R. is marked out as the most promising expert for exploration of the avenues of peace and avoidance of recourse to military measures.

With a total registration of 37,000,000 motor vehicles in the United States at the present time, it is estimated that travel by motor vehicle now is at the rate of 370,000 million miles annually. This is approximately equivalent to a journey across the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean once a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Such unprecedented motor traffic is having a heavy impact upon the nation's highways. Experts declare that 42 per cent of the country's existing high-type roads will wear out between now and 1957. Highway needs in the 48 states and the District of Columbia are estimated at 22,000 million dollars.—
USIS.

Sotto Voce

The Caravan



If anybody had supposed that the Germans' will to live had been sapped by two wars and the rigours of multiple occupation, he will have been sadly disillusioned by a Government advertisement that recently appeared in the newspapers. It asked a man last heard of in 1848, exactly a century ago, to report to the Coblenz Law Court. In that year Henrich Baer, aged 27, migrated to Switzerland and America. The law now informs him through the press that if he does not announce himself forthwith it will presume him to be dead. The Germans are a methodical people and Baer, in spite of his 127 years, must be accounted a stripling compared with some of the Methuselahs of Eastern Europe of whom we have authentic evidence.

But what intrigues me is why they should have hit upon this precise moment to send out this shout into the void. It may be that German law prescribes a full century as the minimum period that must elapse before legal presumption of death can be made. But in that case why go in for the formality of advertising? Three score and ten, the Biblical span of life, has long been passed in countries which base their faith on sanitation rather than scripture. Astrology, which must appeal to the Germans who have a strain of mysticism in them, reckons the planetary cycle as running to 120 years; but Baer, if he is alive, must have completed the cycle seven years ago.

It is an odd coincidence that in Hindu law the presumption of

death is made after just this period of seven years; which, incidentally, is the period in which every man, physiologically speaking, becomes a new man. As Manu and Yajna-alkya and all the rest of them lived in the dark ages before the advent of the newspaper, it could have hardly occurred to them to lay down that the survivors must make sure by advertising. But it seems to me that there is more to it than that. I presume from the very fact that they prescribed so short a period as seven years that they were in favour of allowing a man to drop out of life as quietly and easily as possible.

Sannyasa was civil death; and it could be effected in a minute. But it was hedged in with conditions. And it had consequences often of a disconcerting kind. But there was little danger of such a situation as that of *Enoch Arden* arising in Hindu society; of the long lost wanderer returning to a home bereft of wife and children or a home in which his place had long been filled;

But finding neither light nor murmur there

(A bill of sale gleam'd thro' the drizzle) crept

Still downward thinking 'dead or dead to me!'

What a world of difference between that sad foreknowledge and the anguished cry of Sri Ramachandra: *Kwa Sita Vartate Deves Katham Cha Mayi Vartate!*

When Sri Rama asked Hanuman how he had found Sita disposed to-

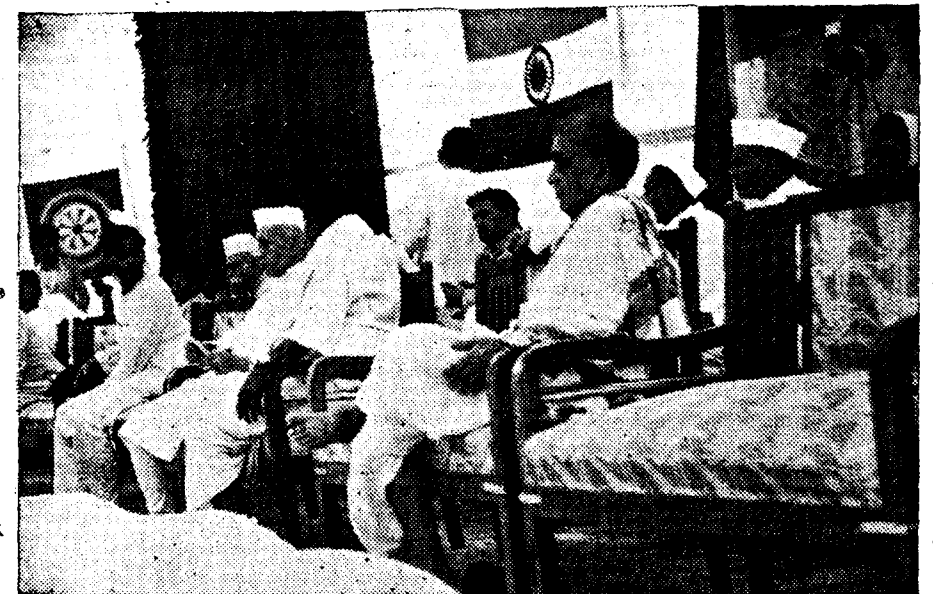
wards him he had not the slightest doubt of her fidelity. He just asked for the sheer joy of being reassured, even as the Gopis asked Uddhava, "Does the Lord living in magnificence at Dwaraka ever think of us poor forest maidens?" But the old time Hindu who left house and home, whatever the cause, was bent upon making a clean break with the past. King Anga stealing out like a thief in the night, heart-broken at having brought into the world a monster like Vena, and the Prince Siddharta casting a last compassionate glance at the wife and child who seemed to turn to him imploring in their very sleep, alike knew that they had taken their last look of the world they left behind. And they were well content.

Not all men, it may be argued, are made of such stern stuff. The man who is ever threatening to run away from a shrew of a wife to bury himself in Holy Kashi is a stock figure of fun. But still waters run deep. A kinsman of mine, a rather silent man whom

nobody had suspected of possessing such resolution, one fine morning left his house and was no more seen. His wife, good soul, spent six years searching for him; only to be told, when she did find him, that he was quite comfortable where he was and the best thing she could do was to go home and not bother. And being a typical Hindu wife she meekly obeyed him.

Every rent in the web of memory, however big, is assiduously repaired by Time the spider. And we Hindus have always prided ourselves on travelling light. No other religion has so consistently stressed freedom as the supreme value. Having been taught to look upon life itself as a garment to be cast off when no longer whole, our ancestors had the care-free happiness of the caravanserai. The pilgrim picked up his staff and walked out into the Void when it called; and the caravan passed on.

VIGHNESWARA.



A view of the recent A.I.C.C. in session.

SIDELIGHTS: :

Half the work that is done in this world is to make things appear what they are not.—E. R. Beadle.

IT is customary for important people to have "their attention drawn" to a thing. They do not read, like you and me, the printed matter in journals and newspapers. Their attention is drawn to it. It would appear that the attention of Sri Desikan who signs himself as General Manager of the Subhodaya Publications, Ltd., has been drawn to the article under the caption "Sidelights" in the issue of *Swatantra* dated April 24. After announcing this information, he proceeds:

"If the article is referring to the Subhodaya Publications, Ltd., I would like to draw your attention to the distortion of facts therein. It has never been decided to do away with the English daily. What has been thought of and planned, is to see that things are done in a proper sequence of events and that the cart is not put before the horse. Establishing a job department is being contemplated, not with the idea of making huge profits but to utilise the production capacities of different machines to the full advantage to bring about an equilibrium between expenditure and income. Lastly you, as an experienced journalist and a newspaper man, know fully well that the running of a press and the bringing out of a paper can never be achieved by merely pressing a push button but only by synchronised efforts of men, material and machinery."

The public that has subscribed, so far, at least 10 lakhs to the Subhodaya Company for the starting of an English daily will be grateful to Sri Desikan for the assurance that it has never been decided to do away with the daily. The contrary report I had published was subsequently voluntarily endorsed by one

of the directors themselves, who had first hand knowledge of the matter. If, as Sri Desikan says, "what has been thought of and planned is to see that things are done in a proper sequence of events and that the cart is not put before the horse", the thinkers and the planners must have had a very uncommon conception of propriety, sequence of events, cart and horse. Sri K. Rama Rao, the editor-elect, knew that mere printing and composing machinery would not suffice for the bringing out of a newspaper. Men were no less necessary than material. Men of the right stamp and requisite experience were very hard to get. He took prodigious pains to gather together a dependable complement of sub-editors and lino-operators. Some of these were seduced, as a good editor ought to know how, from excellent berths in well-established papers where they had had years of service to their credit with all the advantages pertaining thereto. He charmed them into abandoning secure positions with glowing accounts of superior prospects in store in the paper to be. Others who lacked experience whom he enlisted, he drilled into shape with daily lessons. They were taught all the branches of newspaper work. A teleprinter was installed and regular dummy editions were brought out.

At this stage the thinkers and the planners of Subhodaya served notices of dismissal on all or almost all of the entire staff excepting the editor, that had been got together and trained with so much labour and had cost the company so many thousands, may be nearly a lakh, over a long-drawn incubation period. Is it the "proper sequence of events" in the production of a newspaper that the staff be disbanded and the editor reduced to a condition of lonely sublimity?

After the sub-editors and the lino-operators were sent away, Sri Desi-

kan informs us that "establishing a job department is being contemplated, not with the idea of making huge profits but to utilise the production capacities of different machines to the full advantage to bring about an equilibrium between expenditure and income." The production capacities of the different machines were barely sufficient for the requirements of the contemplated daily. There could be no job department at all had the paper got started. Only in the vacuum created by the abandonment of the daily could the production capacities of the machines be considered at all as available for a job department. Let me here mention that Sri Desikan comes on the Subhodaya scene as the Zamindar of Bobbili's man. Bobbili has a controlling interest in the Madras Publishing House which is primarily a job-printing firm. It is a point in commercial ethics whether one holding a dominant share in a competitive job-printing undertaking can fittingly be entrusted with the establishing of a job department in a concern like Subhodaya, especially while its production capacity for jobs can be tapped only through suspension of its primary proclaimed objective of bringing out the daily.

There are newspapers and newspapers. It is the policies that govern them that impart distinctiveness to them. In the case of the paper planned by the Subhodaya Publications, no room was left for any doubt at all as to the policy to be pursued. The policy of the paper was proclaimed to the public in the choice of the editor. Sri Rama Rao is a forthright Congressman steeped in the radicalism associated with Pan-

dit Nehru's paper *National Herald* which he piloted in its stormiest and most troublous days. Report has it that even the Pandit was not radical enough for him. In the process of share collection his name was widely advertised for emphasising the character of the proposed daily. It was meant for insurance that the daily would be a popular one conducted on democratic lines. The pitchforking of a Justicite aristocrat of the stamp of Bobbili into supreme control of the concern runs counter to the original pattern of the whole project on the basis of which the purchasers of shares were induced to unloosen their purse strings. Never would they have dreamed that they were contributing funds for a clannish Zamindari newspaper or to supplement the equipment of a job press for fulfilment of the commercial ambitions of one of the clan. The contrivers of this perversion are heavily accountable at the bar of public judgment.

On the eve of the advent of Bobbili, all necessary preliminary preparations had gone well forward, and only a signal was awaited for pushing the press button to convert the dummies and trial editions brought out in the Subhodaya Press into regular issues for sale in the streets. That position of course no longer holds, thanks to the wholesale disbandment of staff under the Bobbili regime. I cannot follow the nimble intellect of Sri Desikan when he implies that the recent devastation let loose on Subhodaya is symptomatic of "synchronised efforts of men, material and machinery."—SAKA.

In mitigation of the offence it was pointed out by the defending lawyer that the accused, who had been educated at a public school, had been thrown on the world with no ability to earn a living and a certain weakness of character.
—Newspaper Report.

The only people who are really the dupes of their favourite newspapers are the *intelligentsia*. It is they who read leading articles; the poor read the sporting news, which is mostly true.—C. S. Lewis.

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY

(Contributed)

NEARLY four weeks back the Indian Government issued a statement on their future industrial policy. It was followed by a discussion of the policy in the Dominion Parliament. The industries Minister in his two speeches on the occasion made no noteworthy addition to the contents of the Government's statement. Nor did the private members of the Parliament in their speeches materially contribute to the ideas contained in the statement. Prof. K. T. Shah came out with a violent criticism of the Government's policy. From the point of view of criticising the policy as being a departure from the hitherto known and often-avowed policy of the Congress the Professor from Bombay was on firm ground. But on the several occasions on which he interfered in the debates in the Parliament he showed himself entirely unrealistic and destructive in his criticism. We can understand his chagrin at now being put on the shelf after having been acknowledged over a period of years as the sole economic adviser of the Congress. But we cannot help feeling that not only is he out of date but also that his knowledge and the bias he had all along acquired could not be turned to constructive use. The most interesting speech of the day even if it was defective in its cogency came from the Prime Minister, a speech which in part explains the obvious defects of the statement.

The statement itself bears all through the impress of being a compromise. Obviously it was not a compromise reached at a discussion between the various interests concerned in the industrial development of the country.

An attempt was made four months earlier to get the various interests together at an industrial conference and some innocuous resolutions were then passed. The so-called industrial truce resolution which all these four months appears to have been observed in the breach also emanated from the conference. It was therefore obvious that the Government had to chalk out a policy of its own. We would for our part have wished that the Government had exhibited greater courage in this matter. The economic picture as it now exists demands the exhibition of such courage. Whatever the ultimate merits or demerits of a controlled economy as against decontrolled economy it was evident that the vested interests had hustled the Government into plumping for a decontrolled economy. The vocal section of the middle classes acquiesced in it because of its hatred and dislike of the corrupt control administration. The cost of living index has been rising. Labour discontent cannot be expected to be assuaged by this factor. Production has maintained its downward trend due, it is said in the main, to labour strikes and transport bottlenecks. The eternally rising cost of raw materials is another factor. But perhaps the most important factor in the situation was the sulking attitude of the capitalists—an attitude which was generally adopted after Liaquat Ali's budget of March 1947 and persisted in even after the two budgets of Shanmukham Chetty. The share market which is usually the mirror which reflects the capitalist mind has continued to be lifeless except for occasional spasms of activity.

Such conditions in the share market have in their trail affected the position of the gilt-edged securities and forced the Government to cry halt to their borrowing programme. There might be several good reasons for the present money market conditions but we are not quite sure that the country is not facing a capitalist strike directed towards bringing the Government to its knees.

It is in the face of these conditions that we have to judge the industrial policy statement. At first sight the policy seems to be loaded in favour of the vested interests. A comparison of this statement with that of Sir Ardeshir Dalal issued on 25th April 1945 might even reveal several points of similarity. The key to this is furnished by Jawaharlal Nehru's speech which could be summarised as indicating that his Government seeks to build and not to destroy. It cannot be said that the existing industrial plants each in its particular field have exhausted the possibility of expansion. If expansion is the main aim and State ownership, State control and State regulation are for the time being the means to that end, the classification of industries might perhaps be explained. From the point of the Socialist the field left open to the private seeker in industry is unduly generous. The Government confess that "There can be no doubt that the State must play a progressively active role in the development of industries, but ability to achieve the main objectives should determine the immediate extent of State responsibility and the limits to private enterprise" and that under the present conditions "the mechanism and the resources of the State may not permit it to function forthwith in industry as widely as may be desirable".

This has the merit of having an element of truth in its favour. The choice is between waiting for conditions to become propitious for the starting of industries by the Government and encouraging the starting of such new industries as will not place undue power and influence in the hands of private industrialists with private capital and under private management subject to certain conditions. The first list reserved to Government looks narrow. But as the Prime Minister said in his speech these lists of industries do not exhaust the responsibility of Government. The river valley projects which the Government of India have on hand, the financing of which will in the course of two or three years require anything from 50 to 75 crores per year and the immense potentialities for economic betterment that the completion of the projects hold, require that the Government should during the next ten years conserve their resources in the matter of finance and man-power (technical and manual) for the really big schemes and leave the comparatively less costly enterprises, though in themselves important from a public utility point of view, to private enterprise and to local bodies.

The decision to allow the list of industries now in private hands to continue to remain as at present has provoked serious criticism from one section of the public while the decision to review the position ten years hence has been criticised by the capitalists. There seems no point in acquiring the ownership of industries at fantastic prices when such monopoly as the existing plants have is to go and so long as the operators of these plants conform to production and wage standards set by Government plants in the same industry. Nor does it seem that

a review at the end of ten years means an automatic removal of those who control such plants at present. Other things being equal and the State not deciding by then not to abolish altogether the private factor in industry, it is up to the operators of these plants to demonstrate that they are fulfilling a useful role in the economy of the country and a change in the ownership of their plants is not called for except on purely ideological considerations. We see no reason for the entrepreneur to grumble in respect of the position that he has obtained in this statement and we feel that the justification that the capitalistic class can provide for such a policy being adopted by Government lies in the degree and extent of co-operation they are willing to offer in industrialising the country rapidly.

One notable omission is found in the list of industries that is exclusively the Government field. This is the salt industry. While the country would welcome this commodity being exempted from all duty, our experience since the duty was removed reveals how dangerous it is to leave the manufacture and distribution of salt entirely in private hands. The Government are still in this industry even if it be for considerations not entirely fiscal. The capital needed for this industry is not considerable. Why then should it be left even in part in private hands?

The promise held out to labour in the statement requires to be heavily underlined. With the best will in the world the popular provincial Government are able to do precious little for labour in

their struggle against the capitalists. If labour participation in profits is to be real, then the larger industrial undertakings at least must become impersonal and the managing agency system in such undertakings must be eliminated. For the same reason such concerns must be subjected to public audit, or in the alternative, the auditors must be appointed by Government from out of a panel representing trustworthy auditors so as to avoid the artificial mitigation of profits by inflating the working cost and the transfers to depreciation funds.

We are willing to accept the industrial policy statement at its face value if the Government and the capitalist community mean business. But we have our misgivings in this matter. The Government machinery that is available for translating this blue print into practical policies is woefully deficient. We realise that there is a talk of a planning commission being constituted. But is it all that is needed? It does not seem that the reconstruction board for helping refugees that has been constituted by the Government is doing anything much. The personnel does not inspire confidence. High-powered work cannot be undertaken by low-powered personnel. The test of Government ability to implement their industrial policy even in part will be demonstrated by the organisation that they create and the spade work that the Ministers concerned are able to do during three to four months. But a continuation of the present negative policy by the Indian capitalists for some more months might well call for a revision of Government policy.

THE LAST OF THE VETERANS

A TRIBUTE TO K. NATARAJAN

by K. ISWARA DUTT

TO everyone in India who cares for an imperishable tradition which seeks to elevate it to the level of a church, the passing of Mr. K. Natarajan means the disappearance of a great landmark in the history of our Press. *The Indian Social Reformer* was to Mr. Natarajan what the Nation was to Massingham—a very part of his life and mirror of his mind. He was, however, luckier than Massingham as he edited it for half a century and had the good fortune of leaving it in the hands of his second son, Mr. Swaminathan.



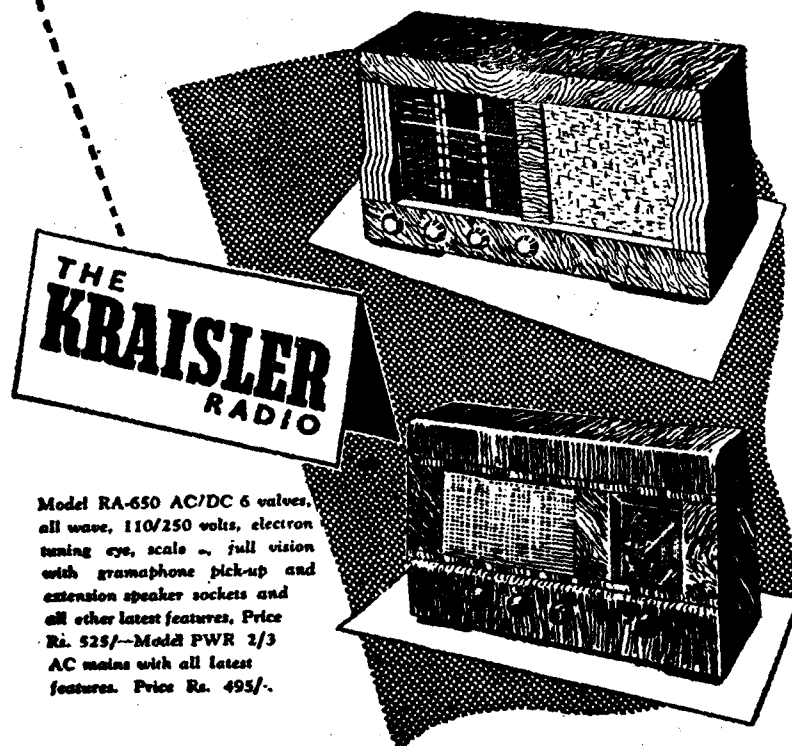
K. Natarajan

Mr. K. Natarajan was for some time on the *Hindu* before the winds wafted him to Bombay and he found a pedestal of his own. The forum of the *Indian Social Reformer* became his pulpit, and being essentially an editor with a mission, he became a power to reckon with in the public life of India, and more particularly of the Western Presidency. In the earlier years he was occasionally writing leaders for the *Times of India* while in the later twenties he was wheedled into the editorial chair of the *Indian Daily Mail*. With his conception of journalism at its best and his mental make-up, he was hardly at home in a daily newspaper office with its later-day machinery and innovations. He made his exit from the I.D.M. (as it was familiarly known) in circumstances dramatic. One morning, on his arrival in the office, he found his chair defiantly occupied by the late Mr. J. W. Wilson, formerly of the *Pioneer*, and turned his back on the paper once for all. His correspondence with Mr. J. B. Petit, the proprietor of the I.D.M. on that occasion, has a resounding blow to the prestige of capitalist-owners of newspapers, and established him yet more firmly in public esteem, the first and foremost to have applauded him being Mahatma Gandhi.

Few Indian editors have risen to his heights as a mentor of public morals. As was said of J. L. Garvin by his daughter Katharine in her recent Memoir, "his writing had an influence difficult to estimate. Yet his personality was much greater than his writing." In his mental make-up and sobering influence upon the public mind, Natarajan was nearer Spender than Garvin though, as in Garvin's case, the public always eagerly looked forward to his weekly pronouncement, till he retired and occasionally gave the world the ripe wisdom of his meditations as the "Recluse" of the *Reformer*. In his death at 79, we have lost the last of the veterans of the pen who roused our social conscience as few had done during the last half century. His example will endure; his memory will survive. It is a comforting thought that in his two sons—Y. Natarajan and S. Natarajan, he has left behind him heirs to a great tradition.

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By
M. Krishnamoorthy

HIS days were definitely passed among the dead. Why should we strain after new expressions for old ideas when very often some ideas have been expressed with perfection once and for all by some poet or prose writer of past days? There is sometimes no virtue in straining after effects, especially when it is evident that all the labour would be in vain. Rambhau was a scholar, as much of a scholar as Southey would have liked. His days were passed among the books and the manuscripts which he adored with a passion passing that of a man for a mere maid. They say that hunger and sex are the primary passions of mankind but from the tenor of the existence of Rambhau it almost seemed as if his prime passion, most probably his only passion, was for books and more and more reading. All that ever moved his mortal frame were but ministers to his passion for scholarship. He read and read and read until his spectacled appearance made him look as much like the old Lion in 'Alice' as was mortally possible. He was a Brahmin of a sort which is a fast disappearing type. A rich patrimony had enabled him to devote his whole life to scholarship and even his family seemed but an adjunct to his library collected together with much patience and great trouble and some strain upon his purse. When he was not reading his books and manuscripts he loved to potter around with them

with pardonable pride, touching them even as a man touches the maid whom he has taken unto himself in love for the first time in his life. He loved to read the old and valuable manuscripts which he had got together with so much trouble and sometimes he gloated with the gloating peculiar to collectors. Occasionally he wrote to learned journals which men as learned and scholarly as himself wrote to and read, a production which carried its passion for exclusiveness to the utmost limits. He enjoyed learned discussions and controversies carried on with the decorum due from those who strayed far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. Every other week he loved to re-classify and re-arrange his books and aged manuscripts, a process which drove his long-suffering wife and children to distraction. He never seemed to be satisfied with what he achieved and was always to be found doing the same arranging job again within a fortnight. He was never tired of his library even as some husbands do not tire of the loved wife who has grown old along with them. The best is always yet to be!

The troubles, the fever, the fret unprofitable and the stresses of the passing show left him untroubled and politics and he had as much in common with each other as a poison and its antidote, and this, you will admit, in a nation where every one was a poli-

tician, was extremely rare. The struggle for liberty which convulsed the whole of India left him unperturbed. The lathi charges, the shootings, the bombings and the imprisonments of patriots left him unaffected and he never knew of the heartbreak of the fight on the economic front either. He never asked for favours and jobs and as such was one of those rare mortals who knew not of rebuffs from fellow-mortals who could help but would not. His merit was never depressed by poverty and it never rose in any official hierarchy because it never sought any office. When freedom came to India he was again left unaffected. Only those who have shared in heartbreak can really understand the rarity of pure joy, the sort of joy which came to the Indian masses on Independence Day. He had never felt the shackles of slavery ever laid on him and as such was in no position to enjoy the rare feeling of independence achieved. He had never even played at politics or, at least, at being a patriot. He was a practising Brahmin whose Brahminism was confined to his house and he had never felt the impact of the anti-Brahminia feelings which were rising in certain parts of our country, especially in Maharashtra. But he was to suffer from this tide in more ways than one. Blessed are mortals because they have no gift of prophecy and cannot suffer the agonies of a Cassandra. Rambhau was like a violet by a mossy stone, more than half-hidden from the eyes of the world and apparently free of its stresses and turmoils. Such men are rather like the fabled ostriches, though quite unconsciously. They are not aware of trouble until it is right on them, like the wolf on the fold.

The moment the mad man fired the shots which removed the revered and adored Mahatma from the world's stage the anti-Brahmin feelings in Maharashtra found a vent. This anti-Brahminism is a contemporary phenomenon which requires and will repay patient and intelligent study. There is at the bottom of everything the fundamental dislike of the have-nots for the haves. How the haves are the haves and the have-nots the have-nots is a matter for some slight research. Further there is the inevitable resentment against those who presume to be social and moral superiors by the mere accident of birth in some particular caste. And then there is the dislike of intellectual inferiors for those who are more intelligent and when this is added to the feeling that that intellectual superiority is not on account of any intrinsic merit but because of a deliberate policy of shutting

out others from educational facilities the whole thing is a pretty kettle of fish indeed. Breeding leads to explosions sooner or later and these outbursts are engineered by violent extremists who offer the necessary leadership to the ignorant masses whose passions are swayed one way or the other and who are like putty in the hands of demagogues. Hatred is easily roused and is more often than not unreasoning and a product of profound ignorance. Hatred is easily supported by a show of plausible arguments. Hatred is more human than love in as much as it is more common. And hatred, in India today, is having a field day.

One evening his old friend Triambak dropped in and, after the usual hemming and ha-ing and the inevitable polite circumlocution, told him that a zamindar of his acquaintance, who had hit on bad days, had a manuscript of the *Malavikagnimitra* for sale. He said it was going cheap, some four or five hundred rupees at the most.

"Where is that zamindar?", asked Rambhau, eager to go out and close that deal.

"But", said friend Triambak, "You can't go straightaway now; I shall tell him you'll be coming and you can go tomorrow. I shall call for you in the morning and we shall go together."

His urgency meeting with no sympathy from his friend, Rambhau had to yield to the inevitable with the best grace possible.

"Very well, then," he said, peevishly. "Come early tomorrow morning. I won't even be able to sleep tonight. You know how much I have desired to have the manuscript of the *Malavikagnimitra*. I thought I could get it only in libraries of some prince's palace or other. I wonder how your friend got it."

Triambak leaned forward and said, in a conspiratorial whisper, "The zamindar is a scion of a royal family. I told you he had hit on bad days, very bad days. As to how he got it, why do you bother about it? If it is genuine and the price fair, you buy it; that's all there's to it."

"All right", agreed Rambhau. "Come early tomorrow."

"I shall", said Triambak, and left.

And the next morning the friends went together to the poor zamindar and, with the precious manuscript now his own, Rambhau, trembling with joy and the pride of possession, clutching his treasure with eager fingers even

while it was resting safe in his capacious coat pocket, safe from all prying eyes, had barely a word of thanks for Triambak, and rushed along the road eager to reach home and his library.

It was on his way home that the crisis came. The assassination of Gandhiji had excited the feelings of the people and the goonda leaders of the mob had inflamed the people into a mood of vengeance against the Brahmins of Maharashtra. Armed with lathis and kerosene oil and match boxes the mob went about assaulting and looting as it liked while the police were either powerless or unwilling to maintain law and order. The mob first attacked the houses of some people known to belong to the Hindu Mahasabha and then, more in fun than anything else, took to looting the houses of Brahmins in general. To the inmates of the houses there was nothing humorous in being told to clear out of the houses while the looters made merry. An occasional blow from a lathi and a ring of goondas surrounding them, helped those who wished to show some fight to choose discretion as the better part of valour. On the roads themselves people were stopped and asked whether they were Brahmins or not; if they were, they were helped on their way by a blow or two from a lathi. Sometimes the mob had no doubts about somebody being a Brahmin and did not bother to question him; sometimes the mob knew who a non-Brahmin was and let him pass; but, now and then, the mob was not sure and a shirt or a coat was roughly torn aside while the *yagnopavitam* was searched for. The presence of the sacred thread led to the use of the lathi; its absence to an apology for having caused annoyance. And Waman who came running from the opposite side just paused for a second to tell Rambhau: "Take off your sacred thread; they are assaulting the Brahmins. Be careful". And he went on his way leaving behind Rambhau from whom all the feelings of elation of the morning had fled. He was shocked and knew not why they were beating the Brahmins. He never knew of Godse.

In a flash Rambhau had to take a decision which would go against his grain. To deny his birth was not easy and his first instinct was to face the worst that might happen to him. But he remembered the treasure in his pocket and all his Brahminism vanished in a flash. That must be protected at all costs. He would throw away the thread now and perform the necessary "prayaschitta" later on. He was dark and none could see in him any outward

sign that he was a Brahmin. In a trice he divested himself of his thread and threw it as far away as possible. A pang shot through him at this act of blasphemy, an act of denial like that of Christ's disciple. He had, however, not much time to bother about it. He turned the corner of the street and found himself surrounded by the mob.

"Ho, ho", they shouted. "What have we here?"

"A Brahmin, a Brahmin," shouted one or two others, swinging the joyous lathis around.

"I am not a Brahmin", shouted Rambhau, furiously, insistently and as loud as he could.

"He is a liar", shouted one.

"I am not", he replied.

"That's easily determined", said one of the crowd. "Tear his coat aside".

His coat was torn aside. There was no sacred thread.

"Let the old man go", said one, a sort of leader; "He is no Brahmin."

And they let him go.

He fled as fast as his legs would carry him. He entered the street in which his house was situated. There was a silence there and nobody except helmeted policemen about. One of them stopped him.

"Where are you going?" he asked, roughly, of Rambhau.

"Home", said Rambhau, trembling.

"Where is it?"

"There", pointed Rambhau.

"Hum", said the policeman, looking at Rambhau queerly.

"Where had you been this morning?"

"To see a friend".

"All right, all right, get along".

He approached his house. The door was open and he walked in. There was nobody in the front rooms. Things were lying pell mell. Pictures and glasses had been smashed. He was alarmed. He called out to his wife and her trembling voice answered from the kitchen. He ran to her but on his way to the kitchen he happened to glance at the door leading to the library. It was open and he saw his shelves were empty. He let out a cry of agony, forgetting even his wife. He rushed into his library. There were one or two books and manuscripts lying on the ground. The rest were nowhere to be seen. He cried like an animal wounded mortally. His wife was at his elbow.

"What happened?" he cried.

She said, in a dull, level tone: "They locked us in the kitchen and took out your books and burned them in a bonfire. They broke up our glasses and pictures and furniture. They threatened to beat our sons if they did not keep quiet. They called me foul names". (She shivered). "And one or two even laid hands on me. But one of them, some leader I suppose, saved me and, after they had looted and burnt, he even opened the kitchen door and let us out. Why, oh why do they dislike Brahmins? I heard them

shout foul abuses at us. What have we done to deserve it all?" He said no word in reply but touched his precious manuscript, yet again, all that was left to him. He folded his wife in his arms and soothed her and their tears of relief and sorrow flowed together. That afternoon they clamped curfew down on the town and the trouble passed away in due course. But darkness had come to Rambhau in more ways than one. He had denied his birth and the mob had desecrated his altar of learning, the library.

"GOODWILL INDUSTRIES"

IN 95 cities throughout the United States there are chapters of a non-profit, non-sectarian organization called the Goodwill Industries, whose aim it is to "help the handicapped help themselves." This organization has helped disabled Americans for 13 years to once again become useful citizens. Each branch in each city is autonomous and handles its own activities, although all branches are members of Goodwill Industries of America with headquarters in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Goodwill Industries operates workshops and stores in each city. Citizens of the community donate such items as clothing, shoes, toys, and furniture. These articles are reconditioned and made suitable for resale by physically handicapped people who are paid for their work. The reconditioned articles are sold in the stores operated by Goodwill Industries, and the proceeds used to pay the workers and staff of the organization, which includes social workers, doctors, teachers, and others. Last year alone, Goodwill Industries paid over six million dollars to handicapped workers.

In Washington, D.C., for example, 140 handicapped workers and a staff are employed by Goodwill Industries, which is 95 per cent self-supporting.

The five retail stores of Goodwill Industries have been visited by many groups and individuals to learn how the work is done by this organization. Recent visitors to Goodwill Industries in Washington included a delegation from the Association of Indian Women and the wife of the Indian Ambassador to the United States.

In the past few years, Goodwill has expanded its programme to include facilities for training and employing disabled veterans of World War II. A "homebound" programme has also been developed to help those who are confined to their homes because of the severity of their disabilities. Both of these activities have the full support of the U.S. Veterans Administration and the Veterans Rehabilitation Service. In New York City, Goodwill Industries recently set up a "fatigue laboratory." This research project, conducted with the co-operation of Columbia University's School of Public Health (in New York City), aims to help crippled men and women find a normal life by an accurate scientific analysis of their disability and the jobs they can and cannot do. The school is furnishing graduate physicians and nurses to conduct the programme and will also use it as a training center.—U.S.I.S.

Jones a good family man, had been inveigled into a poker game, and experienced growing apprehension as the hands of the clock moved relentlessly on towards morning. Finally, at 3 a.m. he had a sudden inspiration. He called his home and when, finally, the little woman answered the phone, he shouted in frenzied haste: "Don't pay the ransom—I'm back!"

MERGE HYDERABAD WITH INDIA

by Dr. N. V. RAJKUMAR.

Secretary, Foreign Department, A.I.C.C.

LET us face the facts in Hyderabad. It is time we did. One day or other the Nizam's bluff has to be called and the sooner, the better. For, Hyderabad is today a running sore in the Indian body-politic. It is a potential breeding ground of Pakistani fifth columnists. Events have shown that no policy of appeasement—a la Munich—is going to pay in this case. Every concession made, every measure of goodwill shown to the fanatics who rule Hyderabad is taken as weakness on our part. It is clear by now that the Ittehad clique who really rule this territory get their inspiration from Mr. Jinnah. What then under the circumstances is our duty and the duty of the Government of India?

So far as the Government of India are concerned they are tackling the problem in their own way. It looks a circuitous way and most of us feel that our Government have been too mild with the Nizam. But then we have at the head of the States Ministry a man who has worked wonders during the short period of six months. He has consolidated the country as no man before him has done. The Patel touch is sure and certain. The Sardar goes, he talks and he conquers. He has 'finished' about 400 and odd States by now. We may safely depend on him to solve the Hyderabad tangle as well.

One thing is certain. Neither we nor the people of Hyderabad can stand still because of the Stand-Still agreement. We have to go forward and in going forward let us not be blind to realities. Hyderabad is not a separate entity. It is a part and parcel of India. Neither language, nor culture, nor religion separates the Hyderabadis from the people of the rest of India. Nor is the Hyderabad population a

homogenous one. It is split up into three linguistic groups—the Telugus, the Maharashtrians and the Kannadis. This fact has an important bearing on the future of Hyderabad. With the formation of linguistic provinces all round Hyderabad the people of Hyderabad will have their natural affinities with those speaking the same language in the adjoining areas. Is it not our duty to encourage and exploit this natural affinity to the advantage of the Indian Union?

Let me be blunt. Hyderabad must be broken up into its three linguistic components and those bits should be merged with the adjoining areas of the Indian Union. This is a drastic solution to the Hyderabad problem. It might shock some people. But I make bold to say this is the only right solution. There can be no other. Any other plan would only serve to hide with plaster, the ulcer that is Hyderabad. It is a pity that we are not realists enough to appreciate this point and to apply this remedy. Hyderabad, let me repeat, has no place on the map of India. It must disappear. In its place will appear a greater Andhra, a greater Karnataka and a greater Maharashtra. Then only will the unification and consolidation of India be complete and the Sardar's dream realised.

I am not unaware of the fact that the Hyderabad State Congress has demanded only responsible government under the aegis of the Nizam. This is of course a necessary preliminary step before the dissolution of the State and the absorption of its territories into the adjacent provinces. I would accordingly urge upon all public men of Hyderabad to think along these lines and to chalk out a plan of action on this basis.

What the people of Hyderabad require most at this time of crisis

is guts. They have to fight a strongly entrenched foe. The Nizam-Ittehad combination is a formidable one. The whole administration is in the hands of Muslims. The army and the police are likewise almost wholly manned by them. The Ittehad with its appeal to religious fanaticism has been able to weld the Muslims of the State into a compact group of fire-eating enthusiasts for the Islamic cause in India.

Let us have no illusions about this. In our idealism and love for a vague kind of nationalism, let us not forget that so far as Hyderabad is concerned, the Muslims are not with us. The State Congress has no influence whatsoever with the Muslims; on the other hand, they are dead opposed to it. They have never made common cause with their Hindu brethren in fighting the autocracy of the Nizam. Why should they? The Nizam is their own man. In recent years, he has become their puppet. The Nizam himself has common-sense enough to understand that he has no future without the support and following of his Muslim subjects. This tie-up is therefore of mutual advantage to both parties. We should therefore foresee the possibility of the popular struggle for freedom in Hyderabad taking the complexion of a struggle between the Muslims and the Hindus. It is quite on the cards that the Muslim masses would be misled along these lines. We shall have to face this danger also. We should not be deterred by the fact that we shall have a solid phalanx of Muslims against us. After all, the Muslims as a community were not with us in our struggle against the British. On the other hand led by League leaders they sided with the British in times of grave emergency for the nation. Witness the working of the Interim Government where the League group functioned as the King's party.

Without being communal-minded, the Hindus in Hyderabad can and I am sure they will fight the reactionary Muslims. The risk of a communal conflagration is there.

But the risk has to be taken. Let us not soft-pedal our policies and actions out of any fear for Muslim susceptibilities. If they adopt an intrinsically wrong attitude, it is not for us to condone that wrong but to remedy it by doing the right thing. And the right thing obviously is to carry on a struggle for immediate responsible government. Once this is established, the final cure has to be applied to this cancerous growth on the body of Mother India. This, let me repeat, lies in the division of the Hyderabad territories among the three linguistic provinces of Andhra, Karnatak and Maharashtra.

I am confident that the Hindus of Hyderabad would gladly welcome this solution. If necessary, a plebiscite may be arranged to decide this issue. I have no doubts whatsoever about the outcome of such a reference to the people. It is a foregone conclusion that the merger idea would be approved.

It is sheer bunkum to say that Hyderabad has any distinct historical or cultural traditions. Even its army, as our Prime Minister once said, has no proud history to look back to. His Exalted Highness was only the Subedar of the Deccan under the Mughals. Later he blossomed into a faithful ally of the British, which means in plain language, a stooge and a yes-man. I know the Nizam has high pretensions today and has lately developed an Akbar-complex. It is sacrilege to mention the Nizam in the same breath as Akbar.

The Nizam's people don't love him. He has done nothing for his subjects, Hindu or Muslim, for which they have to be grateful. A handful of Muslims have cornered all the important jobs in the State and it is they who with a view to saving themselves, are misleading the Muslim masses with the cry of 'Islam in danger'. And the Muslims have been foolish enough to take up this cry. They have yet to realise—as the Muslims in the rest of India have now realised—that there is no room for communal domination by a small minority in

a free country. They will realise it one day and that day is not far off. But when they do so, it will be too late. By that time the Nizam and all that he stands for would have gone into the dust-heap of history.

Friend Razvi today has donned the armour and put on the war paint—his war-cry is "Save the Hyderabad Muslims and through them the Muslims of India". Let the Muslims here beware! Mr. Jinnah's leadership succeeded in disrupting and demoralizing them. A second Jinnah has now risen in what is virtually Southern Pakistan to complete this process. If he also succeeds in his mission, posterity will record that two fanatic Muslims born on Indian soil were instrumental in annihilating the Muslim community in this country. The guilt will not be on the Hindus. Let this fact be brought home to all concerned.

Meanwhile our Government should stop this dallying with Laik Ali, Monckton and Company. These men have no right to speak for the people of Hyderabad. Let us wait till the representatives of the people come into power. Then let them decide for themselves as to what should be done with Hyderabad. We shall abide by their verdict.

What then is our immediate task? It is our duty to help those unfortunate millions to capture power from unwilling hands. They are now undergoing unspeakable misery

at the hands of the Ittehad goondas aided by the Muslim police. If it comes to that we should have the courage to denounce the Stand-Still agreement and apply all possible sanctions to compel the Nizam to abdicate his power in favour of the people. We may have to employ our armed forces. We should not shirk even that responsibility. The Nizam, it would appear, is incapable of understanding any other argument except that of force.

When the Ruler of Kashmir approached us with an offer of accession we made it conditional on his granting responsible government to his people. We also said that only the people of Kashmir could decide the future of their country. We cannot adopt a different policy in the case of Hyderabad. Otherwise we will be accused of being weak with Muslim despotism, while being bold and efficient in destroying Hindu autocracy. People would say that we are straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. We sent our forces to help the people of Kashmir in their dire distress. Our Prime Minister himself defied the Kashmir Maharaja's orders on a now-famous occasion. The suffering of the people of Hyderabad are no less today. Shall we not accept the challenge and help to destroy this last bastion of princely autocracy and communal despotism in our country?

Homeward bound aboard the Brighton Beach express, Mr. Goldfarb was reading the Jewish day and Mr. Shlepkind his copy of P.M. Suddenly Goldfarb saw his friend Pincus across the aisle engrossed, of all things, in an issue of Father Coughlin's Social Justice. Enraged, he tore the paper out of Pincus' hands and cried: "You low life! You renegade! How dare you read a filthy sheet like that in public?"

"Calm yourself," said Mr. Pincus "It's very simple. For years I read the Jewish Day as you are doing now. What did I see in it? '200,000 Jews Massacred in Poland.' 'Millions of Jews starving in Nazi Germany.' It made me feel terrible. So I switched to P.M. like Shlepkind there. Was it any improvement? No sir! 'Gangs Attack Jews in Dorchester.' 'Synagogue Looted in Far Rockaway.' I felt even worse because it was nearer home.

"Then somebody told me about this Social Justice. What do I see here? 'The Jews own all the banks, and the automobiles, and the movies, and the government.' I tell you, Goldfarb, I never felt so wonderful reading anything in my life!"

INDIA AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

by Dr. P. C. ALEXANDER

THE amendment proposed by Dr. Ambedkar to substitute the words "sovereign independent republic" by the words "sovereign independent state" in the preamble of the Draft Constitution of India has given rise to many speculations about the future of India's relations with the British Commonwealth. Dr. Ambedkar thinks that the use of the phrase "republic" will bring about "an automatic and instantaneous severance between India and the British Commonwealth of Nations" and in order to prevent any such severance he suggests the use of the phrase "state." The obvious implication of this amendment is that the Government of India does not desire any "instantaneous severance" between India and the Commonwealth. Pandit Nehru, speaking at a recent reception given by the Bombay Union of journalists, said that the matter would be eventually decided by the Constituent Assembly; but "personally he thought that the closest relationship should exist between India and the British Commonwealth." We do not know what exactly he means by the words "closest relationship". Of course there is a strong public opinion in India in favour of maintaining very close relationship between India and the Commonwealth; but the question before us now is whether this "closest relationship" is to be maintained as a member of the Commonwealth or independently.

It is unnecessary to discuss the question whether Dominion status is a good substitute for independence or not. Advocates of Dominion status have always claimed that Dominion status is virtual independence. Enthusiasts like the Prime Minister of New Zealand have gone a step further and said that Dominion status is "something more than independence". But

whether Dominion status is equivalent to independence, or even something more than independence, the plain fact is that people in India have never been enthusiastic about this phrase. The idea of Dominion status did not rouse any enthusiasm when Linlithgow offered it in 1940. The draft declaration issued by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government in 1942 conceded Dominion status in unequivocal terms, but failed to impress the Indian public. The preamble of the declaration says "The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs." Sir Stafford Cripps in a Press interview was asked whether the Indian Union would be entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown and his reply was that "the Union would be completely free to remain with-in or to go without the Commonwealth". But public sentiment in India had always been against the idea of accepting Dominion status even as a temporary measure. The Quit India movement and the history of subsequent negotiations between the Congress leaders and the Viceroy had convinced the British Government that Dominion status would not be acceptable to Indians and that was why Prime Minister Attlee in his historic statement in the House of Commons on 15th March 1946 conceded to the Indians unqualified freedom to determine their future status. "What form of government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide," he said. ".....India herself must choose as to what will be her future situation and her position in the

world." The Prime Minister however expressed his hope that India may elect to remain within the Commonwealth. He spoke of the great advantages India would derive by doing so, but no one in India felt any glow of enthusiasm at the suggestion of India's voluntary accession to the British Commonwealth. For many years Indians have been taking the solemn pledge to strive for *Poorna swaraj* or complete severance with Britain, and when at last they gained the opportunity to shape their own destinies they could not be satisfied with anything less. In January 1947 the Constituent Assembly "solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic" and Pandit Nehru stated in unequivocal terms that we were not going to have an external monarchy. "Whatever the state may have or may not have," he said "it is impossible and inconceivable and undesirable to think in any other terms but in terms of a republic in India."

How is it that something which was considered "impossible, inconceivable and undesirable" in 1947 is being considered possible and desirable in 1948? Pandit Nehru is reported to have said at Bombay last week that India cannot remain in isolation. Certainly this cannot be a sudden discovery of our Prime Minister. He must have been fully conscious of this fact even in January 1947 when he said that India's connection with Britain had become an emblem of British domination. The only difference between January 1947 when we "made a solemn resolve to constitute a republic" and 1948 when we want to go back on our "solemn resolve" is that then we had no hostile state as our neighbour while now we have one. If Pakistan had not been created, there would have been certainly no question of India remaining within the Commonwealth. The continuance of Pakistan as a member of the Commonwealth is almost a certainty and our leaders seem to be imagining that when Pakistan remains a member of the Commonwealth it is unwise on our

part to quit it. If ultimately India decides to remain within the Commonwealth, it will certainly be a great triumph of British diplomacy. If Churchill was very jubilant over the June 3 Plan it was because he was shrewd enough to foresee what it would lead to.

The opposition of the Indian masses to the idea of any constitutional link with the British Crown should not be lightly dismissed as sentimental. Who can deny the importance of sentiment in politics? It would be impossible for the Indian masses to feel any personal loyalty to the British Crown which had been a symbol of tyranny and exploitation in our country for about a century. The "Commonwealth spirit" which Sir George Schuster speaks of is conspicuous by its absence in India. No one in India genuinely feels that "he belongs to the Commonwealth or it belongs to him". The membership of the Commonwealth has so far given us no privileges and we cannot easily ignore the fact that our nationals are subjected to great humiliation in one part of the Commonwealth. Prof. Coupland was quite right when he said that in India's case "the greater difference in size and race, in history and ways of thought and life, and the far wider measure of British control and its continuance into a period when nationalism became a far more fiery force in the world than it had ever been before—all that makes it much harder for India than it has been for other nations to find full satisfaction within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Some people argue that our membership in the Commonwealth will be helpful for our defence and security. If Burma feels confident that it can take care of itself without the "protective wings of Great Britain" there is no reason why a great country like ours should not. It is also important to remember that Great Britain is no more 'great' in her military strength, and her 'wings' cannot be safely relied upon for our 'protection.' Pandit

Nehru has very often said that India would follow an independent foreign policy; but if we are to remain in the Commonwealth it may not be always possible to maintain our independence in foreign policy. It may be difficult for us to take a line of action completely independent of our sister Dominions, and if we do so we may

not be entitled to the privileges and advantages of our membership in the Commonwealth.

We may have the "closest relationship with Britain" but it need not be constitutional. Treaty relations may be more advantageous than constitutional relations so far as India and Britain are concerned.

"COMMONWEALTH" PREFERABLE TO "UNION"

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

I wish to add the following paragraph to my article in *Swatantra* dated 24th April on "Towards a Genuine Indian Democracy" in its appropriate place under para (14) of the sub-division entitled *The Draft Constitution*. Especially after Dr. Ambedkar's amendment, the issue acquires special significance:

The word Commonwealth, which I prefer as against Union, does not contradict in my view complete independence for India. It is the happiest word in English to indicate India's simple yet manifold and complex personality, decentralised yet compact and harmonious life based on Shanti and the ideal of common welfare rooted in Dharma.

I am clearly and definitely for severing completely the British connections in politics though I respect the British citizen and individual as one of the best products of modern civilisation and European culture. I wish India learns many lessons from the British—their social and civic virtues, their capacity for team-work and co-ordination, sacrifice and unity in times of peril. So India should remain friends with Great Bri-

tain without involving herself in the perils of her foreign policy. I am compelled to hold after an impartial study of history that Great Britain has been obliged to become, for her own prosperity and security, the greatest disturber of world peace for the last three hundred years since her emergence as a naval power. The solution for Britain is in the creation of a United States of Europe and a scientific plan of emigration settling her excess population now asked to over-work in coal mines and industries.

A compact island civilization, rich in mineral resources but poor in food stuffs, densely populated with a gritty and industrious race, addicted to a high standard of living definitely ripens into a predatory imperialism. A peaceful river valley civilisation like ours should never get entangled politically or even economically with such a nation but befriend them only in the higher altitudes of culture and philosophy and absorb only their healthy social and civic virtues useful to our way of life.

One hundred and fifty years of British rule have more deeply injured the vital bases of our Indian life and culture than one thousand years of Islamic conquest.

When the delinquent tenant saw the police coming with the eviction papers, he locked himself inside the house and refused to answer the officer's summons. The officer slipped the papers under the door, whereupon the tenant picked up a bellows from the fireplace and blew the paper out from under the door.

The officer again slipped the papers under the door, and again the tenant blew them out.

Pocketing the document the officer turned to his deputy and said: "Come on, let's take this back to the landlord. I wouldn't pay rent either if I had to live in such a draughty old house."

CONGRESS AT CROSSROADS

by E. C. KUNHI KANNAN NAMBIAR

If we compromise on principles, we shall fall between two stools and deserve our fall—PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

THE Congress in power has ceased to be what it had stood for—it had stood for the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed. The Congress has compromised on principles and its fall must be inevitable with the passing of days. For the people know by experience. So let us beware how we tread on dangerous paths, the path of oppressing the common man who is the backbone of any country.

I write these lines from Malabar where people live on six ounces rice ration and on the unwanted milo and maize which none of our people can stomach in spite of the praise bestowed on them by the paid propagandists.

To quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "Only by constant self-questioning, individual and national, can we keep on the right path. An easy, unthinking confidence is almost as bad as weak submission to helpless dejection. Real failure comes only when we forget our ideals and objectives and principles and begin to wander away from the road which leads to their realisation."

"In this crisis of our history, therefore, let us look into ourselves and examine, without pity or prejudice, what we have done and what others have done to us, and seek to find where we stand today. We dare not delude ourselves or evade real issues for fear of offending others, even though some of these others are comrades whom we respect. That is the way of self-deception which none who seek great and vital changes can follow except at their peril."

Let us obey Pandit Nehru's dictum and examine, without fear of offending others and see what the Congress had stood for, how it grew and developed, how it rallied the

masses behind it and then see if the Congress had carried out or is trying to carry out its pledges—the sacred and solemn pledges it has given.

These pledges are there for all to see in black and white and they cannot be destroyed even if the Congress Government ban the famous Karachi resolution and the presidential address of Pandit Nehru at the Lucknow session of the Congress (1936). The public memory, they say, is short. Therefore, I intend to bring these to the notice of the Congress leaders to refresh their memories. It will clarify matters for them, and incidentally people will see how the Congress has come to power. The Congress derived strength and power from the common people by championing their cause. It was with the advent of Gandhiji into the Congress that it ceased to be an organisation of 'a handful of our old friends representing an age and a class which had had its day'. It was Gandhiji who brought the masses into the Congress fold. It was only after the historic Lahore session of the Congress where the famous independence resolution was passed that any real direct struggle of any magnitude was conducted by the Congress. The Karachi Congress held after the first CD movement in 1931 passed the historic resolution known as the 'Meaning of Swaraj'. The preamble to the resolution stated:

"This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what Swaraj means, as conceived by the Congress, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include the real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress, therefore, declare that any constitution that may be agreed to on its behalf should provide or

enable the Swaraj Government to provide for the following:"

The resolution guaranteed "freedom of association and combination; freedom of speech and the press", and said that "no person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law". The resolution also vouchsafed "adult suffrage; free primary education". Among the important items in the resolution are the following:

"A living wage to the industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

"Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

"Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

"Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry, and, in case of uneconomic holdings, exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small zemindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction.

"Imposition of a progressive income-tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum.

"A graduated inheritance tax.

"Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one half of the present scale.

"Expenditure on salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the State, other than the specially employed experts and the like, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

"Control by the State of key-industries and ownership of mineral resources."

I have quoted extensively from the Karachi resolution for it is absolutely necessary that people should know what the Congress had

stood for as stated in its resolutions. There are other important resolutions such as the agrarian programme resolution passed at the Faizpur session. But what is given above will suffice to give a fair picture.

An examination of the record of the Congress Ministries would be really disquieting to the gentlemen who occupy the Treasury Benches today. Apart from the fact that the present conditions under which people live require far more drastic changes than are stated in the resolution, it is really shocking to see that the Congress Government has ignored every pledge it has so far given to the people. In examining the record of the Congress Ministries, I will confine myself entirely to that of the Madras Ministry though the records of other Ministries are no better. It would be helpful to group the items in the resolutions into several headings such as, (1) civil liberties, (2) agrarian reform, (3) labour legislation, (4) income-tax, (5) military expenditure, (6) reduction of salaries and (7) control of key-industries. So far as civil liberties are concerned the Congress Government have trampled under foot every form of civil liberty. They have banned every form of activity and there is regular paralysis of all national activity as such. The Madras Government have banned Communist jathas, Communist volunteer organisation and even Communist Red Cross and Bala Sangham organisations. The Government have invoked the provisions of the 19th century legislation to restrain even dramatic performances fearing criticism of any kind. In the name of banning the Communist jathas they prohibit even the trade union jathas and public meetings. There are few villages in Malabar now where meetings are allowed.

The suppression of civil liberties does not stop with banning organisations. House searches and beating of people have become a regular feature. Not even during the worst days of imperialist rule had repression been resorted to on

such a large scale and intensified form.

Persons are detained under laws called ordinances. Detention without trial was practised by the imperialists because they were afraid to bring the political workers to trial, but a Ministry claiming the suffrage of the people for its power cannot flout civilised methods and pass off as a popular one. The only conclusion is that they are afraid of an open trial. It must be presumed that evidence in open court must be disquieting to the Government. Otherwise, one cannot find any reason for detaining persons without trial. No civilised administration, much less a Congress regime, can afford to use these arbitrary methods and call itself a modern democratic State.

The Madras Government have banned the publication of *Deshabhimani*, a Communist daily in Malayalam. The proper procedure for the Government is to prosecute the paper if it has offended against decency or reasonable criticism. Suppression of a paper for holding opinions unfavourable to the Government is, to say the least, most reprehensible. In the words of Pandit Nehru, "All criticism hurts the sensitive skin of the Government and its reactions are quick and far-reaching. The more incompetent it grows the less it likes being told so. But this does not prevent it from indulging in reckless allegations about others."

But why is a regime which has come into existence on the suffrage of the people, on the basis of its pledges, behave in the way it does? Again Pandit Nehru gives the answer. He speaks about the British Government in 1936, but the situation is identical: "Argument gives place to policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet and prison and detention camps and even our extraordinary finances are justified by the methods of the bully. It is astonishing to find to what depths of vulgarity our rulers have descended in their ardent desire to hold on to what they have got. So wanting

in mental equilibrium are they, so obsessed by fear of the Congress and the national movement it represents, that their wishes become thoughts, thoughts inferences, and their inferences facts, solemnly stated in official publications. People are kept in prison and detention camps without charge or trial. Being interested in psychology, I watched this process of moral and intellectual decay and realised, even more than I did previously, how autocratic power corrupts and degrades and vulgarises."

So far as agrarian reforms are concerned the Government has done practically nothing. There is a Zemindari Abolition Bill in the Assembly in the select committee stage. It touches not even the fringe of the problem. The bill promises ample compensation—twenty times the annual yield—to the zemindars and in the meanwhile there is neither rent reduction nor exemption from rent in case of uneconomic holdings. But even this small, misleading and in no way beneficial reform does not touch Malabar.

The famous Karachi Congress resolution had guaranteed limited hours of work, protection against economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment, and had vouchsafed the right to form unions. The Congress Ministry in the Centre has granted an 8-hour day. But even that is being sought to be scrapped at the instance of the capitalists. Not only has the Ministry done nothing in other directions to safeguard the interests of labour, but it is steadily trying to split labour by forming separatist unions under the INTUC. In the field of labour the achievement of the Government has so far been beneficial only to the capitalists.

What is the sort of co-operation the Government is envisaging? The Government wants production to go on at full swing. Nobody wants production to stop. But at what price? The Government is not prepared to force the owners to guarantee a living wage, but want labour to

produce on empty stomachs. Instead the Government guarantees maximum profits to the owners. How is it possible to step up production in such circumstances?

What have the Congress Ministries done in the direction of taxing agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum or taxing the rich which alone can fetch funds for the Government? The Excess Profits Tax, levied during the war, has been discontinued and whatever tax was collected then has been paid back. The whole question is of taxing the rich which is the essence of the taxes envisaged in the resolution and it has been shelved. So far as control of key-industries is concerned the Government has postponed even the consideration of it for ten years.

When the country is faced with serious problems, they can never be solved by tinkering; historical necessity cannot wait. Again let us quote Panditji. "In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change...are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny and slide back to static futility? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead, when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal? If we enter the backwater, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing

stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent."

Yes, verily has Pandit Nehru spoken the truth. Elemental forces and economic necessity are fast driving to the destined goal and the tired or the wavering of the faint-hearted elements will be washed away when the masses and their true leaders take the rapids and ride the torrent. There is no use blaming the people for such a situation. "A handful of friends representing an age and a class which had its day, left us, fearful of this democratic upsurge, and preferring the shelter and protection of British imperialism to joining hands with the new vital forces which convulse the country and struggled for freedom". (Pandit Nehru). Now the Congress leadership has joined these old friends and the much vaunted championship of the people by the Congress is laid bare; now they are basking in the imperialist sunshine, seeking rest and quiet. But there are the people—the immortal people of India who have suffered long and have not benefitted by what the Government has done. They know that it is their sufferings that have brought the leaders to power, and when they realise that their sufferings and sacrifices can bring power to themselves they will not allow themselves to be filched of that power which is theirs by right.



Some years ago, George Bernard Shaw was persuaded by a rector friend to visit his Sunday School class. The children in the group had been learning at the time about Daniel in the lion's den.

"Why wasn't Daniel eaten by the lions?" Shaw inquired.

The rector was confident of his charges even before so distinguished a visitor as Shaw for he had instructed them carefully.

"Because he was a good man," replied one youngster.

"Because Daniel prayed to God," offered another.

To a whole series of replies along these lines Shaw shook his head, and then said:

"I am sorry, you are all wrong, children. Daniel was not eaten by the lion because he was a vegetarian—and if you become vegetarians the lions will not eat you either!"

FAMINE IN SOUTH KANARA

by K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM

THE dangerous way in which our Ministry has handled the alarming food situation should be a sufficient inducement to responsible citizens to strive for its immediate removal and replacement by a worthy one. How irresponsible and incompetent our Ministry has proved to be with regard to the tackling of the food situation can be divined from the distressing facts brought to the notice of the public by Mr. K. R. Karant, ex-Minister, during a discussion in the Assembly on the deteriorating food situation in South Kanara. The consequences of the policy of decontrol have been found to be ghastly in that district. Today famine holds terrible sway over the entire district with a tendency to spread to other districts. This famine was to a large extent man-made because, though aware of the danger to life involved in the policy of decontrol of food grains, the Government took a hasty and dangerously deliberate step in decontrolling food grains. Decontrol of food grains was a gamble with the lives of the people. It was not based on any sound and logical or rational consideration of the actual situation. What the Government had to say in support of the policy of decontrol was that controls had failed and that they had brought in their wake black-marketing and corruption. But why did controls fail? When Britons and Americans find it easy and essential to have controls even till 1962, why should our Government find the system of controls unfeasible? Why is it that there is no corruption and blackmarketing in England and America whereas they are rampant everywhere in India and especially in Madras? The truth is that the "human institution" at Madras is not competent enough to make successful a brilliantly rational and highly practicable system of distributing scarce articles equally to all and to put down corruption and blackmarketing which is well nigh impossible

for them since their very existence in ministerial chairs would be at stake if they dare touch a hair of blackmarketeers and other anti-social elements by whose support they got into power. Favouritism and nepotism were never so rampant in the administration as now. Ministerial interference in local affairs like the appointment of Karnams and grant of license to two or more competing merchants, etc., is being carried on to a scandalous degree.

There is a good old saying, "What is the good of catching leaves after the fingers are burnt?" But what foolishness not to catch leaves even after the fingers are burnt and thus allow further burning! Though the Government actually find today the disastrous effects of decontrol and how it has led to terrible suffering in the form of mass starvation and even to loss of life, they have not restored rationing. It is on the face of it absurd and cruel to starve people in one area by restricting their food to only three ounces of rice and allowing people in other areas to over-eat themselves especially when there is a possibility of balancing the rations of both in a manner satisfactory to both by restoring rationing. On account of sheer neglect and indifference of the Government, famine conditions prevail in many parts of the Presidency and the Government are not in a mood to take precautionary measures and to return to their senses. The evil effects of decontrol are, in actuality, aggravated on account of Governmental negligence.

South Kanara is a deficit district and was admitted to be so by the food Minister. The Provincial Food Advisory Board declared that the district was short of 34,000 tons. But the Food Secretary announced that South Kanara was a surplus district; on what basis he had come to the conclusion nobody knows. Decontrol came on 28th December. Decontrol would have some mean-

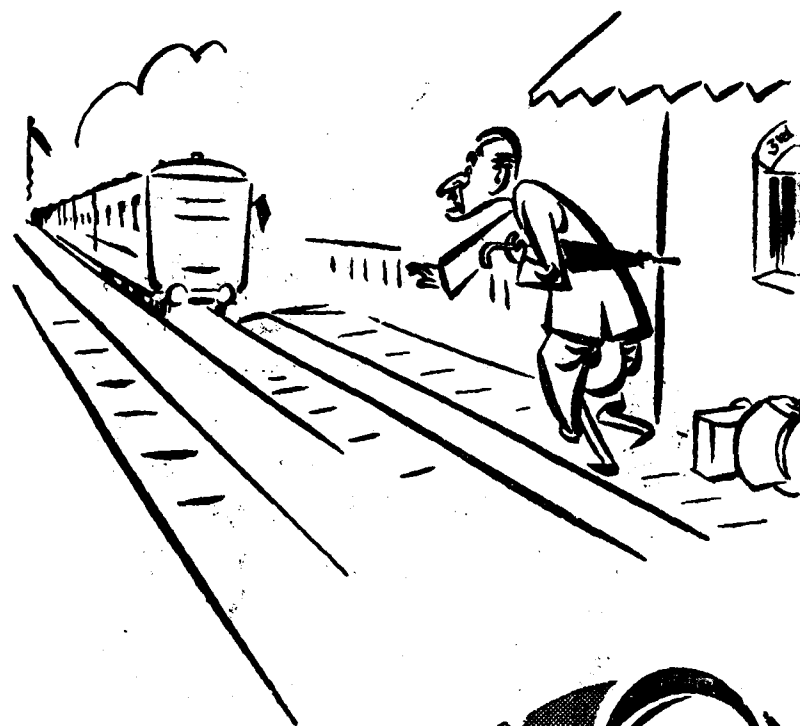
ing if stocks were available in the market. But the main harvest took place much earlier and procurement was completed. The district produced only two-thirds of the food required by the district and 38,000 tons of rice were procured by the societies leaving only 3,000 tons in the open market. The second crop was a thorough failure. In their anxiety to procure more, the Government's procurement agents allowed the producers to retain nothing for their family consumption. All that was procured was stocked by the Government while the stomachs of the people went empty and dry. When Mr. Karant brought the situation to the notice to the then Collector, Mr. J. F. Saunders, the latter replied (he seems to have had more logic in his head than the Ministers) that he "was aware of the inevitable results of decontrol which was fraught with grave danger." He found that the district was deficit by 15,000 tons and therefore he had asked for an allotment of 30,000 tons; he also pleaded for the retention of rural rationing. But his voice was lost on deaf and adamant ears. When this was the position, 10,000 tons of rice was transferred to Malabar with the result that six ounces of rice were given in Malabar while only four ounces of rice were given in South Kanara. Surely an unpardonable injustice to the people of South Kanara! It is a pertinent question that Mr. Hussain asked as to how a human being could live on such small ration and get from it necessary nourishment to keep himself healthy. The next step the Government claim to have taken was the opening of relief shops which, in the words of Mr. Karant, were "nothing short of a farce," because last year nearly a thousand tons per week came through ration shops but now the amount was only 300 or 350 tons.

The reply given by Dr. Rajan in the Legislative Assembly to Mr. Karant's statement does in no way answer or dissipate the fears and anxiety of the public. He began his speech with the absolutely irrele-

vant point that he was a farmer in which fact the public were not in the least interested because it would neither increase the stocks nor enrich the fertility of the soil. It is the trick of the Madras Ministers to cover their incompetence by playing on the sentiments of the people. The second feature of Dr. Rajan's reply was production of statistics to show that the district of South Kanara was in fact, better off than other districts. But why is it that, notwithstanding the rosy picture of the actual situation in South Kanara, given by Dr. Rajan, people are given only 3 ounces of rice and 3 ounces of maize, people are starving and dying from starvation? To this Dr. Rajan replies that relief shops were opened. But in these relief shops only 3 ounces of rice and 3 ounces of maize (if at all available) was given. Six ounces of food was according to Dr. Rajan himself, "inadequate"; but his argument was that people were free to purchase rice in the open market also. But was rice available in the market at all? If it was so, relief shops were quite unnecessary and superfluous. It was because rice was not available in the open market that the so-called relief shops were opened. In such a case giving only 3 ounces of rice and 3 ounces of maize is no relief at all. Lastly Dr. Rajan tried to mitigate the gravity of the food situation in South Kanara by referring to the caloric value of maize. But why does not the wise Doctor recommend this hygienic and economical substance to the people of the surplus districts?

Instead of making fishy attempts to hide his inadequacy under preposterous arguments, Dr. Rajan would do well to give place to one who can deal with the food situation more ably.

Two things have got to be done in order that we may be saved from the disaster of food shortage. The first thing is immediate restoration of controls and rationing. The second is that a popular Ministry must be set up in the place of the present unpopular one.



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CHANDRASEKHARA BHARATI

by N. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR
(Retired Judge, Madras High Court)

THE picture on this page is that of Sri Jagadguru Chandrasekhara Bharathi Swamigal of Sringeri. It was taken recently as he was coming out of his Guru's temple after worship.

plays over his face; a divine grace beams out of his eyes and his figure is the very embodiment of true Shanti. He is a Mahapurusha.

It is the seat of one of the famous Mutts established by Sri Sankaracharya, the illustrious exponent of Advaita philosophy and it is a great centre of Sanskrit culture and learning. It is in the Mysore State and can be reached by bus from Tarikere or Shimoga on the Bangalore-Poona line, after a journey of a little over 60 miles. The winding and undulating road passes through thick forests and over hills and dales. The river Tunga with deep and limpid waters flows through Sringeri. On the town side of the bank is the celebrated shrine of Sri Sarada Devi, the Hindu goddess of learning. Tradition has it that Sri Sankara brought her over all the way from Kashmir. The idol of the deity which is of indescribable beauty is enthroned on a Sri Chakra said to have been laid and consecrated on the spot by Sri Sankaracharya himself. Next to this shrine is the temple of Sri Vidya Sankara; it is a creation of the Vijayanagar period in South Indian history and its architectural beauty has been a theme of praise by experts. The celebrated sage, scholar and savant Vidyaranya who helped in the foundation of the Empire was a pontiff at Sringeri. On the other side of the river is the Narasimha Tapovana which is the Ashramam where the Jagadguru and his Sishya reside during the monsoon days.

Sri Chandrasekhara Bharathi Swamigal is a sage who reminds us of Sri Sadasiva Brahmendra of Nerur fame in point of learning, penance, renunciation and detachment. At present he has few contacts with the outside world and his mind is often lost in deep meditation or Samadhi. To see him is to be blessed. An attractive smile



Sri Chandrasekhara Bharathi

His disciple Sri Abhinava Narasimha Bharathi is also a great scholar and is conversant with several languages. As his Guru often prefers to remain in meditative solitude, the junior Swami attends to all the functions pertaining to the headship of the Mutt. He is a charming young man, rigid in his own religious observances but rather catholic and tolerant in his views on many modern problems affecting social welfare and progress.

Nestled in a valley encircled by green hills all round, and with a perennial river flowing past it, away from din and throng, Sringeri has a charm of natural beauty. A serene spiritual atmosphere pervades over the whole place. Above all, the blessings of Sri Sarada Devi and Sri Chandrasekhara Bharathi and his enthusiastic disciple are invaluable to devotees.

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THE 'NATIONALISED' BUS

by JAIBOY JOSEPH

NOW that transport has been nationalised, Madras has become a bedlam of new buses—of sleek blue angels and fat blue monsters. Nationalisation has also resulted in the transformation of the mentality of the passengers and of those who man the buses. Many eccentricities have crept in.

The queue is an integral part of bus travel. The queue like Death is a great leveller—both high and low, rich and poor are made to unite in a kind of base humiliation. Everyone in a queue wears an expression of abominable humility. It is also the cause of another dreadful malady. It induces a kind of somnolence, especially if it is a noon-day and the sun is shining high up in the heavens. Another vice which takes hold of one while in a queue—especially if one is favourably placed quite close to the boarding place—is the habit of looking behind and enjoying with a kind of sadistic delight the ever-increasing stream of passengers. Sometimes one becomes the victim of considerable harassment if one happens to day-dream and cloud-gaze. People in front move on while one remains stationary. 'Get a move on, silly', is the angry snort implied in the nudge given to you by the man behind. But do not grieve, for this may happen to anyone of us.

Once we board a bus we are in for a number of shocks and surprises. If one gets a seat—those soft, lush, nationalised seats—one lives in eternity's paradise. On the other hand if one is to strap-hang one becomes the victim of several evil forces.

Glances of contempt are cast by the sitting passengers on the strap-hangers. This psychological phenomenon was not prominent before the days of nationalisation if only because the seats in the old buses were not very comfortable, and it didn't matter whether one stood or sat. The sitting passenger in a nationalised bus is like a badsha on a gadi

with only a hukkah waiting to be thrown in, to complete the picture. On the entrance of a woman one has to undergo the painful process of relinquishing one's soft seat for the sake of preserving one's social respect. Women then become cardinal errors in society to the sitter.

The conductor, rather early in the day, comes and demands tickets. Some contract very prosaic deals indeed. For example, some conductors ask you where you are going and you say "Central" and he reverberates like your echo "Central" and the deal is closed. Others have a grain of showmanship in them. With a flourish of hands, with incomparable gestures worthy of great actors, they tear away the ticket from the bunch and deposit it in your hand with the most delicious exclamations.

Nationalisation has knit the bus conductor, the driver and the passenger in a bond of mutual camaraderie. After all, it is our Government, to use a worn-out expression, of the people by the people and for the people, that is running the service and so it is best to bear all difficulties with the utmost patience. Conductors have come to their own as great wisecrackers. Only their wise-cracks are of a higher quality than that which was indulged in by their kind before nationalisation. They are also lecturers in economics, politics and philosophy. Only they temper their lectures with a kind of infallible humour. A verbal skirmish with a passenger over a question of overloading will lead him to hold forth on the complicated Governmental set-up which is operating. A tiff over a small change will lead him to scale the slippery slopes of taxation and finance. And how the passengers laugh! The conductor passes an irreverent remark about a new Minister. Exquisite! He takes a dig at some political party or other. Wonderful! It is the lot of the passengers to laugh,

an insincere nervous laugh, just as school boys do in order to please teachers at the silliest of jokes. Nationalisation, strangely enough, has affected the driver also. There are lesser provocations for him to vent his anger on the passengers, conductor and the bus itself by pressing the accelerator to the full in spurts. When he gets heated over a point he does not have to curse and swear. He no more plays the practical joke of rudely applying the brakes to give the passengers a jolting. Yes, sir! it is an enlightened age. Government of the people, by the people and the rest of it.

Some more pregnant trifles. The system of demoniacally efficient checking is a source of unrelieved misery. But the fault is not of the inspectors. The sitting passengers, as already hinted, have suspended all process of thought during the time of their travel. A demand for tickets therefore is a rude awaken-

ing to the realities of life. But the passengers prefer to scorn the system making use of all kinds of make-shifts and excuses to defend their contention.

The electric bells are being slowly substituted, with the passage of time by the efficient whistling of the conductor who is an expert at various varieties of it—the rowdy, the wolf and the sing-song whistle. This is a sorry state of affairs since it is a faint indication of the re-appearance of an unruly system which was prevalent before nationalisation.

In the above narration many aspects have been missed and overlooked. The field for research is wide and the present writer is aware of his limitations. But tomorrow's bus journey is there full of promise of more useless information of nationalised "bus psychology." So tomorrow, on to fresh woods and pastures new.

NO PRESS JOB IS TOO BIG FOR THEM

ALTHOUGH the woman's page of American newspapers is still the largest field for women in journalism, it is by no means the only one. There is scarcely any position from cub reporter to editor and publisher which is not now filled by a woman on some newspaper in the United States.

The war years marked the high point of women's participation in the journalistic profession. Individual papers and the large news syndicates employed them in increasing numbers and on varied assignments. For example, the Associated Press, one of the leading news-gathering agencies, in 1941 had only eight women writers concentrated in four bureaus. In 1947, there were 90 women in 30 bureaus.

Women reporters covered the war on many fronts. The International News Service, for instance, had ten on its staff. One of the most respected writers in the international field, Anne O'Hare McCormick of

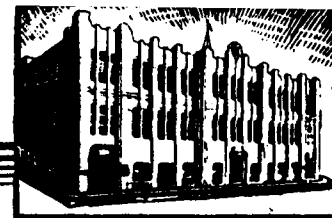
the New York Times, was on all the European fronts during the last war, having done roving assignments all over Europe between the two world wars.

In the field of domestic journalism, women occupy many top jobs. An outstanding example is Mrs. Ogden Reid, publisher of the New York Herald Tribune. This large newspaper employs over 300 women. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, wartime director of the Women's Army Corps (W.A.C.), has for some years been executive vice-president of the Houston (Texas) Post.

Women are found in such jobs as radio editor, political writer, trial reporter, feature editor, columnist—in fact, almost every position on the staffs of newspapers, from metropolitan dailies to weekly country papers. More than 100 women journalists are accredited to the Press Gallery to cover the deliberations of the U.S. Congress. —USIS.

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Ayad Qalam

by
K. A. Abbas

IN a flat in Bombay, the tired, harried and harassed Prime Minister faced an after-dinner barrage of respectfully-worded, softly-spoken but nevertheless inconveniently-pointed questions from an author.

"Panditji, are you aware of the growing volume of criticism of your Government? Are you also aware that an increasing number of your most fervent admirers and staunch supporters are becoming critical of your Government's actions?"

PRIME MINISTER WAS ASKED

I was not present on the occasion but I understand the Prime Minister listened without speaking a word, his face clouded with thought.

The author, feeling embarrassed, changed the subject—or, rather, adopted a strategic diversion.

"Do you still get some time to read, Panditji?" he asked.

The Prime Minister shook his head in the negative and heaved a sigh of genuine regret.

"Surely you must be getting a few moments to go through your own old writings!", the author persisted.

The Prime Minister, registering a dawning suspicion of what the author was up to, replied that matters of State left him no time for that intellectual luxury.

"What a pity! How we wish you would spare a few moments to re-read your books. They contain such inspiring passages. You know some journalists are regularly quoting

from your works." The allusion, presumably, was to "Memo To Nehru" of this column.

In reply, the Prime Minister—figuratively, of course—took off the mantle of his high office. And it was plain Jawaharlal Nehru (once he did not like even Pandit to be added to his name) who asked his sister, Krishna, to get a certain book and read aloud from it an article reprinted from an old issue of a Calcutta monthly.

HE WHO RIDES A TIGER

This is, in part, what Krishna Hutheesing read and the dinner-guests, including the subject of the article, heard in strained silence:

"....The most effective pose is one in which there seems to be least of posing, and Jawaharlal has learnt well to act without the paint and powder of the actor. With his seeming carelessness and insouciance, he performs on the public stage with consummate artistry. What is he aiming at with all his apparent want of aim? What lies behind that mask of his, what desires, what will to power, what insatiate longing....

"He goes to the peasant and the worker, to the zemindar and the capitalist, to the Brahmin and the untouchable, to the Muslim, the Sikh, the Parsi, the Christian and the Jew—to all those who make up the great variety of Indian life. To all these he speaks in a slightly different language, ever seeking to win them over to his side....

"Men like Jawaharlal with all their capacity for great and good work are unsafe in a democracy. He calls himself a democrat and a socialist, and no doubt he does so in all earnestness, but every psychologist knows that the mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and that logic can always be made to fit in with the desires and irrepressible urges of man. A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy...."

"Jawaharlal is obviously tired and stale, and he will progressively deteriorate if he continues.... He cannot rest, for he who rides a tiger cannot dismount. But we can at least prevent him from going astray and from mental deterioration...."

Who could have perpetrated this biting, vicious slander? An anonymous scribe who signed himself "Chanakya". Chanakya, indeed! But his identity has been revealed. He is neither a bitter Communist, nor a rebellious Socialist nor one of the disillusioned Nehruites. Or, perhaps, he is one of the disillusioned Nehruites, the greatest of all Nehruites—Jawaharlal Nehru himself!

STORY BEHIND THE ARTICLE

There is a story behind this article which is the only instance on record in the history of the world of an important public figure using the mask of anonymity to "debunk"—himself!

Nehru wrote this essay in scathing self-criticism in 1938 (when he was President of the Congress for the second year and his name was being proposed for a third term) and got it published in "Modern Review" under an assumed name. The few thousand readers of that sedate magazine took it to be a well-written but rather uncharitable attack on the Congress President by someone who seemed to like him and yet did not want him to be elected President for a third term. (That, indeed, was Nehru's purpose in writing the article). No one knew the

identity of "Chanakya" except a few intimate friends but, somehow, John ("Inside....") Gunther got hold of this strange article and quoted from it in his "Inside Asia". On the day the first copies of that book arrived in India, reading through the chapter on Nehru, I could hardly believe this anecdote. So I wrote a "Confirm-or-deny" letter to Panditji at Allahabad. He confirmed it! Since then the complete article has appeared in "NEHRU — YOUR NEIGHBOUR", published by Signet Press, Calcutta.

NEHRU vs. NEHRU

It is not difficult to imagine why, in reply to that author's series of inconvenient questions, Panditji asked for this article to be read out. Obviously he wanted to demonstrate his capacity for self-criticism and self-appraisal, perhaps to indirectly confess that he was aware of his failings. But self-criticism, like self-torture, can be an inverted form of vanity, and self-analysis serves no purpose beyond the satisfaction of a sensitive ego unless it is backed by action which may be a corrective of the discovered weaknesses.

Nehru's self-analysis, though unsparing, was not necessarily correct. As events have proved, there is no danger that he would use his vast popularity to become a dictator. He is too human, too good, too decent, too conscientious, too modest, too much of a gentleman, to turn a Fascist. He will, thank Heavens, never acquire the ruthlessness of a Stalin or the power-complex of a Chiang. Not even the capacity for political manoeuvring of sly little local Hitlers. The danger, on the contrary, is that shrewder, less scrupulous, more diabolically cunning men will use and exploit Nehru to defeat, crush and kill every ideal of Nehru; that he may never summon enough courage to rally the progressive forces under his banner and lead them to the goal of socialism, defying the cunning reactionaries, opportunists and time-servers who surround him today.

ANGREZ BAHADUR KI JAI

Here is a true story from New Delhi:

An Art student, who happens to be a Government Scholar, was in Delhi to receive his stipend which, he had been informed, would lapse unless collected before a certain day—which happened to be a Saturday.

It took him several days to go from office to office, tramping dozens of miles of the Secretariat corridors, getting innumerable forms signed and stamped, verified and countersigned. The last of these signatures was obtained just before lunch-time. The student pointed out to the official concerned (a top-ranking one) that by the time he would reach the Bank it would have closed for the day and the amount would lapse. The official 'phoned up the Bank to make sure that the cashier would stay for an extra hour to make this particular payment.

The student jumped into a taxi and rushed to the Bank. The watchman would not let him in. It was Saturday and past 1 p.m., and so the Bank was closed. The dismayed student explained the situation, assured the watchman that the cashier was waiting for him, pleaded, cajoled, but the watchman was adamant. He would not let any one—ANY ONE—in after Business Hours. Orders were orders!

But the money had to be collected because, otherwise, Red Tape had ordained that it would lapse and no payment would be made. The unhappy student rushed from place to place, 'phoned here and there, without finding any means of breaking into the Bank. Then he got a brain-wave.

He knew an Englishman, a friend of the family, living in Delhi. No high official, just a plain white man. He went to him and brought him with him to the Bank. Trailing behind the White Sahib, he approached the entrance. Without a word, the watchman clicked his heels, smartly saluted, the Sahib curtly nodded in reply, the door was flung open, and the procession of two marched to the cashier's window. The cheque was cashed, the stipend was saved, Red Tape was satisfied, and—the prestige of a white skin was re-established and proclaimed

to the world! *Bolo Angrez Bahadur Ki Jai!*

IF AUTHORS WERE COWS

Joota Dawson ne banaya main ne ek mazmoon likha

Mulk men mazmoon nah phaila aur joota chalgaya

(Dawson made a shoe and I wrote an article;

In the whole country the article remained unread, but the shoe was freely used).

Akbar Allahabadi, himself a writer and poet, knew well the financial implications of the literary profession. After half a century the situation is not very much better. The shoe maker still earns more than the poet or the *litterateur*. If only authors were cows, they would have at least Seth Dalmia to look after them and feed them!

I have just met an author who has offered to sell a 300-page collection of his short stories, poems and plays—the work of eight years—for a hundred and fifty rupees. (The publisher is still bargaining, hoping to bring down the price). I know a poet whose exquisite lyrics and songs are famous all over Northern India who earned fifty rupees by working as an 'extra' in a film. (The director thought he was being a Patron of Literary Genius!) The other day I met another author whose short stories have achieved world-wide fame (having been translated and published in English, German and Chinese, besides half a dozen Indian languages) who had to write ten stories in less than a month to get a couple of hundred rupees from a publisher to escape being ejected by his landlord.

And then I met a veteran Gujarati author who has about twenty novels and collections of stories to his credit. He is recognized as one of the literary geniuses of modern Gujarat, admired, respected and honoured by every literate Gujarati. He told me that he had just received five rupees—FIVE RUPEES—for a five-page short story that he had contributed to the Diwali Special

Number of a well-known Gujarati journal!!!! (Printer: Put in as many exclamation marks as you have in stock).

I was reminded of the experience of my friend Enver Kureishi, who was a promising writer of short stories in English, before he got lost in England. He sent a short story (I remember it as rather a good piece) to a magazine from Madras and got a flattering letter of acceptance from the editor, in which the story had been compared to the masterpieces of Tchekov and Maugham. Payment, he was informed, would follow publication. Enver's ego soared in the clouds, even if there was not a nickel in the pocket. He had a system of borrowing money on the strength of each letter of acceptance. Calculating conservatively, he expected at least twenty-five rupees to be the minimum monetary equivalent of such fulsome appreciation, and so he borrowed fifteen rupees. A couple of weeks later came the magazine with Enver's story occupying the pride of place, and with an announcement that it had been adjudged the Best Short Story of all the manuscripts received and accepted. The author's hopes soared higher and he borrowed another ten rupees. Some days later he received a money order for Rs. 2-14-0. (Rupees Two and annas fourteen only). Two-annas had been deducted for the M.O. commission!

MEMO TO PREMIER NEHRU

Re: The one word, Socialism, which is occurring less and less in your speeches, and no traces of which are found in the actions of your Government: "Socialism is for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart....If the great building up of a socialised society is to proceed, it cannot be left to chance nor can it be done in fits and starts....The object is to change the present scarcity into future abundance. But in doing so the path must necessarily be cleared of impediments and selfish interests which want to hold

society back....A clash of interests seems inevitable. There is no middle path. Each one of us will have to choose our side...." (YOUR Autobiography, page 588).

BOOK OF THE WEEK

It is not exactly a book but only a 32-page pamphlet; yet it touches a problem of vital, urgent interest to every Indian. Romesh Thapar's **STORM OVER HYDERABAD** (Kutub Publishers, Bombay, As. 8) is a vividly-written, information-packed document which sheds revealing light on a little-known aspect of the Hyderabad situation—i.e. the Communist-led revolt of the Telangana peasants. Most valuable are the pages he devotes to a thumbnail history of Hyderabad's Asaf Jahi dynasty and the development of the people's movements in the state.

It appears that Author Thapar personally has not been to Hyderabad—much of his pamphlet is out of the *People's Age*, vivified by a journalistic imagination. Thus the bias of the pamphlet is definitely pro-Communist (which I don't mind) and anti-State Congress, which gets only a paragraph and some sneering references (which is unfortunate). It is unfortunate because it confuses the straight democratic issue (on which all are agreed, from Mahasabhaites to Communists) with the different and controversial (though no less important) issue of agrarian revolution by violent means. It would have been better if Romesh Thapar had dealt with the Telangana revolt as a part and an extension of the democratic, anti-Nizam movement, and stressed the UNITY of the different parties in the state and in India in their demand for democracy and the liquidation of the Fascistic Razakars, instead of tarring almost every non-Communist, (from K. M. Munshi to Swami Ramanand Tirth, and by implication even Prime Minister Nehru whose stand on the Hyderabad issue is straight and unexceptionable) with the same brush of ridicule.



BOOKS & AUTHORS



The New Italy. By Muriel Grindod. (Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Available through the Oxford University Press. Price, 5 sh.)

Here is a useful guide to the understanding of the political and economic background against which the Italian elections were fought last month. The Marshall Plan, to take an example, has been a prominent issue in the election campaign. And the tremendous importance to Italy of the supply of food and industrial raw materials, such as the Marshall Plan promises, cannot be fully realized without some knowledge of the country's economic problems. In the chapter on Italy's Economic Position, the book under notice provides valuable data regarding Italy's needs vis a vis the task of reconstruction after the damage inflicted by war and the adverse effects of Mussolini's autarkic experiment in self-sufficiency. Another issue in the elections was the return of Trieste to Italy. The whole range of Italy's frontier problems, as well as the question of reparations payment are examined in the chapter on The Peace Treaty.

The author discusses these topical questions only after giving a summary of the events following Italy's declaration of war in June 1940. The arrest of Mussolini in July 1943, the subsequent '45 days' of Badoglio, the anti-Fascist resistance in Italy, the signing of the armistice in September, the German rescue of Mussolini and his final, violent end—all these crowded events had their origin in a complex of military and political factors. The book succeeds in placing them in an intelligible perspective. Muriel Grindod also traces the growth of unity between the main political parties during the period of Resistance, and the gradual split of the united movement into Right and Left after the fall of Fascism. Altogether, this handy volume of about 100 pages provides a factual, comprehensive and admirably fair picture of the New Italy.

The Tales and Teachings of Hinduism. By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Vivekananda College, Madras. (Pub-

lished by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Price: Rs. 3.)

The reviewer who happens to be a Hindu (and a Brahmin to boot) but has never been particularly conscious of being either, is proud of being a Hindu after reading this book. It must be a beautiful religion and a true one which accepts that other religions can also be beautiful and true; and that God fulfils Himself not in one set, prescribed way but in many ways. The manner in which this point is developed is one of the most pleasing features of Mr. Sarma's book, which is written simply, clearly and effectively.

Congratulations to Mr. Sarma on a work which, intended for students, can be read with advantage by all.

Vishalandhra. (Telugu Monthly.) Vol. 1. No. 1. (Edited and published by C. Eswara Rao at 9-c, Soliappa Mudali Street, Mylapore, Madras. Price: As. 4.)

This new Telugu monthly has adopted for its name the slogan, "Greater Andhra", first originated by the Communists and now gaining wider appeal with the pace of current events in Telangana.

The advent of a Telugu periodical bearing the imprint of good taste is still pleasantly surprising: periodical journalism in this language being relegated till recently to a region where restraint and good taste received scant recognition. But the editor of this journal is a seasoned left-wing journalist with considerable literary craftsmanship to his credit and—happily—not fanatic.

The fare offered in the first issue assures to the journal a leading place among its class. The *piece-de-resistance* is an inspiring poem by Sri Sri and contributions from well-known writers like Kutumbarao and Arudra are included. Some items of prose-fiction are disappointing though. The story based on the people's movement in Hyderabad is an extravaganza in gruesome defeatism defeating its own purpose.

We wish the journal every success.

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.

Unfair Preference

Very hard is the lot of the candidates who have come out successful in the recently held (October 1947), Madras Public Service Commission competitive examination for recruitment of clerks and typists for the various Government departments. These candidates have left their previous employment on definitely knowing the number of vacancies that are to be filled up in the next year (i.e., before the holding of the next examination) after taking pains to get through the hard examination. Now, the posts are being filled up with candidates who have rendered War Service, depriving the Service Commission-selected candidates of their jobs. It is high time that the public and the Press take the trouble to put an end to such undue preference. The War Service candidates have already enjoyed preference for the past 2 or 3 years and its continuance is no more justified. I am a practical sufferer and I do not know how many more are likely to be thrown out of employment.

C. S. PARAMESWARAN.

Liquidate The Congress

It is obvious that the Congress leaders have shut their eyes to the many faults and weaknesses in themselves, while they have exaggerated their own achievements and virtues. This attitude of the disciples of the saint-politician, Mahatma Gandhi, who laid so much emphasis on self-purification and self-sacrifice, is a blatant betrayal of the tradition and culture built up by the Congress during the past half-a-century. Congress leaders have forgotten the contribution made by the masses to make the Congress great. Nor do they remember their pledge to make sacrifices for the welfare of the common people. They are drunk with power and they are thirsty for more and more power. If the eviction of the Communists from the Congress is on the ground that they violated the discipline of the Congress, then, what is the punishment for Congress leaders who led the nation astray against all canons of Gandhian idealism at a critical period in history?

The present tendency in Congress circles is to prefer ease and affluence to honour and suffering. It is therefore the duty of every honest Congressman to agitate for the liquidation of the

Congress with a view to prevent its name being exploited by its erstwhile enemies. After the eviction of the Communists and the withdrawal of the Socialists from the Congress, and when there is every likelihood of orthodox Gandhites in the country, who are wedded to simple living and high thinking, functioning independently, the only course open to honest Congressmen is to strive for the liquidation of the Congress.

C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Journalism, Or "Jaundism"?

In the issue of *Swatantra* dated April 24, I read an article on the Communists written by you as an answer to the question whether the Communists are unpatriotic or not. Instead of answering the question frankly and boldly you side-tracked the issue and bungled in your answer. Every man in the street knows how treacherously the Communists behaved during those critical days of 1942 and afterwards. It is they who fomented the communal trouble for their party advantage and it is they who supported vehemently the reactionary forces like the Muslim League and other parties. Comrade Ranadive himself had condemned this in his speech at Calcutta. Their main motto is not to help the workers in their economic fight against capital but to create some trouble and discredit the existing Government and utilise the opportunity for strengthening their party. Are you blind to the things they did in Calcutta? They organised "Death to Subhas" and denounced Sri Jai Prakash and Panditji as fifth columnists of Japan. Till yesterday they cried "Nehru Zindabad" and today they shout "Nehru Murdabad". It is but natural and inevitable that they should take to violent means to achieve their end. They are a minority and do not have the support of the people. Revolution does not mean breaking of heads and bloodshed but a thorough change of heart of the voter. If the Communist spirit is not checked properly with efficient and effective propaganda the Reds will turn Mother India into another China. We have now to steer our course clearly weeding out the Communist spirit on the one hand and the Marshall spirit (America) on the other hand. The only solution for all these evils—economic, communal, political and social—lies in "So-

cialism". The Socialist Party alone can deal with the anti-national elements effectively and save the newly born State from infantile mortality.

After reading your article I am really sorry to remark whether yours is "Journalism or Jaundism".

A. RAMESH,
Secretary,
District Labour Union.

Bellary.

Criticism For Criticism's Sake

I have been a regular reader of *Swatantra* for a very long time. I relished much of the stuff served therein; but I could not reconcile myself to the prejudiced views so often repeated ad nauseam in the editorials, Sotto Voce and Sidelights. I have my suspicion that the views expressed therein are of one man even though the Editor on another occasion denied it categorically. It has been mostly an Omandur-phobia. Also Brahminic superiority and criticism for criticism's sake with an ulterior motive.

Sometimes criticism goes to the extent of throwing reason to the winds and absolutely silly stuff of a very low order is cooked with great flavour and colour for public digestion. Take, for example, the recent editorial under the caption "Civil Liberties". It looks as if the Editor holds a brief for the Communists while he has always professed himself to be a good Congressman. The Communists are extolled to an unreasonable extent and painted in big words as the only voice of the down-trodden, an effective opposition to a

degenerating Congress; Jayaprakash and his party are ridiculed; an unnecessary tirade is made against the present Government of Madras by repeating the Communist tactics of enumerating all sorts of unfounded charges of corruption and black-marketing; the whole Indian Government is decried for suppressing the Communist organization.

I fail to understand how reason can fail in the case of the esteemed Editor. Because he has been an ardent supporter of Mr. Prakasam and even now fights unscrupulously for his cause. How could he reconcile himself to Mr. Prakasam's policy during his tenure of office? It was Mr. Prakasam, the Editor's hero, who was the originator of the Madras Safety Ordinance Bill and it was this brave man who let loose the M.S.P. in North Malabar to embitter the people. At that time the Congress Government was in the hands of most brainy people, while now it is under rugged rustics who know not the A B C of administration!

It is also quite inexplicable how the Editor could talk in the same breath of the great teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and the great deeds of the Communists. It has been the fashion to label oneself as a true Gandhite for one's own purpose. To quote the Mahatma's teachings for appropriate occasions while practising very little of them is the usual practice. The Editor, even though on many occasions he professed himself to be of the few who could understand intelligently Gandhiji's ideals cannot find words to mildly

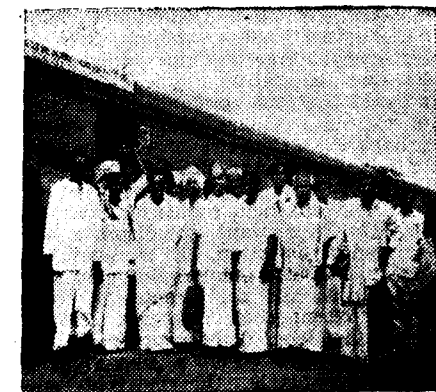
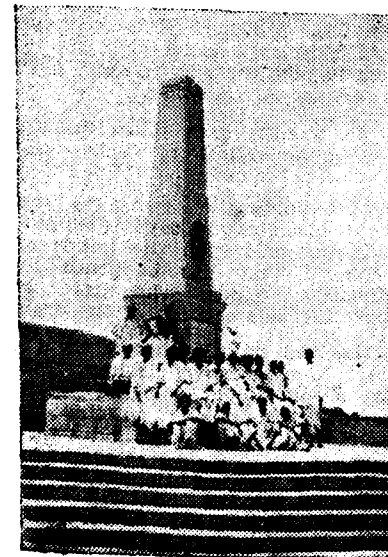


Photo: SURY.

'Swatantra' Printers on holiday: pictures taken during a recent excursion to Poondi, of members of the Associated Printers staff.

condemn the "brave deeds" of the Communists in North Malabar and other parts of the presidency in killing, looting and arson. Instead he could write para after para justifying these actions.

Sir, you are putting a premium on the intelligence of the readers by such stuff. I doubt whether you ever serve the cause of journalism. So far you have never given a word of praise for the present Madras Ministry because you are prejudiced by certain acts of the Government and I wonder not by personal discontentment. I may say also that by such expressions you are prejudicing your own cause because it gives many a provocation to many of your admirers.

C. A. MENON.

Perambur.

Suppression Of Press Freedom

The Government of Madras have suppressed two daily newspapers. That these papers are very popular and command the respect and confidence of a vast body of people, no one can deny. Then why are they suppressed? No explanation for this action has been given excepting the vague charge that they are propagating violence. If these papers are really guilty as the Government alleges, then why not put them on trial before a court of law and expose their guilt to the people?

Since the provincial Government is not inclined to do this, the reason for the suppression of these newspapers must be sought elsewhere. The new resolution of the Communist Party characterised the present Congress Ministries as organs of the vested interests—the capitalists and landlords—and said that the common people could not expect a square deal from them. Perhaps the Ministries believe that this analysis is correct and the realisation of this by the people might wipe out their hold on them sooner or later. If the Ministries want to disprove this Communist assertion, it is open for them to mobilise public opinion in their favour and ask the people to decide who represent their interests. Instead of choosing the democratic path, the Ministries have taken a step right in the Fascist style, the outright suppression of all criticism directed against their policies by banning the newspapers and periodicals which dared to criticise them. On one side we hear tall talk about "freedom of the Press", "civil liberties", and so on, and on the other we see the brutal suppression of all criticism and civil liberties. As a citizen of Free India, I wish

to protest against this tendency, which will only usher in Fascism in its train and destroy all that we hold dear to our hearts.

R. L. NARAYAN.

Ban on "Mabhoomi"

"MABHOOMI" is a drama, depicting the gallant fight of the Telangana people against the tyrannical rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

During a period of ten months this has been exhibited 980 times by 120 squads belonging to the Andhra Praja Natya Mandali and they did real service to the suffering Telangana people.

Poets like Viswanadha Satyanarayana, Pingali Lakshmikantam, actors like Linga Murty and Gidugu Sithapathi, directors like Santharam, Prasad, B. N. Reddy, and other popular gentlemen have praised the drama in high terms.

After seeing the performance at Poona, Sri Jadhe, M.L.A. and Sri Deshpande, Maharashtra Congress General Secretary, said: "The Maharashtra are also subjected to the malrule of the Nizam. Therefore it is highly important that the Maharashtra actors should also take to such plays and learn lessons from Telugu actors."

That drama also won first prize in the recent 14th Kala Parisheth Conference held at Bezvada. It was also shown in the Banqueting Hall, Madras and Minister Gopala Reddy said that this drama was an eye-opener to sleeping humanity and presented a purse of Rs. 58. Ministers Kala Venkata Rao and Kurmayya encouraged the exhibitors to take the play to every nook and corner of Andhra Desa.

Six months have not elapsed under the same Ministers' rule, yet the drama is banned.

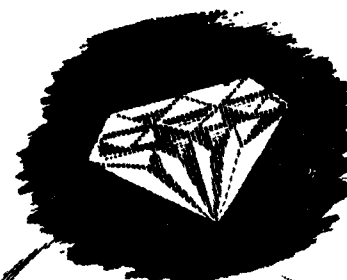
In banning the drama the Government communicate says that the performance will spoil the minds of the public. What has happened to the Ministers' minds, who have openly spoken in appreciation of the drama?

The ban on "Mabhoomi" is a challenge to progressive ideology. Progressive people should denounce this meaningless ban imposed on this popular drama. Hold meetings and send telegrams to the Madras Government in support of our agitation.

G. RAJA RAO,

General Secretary,

Andhra Praja Natya Mandali.



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SWATANTRA

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A political cartoon titled "THEY'VE GOT THE MONEY" by A. Roberts. It depicts a line of men in military uniforms, each with a dollar sign on their chest, representing various European countries. The man at the front is labeled "GREAT BRITAIN" and holds a flag with a large dollar sign. Behind him are "FRANCE", "BELGIUM", "NETHERLANDS", "IRELAND", "SWEDEN", "NORWAY", "FINLAND", "AUSTRIA", "GERMANY", and "ITALY". A banner at the top reads "16". The cartoon is signed "A. ROBERTS" in the bottom left corner.

VOL. III
No. 14

**ISSUED
WEEKLY**

DUE to the basic East-West division, the Congress of Europe which opened at The Hague on May 7, though it is an unofficial conference, has been necessarily restricted to one half of Europe. It would have received an unmixed welcome if it had met during a normal period of political calm. On the other hand, such a Congress probably would never have met in normal times, judging from the failure of previous attempts to create some kind of Federation of Europe. That failure was due to a conflict of interests between the European countries so acute and deep-seated as to result in frequent wars despite what Winston Churchill has called "that glorious treasure of literature, of romance, of ethics, of thought and toleration belonging to all, which is the true inheritance of Europe." Though the countries of Eastern Europe have not been without their share of mutual strife, the major disturbances of European and world peace have been due to conflict between the more advanced nations of Western Europe. Economic rivalry between these latter, ever since the development of capitalist industrialism, was inherent in their competition for overseas markets and raw materials. This competition was the ultimate reason behind the two world wars of our half-century. Any plan for a European Union, if it is to have reasonable

chances of success and permanence, must therefore ensure co-operation between nations who have so far attempted to resolve their economic conflict only by war or by temporary balances of power which have invariably ended in war. The present is certainly a suitable moment for propagating the need for co-operation. Lying economically prostrate after the damage inflicted by the last war, the nations of Europe must co-operate for bare survival. The imperial 'mother' countries have lost, or are in the process of losing, a large part of their colonial possessions. They have all of them been outstripped in industrial development by the U.S.A., on which they now depend to see them through the crisis of dollar shortage, which is itself painful evidence of America's superiority over Europe in economic strength.

The delegates from the West European countries who have gathered at The Hague have therefore concentrated as much on the difficult question of economic co-operation as on the comparatively easy question of political and cultural unity. A little progress has already been made in the direction of economic integration. Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed an agreement in London on September 5, 1944, setting up an economic union of the three countries commonly known as 'Benelux'. A tariff union came into force on

January 1 this year under which no import duties are levied on goods exchanged between the three countries and all three impose the same duties on imports from abroad. But the Benelux project is still to be implemented in respect of many matters involving competition, especially of competing ports in the Netherlands and Belgium. As early as March 20, 1945, France signed an agreement with the Benelux nations setting up a committee to examine possibilities of co-operation between the four countries leading to a customs union. But the committee has achieved little so far. Negotiations between France and Italy for a Franco-Italian customs union also remain inconclusive. The Anglo-French Economic Committee has fared slightly better, but fundamentally the competition between French and British exports remains, and was responsible in part for the devaluation of the franc last January.

Nothing less than the planned reorganisation of production in each country and the agreed partitioning of markets will solve the problem of competition. Organised trading in essential commodities must follow. This will mean in effect the elimination of free enterprise. The first and most important step, without which all plans for recovery are bound to fail, will be to curb the inflation that is rampant in the countries of the proposed Western Union. It is on these basic questions of economic planning that the delegates to the Congress of Europe are divided. The division between the conservatives and Socialists with regard to practical methods is damaging to the ideal of Western Union on which they are both emphatically agreed. Whether the Union is to be a combination of planned Socialist States, or of unplanned and largely capitalist States, is a vital question. The Socialists themselves believe that only a West European

Union erected on the foundation of Socialist planning can at all be created and remain viable. It is a curious feature of the international conference at The Hague that the delegates are fundamentally divided on their respective national problems. Among them, for instance, are members of the British Parliament of whom the Tories want removal of food subsidies—which will lead to wage-increase demands and further inflation—and Labourites who insist on the retention of food subsidies and would like the extension of the system of State subsidies to other essential goods like clothing.

It was perhaps the consciousness of this incongruity that led the European Socialist parties to ban official Socialist participation in the present conference the initiative for convening which came originally from Right-wing enthusiasts of Western Union. But large sections of the Socialist movement, particularly in Britain and France, who were disappointed at the failure of their leaders to take the first step, expressed their determination to participate in the conference. As it is, the non-Communist Left is fairly well represented at the conference by the many continental Socialists who have travelled to The Hague in defiance of the ban, and by members of the British Labour Party who were permitted, by a recent ruling of the National Executive, to attend the conference in their individual capacity.

The Socialists and the conservatives gathered together at the Congress of Europe have found the firmest part of their common ground in the dislike of Communism which they share equally. The heat and bitterness of this anti-Communism is none the less on the part of the Socialists because they think that their own Third Alternative to Communism is vastly superior to the

conservative alternative. The Hague conference is, after all, but an attempt to extend the Brussels treaty to the whole of Western Europe. This fifty-year treaty, signed on March 17 by Britain, France and the three Benelux nations, forms a full-fledged military alliance. The treaty observes the post-war formality of including a reference to common action "in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression." But the military clauses unmistakably have reference not to Germany but to Russia.

There is the question whether the countries of Western Europe, whose recovery even with American aid will be an arduous task, can afford to spend part of their material and man-power resources on building up military defences. There is the further question whether any defence structure reared by Western Europe can withstand a massed attack from the East. Unless America underwrites it, any pact for West European defence will remain unimpressive. That the U.S. might possibly provide the necessary backing was indicated by President Truman during his address to the joint session of the U.S. Congress on March 17. He said: "While economic recovery in Europe is essential, measures for economic rehabilitation alone are not enough. The free nations of Europe realise that economic recovery, if it is to succeed, must be afforded some measure of protection against internal and external aggression. The movement toward economic co-operation has been followed by a movement toward common self-protection in facing the growing menace to their freedom.... And I am confident that the U.S. will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires." President Truman did not name the "appropriate means" but he asked in the same address for the introduction of universal

military training and for an immediate measure of conscription to bring the U.S. armed forces to their authorized strength. An increase in the authorized peace-time strength has also been advocated by leading officials and army officers.

Western Europe is thus not only engaged in economic recovery based on American aid, it is also making military preparations which can be of any considerable weight only if they are backed by American aid in men and armaments. The latter step can only be explained by fear of armed aggression from the East. But upto the present moment, post-war Russian expansionism has been achieved through the activities (on the whole peaceful) of Communists in the countries annexed to the Soviet sphere, and not through force. There does not seem to be reason to believe that Russia intends to embark on an armed conquest of Western Europe. On the other hand, war-like preparations in Western Europe might conceivably harden Russia further and hasten the day of war.

It is unfortunate that the Socialists of Western Europe should not protest against, and should actually promote, the wasteful linking of military preparations with economic recovery. They are understandably irritated by Communist denunciation of them as "servitors of Anglo-American imperialism" and by Communist tactics as practised in Czechoslovakia. But surely war with Russia is no solution. From the status of peace-makers between the American and Russian camps which West European Socialists claimed at first, they declined to the position of neutrals and are now hardly distinguishable from the American camp. The rigidity and rancour of the Communists contributed partly to this decline. The dire need for American economic aid contributed further to the decline. But these two factors are

no extenuation of that part of the blame which rests on the Socialists themselves. If they are to deserve the name, Socialists must draw a line between expediency and principle. The abandonment of the original Socialist demand for the socialisation and internationalisation of the Ruhr was a sacrifice of principle. Something, again, must

be very wrong with those Socialists who condemn the intolerance of the Communists and yet keep silent over the Greek Government's killing of political opponents by the hundred. The tragedy of the contemporary European situation is that the Socialists are not altogether the Third Force which they would like to be.

Sotto Voce

Morals And Marx



IMMAGING in an almirah which contained the family's books at a country house where I was visiting, I came upon the usual collection of odds and ends. Here were the "books which are not books" that were to be looked for in any house whose master modestly prided himself on being a "failed Matric." But I also found a shilling edition of "The Letters of Lord Chesterfield to His Son" leaning in fraternal amity against a thin poorly printed volume in Grantha script of the "Neeti Sastra." For us who were at school in the first years of the century these were the two arches of the bridge between the old and the new.

Our mentors were blissfully unaware of any incongruity in this juxtaposition. I learnt my "Neeti Sastra" from my grandfather at the age of three. Sleepy and half-protesting, I was hoisted upon his shoulders when he left for the river at four-thirty sharp. The cool morning air soon waked me and the old gentleman pointed out the fixed stars and made me learn their names as well

as much other miscellaneous lore on the borderland between astronomy and astrology. On our way back after he had finished his ablutions, he taught me to recite the two hundred verses of the "Neeti Sastra."

Across a gulf of half a century much of it still sticks in the memory, whereas most of what I have read since has mercifully dropped into oblivion. I little understood the purport of the slokas when I learnt them by rote. But the delighted recognition with which I welcome them when they flash back upon the memory on appropriate occasions is a tribute to the profound intuition of the older pedagogy which rightly held that in dealing with the young sound is more important than sense. The "Neeti Sastra" is not only sound ethics but good poetry.

My initiation into Lord Chesterfield in my teens was at the hands of an uncle whose gods formed an odd pantheon. He had not heard of Boswell but he regarded "Rasselas"

with religious awe. And all unconscious of the famous berating which the noble Lord had had at the hands of its crusty author, my uncle prescribed for me Johnson as well as his victim. These, along with Cobbett's "Advice to Young Men" and the "Vicar of Wakefield," represented the high water mark of English prose in the judgment of a famous headmaster of those days. And my uncle, bent upon making me a master of the familiar style, added "Sartor Resartus" for full measure!

Dutiful nephew though I was, I early gave Lord Chesterfield the slip. He seemed to me an intolerable old proser. And amid the many gaps in my reading his lordship remained one of the most conspicuous till I stumbled on that rural find. Imagine my delight at thus casually lighting up on one of the most capable minds of the Age of Reason—shrewd, suave, incapable of illusions if also of raptures, and profoundly interested in the springs of human action. Worldling though he was, he had supreme respect for the civilised mind which he regarded as the finest of God's works. And sceptic as he may have been, he rebuked Voltaire for lightly disturbing the faith of the people.

The manuals of good conduct which were compiled in India from time to time for the edification of the young proceeded from a like temper. They trod lightly on the

hallowed ground of faith. But, though they repeatedly stressed the transience of life, they had no patience with hedonism or with the poltroonery that runs away from life. They taught that man must set about acquiring wealth and learning as if he were immortal, while he must practise virtue as if Death had him by the hair. They set as much store by the Graces as Lord Chesterfield did. But they were fierce against that insincerity—*kaitavam*—on which his lordship would raise the edifice of education.

India's intelligentsia have little use either for the Neeti Sastra or for Lord Chesterfield's worldly wisdom. Had they been bred on the little ethical excursus in the *Garuda Purana* which says, "Happy the man who does not live to see his country dismembered (*desabhangam*), his race stricken down," we might have been spared the disgrace of partition and the horrors of post-partition. And if they were familiar with Lord Chesterfield's brilliant picture of the politician, our popular leaders might be a little more hesitant in claiming a monopoly of wisdom. As it is, they are content to take their gospel from Marx at second hand. And they are blissfully unaware of the foreboding that troubled him—that out of the final class struggle may emerge "not a new society but a common ruin of the contending classes."

VIGNESWARA

The night we arrived in camp I heard one of the smaller boys crying into his pillow. Remembering my first night away from my mother, I knew he was suffering from homesickness, so I quietly walked to his cot and sat down.

"Gosh, I wish I could cry too; I miss my Mom something awful," I said. He sat up right away, as I knew he would, and started to console me.

Soon he was telling me all about his Mom. So I too told him the many loving things my mother always remembers to do for me.

"Gee," he said with admiration, "You sure have a swell mother."

To which I replied with tact, "Yup, after your Mom, she's the best in the world."—Red Berry.

SIDELIGHTS : :

Breed is stronger than pasture.—
GEORGE ELIOT.

THE part that Lord Mountbatten played as a pilot of Churchillian strategy is revealed by Martin Sommers, Foreign Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, in an Introduction to a recently published book, *Stalin Must Have Peace*, by Edgar Snow. In April 1942, after a series of heated debates at 10, Downing Street with American representatives headed by Harry Hopkins and General Marshall, the British Government agreed to a plan for the cross-Channel invasion of Europe in July 1943. Hopkins, Marshall & Co. flew back home in great delight and set to work to get the plan put into effect. Then a strange thing happened.

Here is the story of that strange happening as told by Sommers: "On June 3, 1942, Lord Louis Mountbatten arrived in Washington to be the guest of the President at the White House. Lord Louis, an affable story-teller, is the kind of convivial aristocrat for whom President Roosevelt always had a soft spot. He invariably called him "Dicky" as members of the royal family did. Mountbatten made good use of the hospitality he enjoyed. One day not long after his arrival he talked to the President for five hours at a single stretch, and all that time he talked against the cross-Channel operation planned for 1943. He had misgivings, forebodings, doubts and finally firm arguments Mountbatten had the run of the White House for a fortnight—and then came Churchill. The Prime Minister arrived on June eighteenth and fell comfortably into the place that Mountbatten had gone before to prepare for him. Churchill, too, was now definitely against the cross-Channel operation in 1943." Eventually Churchill, because of his influence on President Roosevelt, won his fight to avoid a cross-Channel operation in 1943. Today some of the ablest

American military leaders believe that the North African invasion and the whole ghastly Italian campaign were unnecessary and that the dawn of victory was delayed by the failure to attack across the Channel as at first planned.

Lord Mountbatten's background is one of devoted loyalty to Churchill, and the audacious pattern of Churchillian strategy seems to persist after the war in his Governor-Generalship, through his handling of Indian affairs. The post-partition horrors fit in nicely with Churchill's dark forecasts as to the consequences of British withdrawal from India. Had Lord Mountbatten planned deliberately to promote fulfilment of Churchill's evil prophecies, he could not have acted differently. In the matter of the States, no absolution from mischievous intent can be conceded in favour of the British. The contrived release of the princes from the paramountcy tradition of the Delhi Government was a disruptive act of the departing British power, fully worthy of Churchillian imperialism. Lord Mountbatten failed to solve the problem of the States when he could have done so and allowed time to pass till he lost the power of solving it. The legacy of avoidable trouble thus left is not reconcilable with friendliness.

The Governor-General is also reputed to be the inspirer of Pandit Nehru's decision to refer the Kashmir issue to the UNO. The proceedings of the UNO have put an end to all hopes of international intervention against aggressors on that State in accordance with principles of fundamental justice. Instead, the issue has become involved in a tangle of intrigue and power politics motivated by the play of forces elsewhere—a quest for justice has turned into an anxiety for extrication from the mess of a false step promising no prospect of justice at all. Sri N. Gopalaswami

Ayyangar's mission has not been a success, but nobody could have done better in minimising the extent of the harm inherent in the situation.

Sri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has a fine equipment for diplomatic responsibilities. He knows how to cover firmness with conciliatoriness. Never does he allow temper to spoil the force of an argument. Nor is he prone to feats of forensic display for indulgence in the vanity of seeming brilliant, to the hurt of the cause on hand. He is an adept in the measured use of words. He has a background of varied administrative experience that fits him

for quick comprehension of the complexities of any problem of government or politics. Being disinterested and seeking no position, he is free from the sophistries that cloud independence of judgment. He has the intellectual clarity that springs from moral integrity. He compels respect with the restraint of his speech, the thoroughness of his study and the vigour and quality of his impersonal advocacy. Unschooled in the ways of spectacular boisterousness, he has the gift of impressing any body of men with a sense of his quiet efficiency. He has raised the nation's stature by the character of his work at the UNO.—SAKA.

OUR FOOD POLICY—AN ANALYSIS

(Contributed)

THE statements of the Food Minister at the recent press conference throw a flood of light on the general economic policy of the Madras Government. According to him "the average earnings of the poorer classes have gone up sufficiently high to justify the rise in prices (varying on the average between 50 and 95 per cent over the prices that prevailed before decontrol)." His second contention is that "the rise in prices is not so high as to produce famine conditions." Thirdly, the Minister rejected the policy of instituting criminal proceedings against merchants for sales above ceiling prices, and explained that relief shops in derationed areas, supplying 6 oz. of food grains per individual, would meet the food needs of the province till October.

The first statement is hardly true. According to the reckonings of the Economic Adviser, the index number of wholesale price of cereals was 397 on March 6, 1948 (base: August 1939=100). To this should be added the present average excess prevailing over the pre-decontrol price, ranging between 50 and 95 per cent. Calculating the excess as 75 per cent, the index number of the wholesale price of cereals would amount to 694. As against this in-

crease in price, let us examine the index numbers of wages.

The index number of the average annual earnings of employees in different factories in 1947 was 212 (Indian Labour Gazetteer, September 1947). G.O. 3045 of July 12, 1947 (Development Department, Government of Madras) gives the index numbers of wages in 1946 on the basis of 100 for the wages in 1941. The index number for field labourers is generally high as the season selected for calculating the wages was between August and November, the peak season for cultivation. Even so the index number exceeded 400 only in some areas such as South Canara (416), Tinnevely (413—458), certain parts of Ramnad (496—615), Madura red soil area (421), North Arcot (415), certain areas of Chingleput (408—418), Cuddapah (491—525), Kurnool (456—505) and Guntur delta (498). In other areas, the index number ranged between 196 in East Godavari and 393 in Krishna black soil area. The average index number for the whole province was 345.

The same G.O. gives 286 as the average index number of the wage rate in 1946 for artisans, 282 for coolies, and 278 for domestic servants. Even if wage rates have gone up since the wage census of

1946, their index number could not have reached the figure of 894 to which the index number of wholesale prices has risen. Wage rates in this Province have never led the cost of living as in the U.K., where the index of wage rates was 165 in January 1947 as against the cost of living index of 132. If earnings in this Province have risen in proportion to the cost of living, how is one to explain the increase in wage disputes since 1946 in the agricultural and industrial fields?

What one has to note about the Food Minister's statement is not only its incorrectness but its serious implications. The Government blows hot and cold in regard to its economic policies. When it is a question of subsidising cottage industries which pay a low wage, it talks of unemployment and the need for filling idle hours even with unremunerative jobs for want of anything better to do. When, however, it is a question of justifying increases in the price level, it talks of an increase in the earnings of poorer classes which is supposed to justify the present excessive rise in prices. It is one thing to say that wages and other incomes have considerably increased since 1942. But it is quite another thing to conclude that the earnings of poorer classes have risen to the level of the prevailing prices in the blackmarket and in the sector of free trade. One serious consequence of the Food Minister's statement would be to diminish what little enthusiasm there is for legislation to raise wages and salaries and to lower the rents of agricultural lands. Wage and rent disputes, strikes and lock-outs and dislocation of the economy would be the consequence of policies based on the false notion to which the Food Minister has given currency.

Regarding the method of controlling prices, the Food Minister has stated that no criminal proceedings will be taken against merchants who sell at prices higher than the official ceilings. This means that the Food Grains Control Order will not be worked at all. Neither will the surpluses with the merchants be requisitioned when needed. Landowners having sur-

pluses will be free to sell them at any price. And all this freedom for profit-making, in spite of the statement of the Prime Minister at Delhi that "the anti-social habits of hoarding and profiteering which controls generated are still alive"! The only 'control' envisaged by the Madras Government is the opening relief shops distributing 4 oz. of rice and 2 oz. of maize in de-rationed areas, and 8 oz. of rice in rationed areas. Consumers are expected to subsist on this. The policy of the Government in permitting hoarding and cornering of surpluses by owners, while it is itself unable to supply more than 4 oz. of rice, stands self-condemned. When the Food Minister does not "expect procurement to rally very much during the rest of the Khariff year", and when the Premier has appealed for an additional six lakhs tons of rice from the Centre, it is not clear how the Food Minister hopes to make foodgrains available to the public at competitive rates by October. How merchants will sell in competition between themselves during periods of scarcity is a puzzling piece of economics.

One other statement of the Food Minister equally merits rebuttal. He says that the present rise in prices is not so high as to produce famine conditions. There have always existed, even in pre-war times, a chronic poor who cannot buy foodgrains even at normal prices in adequate quantities. The number of such people increases in periods of drought. When people are living on a four ounce ration of rice and have to purchase their foodgrains at five times the pre-war price, it is difficult to see what conditions other than those of famine prevail in the deficit areas of the Province among the poorer consumers.

I would appeal to the Government not to ignore the operation of fundamental laws of economics, but to shape their food policy with the realisation that the cost disturbing feature of our economy today is the growing prices of foodgrains which ought to be brought down to a reasonable level commensurate with existing incomes.

TOWARDS BABEL

by BERNARD FONSECA

MORE than twenty years ago, when I was a student of the Presidency College in Madras, I attended an inter-collegiate debate at which the proposition before the house was that the Indian languages should replace English as the medium of higher education. Speaker after speaker rose and, speaking good English very fluently, made his points for and against the resolution. It seemed, from the speeches and the applause, that the gathering was strongly in favour of the motion.

Then the chairman, a distinguished Hindu professor of English by the name of Yegnanarayana Iyer rose to sum up. He asked the students if they would like him to address them in the local vernacular—Tamil. They applauded loudly. "Yes, yes. Please do so".

In faultless grammatical Tamil the professor then started to speak. Members of the audience looked at one another. Many were puzzled. Before the chairman had uttered five sentences, there came a call. "Please speak in English. We can't follow you".

And in the language of the foreigner, the professor went on with the rest of his speech.

This incident often comes back to my mind when I read of the efforts the people are making in different parts of the country to abolish the use of English altogether in favour of various Indian languages. It is generally accepted that Hindi or Hindustani will be the lingua franca of the new India of tomorrow, but not all persons in the country are familiar with either of these tongues and, listening to the news bulletins of All India Radio in Hindustani leaves one with the impression that there are gaps in its vocabulary which have to be filled before the language can be described as a modern tongue able to meet the needs of a scientifically minded people as a medium of expression.

The result is that in the Central Provinces and the United Provinces where the bulk of the people who speak Hindi and Hindustani are to be found the authorities are proceeding with a haste that is almost indecent to do away with English, publishing official gazettes in the vernacular and making the undergraduate population study through the medium of Hindi, while elsewhere in the country matters are going on more or less as before. Indeed the demand for linguistic provinces in the south suggests that new units of the Indian Dominion or Republic will come into being in which, with people all speaking one tongue, the obvious substitute for English will not be Hindi or Hindustani. In that event we may have the people of the Andhra province using Telugu in their official dealings with one another, while their Food Minister (for example) would have to go to Delhi for a food conference ready to speak in Hindustani and armed with translations into Hindustani of any official papers that he wishes to place before the conference. Think of the additional red tape and delay that would involve!

Congress has been mainly responsible for the drive to get a large number of people throughout India literate in Hindi. It is a natural and very praiseworthy move, for it is very regrettable indeed that most educated Indians are not able to express themselves well in any tongue but English and even a matter of some embarrassment when one goes overseas and is asked questions on the subject. With the best will in the world, however, it cannot be said that a large proportion of the population in the south, or even as far as Bombay, can follow faultless Hindi, let alone read and write it well.

Realisation of this fact must have come to Acharya Kripalani when he addressed commerce students in Bombay a couple of years back.

They were obviously unprepared for him to speak in Hindi. Early in his address he asked: "Don't you understand my Hindi?" Later he lapsed into a mixture of English and Hindi phrases, while the whole of the concluding sentences he delivered were in English.

The language which Congress was out to propagate was Hindi in the Devanagari script. Of late Congressmen have advocated Hindustani written in either the Devanagari or Persian script, but the fact remains that a final decision on the script to be adopted for the whole country does not seem to have been taken. It would be embarrassing if the official gazette of the U. P. came out in the Persian script, written from right to left, while the C. P. gazette came out in the Devanagari script written the opposite way and with pages turning over the opposite way as well. A great many people in the U. P. and elsewhere—Hindus as well as Muslims—use the Persian script with the many Persian words that have got mixed up with Urdu and they would be most reluctant to write and turn pages over in the opposite direction. Would a Nagpur graduate, claiming to write excellent Hindustani (Devanagari script) be debarred from a job in the U. P. calling for a man with a mastery of Hindustani (Persian script)? Would the Federal Public Service Commission be called on to recruit two sets of clerks for the Central Secretariat to keep files in different scripts? Two scripts for a single language are preferable to the chaos that might follow if each of the 225 languages of the country were to agitate for recognition in local areas.

A timely and wise warning against precipitancy in doing away with English has been given by our Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was speaking at the convocation of the Patna University and observed that too much haste in giving up English would bring about confusion in the administrative machine. He suggested a change to Hindustani to be brought about over a period of five years during which both English and

Hindustani would be used in official business, but with English still as the official language of the country's central and provincial governments. During that period the new lingua franca of India would be able to catch up with other modern languages.

Maulana Azad went on to remind his listeners of the service English had rendered India. It was not right that it should have taken the place of our own languages but it had brought India into contact with the outside world and gained India a place in the international arena. It had forged feelings of fellowship and national unity in Indians from all parts of the country and had been instrumental in propagating nationalist and democratic sentiments. It had enabled the country to keep abreast with the scientific and cultural developments of our time.

This forthright appreciation of what the English language and literature has done for us comes from a man who is a noted Urdu and Koranic scholar. Urdu is the language in which he usually speaks so that he probably owes less to the English language than any contemporary Indian of equal eminence. His advice to more westernised colleagues to reduce the tempo of the change to Indian languages is therefore all the more worthy of their serious consideration. It shows him to be capable of taking a detached and logical view of things in the nation's interest.

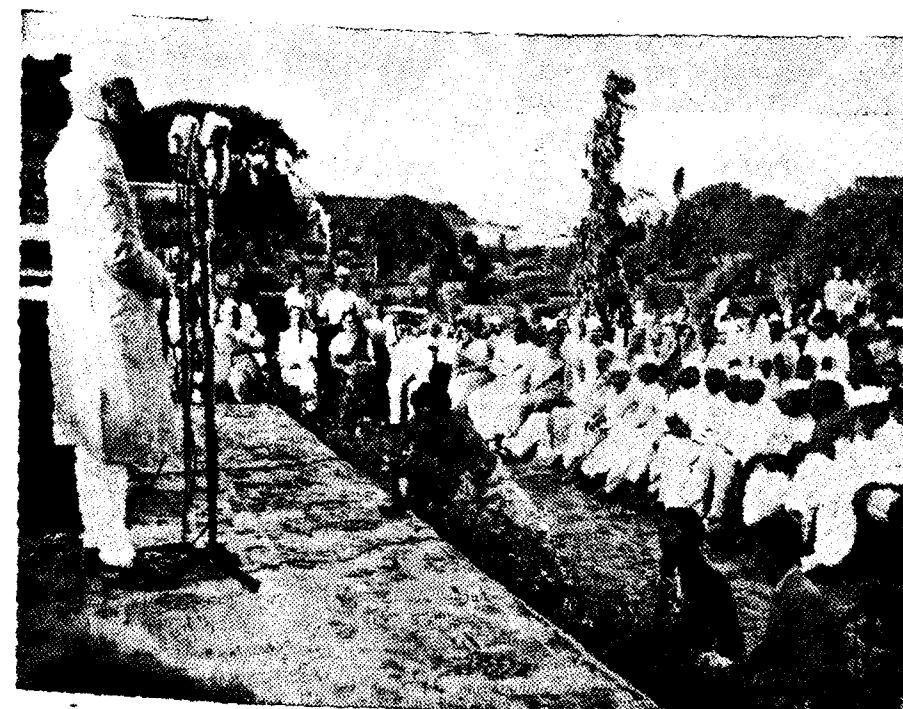
Unfortunately the summary of the Maulana's speech at Patna seen by me does not make it clear whether he said anything on the subject of the script to be used, with the advocates of Nagari and Persian scripts reluctant to compromise and a host of people in South India unfamiliar with either, a case might be made out for Romanised Hindustani. It is a script which lakhs of people who know the Roman alphabet would be able to read from the start so that so many people in Madras, Mysore and elsewhere would be spared the trouble of learning a new alphabet in learning the lingua franca of India. It

is a script which lakhs of men in the army learnt during the war. Army magazines in Romanised Hindustani were read and understood by many people besides sepoys from all parts of the country. Maulana Azad must be well aware of the way in which Ataturk switched over the whole of Turkey to the Roman alphabet. The printing of books and newspapers in the Persian and Devanagari scripts using linotype and monotype machines is not impossible but it is certainly more difficult than when one has the Roman type to set. And one can see the printing presses of the whole country working overtime to produce the text-books, technical publications, newspapers, Government publications, light literature and other reading matter which

will be needed in the national language when we have not a mere forty or fifty million barely literate people, but two hundred million or more avid readers with the leisure to do a bit of reading. For rapid printing on machines which do not have to be adapted specially for each province, the general use of Romanised Hindustani would be the best possible thing for the country.

Will our leaders, after endorsing the validity of the objective plea put forward by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for the retention of English as the official language of the country for five years, go a step further and speed up the creation of a lingua franca understandable throughout India by utilising the Roman script?

"So widespread has the love of beauty become in modern England, that no beauty spot is any longer safe."—Robert Lynd.



Pandit Nehru addressing a garden party got up by the Mayor of Bombay in honour of the Prime Minister's visit to the city recently.

ERP CHIEF PAUL G. HOFFMAN

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, automobile industry executive, nominated by President Truman to be administrator of U.S. foreign economic aid under the recently enacted Foreign Assistance Act, has had many years of experience in domestic and foreign business and economic affairs. In addition to his part in the drafting of the so-called Harriman report on foreign aid possibilities last



Paul G. Hoffman

November and his work with the Committee for Economic Development, he has, since February 1941, been a member of the Business Advisory Council to the Commerce Secretary. In 1946 he was selected as one of the businessmen who serve as advisers to the President's Economic Council. He was also one of the original members of the U.S. National Commission for the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Last year, Hoffman was also a member of a committee, sponsored by *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* magazines, which issued a much-discussed report on freedom of the press.

Described by his associates as "a progressive-minded businessman," Hoffman has headed the Studebaker

Corporation since 1935 and is credited with having pulled the company out of bankruptcy. Born in Chicago on April 26, 1891, he entered the University of Chicago in 1908 to study law. After a year he left college and entered the automobile business as a general helper in a repair shop, of which he later became foreman. From there his rise was steady and in 1915 he became sales manager of the Los Angeles branch of the Studebaker Company.

He enlisted in 1917 to serve as a private in the Army and was discharged after the war as a first lieutenant of field artillery. He then returned to the automobile business and the Studebaker organization which he came to head.

During the recent war, the Studebaker Corporation under Hoffman's direction, produced vital equipment, including airplanes, trucks, engines and amphibious personnel and cargo carriers.

Hoffman is given much of the credit for the development and maintenance of the good labor-management relationships of the Studebaker Company. Hoffman is also a director of the New York Life Insurance Company, United Air Lines, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., and the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. He organized a successful 10-million-dollar drive for China relief in 1942. Hoffman is a Republican. He married in 1915 and has seven children, three of them adopted. Five of his sons served in World War Two.

He strongly urged passage by Congress of the ERP in testimony before Congressional committees and expressed his conviction that "prosperity is a powerful antidote for Communism." He emphasized the importance of proper administration and said that a successful ERP program could bring enormous benefits "in expanded trade, increased security, and, above all, greater protection to our free society."—USIS.

Short Story

The Closed Door

by Padma Seshadri.

THE haunting tunes of "Sahana" floated faintly, from afar, to Sushila, as she stood waiting in the decorated hall. The wedding procession, turning into their street, had halted at the corner, to give the nadaswara vidwan full scope in captivating his hundreds of listeners. As the dim notes made themselves heard, Sushila's mind leapt back, with remarkable clarity, to that other occasion, fifteen years ago, when the same tune had bewitched her, as she sat in the bedecked car, a shy and happy bride.

The years rolled away from her as she recalled the sweet maid of sixteen who had looked forward so rapturously to the wedding. She was once again the happy girl, radiant in the knowledge that her dream-lover had come alive and claimed her in the flesh. Her friends cast envious glances in her direction, as they compared their own husbands with the magnificent young bridegroom, Ramanathan. She had instinctively thrilled to his touch, as, with her hand firmly clasped in his, he had pronounced the sacred vows that made them man and wife. His voice was as charming as his person; it had a rich, deep, melting quality in it. The wedding procession had transcended perfection. The best nadaswara vidwan in South India had condescended to accompany the procession for the "paltry" consideration of one thousand rupees! A band, the best available, had also been arranged by her doting parents. That procession, with the fifty gas lights and the divine music, had been the talk of the town for nearly two months after the wedding festivities had ended. And what of her, the girl-bride and her young husband? In the decorated car, their eyes and hands met surreptitiously, sending her into an exquisite rapture.

Sushila sighed as she recalled how gloriously happy they had been, young, healthy and newly-wedded. Not a speck of unrest marred the serenely joyous days. She had deemed herself the most fortunate among women. Her young husband saw content in her perfection of beauty and asked for nothing more.

It was at the end of the first six years that uneasiness had crept in, like a stealthy tide. It was nothing tangible that she could catch hold of and

accuse—a mere upraising of eyebrows by the older folk, a whisper here, a stifled ejaculation elsewhere. It did not take her long to find out that they were finding fault with her for not bringing forth a child. She tried to ignore those black looks and spent more and more time in her own room when her husband was away.

Whispers were openly exchanged and banded about in the couple of years that followed. As she passed by in the street, she could see mothers pulling in their girls and shutting the door on her face. Being barren, she had the "evil eye" and could not look with impunity on expectant and nursing young mothers. The first remark any visitor made was about the non-existent grand-children, and Sushila squirmed at the contempt in their voices.

As time went on, the whispers grew to audible, menacing remarks flung at her by her husband's parents. They blamed her bitterly for being barren; they had only one dearly beloved son, they lamented, and because of her barrenness, the family line was destined not to continue. They heaped insults and abuses on her, while, to her bitter humiliation, her husband stood by, passive, listening to their ratings without saying a word in her defence. She spent many lonely hours, praying fervently that she might have a child. But, as month after month passed, and her prayers went unanswered, Sushila grew sick at heart. Her position was considerably worsened when her father-in-law, taken suddenly ill, decided her for not making him a grandfather, and died with a curse on his barren daughter-in-law.

Roused to action by the death of her husband, and afraid that she too might be called away before she beheld her grandchildren, her mother-in-law busied herself in various ways. She took Sushila to various pundits, skilled in native medicine; nearly all of them promised to cure the barrenness with a bottle of their most potent mixture. The money went to their coffers and the bitter concoctions down Sushila's protesting throat, but the expected event did not occur. Not content with medicinal "cures", Sushila's mother-in-law sent her on various pilgrimages to sacred places, in the vain hope that at least one of the deities might bend

in so far as to vouchsafe Sushila the birth of a child.

One of these pilgrimages, especially, Sushila remembered and recalled with vivid terror. That was the occasion when she and her mother-in-law had set out to a remote village in one of the lesser known districts. There, at night fall, Sushila was made to wash in the ice-cold water of the sacred tank, and with wet, dripping clothes and streaming hair, she was forced to walk into the temple precincts. There she lay, wet clothes and all, until morning relieved her of her misery. The superstition current about this practice was that, if the woman had a dream during the night she spent thus in the temple, within a year, her womb would bear fruit. If, on the other hand, no dream was granted the unfortunate woman, then, woe betide her, for she would never become a mother! Sushila, shivering and trembling in her wet clothes, could scarcely sleep, much less dream. Towards morning cold with misery and heartache, she did drop off, but no consoling deity appeared in her dream. As she woke up in the morning, she toyed with the idea of telling her mother-in-law that she had had a dream, and so averting, temporarily at least, the deluge of abuse that was customary to her now. But, at the sight of her mother-in-law, her courage sank to zero, and she could only shake her head miserably when questioned by the old woman.

Finally, these pilgrimages and atonements were abandoned; the search for a new wife began. What fierce agony she had endured as they had discussed before her and in her presence, in entire disregard of her feelings, the qualities and merits of each and every young girl in the neighbourhood. She was, above all, a woman—and Ramanathan was her man, bound to her by the most sacred ties. Now just because she had remained barren, she was to lose him, to give him up to another woman. When the wedding had finally been settled with the daughter of the neighbouring mirasdar, her heart had almost died within her.

And now, now she stood in the decorated hall, waiting to welcome her husband and his new bride into the house that she had entered fifteen years ago. A plate of "arathi"—saffron water—stood on a table, as also a small silver bowl containing *kumkum*, which she was to place on the girl's forehead.

The contrast between the British method of playing politics and that of their American cousins is something like the difference between a quiet game of bridge and a cockfight.—
Sgt. Bob Alexander, U.S. Army.

The procession was nearer now. The Nadaswaram had broken into a quick lilt in *bilahari*; the drums beat in tune. She could even hear the voices of the women and children as they hurried back to the house, to occupy vantage positions to view the *griha-pravesa* or homecoming ceremony of the bride. A sudden rush of tears blinded her. O, mockery of fate, that she should welcome the one who had come to usurp her place! She wished her mother-in-law could have undertaken it; but being a widow, she was barred from sharing in auspicious occasions. Her grief redoubled at the thought that even her parents were not in sympathy with her. They looked down upon this barren daughter of theirs with contempt and sympathised openly with their son-in-law.

The sudden blaring of the band and *nadaswara* in unison, brought her to her senses abruptly. Passing a weary hand over her eyes, she brushed away the tears and made ready to welcome the bridal couple. Taking the bowl of *arathi* she circled it thrice before them. With faltering hand, she lifted the *kumkum* to the bride's forehead. As her eyes met those of the girl-bride, she was aware of an over-whelming contempt in the gaze that was bent on her. Her soul shrivelled up in anguish.

Amidst the chanting of Vedas and the continued blaring of the drums, the newly-united couple entered the hall and made their way to the bridal apartment, decked with flowers and scented with costly *agarbathies*, young girls followed them, singing love-lyrics, nudging each other and giggling. Sushila's eyes, mute with pain, met those of her husband for one eternal moment. But in her husband's eyes, she saw no concern for herself, only an eager and expectant curiosity that disgusted her soul.

Thus she stood and watched, aware of the hundreds of curious eyes turned in her direction, aware of the whispers that were flying about. The crowd was ready for an outburst from the first wife—it would be a welcome diversion. But in the statuesque immobility of Sushila, they found their hopes disappointed. Thus she stood and watched, with a fierce contempt, while the embers of her love slowly died. Thus she stood and watched as the door of the bedroom closed—closed with a snap, as did that other door, the door of her soul.

HEADING TOWARDS A POLICE STATE

by K. G. SIVASWAMY

(Servants of India Society)

THE draft constitution of the Constituent Assembly provides for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of movement. To-day a committee of the U. N. is sitting at Geneva with a view to secure freedom of information for the press. However high-sounding and pleasing to our social conscience these declarations of civil rights may appear, two facts have to be noted in the present political situation in our province. The one is the existence of black laws on the statute book for protecting the State based on a deep rooted suspicion of an uprising of its citizens against itself and the other is an excessive abuse of these laws in daily administration. To the repressive provisions already existing in the I. P. C., Criminal Law Amendment Act and press laws, further additions have been made by the present Government in power.

Section 34-1 of the Rowlatt Act (1919) provided that the local Government should have reasonable grounds for believing that any person has been or is concerned in an area in a scheduled offence. In such a case it may place the materials in its possession before a judicial officer. After considering the opinion of this officer the local Government may order arrest without warrant and confinement of such person. I was one of those who worked under the Satyagraha Sabha in 1919 to resist this Rowlatt Act. I do not know what stronger weapons we will have to use against the Maintenance of Public Order Act whose provisions go further still. Under this Act a person need not be concerned with the commission of any crime. It is enough if he is about to act. The Rowlatt Act was passed at a time when anarchical offences were being committed by certain political parties. The M. P. O. Act was necessitated in

other provinces with a view to scotching Muslim violence based on the two-nation theory. There was no need for it in Madras. The Act further provides for imposition of collective fines on the people of an area, for prohibiting meetings, for conscripting employees in services which are considered essential, for imposing pre-censorship on the press, etc.

The very statement of these provisions would show that the elementary rights of citizens, all those rights for whose preservation alone a State has a right to exist, have not widened with the march of time, the cessation of the nationwide struggle for political freedom, the establishment of a popular Government and the occupation of seats of power by the great political leaders who have unceasingly fought for the freedom of this country, but on the other hand, they have reached the vanishing point. The abuses of the M. P. O. Act have been many. Detention without trial being a denial of existence to live is to be ordered under the Act only by the local Government. But every district magistrate has been empowered to freely indulge in the exercise of this autocratic right. What is the remedy of the unfortunate victims of magisterial errors? The magistrates cannot be dismissed. Neither can they come under the light of public criticism as Ministers do in a legislature. The delegation of powers to district magistrates to order detention without trial is a surrender of the police powers of the Government to the individual discretion of too many magistrates.

Some of the orders communicated to the accused stating the reasons for their detention are vague, irresponsible, light-hearted and sometimes relate to some historic incidents in the past life of the accused.

Not only is there inordinate delay in the despatch of these orders but one does not know how the advisory council acts in considering detenus' representations. Unless the police intimate to the detenus the reasons for their detention within a week and the advisory council acts within another week this valuable safeguard will be nullified in its effect. We have so far heard nothing of the personnel of these advisory councils for several districts. Supposing the advisory council differs from the view of the Government, there is no provision to place its views before the legislature.

There can be no greater gag on freedom of thought than the pre-publication restraints on the press. Under the M. P. O. Act the Government may order scrutiny of all matter before it is published. Blackstone has declared that the liberty of the press is "essential to the nature of a free State." To stop a journal or a publication not because it is judicially proved to be seditious or libellous or blasphemous or obscene but because the executive authorities consider a certain publication as bad is a 'gag law' and will even affect freedom of expression. It is curious that such pre-censorship is found to be necessary in a province where the daily press has been far too pliable to the wishes of the all-powerful Congress Governments and can never be accused of showing an overzealous spirit of independence in criticising the new regime. If the draft constitution of the Dominion of India which has provided for fundamental justiciable rights were in force today, any judiciary will declare invalid this obnoxious Act revolting to human dignity and self-respect.

A recent addition to the armoury of repressive laws is the recent one which has empowered police sub-inspectors to shoot citizens in areas declared as disturbed by the local Government. This recent measure was condemned in very strong terms by the opposition party in the Madras Legislative Council as the blackest of all repressive Acts. Not even the request that every

shooting should be followed by an open enquiry has been agreed to by the Government in power.

The number of detenus now under arrest in Vellore Jail is more than 100. If to this number is added those in remand and imprisonment in the several jails of the Tanjore district, in the industrial areas of the province, and in centres of organised trade unionism of agricultural and industrial labour, the number will be more than one thousand. An examination of the number of adjournments given by sub-magistrates in cases in which landholders are prosecuted for violence will indicate the extent of abuse of power by the magistracy. Serious injuries are not cognisable offences. The poor labourer has to find the money and the time to complain about such injuries and to arm himself with a doctor's certificate which is not easy to get except at enormous cost. Where influential partymen have an economic interest, agricultural labour is put down and terrorised by using the machinery of the police as in Ozalur, Chengleput district and in some villages of Nellore taluk and parts of Tanjore district. Those who agitate for better conditions of living in the villages of influential legislators as Vedaranyam, are immediately booked under the M. P. O. Act. Labour leaders are proceeded against under Section 107. But the cases are adjourned month after month. The reserve police and the Malabar special police are to-day stationed in large numbers in the town of Coimbatore to terrorise textile labour. Genuine trade union workers are not safe under the present regime. Magistrates and police officers of whom influential party men are not sure are transferred at a moment's notice.

Section 144, ordinarily intended to prevent riots and meet emergencies and to be applied for a short period, has been in force in the district of Tanjore for the last 15 months and more. This section is used only to prevent the meeting of labourers but not of landholders who plot and conspire to strengthen their organisation against labour which

demands reasonable wages. A very peculiar situation has developed in Tanjore district. Volunteers and guards are condemned as unlawful groups when maintained by the R. S. S., the Dravida Kazhakam, the Muslim League, the Communists, etc. But when private armies or retainers belonging to military classes as the Thevans of Ramnad are maintained by feudal landholders at a wage of one and half to two rupees per day, and when these Thevans are a prolific source of provocation, assaults and quarrels, when thus a parallel administration is being run before their very eyes, the Government is not ashamed of it. Either it is incompetent to put them down or acquiesces in the existence of this parallel army. It is indeed a puzzle that not a single landholder who maintains these goondas, assaults and provokes quarrels is proceeded against in spite of repeated requests to Government to arrest such bad characters. Government alone is the cause of the disturbed conditions in the villages of Tanjore district. If only they bring to book any big landholder who organises assaults with his retainers, peace and order will instantaneously follow.

What is the reason for all this repression? To put it shortly, it is all the consequence of a deliberate policy of conscripting labour to slave for the employers in the agricultural and industrial fields at a low wage. The land and industrial policies of the Madras Government take the colour of the representatives of the Assembly and Council to-day. The existence of a vast mass of partial producers and consumers with an extremely low purchasing power, and the shortage in food and cloth which is bound to be a permanent feature of our economy for a long time to come, require a definite planned policy of lowering the price and providing for equitable distribution of food and cloth. If this policy were followed, the cultivating owner and the tenant would have to be subsidised in respect of cultivation expenses so that costs may be lowered and in

consequence prices too may be brought down. Prices of foodgrains have doubled to-day in various places and partial starvation faces the rural people. The use of substitute foods, such as roots, horsegram etc., is leading to serious malnutrition, and has lowered health and vitality. But these are not the concern of the Government to-day. Far greater is their anxiety to placate their rentier and capitalist representatives. The rentiers want more and more price and bonus for their foodgrains. They are opposed to agricultural income tax. They are against reduction in rents which, however, cannot be delayed any longer owing to the high costs of cultivation. Even though Congress Ministries elsewhere have reduced rents so as not to exceed one-third of the gross produce and limited the area of owned land wherein tenancy rights could not accrue to 50 acres, and have further granted security of tenure to all cultivating tenants and crop-sharers, I bet that the Madras Government will never follow now or in the future these policies, never carry out their election pledges or instructions of the High Command, but will only think of how to exploit the machinery of Government to feather the nests of the rentier landholders. Even the Debt Liquidation Act promised for agricultural labour by the ex-Premier of Madras in 1938 is yet to be enacted by the present Government. Not even a stay order preventing eviction of labour from house-sites and of tenants from their lands pending permanent legislation will the Government issue. As regards industrial labour, the policy of the Government to support the capitalist millowners and to enslave labour to do more work at a less pay has become clear from the recent happenings in the district of Coimbatore. About 40,000 families of textile mill labourers are starving in that district since the last week of January. A standardisation committee for textile labour which ought to have consisted of capital and labour interests as well as experts was formed by the Govern-

ment with an assistant of the labour department and two others to decide the fate of thousands of labourers. What these mills required was not the standardisation of the work loads of labour but the standardisation of the managers and the overhead staff. Mills in Coimbatore were family concerns where unemployed dependents ran the administration not because of their training and competence but because of their family relations with the millowners. Mills in Coimbatore required administrative controls preventing managing agents from doing business on their private account with their mills. These agents sold inferior cotton yarn varieties which led to more breakages in the yarn in the spinning section. This was one of the reasons for employing a greater number of workers for the same amount of work than efficient mills. The supervisory staff is ill-qualified for the job. Standardisation is not achieved in a day. The poor work load in Coimbatore mills is a consequence of inefficient management. What the Government seems to be interested in is reduction in the number of workers with a view to increasing the profits of the mills. They hope to achieve this by police action. At a time when there is cloth shortage and when handloom workers are suffering from under-employment for want of yarn, the textile mills in Coimbatore did not work for three months and 38,000 families of workers were left to starve.

In the words of Justice Brandeis "fear breeds repression, repression breeds hate, and hate menaces stable government." If the object is to put down parties who have the goal of overthrowing the present State by violence and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, the Government's present policy will only defeat that object. Capitalistic and feudal land policies buttressed by black laws and repressive acts will only promote such parties. The advent of a Communist or Socialist State can only be prevented by removing the load of intolerable and distressing grievances under the yoke of which the agricultural producer and the industrial labourers are groaning to-day. For us of the Civil Liberties Union the right of speech, of expression and of association is the life-breath of honourable living and where these cannot be possibly exercised, the goal is a far more happy place to live in than the society outside. To the Government I would say along with Justice Black of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A.: "Freedom to speak and write upon public questions is as important to the life of our (free and democratic) Government as is the heart to the human body. In fact, this privilege is the heart of our government. If that heart be weakened, the result is debilitation; if it be stilled, it is death."

General Mark Clark received two rare silver-barreled Austrian shotguns, each with unusual designs. Clark presented one of the shotguns to his British counterpart, General McCreery, and the other to his Russian counterpart, Marshal Konev. General McCreery expressed his delight by sending a letter of thanks, and giving a dinner in honour of Clark. But Marshal Konev remained strangely silent.

At their next meeting Clark decided to mention the gift. "Yes, I received it," Konev told him.

"I heard nothing from you about it," said Clark. "Didn't you like it?"

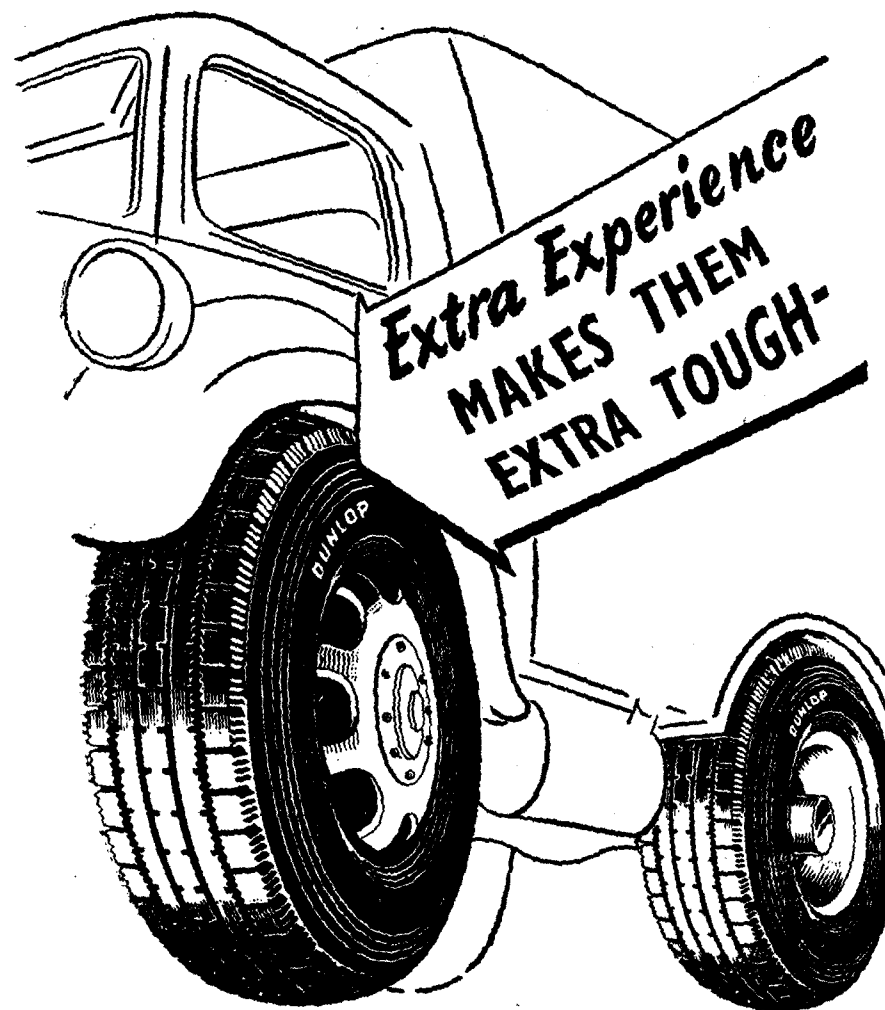
"It was beautiful," Konev said.

"What then didn't you like about it?" asked General Clark.

Marshal Konev replied: "No ammunition."

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OUR HOME PROBLEMS

by K. S. VENKATARAMANI

INDIAN statesmanship is faced today with some of the toughest problems, directly arising out of the precipitate decision of the British Cabinet to divide India and our own hasty acceptance of the same in a moment of exhaustion and helplessness after a prolonged freedom-fight. Therefore our home problems have acquired an urgency and a call for realism and foresight, a clear analysis and wise decisions with proper evaluation of emphasis and priority. On our success herein depends our future as a nation, nay our very security and existence. All constructive and nation-building work should begin only after a clear decision on these vital issues.

What are they?

(1) The creation of the States (i.e.) the federal units on some principle of affinity or homogeneity, the best being now the linguistic and cultural basis. Hence the creation of such States is the most welcome first step in reconstruction as the ideal spontaneously releases mass energy animated by the principle of unity, oneness, affection and sacrifice for disciplined team work. This re-arrangement should not be delayed letting loose anti-social and disruptive forces created by vested interests but must be quickly implemented and put into working order along with the new constitution.

I give the first priority to this work. In this connection, kind reader, allow me the privilege to quote from myself. More than thirty years ago, in the *Commonweal*, a weekly edited by Dr. Annie Besant, I wrote in the issue dated 31st August 1917, under "Thoughts on Reconstruction" thus:—

"India is now in a transitional period. Her ideals have the breadth and conflict of a national endeavour. The astute citizen who keeps vigil for the birth of conclusive national ideals sees on the cloud-charged Indian horizon,

a silver-streak, a new born impulse to reconstruct India itself into a Federation, when every province is laid out according to the linguistic and cultural basis and is locally self-governing but subject to a strong Central Government. The discerning eye may see the developing line of action. Such an ideal has often proved very powerful. Now in India the ideal is yet in travail, the cloud-force is yet so nebulous that hardly any forecast is possible. But it strikes a thinker that it would swell into the largest movement known to Indian history."

(2) Consolidation of the smaller Indian States now under ruling chiefs into units or blocks satisfying the principle of linguistic and cultural affinity, till they are so consolidated as to become viable units. The ideal is to approximate all these Indian States units to the position, power, responsibilities and limitations enjoyed by the State units which are now Provinces in British India.

The work already done by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel under this head is truly remarkable and statesman-like and the response of the ruling chiefs displays a public spirit and sacrifice which I anticipated as early as 1928 in my book *Renascent India* in these terms: "We have hopes in the patriotic traditions of these ruling houses when the critical moment of national unity and settlement arrives.....It is said that the Samurais made the glory of modern Japan possible by the noblest acts of voluntary surrender known to history. When the occasion comes, both the Muslim and Hindu princes will surely make a voluntary surrender of their treaty rights and privileges in exchange for a common Indian citizenship so that they may the better bring to the great task of national reconstruction of Swaraj India their fine personal qualities."

This consolidation achieved by the Nehru Cabinet atones to some extent for the tragedy inherent in the partition of India.

Kashmir and Hyderabad are still our major problems in this field and they are the real tests for the Nehru Cabinet. The safety and security of India depend upon our ability to retain the accession of Kashmir to India and enjoy her continued friendship and co-operation. For, Kashmir is of immense strategic value to India. It is her right hand. Modern warfare requires defence in depth and the Ganges-Jumna Valley from Delhi to Agra, Agra to Allahabad and Benares cannot be protected from invasion and aerial bombardment without our real defence frontiers and arrangements being laid in Kashmir. Hence Kashmir is vital to India's safety and security.

But Hyderabad is vital to India's very existence as it cuts across the heart of India. Its present militancy is difficult to understand. Hyderabad was always subordinate and loyal to Delhi and its tradition and history were never anti-Indian or opposed to the power that ruled at Delhi. Because in the very nature of things it is impossible. Therefore the present militant attitude of Hyderabad banking on independence, based on the false and mischievous doctrine of lapse of paramountcy evolved by the British Cabinet makes us seriously to think that there is a secret alliance between Hyderabad and Pakistan, and some understanding with Great Britain on this issue both of Hyderabad and Pakistan. The situation is full of peril.

Firm and prompt but careful action on the part of the Government of India is necessary, avoiding all outside and international complications on an issue which is essentially a domestic issue. Explosives are scattered by cunning hands all over this track, and the road to victory is inlaid with mines. Comprehensive and sympathetic but firm statesmanship, few words and all deeds are required to solve these two tangled major problems of Kashmir and Hyderabad.

There is yet another facet, difficult and delicate, to the Hyderabad problem as the Hyderabad State is made up of three clear-cut, virile and dynamic linguistic and cultural units. We should not attempt to solve this problem now but leave it to Time to a future date when a more settled and evolved outlook on life prevails.

(3) Every State in India shall be made a viable unit with economic self-sufficiency at least in the matter of food, clothing and shelter and all our primary needs for a simple civilised living.

(4) The basic foundation of our political and economic structure shall be a group of villages knit into a rural unit. At present our villages have no administrative machinery except for the collection of tax. It is all complete chaos and no honest team work is possible for any cause or kind of production or constructive work.

This rural unit, under a Panchayat Act should develop for common welfare the sevenfold institutions, the school, the industrial section, the dairy, the farm, the dispensary, the multi-purpose co-operative society and finally the panchayat presided over by a rural officer.

(5) The primary emphasis of State policy shall be on the promotion of agricultural production. The foremost problem in this sphere is the agrarian. An equitable re-adjustment of rights in favour of the actual tiller of the soil is necessary. Creation of optimum holdings in perpetuity of say 20 to 30 acres according to the local area, impartible and inalienable, will go a long way towards promoting and stabilising agricultural production on scientific lines.

(6) Promotion of healthy cottage and village industries co-related to rural needs and locally available raw materials.

(7) Economic zonal planning for heavy industries covering one or more States, if necessary.

(8) All key industries and public utilities including banking and insurance shall be nationalised.

(9) The devising of a new type of education based on our national ideas and suited to modern conditions of life is a vital problem on whose proper solution depends the quality of our citizenship and our future.

(10) Above all, a proper Constitution for India which reflects the Indian genius in politics.

Though man is superior to the instruments he makes and uses, none the less the proper implement is necessary for a particular work. The spade cannot do the work of a pruning hook nor the pruning hook the work of a spade.

(11) Above all, reunion between India and Pakistan into one India is the ultimate solution for many of our major problems. This reunion by mutual consent will cheerfully take place automatically reviving the synthetic memories of a thousand years of comradeship if India sets an example of justice, fairness, discipline, team work, honesty and sincerity in her administrative work, political and economic transactions and displays her higher qualities in a dynamic and constructive spirit.

These eleven main problems require almost an immediate solution and only a Central Cabinet reconstituted on the broadest and more representative lines would be found equal to the task.

Further, Indian statesmanship should realise for a proper solution of these problems certain salient features, peculiarities and defects of Indian character, especially on its political and civic side, and build thereon in such a way as to rectify these defects preserving and promoting the virtues. Thirty years of intensive freedom-fight propaganda on an unprecedented scale led by a master craftsman in that art, has grossly exaggerated our virtues and almost eliminated healthy self-analysis and criticism and the gift for deeds on a mass scale, though here and there individuals have reached heights.

Our defects are:—

(1) A love of maximum freedom for the individual without a corresponding sense of respect for the rights of our neighbour—in fact very little sense of our neighbour or of his presence. This has led to the grossest forms of selfishness and want of fairness and justice in commonweal matters.

(2) A lack of natural inclination and capacity for co-ordination, co-operation and team work.

(3) A basic lack of courage, a fine sense of righteousness and gift for realistic action. This results in a want of restraint and moderation in the use of power when it comes. Given power the average Indian tends to become tyrannical and without power becomes a coward. For the Indian temperament it is so difficult to guarantee civil liberties, the most fundamental of fundamental rights, against the Government in power for the time being.

Long years of subjection to foreign rule, which is itself the cause of these defects, have further weakened our national character. It is no wonder if we are today a jealous, selfish, divided community-ridden people, rich in words but poor in deeds!

(4) A total want of public generosity of heart and mind in recognising and encouraging younger men of talents and character who may become rivals to the throne if so encouraged.

One may say that many of these defects outlined above are common human defects shared by all. True. But the misfortune of India is that they are shared here by a far larger number of citizens and in a very uncommon and excessive measure owing to our general decadence and loss of vitality and courage due to long periods of subjection to foreign rule and cultures. A determined drive to renovate Indian life and character as a basic reform must inspire every act of Indian statesmanship and a sense of stern discipline should be imparted to our public life. The love of *ahimsa* even to the extent of preserving black-marketeers should cease to

inform our idealism. Gandhiji must be saved from Gandhism in the hands of his lieutenants and accredited followers who shout 'Jai' and do as they like.

India, to move higher up in the plane of evolution and emerge from the swamp of political stagnation into which corruption of Democracy has led the whole world, should courageously give up the party system and go in for government without any party affiliations (not one-party government as in totalitarian countries.)

The party system of government, like the truncated caste system that survives now in India breeding selfishness, greed and vanity, must be given up and impulses that underlie the party system, discipline, sacrifice and team work, should be made to survive on a higher plane.

All talents and character, wherever they come from, should be utilised for the God's work of good governance. After all, there are sincere patriots in every class, party, group or community as any in the party that might have scored a victory at the polls. India needs today at least in her critical hour all her best men with divine talents and character for the supreme task of governance and reconstruction on right lines.

How can we afford to exclude today from our Central Cabinet leaders, organisers and thinkers like Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, or Dr. Manohar Lohia; a clear and constructive thinker and a dynamic personality like Sri M. N. Roy; a born statesman and intellectual with a gift for concrete results like Sir C. P. Ramaswami, now in the full maturity of his powers; a man of distinction and culture like Dr. M. R. Jayakar

or Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar; a lawyer of the eminence, tact, resilience and ability and eye to results like Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami; in the professedly intellectual group, a statesman and practical philosopher like Dr. Radhakrishnan, a brilliant thinker and planner like Dr. C. R. Reddy, or a comprehensive and efficient administrator and academecian like Pandit Amarnath Jha; or a veteran administrator and statesman like Sir Mirza Ismail?

All the names I have mentioned above are today not saddled directly with any important Government work even in Swaraj India. Big Business also contains some valuable ores which we should melt in a proper blast furnace and thus release and employ the precious metal for the glory of India.

Accustomed as we are to party accents and ways of thinking, we may say, "What can we do with this motley group of *navagrahas*, one shying at the other?" I would reply back, "Discover the leader, the central luminary, and the *navagrahas* will swing round in order, each discovering its own planetary orbit according to its gravitational pull."

I beseech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to reconstitute the Central Cabinet before the 10th of June into a Cabinet of 30 Ministers of whom ten shall be free from any portfolio but free to make fertilising contacts and shape the higher policy and plan of India. The other twenty shall be in charge of portfolios and departments. But the Cabinet shall take the joint decision on every issue before it and the responsibility shall be collective. This way lies a glorious future for India and the whole world.

The ensemble that looks best on Hildegard consists of a charm with wit to match. Attending a banquet recently given for Greek heroes, a Hellenic-American told a joke in his native tongue that made the guests roar with laughter.

Observing Hildegard chuckling too, George Skouras, the showman, leaned over and whispered: "I didn't know you understood Greek, Hildy."

"I don't," she whispered back, "but I have confidence in the audience!"

CRIMINAL LAW REFORM

by S. RAJAGOPALAN

JUSTICE delayed is justice denied, and in criminal cases, the necessity for speedy justice can hardly be over-emphasised. It is in the interests of society that criminals are brought to book swiftly and surely and innocent people are spared the agony and expense of a criminal trial to the absolutely minimum limit of time. This ideal can be achieved in this country only by a wholesale remodelling, or better still, repeal of the various procedural laws and rules of practice. An English judge spoke of procedure as the handmaid of justice but in India it is its mistress. These laws, it is well to remember, were enacted under somewhat primitive legal, social and political conditions, and are wholly out of time with the present trends in our society. For instance, the law of evidence was codified, so it was said, for the use of the mofussil judiciary which was then manned by "non-professional" people.

Criminal cases can be broadly divided into (1) criminal appeals and (2) criminal trials, which latter can be further subdivided into (a) those by judges and (b) those by magistrates. In regard to appeals, there is, generally speaking, very little avoidable delay especially in the disposal of mofussil appeals, that is to say, before the appellate magistrates and sessions judges; and if the present long vacation, which was introduced in the interests of the European personnel, could be cut down to about a month, there would practically be no delay before the latter tribunal. As for appeals before the High Court, the preparation of the record is about the prime cause for the delay. Every material record going up before the High Court has to be translated into English and printed; and naturally much time is taken up for getting the record ready and the delay of nearly six months in the hearing of the appeal in the Bagavathar-Krishnan case, could be explained only on

this footing. The rules for the preparation of record were formulated in the interests more of legibility than of authenticity and with a view to causing the least difficulty to the English judges; and hence they may now be abrogated. The record can however be printed subsequently for preservation in the archives of the court. The long vacation of the High Court does not stand in the way of quick disposal, because the Vacation Bench attends to urgent criminal work. One modification seems however to be called for. There should be provision for holding a sessions court during the vacation, in the interests of the under-trials, who might be committed for trial just before and during the vacation and who under the present dispensation, have to wait needlessly for the whole duration of the vacation which may be nearly 3 months. The question of holding sessions every month, as in the mofussil district courts, throughout the year in the High Court also merits consideration.

As for criminal trials, the procedure and tribunal vary with the gravity of the offence. Generally speaking, simple cases are tried as "summons cases" by inferior magistrates and grave cases as "warrant cases" by superior magistrates. Serious cases, however, go before the sessions judges, who cannot try them offhand but only after they have been committed to them by a magistrate. The procedure is simple in summons cases, a little complex in warrant cases and is highly complicated in sessions cases. In the interests, however, of speedy as well as sure justice, it is possible to evolve a uniform set of procedure, subserving the interests of the State as the prosecutor, as well as of the accused. This is best done by transplanting the summons procedure for the warrant cases, and the warrant procedure for the sessions cases, abolishing in the process the "committal" court.

In summons cases, the accused is brought before the court; the particulars of the offence are stated to him; if the accused pleads not guilty, the complainant and his witnesses are examined. The accused is then heard and his witnesses are examined. Finally if the case is proved, he is convicted, and if not, acquitted. Now this is a perfectly simple and straightforward proceeding in which neither party labours under any disadvantage. Observe, however, the warrant case procedure. The accused is brought before the court. The court examines the complainant and hears all the prosecution evidence; and after that is done, the magistrate frames a charge and then only asks whether the accused pleads guilty or not. If he pleads guilty the court may convict him; if not the accused will have to cite the prosecution witnesses whom he wishes to cross-examine; and then they will be cross-examined. The accused will then be called upon to enter upon his defence and produce his evidence. After all this is over, the magistrate may acquit or convict as the case may be. This procedure, it may be noticed, is certainly very cumbersome and circuitous and has to be gone through even if the accused pleads guilty. Even otherwise the trial becomes unduly long and complicated and is a source of harassment. The procedure in summons cases with suitable modifications as to framing of charge, etc., is certainly more business-like and deserves to be adopted for all criminal trials.

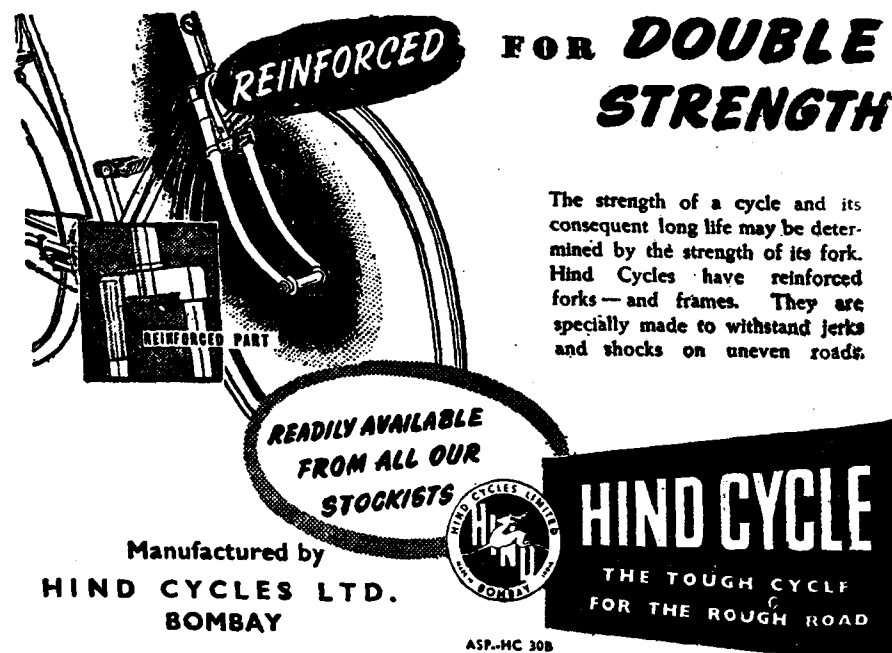
In regard to sessions cases, the "committing" court, for such is its nomenclature, is a fifth wheel in the coach, and is to a considerable extent responsible for the delay and confusion in many a sessions trial. Nobody knows exactly what the functions of a committing magistrate are and they have not been defined with any degree of precision. If his duty is only to see whether there is a prima facie case against the accused or not, can he weigh the evidence or pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the accused? Opinion is by no

means unanimous. He can of course discharge the accused, but that is subject to the interference of the higher tribunal. The trial itself is inconclusive and indecisive and the accused may not even take active part therein by cross-examining the prosecution witnesses. Both the prosecution and the accused may cite and examine additional witnesses at the sessions trial. The prosecution may not lay all their cards on the table for fear that the accused might overwhelm them at the sessions trial; and the accused may not fully disclose his defence lest the prosecution should fill in the gaps later. Again, it is not seldom that evidence tendered at the committal court is completely given the go-bye at the sessions court. After all, it should be remembered that in sessions cases which involve serious crimes, the responsibility of discharging the accused for want of a "prima facie case" should rest with the judge rather than the magistrate, his judicial subordinate. One aspect, however, deserves special mention. In sensational cases, the publication of the committal court proceedings in extenso in the daily press, may hinder rather than help the jury men to approach the case at the sessions trial with an un-biased and uncoloured mind. All things considered, it seems best to abolish the committal proceedings in toto, and, in all sessions cases, to put up the accused, immediately on the completion of the police investigation, before the sessions judge. The procedure may be as in warrant cases. If, after hearing the prosecution evidence, no case is made out against the accused, he may be acquitted straightway; but if a prima facie case is made out, then a charge may be framed and if the accused pleads not guilty, then a jury may be empanelled and the trial proceeded with. The delay incurred by reason of the committal court proceedings, which in many cases is very considerable, will thus be obviated.

A notable defect in our criminal laws is that an accused person cannot examine himself (or be cited as

a witness) except in what are called security cases. The rule has been founded on a like provision in English law, but it is curious that though it has been abrogated in England statutorily long ago, it should still be in vogue in this country. An accused person in this country stands in a peculiarly privileged position. He may not state the truth or be compelled to do so. He cannot be examined on oath; neither can he be cross-examined. The court may question him, but the statute enjoins that it should be done gently and generally. Even in regard to these questions, Section 342, Criminal Procedure Code says: "The accused shall not render himself liable to punishment by refusing to answer them or giving false answers to them". Here is a glaring instance of a legislative enactment permitting perjury and protecting its commission. Whether

these provisions have helped the accused from harassment still remains to be seen; but it is certain that in the vast majority of cases, they have impeded a fair and just trial. In any criminal trial, it is always a problem to know what the defence of the accused is, and one is left to glean it from the trend of the cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses. And it is no exaggeration to say that these provisions of the statute have enabled many an accused to throw mud at the prosecutor, or more often, the prosecution making the defence more heinous than even the offence. It is high time, and there is also a considerable body of enlightened legal opinion behind it, that the position of all accused in a criminal trial is approximated to that of a defendant in a civil action; and that certainly would be in the interests of speedy justice.



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KARL MARX AND VIOLENCE

by P. N. SAMPATH

IT is commonly bruited about that Karl Marx, the father and prophet of the working class movement advocated physical violence as the principal weapon against the capitalist vested interests. This opinion is subscribed to both by the Communists who claim to be the foremost apostles of Marxism and by the capitalists themselves. They do so for entirely different reasons. The Communists do so in order to justify the violent methods which they employ time and again in the course of their ceaseless fight against capitalism. The capitalists, on the other hand, propagate that impression about Marx in their own interests, in order to malign Marx and show to the gullible public that Marxism is a bloodthirsty cult devoid of ordinary respect for humanity.

Marx was pretty serious about what he wrote. At great cost to himself, he fulfilled a unique mission. His conclusions were drawn not in a slapdash and haphazard manner, but only after a close and careful study of the conditions of the working classes in more than one country. The causes that have led to these conditions were also analysed with crystal clarity. So much so, Marx's "Das Capital" has quite rightly been acclaimed as the Bible of the working classes. Marx's approach to the labour problem was that of a humanitarian and a realistic constructive philosopher. But he was free from the functional imbecility of the humanitarian and the abstract reasoning of the philosopher.

It may be that Marx was uncompromising in his attitude to vested interests. During his career, he broke off relations with many of his erstwhile comrades only because he was convinced that they were compromisers, trimmers and "blind belchers of fire", positively harmful to the common cause.

But his uncompromising nature did not drive him to the verge of violence. He wanted the unconditional surrender of the capitalists and the establishment of the workers' raj everywhere. For dictating such a course, he required the working classes throughout the length and breadth of the world to be united under competent and relentless leadership. For bringing about this unity, he wanted his followers to mix freely with the masses and to educate them on proper lines. He pointed out that on their unity depended the ultimate success of their objectives. The path of unity was their way to glory.

Marx was a scientist among economists. He held that only the system was to be blamed and not the people thrown into opposite camps under it, the exploiters and the exploited. The capitalist exploiter of the day is only the lineal descendant of earlier exploiters. Similarly, the present-day workers' tale of woe is only the continuation of the plight of their corresponding predecessors. Firmly entrenched in this conviction, Marx strove for the abolition of the system itself, which would automatically end the present intolerable anomalies in the economic field.

Knowing full well that the political and economic strings of every country are held by the capitalists, Marx advocated seizure of power and establishment of the Government of the proletariat. But he did not hint at plain violence as a means to this end. On the other hand, he believed that the proletariat could achieve anything provided they were united and prudent enough. A revolution is bound to arise out of the contradictions of capitalist economy. The proletariat are bound to come into their own inevitably. Capitalism has reached a phase or stage in the economic history of the world. Very soon that stage would pass, ushering in a new stage wherein the workers will have their day.

Therefore, to say that Marx was for violent seizure of power for power's sake, is a travesty of truth.

But he did believe in a *revolutionary* seizure of power, which is to be through the sheer weight of numbers and not by sporadic violence to person and property. He visualised vast movements of the proletariat and not armed raids by drilled conspirators. He did not countenance underground activities. He was for open methods. That was why Marx had no sympathy either for the terroristic dare-devilry of Lassale or for the rank anarchism of Bakunin. When united Labour in their greatest number came down on the Governments of the bureaucrats, the Governments could be seized without the necessity for violence. Even if violence is resorted to, it would be at a discount. Loss of life could be minimised.

Russia was the first country which experimented on Marxism. Lenin was the leader of the movement. After months of endeavour, he was able to establish a Workers' Government. It is true that Lenin's means were openly violent. His violence, however, was not offensive violence. He was driven to the necessity of requisitioning the aid of violence by the provocations afforded by Tzarist atrocities and the subsequent Krensky killings. It was a fight for survival, and Lenin could not have founded the Soviet Republic if he had hesitated through sentimental morbidity. Lenin's view on violence should not be traced to the influence of Marx. Lenin's was only adulterated Marxism. The Marxian fundamentals were retained, but the means were remoulded into a sort of modulated violence, for use against desperate reactionaries, whenever necessary.

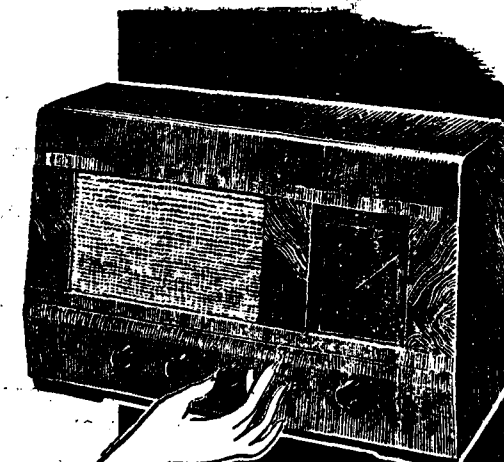
Stalin, however, made no bones about means and methods. His is organised violence. He would first declare and categorise his enemies as enemies of State, and then would safely "bump them off". His handling of Trotsky is a case in point. If modern Democracy puts its foes and

undesirables behind prison bars allowing them to wither away by slow degrees, Stalin's way of quick disposal of his enemies is perhaps more humane!

The methods of modern Communists have more in common with those of Stalin than with those of either Marx or Lenin. In our country, the extremists in the Socialist Party seem to have moulded their policies in terms of the intellectual analysis of Marx. To conform to Marxian fundamentals, they should have a clear plan of action. They should also resist their apparent predilection for infructuous compromise with reactionaries and their satellites.

With the enormous goodwill they command among the working class population, the Indian Communists can still attain their objectives through the normal channel of propaganda and elections. The contemplated revolution must be a socialist revolution rather than a violent one. Violence may appeal to some excitable sections among workers and peasants, and may even achieve success of a sort. But, in the long run, such sporadic and diffuse tactics will not achieve the desired end. Sustained pressure on the reactionary Governments of the day, active promotion of mass consciousness, and solid and silent work can by themselves do wonders. On this basis, both the Communists and the Socialists can unite to form a strong Leftist front. On this basis also, the Communist Party will emerge as the foremost party in the country with the largest number of adherents. Victory is bound to come to the working classes, that too, very soon. To quote Marx: "This victory, the process of history will in any case secure; but human courage, determination and ingenuity could bring it nearer and make the transition less painful, accompanied by less friction and less waste of human substance". Let the Comrades weigh these golden words of the Master, and ponder whether the common cause cannot be served without having recourse to indiscriminate violence.

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MONCKTON AND MOUNTBATTEN

by "VISWAMITRA"

IS the question of Hyderabad revolving round the Monckton-Mountbatten axis? That is the question which is being put by every thinking person who examines the problem of Hyderabad in all its retrospect and prospect. The long and weary negotiations extending over a period of one year and the almost fortnightly flights of the Hyderabad delegation to Delhi and back unaccompanied by any fruitful and tangible results have not been considered as calculated to enhance the prestige or dignity of either Government. The Nizam has always had a blind faith in the capacity of Britisher to help him entrench himself in his autocracy at home, and declare his independence of India as soon as the British ceased to have any interest in the matter. He thought, shrewdly enough, that the British would appreciate his innate dislike to be sub-servient to any Central Government in India and sympathise with him at least when they were out of it; and he is not far wrong as will be evidenced by the recent suggestion of Mr. R. A. Butler in the Commons debate that Britain should press for the "JUST CLAIMS OF HYDERABAD TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT." As for responsible Government, which is anathema to him, the Nizam himself pleaded his inability to confer it on the people as long as he was a vassal of the British Government but the removal of British paramountcy has driven him to seek shelter under the absurd theory of Hyderabad being an Islamic state and the Muslim community being the sovereign power. Though the Nizam has always asserted that the sovereignty of his Dominion is an indivisible asset and resided in him, he has given official recognition to the theocratic idea referring to Hyderabad as an Islamic State in the preamble to his Firman of 1939 sanctioning constitutional reforms.

It was a favourable response elicited from the Nizam by the Ittehadul Muslimeen which had already begun to claim an exclusive share in his sovereignty. It is no wonder if the Ittehadul Muslimeen is considered to be the unofficial exponent of the views of the Nizam himself.

Coming to Monckton, the question that is troubling the minds of all Hyderabadis is whether the role of Sir Walter Monckton has been very honourable after all, even in the rather elastic sense of the term, as far as it applies to the profession to which he belongs? As long as the question of the relationship between the States and the new Indian Government had not been decided constitutionally, there might have been some justification for his services being engaged by the Nizam even at the exorbitant cost which it had meant to the public exchequer of the State. It is not known on what terms exactly his services were requisitioned by the Nizam's Government and what has actually been paid to him in the past 8 years, but it is reliably understood that during one year preceding last July, he was paid 90,000 guineas as his remuneration excluding other heavy expenses of passage in specially chartered planes and his trips and sojourns at Hyderabad, Delhi and Karachi, etc. It is reliably learnt that he was paid Rs. 4,500 per day after the month of July, and that an agreement has now been reached under which he is to get Rs. 50,000 per month—which is no doubt a concession to an old and exalted client like the Nizam. This modest sum does not of course include expenses incidental or otherwise to his journeys, etc. The straight question is: What is he being paid for, and so heavily, from the State treasury? The amount does not go from the billions' worth of hoarded personal wealth of the Nizam. What, indeed, has Monckton done to deserve it?

There is a shrewd man much under fifty, by name Aliyar Khan, now known as Nawab Ali Yaver Jung, who has done everything that goes by the name of Monckton, who has not been required to show any special genius or acumen for constitutional law in giving advice to the Nizam. The Political Department, prior to 1946, did everything for him. His continuance as a member, rather the chief member, of the Hyderabad delegation, becomes, therefore, all the more significant. It savours of the rather familiar practice of wealthy litigants who do not count their cost when employing a counsel who has the reputation of being an intimate friend or a favourite protege of the presiding judge in a court. There are grounds which justify the criticism that there is a Monckton-Mountbatten axis which has become the strong line of defence for the Nizam of Hyderabad. None expected Monckton to return to Hyderabad after the unceremonious manner in which he had been treated by Kasim Razvi and his colleagues. It is the generally accepted opinion among the politicals all over the country, that the conclusion of the Stand-Still Agreement in November last was an act of undeserved concession or leniency towards the Nizam by Lord Mountbatten. It is clear that the latter was influenced by the special pleading of Monckton on behalf of the Nizam about his "difficulties" in coming to a decision about "ACCESSION" to India, and the desirability of granting him respite for an year. Otherwise it had no meaning after the Junagadh speech of Sardar Patel. That is the reason why Razvi agreed to re-invite Monckton to take part in further parleys. Razvi described Monckton in one of his speeches as a knife or sword, in fact a weapon whose efficacy depended upon the skill of the user. According to him, though Monckton was a weapon to commit suicide with, in the hands of Sir Mirza Ismail, and a knife to cut onions with, in the hands of Chattari, he could prove to be a shining and slashing sword in the hands of Mir Laik Ali, the present

Premier of Hyderabad. It was in these significant words that Razvi welcomed Monckton's recall to Hyderabad by the present Interim Government and Monckton's defence of the Razakars during his last visit to Delhi was in keeping with his professional duty in the somewhat altered circumstances thus created by Razvi. Though Lord Mountbatten is said to have taken a firm stand in his recent talks with Mir Laik Ali, the result seems to be an increasing tension between the Governments of India and Hyderabad, and a further deterioration in internal peace. The Firman of the Nizam supposed to be a gesture of goodwill, does not so much as mention the menace of the Razakars or give warning to those who have made arson and loot their cardinal faith for the present.

In spite of Mir Laik Ali's specious explanation that the vagueness of the language of the Firman was purposeful, it has not evoked enthusiasm from any quarter. The fact that, in spite of alleged jail delivery, the President of the State Congress and all his important colleagues are still rotting in jail, and the Premier is supposed to be finding out their reactions to the Firman while in detention, is proof positive that this latest move is another piece of political chicanery in which the Hyderabad Premier seems to be an adept. There is no sincerity behind any of these moves, and it is no wonder, therefore, that there is little favourable response to it from concerned quarters. This nonchalant attitude of the Nizam and his Government is clearly in pursuance of the advice of Monckton to hold on as fast as possible till the last moment because he has enormous 'bargaining power' with him. I wonder whether Sir Walter really thinks that the Nizam's bargaining power has been enhanced by the Razakar army and its depredations. Whatever be his 'advice' to his clients and its 'morality', what will be the attitude of Lord Mountbatten when Monckton is expected back in Hyderabad and

New Delhi in the next week, to resume negotiations? It is to be sincerely hoped that no underhand tactics of British Conservative statesmen like Mr. R. A. Butler or special pleadings of personal friends like Monckton, will deflect him from the clear path of his duty as Governor-General of Free India. Otherwise he will be leaving behind him

unsolved the legacy of a difficult problem created by the British for their successor Governments for their own purposes—a problem which threatens to develop into a volcanic eruption capable of causing irreparable damage to the peace and tranquillity of the whole of India.

SOIL EROSION, A NATIONAL PROBLEM

by P. V. C. RAO

IN the dry regions of Madras Province, we find our farmers leading a hand to mouth living with run-down and tax-delinquent pieces of land. They cling to their fields as long as they can with intensive cultivation of cash crops. Even with balanced cultural practices, the unprotected fields will have their rich top soil washed away by the slow process of sheet erosion, but when they are subjected to intensive cultivation of soil depleting crops, erosion sets in faster and faster eating away the cream of the soil. The up and down furrows on the sloping lands constitute run-off water ways through which the soil laden water rushes down into the wasteful nallas, cutting gullies in their path. Gully erosion, if unchecked in its early stages, rapidly chops wide hollows, thus rendering the field completely uncultivable.

Few of our farmers know the word "EROSION" and its fatal impact on their living. They do not readily believe when they are told that the crop-growing vitality of their fields is rapidly dwindling, or that they are not getting the optimum yield, due to their unscientific methods of cultivation. We anxiously await the advent of the rain for cultivation, but when it actually comes, we render it a destructive agency by allowing our fields to be washed away, on account of our lack of knowledge to conserve and harness its forces to the advantage of crop-growth. Water Erosion has always been the gravest foe of our land. Its manifestation can be observed from the scoring of canal banks and

the choking of the irrigation and harbour head works by the clayed mud.

Similarly when we keep our fields naked, uncovered by vegetation, the top soil is blown off in the form of dust storms. When we travel in trains during summer through the heart of Rayalaseema, we come to know the havoc wrought by Wind Erosion. The phenomenon of the soil particles in their millions clogging to the house tops thereby spoiling their natural beauty, and blinding the pedestrians, instead of helping the production of rich fodder and food, is a challenge to man's imagination and creative faculty.

The indiscriminate felling of the forests and the overgrazing of the pastures expose the virgin soil to the vagaries of wind and water. We forget for a moment that forests yield not only fuel and fodder, but they actually build up the soil and maintain it at a high level of productivity. The humus-laden marsh, when carried down the slopes by the creeping water wending its way through the shrubby forest, enriches the low lying fields thousand times better than any artificial fertilizer can do. The forest breaks the sweeping gales and tempers the surrounding climate. The blinding dust storms and the scorching heat of the Deccan plateau and the Central Indian plains, as well as the surging floods, are the legacies of the invidious exploitation of the forests.

Erosion has always been a serious problem all over the agricultural

world, but it is only in the U.S.A. it is being tackled on scientific lines with a large measure of success. Its acuteness was felt in America in the decade immediately following the first world war, when record-breaking floods and wide-spread dust storms dramatized their power, and economic depression deepened and intensified its effects on the people. Then they came to realize that conservation of soil and water is a national necessity of the highest priority. During the same decade, a nation-wide programme of soil conservation was launched and pushed forward along several fronts by Government technicians and Civilian Conservation Corps. State laws were passed giving farmers the power to form local co-operatives for soil and water conservation. The Federal Soil Conservation Service was set up by the "Soil Conservation Service Act of 1935", providing for a nation-wide

programme of erosion control. Essentially, this Service consists of a corps of trained technical men organized to work with the farmers on the field.

In India a beginning was made by Punjab in 1935, and it was followed by Bombay on a much wider scale from 1942. It is now contemplated by the Central Government to constitute a Soil Conservation Board consisting of experts in the line, and recently a Land Development Bill was introduced in the Central Legislature providing for intensive soil conservation measures to be taken up in the Delhi Province on the American model. It is to be hoped that the rest of the Provinces will perceive the writing on the wall that the only means of saving our agriculture from further deterioration is to adopt intensive and extensive soil conservation measures.

THE UNION PRESIDENT

by R. VENKATACHALAM

THE authors of India's draft constitution have attempted to effect a synthesis of the British Cabinet system and the Presidential system as it is in vogue in America and on the Continent. While this is a welcome feature of the draft scheme, the authors seem to have strained every nerve to vest maximum powers in the Union President. They have made the President reign as well as govern; and what is more, to effectively safeguard his position he is vested with an unqualified power of veto. The powers are such as to turn any party-politician into an irresponsible autocrat and make him ride roughshod over his Ministers.

Under the draft scheme the President is to be elected by an electoral college consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament as also the elected members of the Legislatures of the States. The President is however removable from his office only by the Parliament and not the State Legislatures. This leads to the anomaly that the members of the State Legislatures, who have the predominant voice in electing the President have absolutely no voice in the matter of his removal. The States have no doubt a right to speak and vote through their representatives in the Parliament, but that is no substitute for the exercise of their full electoral right in proportion to their population. It will be better on principle to vest the power to elect and the power to remove in the same electoral body. This can be done by providing for a special convention of the electoral body mentioned in Art. 43 to consider the proposal of impeachment.

Another anomaly resulting from Art. 45 and 51 is that a President elected by an electoral college may sometimes outlive the electorate which returned him. This may happen as a result of a bye-election to the office of the President. Two years after the general elec-

tions a vacancy may occur in the Presidentship and a new President may be elected. Within two to three years of the Presidential election the Legislatures will be dissolved, and in the next general elections a different party may be returned in a majority, nevertheless, the President's term will continue for the full period of five years under Art. 51. The President may not see eye to eye with his Prime Minister; the new Parliament may not have confidence in the President; and yet his position under the constitution is secure. The President can sit tight on his powers where monarchs will have to flee.

The President's powers under the draft scheme compare well with those of any dictator. He is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. He is the fountain head of all executive authority. Ministers hold office during his pleasure. He can dissolve the House of the People and order general elections. He may promulgate Ordinances and issue proclamations of emergency. Above all Art. 91 empowers the President to withhold assent from any bill passed by Parliament, even if it be a Money Bill. The proviso to Art. 91 gives the President a discretion to return a Bill other than a Money Bill, for reconsideration by the Parliament; but his ultimate veto is unimpaired. If the President exercises veto in respect of a Money Bill or any other Bill of importance, there will be a deadlock and the Parliament will have to be dissolved. The President can also exercise veto in respect of State Bills reserved for his assent by the State Governors.

Concentration of such powers in the hands of the President may not be conducive to the smooth working of the Constitution. Responsible Government of the Cabinet type cannot function successfully unless a line is drawn in the relationship between the Executive Head and the Legislature, beyond



which the Executive Head cannot assert himself against the declared will of the Legislature. To lay down a scheme as has been done, which may lead to a situation in which the President may be at loggerheads with a Cabinet and a Legislature of a different political persuasion, and at the same time to arm the President with an unqualified power of veto is the very negation of Democracy.

One wonders whether the Drafting Committee has deliberately framed these provisions so as to constitute a check and counter-check in the working of the Constitution. It may be that they want the President to act as a stopper and a check on the surging enthusiasm of a party in power. If that be so, it is a regrettable departure from the accepted canons of Parliamentary Government. We are yet in the beginnings of the Party System. We have yet to establish those political conventions which have the force of law in other countries. In a country like India, essentially dominated by party rivalries, the Presidential seat may well be used as a vantage point to play a political game. The working of the Constitution may be marred by constant friction and recurring deadlock. And there is nothing in the draft to ensure that the one man will govern reasonably and reign moderately. Even the Parliament's power to impeach the President is limited to cases of violation of the Constitution. When the President and the Cabinet belong to different political parties, as may often be the case under the Draft Scheme, there may be acute and 'honest' differences of opinion, and it will be quite possible for a President to act strictly within the four corners of the Constitution and yet create a deadlock placing the Parliament in an embarrassing position.

The proposal regarding veto power is also opposed to the general trend of constitutional evolution elsewhere. One wonders why the authors should recommend so dangerous an experiment in a country which is yet at the starting point

of constitutional evolution. The recurring tussle between the American Congress and the President must be an eye-opener to the Indian constitutionalists. The American President is considered to be the most powerful of all Executive Heads. But even the American President cannot claim an absolute veto, of the kind recommended in the draft. His is a restricted veto. He may return a measure without signature for reconsideration by the Congress; but he cannot prevent its becoming law if it is again passed by a 2/3 majority in the Congress. It may be noted that the power of veto has become obsolete on the Continent also.

It is now for the Constituent Assembly to face this issue and decide which way lies greater safety. Shall we elect an omnipotent President for full five years, arm him with sweeping powers, and show him obedience 'en masse' in the pious hope that the electoral majority as disposed at the time of the election has elected a good and reasonable man in whose hands the fate of millions shall lie safe? Or shall we turn to the Parliament with a vast electorate behind it and repose trust and confidence in its sense of what is just and right? In short the question is: Shall we elect a dictator and implicitly follow him for five long years? Or shall we give a fair trial to the system of government by the people? Is it safer to trust the one or the many? Do we enact and give to ourselves a dictatorship or a democracy?

There can be only one answer to this question. The intellectuals on the Drafting Committee may have been justified in their own way in taking a pessimistic view of the competence of peoples' representatives; but it behoves the Constituent Assembly to rescue the peoples' rights. The following amendments may be considered to remedy the situation:

1. Art. 45 and 51 may be modified so as to put an end to the President's term of office with the dissolution of the Houses of the People and the State Legis-

latures which elected him. (The continuance of the Council of State will not seriously affect the position. Art. 45-(c) should, however be retained.)

2. Art. 91 may be amended so as to take away the right of veto in respect of Money Bills. In respect of other Bills the President may be empowered to return a Bill for reconsideration by Parliament. The Parliament shall reconsider the Bill accordingly, and if the Bill is again passed with or without

amendments by not less than 2/3 majority in each House or at a joint sitting, the Bill shall become law. A Bill returned by President and passed again only by less than 2/3rd majority shall not become law unless the President signifies assent thereto. In case the President refuses assent, it must then be open to the Prime Minister if he considers it necessary, to advise the President to dissolve the Parliament. It is but fair that the President also must join issue and face the electorate.

WITS AND WISEACRES

THOUGH 'laughter' is a simple enough process, a definition of the same is not so easy. However, George Robey told Birmingham Rotarians: "Laughter is the synchronised co-ordination of neuropsychological reflexes with a semi-automatic impulse of mass inherited suggestivism."

Edmund Waller, the seventeenth century wit, upon sight of the Duchess of Newcastle's verses on the death of a stag, declared that he would give all his own compositions to have written them. Being charged with the exorbitance of his adulation, he answered that 'nothing was too much to be given that a lady might be saved from the disgrace of such a vile performance'.

Bettesworth, a lawyer noted for his insolence to the clergy, was satirised by Dean Swift, the great satirist, in a poem. Bettesworth went to Swift in a rage and demanded whether Swift was the author of the poem. "Mr. Bettesworth", answered Swift, "I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me that if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask, 'Are you the author of this paper?', I should tell him that I was not the author; and therefore, I tell you, Mr. Bettesworth, that I am not the author of these lines."

John Wilkes, the famous wit and friend of Dr. Johnson, once had an encounter with Lord Sandwich. Turning to Wilkes, the peer remarked: "Wilkes, you will die of a pox or on the gallows", having in mind the fellow's moral weaknesses and political bravado. But the resourceful Wilkes retorted: "That depends on whether I embrace your mistress, or your principles".

John Wilkes was not good to look at—rather, he was positively ugly. He himself declared, "It took me only half an hour to talk away my face"; and thereafter, none could resist him. But when he stood for election for a Middlesex constituency, one of the recalcitrant voters there, declined to vote for him, saying that he would rather vote for the Devil himself. Wilkes was not to be beaten. He fired this question at the recoiling worthy: "And if your friend is not standing?"

Sir F. E. Smith, later Lord Birkenhead, in a club one day, made an especially outrageous bid at Bridge and went down several hundred points. When his partner expostulated, he told him that he ought to keep silent, as he was the most unpopular member of the club. "And do you know who is the second most unpopular? Well, I am, for introducing you." Further criticism was stilled.

In the open court, in the course of a trial, Judge Wallis, noted for his arrogance to all and sundry,

once wanted a poor boy blinded on account of an accident, to stand on a chair to enable the Jury to see him. This unjudicial suggestion roused Defence Counsel F. E. Smith's ire. "Perhaps", he suggested icily, "Your Honour would like to pass him round the Jury-box." "That is a most improper observation", said the Judge. "It was provoked by a most improper suggestion", retorted Smith. The Judge was furious. "Mr. Smith" he cried, "You remind me of a saying by Bacon, the great Bacon, 'that youth and discretion are ill-wedded companions'. More learned, Smith readily replied: 'You remind me of a saying by Bacon, the great Bacon, that a much-talking Judge is like an ill-tuned cymbal'."

Again when Judge Wallis asked him sarcastically, "Whatever do you suppose I am on the Bench for, Mr. Smith?", Smith replied, "It is not for me, m' lud, to attempt to fathom the inscrutable workings of

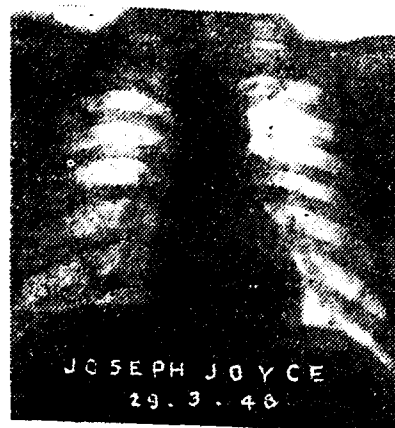
Providence." The haughty Judge met his Waterloo that day.

Dionedes, a pirate of renown, was once captured by Alexander the Great. On being reprimanded for his activities, the pirate retorted, "By what right do you voyage the world? Because I have only one ship, I am called a brigand; but you, who have a whole fleet at your disposal, are termed a Conqueror". Admiring his boldness, and appreciating the fundamental humour in the situation, the great Alexander set the pirate free.

Madame Cresswell, a woman of infamous character, promised £ 10 for a funeral sermon, in which nothing ill should be said of her. The Duke of Buckingham wrote the sermon, which was as follows:— "All I shall say of her is this: She was born *well*; she married *well*, lived *well* and died *well*; for she was born at Shadwell, married Cresswell, lived at Clerkenwell, and died at Bridewell."—(P.N.S.).

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REHOUSING 70,000 PEOPLE A MONTH

by GORDON CUMMINGS

At this time when housing is one of the biggest problems facing India's planners, it is of special interest to know how Britain is rehousing over 70,000 people every month. Discussing Britain's post-war housing progress in this article, Gordon Cummings estimates that since the end of World War II some 375,000 new houses have been built, of which nearly 225,000 are permanent dwellings.

FROM the end of World War II until last February Britain, I estimate, built something approaching 375,000 new houses, of which around 225,000 were permanent. These satisfactory figures are, however, only part of the story of Britain's post-war housing progress. The task at the end of the war was to catch up on six years' arrears of building, to replace 200,000 houses totally destroyed by enemy action, and to restore a further 350,000 seriously damaged.

Today, Britain is rehousing more than 70,000 people a month by new building, repair of bombed dwellings and conversion of big houses into flats. Every hour of the working day 100 new houses are being completed. Added up, these achievements compare very favourably with those of any other country fighting in the war.

And the figures are not the end of the story. The general standard of the new permanent houses being built in Britain is higher than before the war. There is more space, rooms are larger and more plentiful, the house is more convenient for the housewife, appearance is better and stoves, fitted kitchens, refrigerators and other modern fittings are now normal parts of the houses. Every encouragement has been given as well to the development of new methods of construction and design. The whole aim is to make houses pleasant things to look at and comfortable places to live in.

NEW IDEAS

The traditional type of house in Britain is built of brick, sometimes

stone, and is usually of two floors. Many of the houses now being built are traditional, but owing to shortages of materials such as timber, many new ideas have been and are being introduced. Inside walls are being made of plaster board, new types of materials are being used for flooring and, among other things, asbestos cement sheeting supported on light steel trussing is replacing tiles or slates on timber battens for roofing.

Considerable success has been achieved in the development of partial or complete prefabrication. Not only has this been a valuable means of by-passing bottlenecks in the supply of traditional building materials, but it has enabled war factories to turn to the manufacture of components for houses, to use unskilled or only semi-skilled labour in their production and on actual construction of the dwellings, and has speeded up building.

The Airey Rural three bedroom house, one of Britain's successful prefabricated houses, is made of concrete parts, manufactured in factories. Unskilled labourers can assemble the components without the use of heavy cranes or other mechanical plant, thus making erection in remote country parts easier. The shell can be put up in about 200 man hours, as compared with about 800 needed for a brick house.

PREFABRICATED BUNGALOWS

Almost complete factory prefabrication has been reached in the new aluminium house, now in the final stages of development. The history

of Britain's aluminium permanent house goes back to the war days when, foreseeing the urgent need for homes, the Government began the development of the prefabricated three bedroom, kitchen and bathroom bungalows, of which nearly 150,000 of various types have since been erected. The ultimate achievement was the aluminium bungalow, which arrives on the site in sections, including all internal fittings, and can be erected in a few hours.

The same method of construction has been used in the aluminium permanent two storey house. This house is entirely factory-made and is delivered on the site in large sections which are both strong and rigid, yet light enough for transport by road.

As the ground floor sections are complete in every detail, including equipment, all the work necessary on the site is bolting the sections together on previously prepared foundations and connecting up the

drains, water, electric and gas supplies. Each pair of houses consists of five sections which can be extended at will to form a continuous terrace.

A difficult transport problem has been overcome by an ingenious system of hinging which enables the first floor walls to be folded down temporarily on the journey from factory to site.

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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.

In Defence Of "Swatantra"

Mr. C. A. Menon, who has written a letter to you in the issue of 9th May, seems to have been very much annoyed at your correct critical attitude to the Madras Ministry. Vigorous views expressed by you in *Sidelights* and sometimes by VIGNESWARA in *Sotto Voce* might be unpalatable to Mr. Menon, but on no account, can they even be suspected to be prejudiced. To any person it must be evident that you, the Editor, are a well-intentioned man. You have been emphasising the need for good government free from the sly communalism and aggressive clannishness which have been the bane of Madras politics. The Editor earnestly desires to set things, as they are now, right. By so doing he has to necessarily come into conflict with the powers that be. When he cannot discern anything on which he can bestow a word of rational praise, he should not be imputed a captious fault-finding tendency, or a Brahmanic superiority. Things, as they are now, must change, to win any rational approbation of the press. The primary function of the press is to constantly remind the Government of its responsibility. On the other hand, if it flatters and refrains from criticism, the press would be guilty of gross dereliction of duty. It must be said to the everlasting credit of *Swatantra*, that it is scrupulously performing its duty.

Notwithstanding the Editor's repudiation, the writer still seems to ascribe the authorship of *Sotto Voce* and *Sidelights* to one and the same person. A regular reader could easily perceive that some of the views expressed by VIGNESWARA are at variance with those of SAKA. While SAKA is kindly towards Communism, VIGNESWARA abhors it. While SAKA astutely expounded the cause of the Khadi policy of Prakasam, VIGNESWARA dealt with it with withering scorn. In one respect SAKA'S views are identical with VIGNESWARA'S. They have both shown themselves very ardent champions of merit, irrespective of caste or creed. If the writer is curious to know who VIGNESWARA is, he can read the article written by "Freelance" on "South Indian Journalists" in the annual *SWATANTRA* wherein he is revealed as N.R., a great journalist of South India.

Sir, it is no extravagant praise when I say that you alone have been serving the cause of journalism. You have been, so far, a candid and fearless critic. The journal has not deviated from the path of rectitude. *SWATANTRA* should maintain the same fastidious standard.

V. RADHAKRISHNAN

Price Of Democracy

The fact cannot be concealed that the Congress is losing its prestige especially among the urban population. This is partly due to its own actions and partly to the unavoidable events it had to face after the partition. There is the belief that the Congress is soft towards the capitalists and rough towards the masses. This is the most suitable opportunity for the Communists and they are not slow in capitalising it. If the Communists are allowed to entice the masses into their fold our hope for a democratic socialist republic will be shattered.

But if the Congress goes unchallenged, we will pave the way for an autocratic one party rule—the worst form of democracy. It gives unlimited power to the party and when there is no effective opposition to criticise the policies and actions of the Government party, there will be the danger of an abuse of power. The dictum of Lord Acton that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely is yet to be disproved. That is why a democratic form of Government always requires two or more parties for its proper and successful functioning. An opposition party will always be on the alert to point out the blunders and expose the arbitrariness of the Government party. This is the most effective check on the Government and prevents it from becoming authoritarian and indifferent to public opinion.

But precisely this is what we lack most. Already in the name of freedom and democracy we are being deprived of what little we have. Probably our rulers think with Bosanquet and his tribe that even if the police arrest you and put you in prison it is not a curtailment of your freedom but an extension of your freedom. These tendencies can only be averted by building up a democratic opposition in our country. Hence the decision of the Socialists to secede from the Congress is to be welcomed. The Socialist Party

not only offers an alternative economic programme, it will also be an effective opposition to the Congress, thus making our country truly democratic.

The price of Democracy is constant criticism.

Bombay.

J. T. KALLUKAREN.

Russian Methods

Your editorial on Russian policy towards the Marshall Plan is justified. World-wide persecution of the Communists would not have occurred in such a large scale if the Communists outside Russia had realised their national economic interests and not associated themselves with the internal and foreign policies of the Kremlin.

It is this adoption of Russian methods by all the Communist-influenced countries and especially our country that has brought a cleavage in the Leftist forces, thus resulting in the promulgation of ordinances giving wide scope to the police to play their full part just as in 1942 in suppressing the freedom fight. If our Indian Communists are really sincere in establishing a socialist State in our country they should at once renounce their policy of adopting all such Russian methods as are against the best interests of the country and unite with the Leftist forces toiling for such a State and society.

T. B. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHARI.
Cuddapah.

Who Is A "Reactionary"?

It would contribute greatly to reason if we could get rid of hateful words of ambiguous meaning. When Pandit Nehru used the word "reactionary" for the CPI politics, I was greatly perturbed and looked up the Websters Dictionary for the meaning of the word.

A reactionary is defined by Webster as one who seeks to undo political progress. Yet some of our leaders insist on seeing progress in the police State, explaining that it leads to Socialism. To put a man in jail, without an indictment, or shoot him without a trial, to prescribe exactly what the universities may teach or the students read; to confine the citizens' political activities to a single authoritarian party; to surround him with spies—all this is justified as necessary for the liberation of the Indian people. It is forbidden by them to call such measures "reactionary."

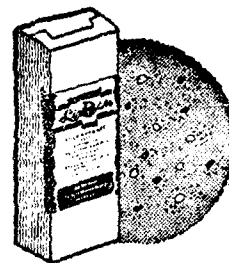
I would like to go backward to the concept of rule by law, instead of by decrees of either the Central or Provincial Government.

S. K. MOHINDRA.
New Delhi.

"Preposterous"

Reconstitution of district boards was shelved in 1946 when Mr. T. Prakasam was Premier. The reasons given by the Government were never convincing to the public. Later on, the subsequent Local Boards Minister had been telling time and again that panchayats would come. Now we have news that nominated district boards will be functioning soon. The reasons given by the Madras Government for this move are not at all convincing. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has presented its note of objection and demanded a regular election.

Newspapers bring us news that the U.P. Government is conducting district board elections and Congressmen are being returned in overwhelming majority. The Socialists who have parted from the Congress and who have challenged the popularity of the Congress are driven to corners. When such is the case, what is the meaning of the Madras Government forming nominated boards? Is it that Congressmen will not be returned in



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a majority? Whatever the conduct of certain potentates in the Congress, I am sure the masses have still faith in the great Congress organisation. What is the meaning of putting M.L.As and M.L.Cs into the boards?

Now when the people's Government is in power and when the people's representatives ought to occupy all public institutions it is something preposterous to have officials in the boards or as the heads of the boards. Is it not to whip the officials for progressive work that district boards are intended?

People are fed up with the vagaries of officials. The public is not satisfied with the way the administration is going on. There is talk of corruption, checking corruption and blotting out corruption. But what is the spectacle we see today? Every officer is in a way monarch of all under his jurisdiction. M.L.As and M.L.Cs have not come up to the expectations of the public.

To reconstitute district boards in the manner Government have proposed will only increase the degree of prejudice and suspicion towards the Government. I wish the Government of Madras will conduct regular elections to the boards or wait till the electoral rolls are prepared.

P. THIMMA REDDI,
Vice-President,
Andhra P.C.C.

Teaching Or Preaching?

The virus of communalism has worked havoc in the country in the past year. It is imperative that educational institutions be freed from this virus. Many educational institutions organised on the basis of preference for a particular community have not been free from blame. The State has shirked its responsibility far too long, allowing the field to be exploited by those who have an axe to grind.

The Editor of the St. Joseph's College Magazine (Trichinopoly) declares in the March number, that the biggest event of the year is not independence; it is the canonization of John de Britto by the Pope last June. This obscure Portuguese missionary who met his death in the hands of a Marava chieftain at Oriyur over two centuries and a half ago, is now held up for the admiration of the students as he "gladly shed his blood for the right to preach Christ." The truth is the missionary is a missionary even in the garb of pedagogy. Those who suspect the Communists of extra-territorial loyalty might do well to question the Catholic Students' Union and the Newman Association whose details of affiliation to Pax Romanna are given in the magazine.

More harmful than this subtle religious propaganda is the censorship of knowledge. I found in the library of a first grade college rows upon rows of books condemning Socialism and the Soviet Union; the other side was not represented. Not even the monumental study of the Webbs found a place. The world may acclaim Upton Sinclair a great novelist, Russel, a great thinker; but the Jesuit guardian would allow none of their writings into his little world. The reading room received Catholic magazines from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and even far off Dublin. But the Modern Review was not there. My professor of politics would have his students believe that Laski is a Communist. To check it up, most of Laski's writings were not in the library.

In a memorable passage in *Sesame and Lilies*, Ruskin indicts his audience with despising compassion and attachment to the externals of religion. He cites the death of Michael Collins who preferred starvation to the humiliations of a Victorian work house. Deploping the 'dramatic Christianity of the organ and aisle, of dawn service and twilight revival, this gas-lighted and gas-inspired Christianity' Ruskin advises: "You had better get rid of the smoke, and the organ pipes, both: leave them, and the Gothic windows, and the painted glass to the property man; give up your carburetted hydrogen ghost in one healthy expiration and look after Lazarus at the doorstep." The moral fervour of Ruskin pleading the cause of the poor did not move the Jesuit in immaculate robes. The Professor of English did not recognise Ruskin's prose at its best when he did meet it. He cleared the lump in his throat and passed on with the remark that Ruskin was a Puritan.

Educational institutions should have a free atmosphere, not one of religious propaganda or of censorship of knowledge. The libraries and reading rooms should be properly equipped. Qualified people should be in charge of teaching. The preferential treatment to particular faiths must be ended. Though the modern missionary is far too clever to be caught directly preaching his faith in the class, he must be told firmly that the subtle exploitation of the educational field for proselytizing purposes must end. The young minds must be free to roam about in the field of knowledge. Freedom of the mind is the most valuable of freedoms. Communal harmony cannot be attained as long as communalism continues to poison young minds. The State must discard its Shylockian attitude and discharge its duty by the coming generations.

R. B. N.

Control Of The Judiciary

One of the Articles of the Draft Constitution which has not received due attention from the Public is Article 220 which lays down that the Legislature of a State in Part I has exclusive power to make laws with respect to the constitution and organization of any High Court. Hence if the Article should stand as it is at present the Madras Legislature will have exclusive power to pass legislation with regard to the constitution of the Madras High Court. One who knows and realises the present provincial trends and eccentricities cannot but despair if the constitution of the Madras High Court is left in the hands of the local Legislature.

The dispensation of justice in the most important branch of the provincial administration and communal considerations should not prevail or manifest themselves in the constitution of the judiciary. It is absolutely essential that the appointment of Judges of a High Court should be in the hands of the President on the advice of eminent jurists like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Sir S. Vardachariar, Sir B. L. Mitter and others; and should consist of the best legal talent of the province and to a certain extent from outside within the Indian Union.

B. BHIMA RAO, M.L.C.

Bellary.

Bharathi, A Friend Of Viresalingam

I should like to bring to the notice of the readers of *Swatantra* that Bharathi was a friend of Viresalingam Pantulu and had immortalized him in his novel "The Story of Chandrika". In that unfinished but still brilliant work Bharathi had created a unique and great character in the virgin widow Visalakshi. Viresalingam appears as her helper in it. It is apparent from it, as also some of Bharathi's essays, that Bharathi must have known Viresalingam well enough, and also partaken of his hospitality occasionally. Bharathi knew Telugu and had many Andhra friends. Bharathi refers in the novel to Viresalingam's wife as a kind and excellent lady and a good cook. Moreover, only men like Bharathi could have really understood and appreciated Viresalingam, for Bharathi had that rare quality of courage, especially the courage to face calumny.

V. SUBRAMANIAN.

Trichinopoly.

Triumph Of The Common Man

C.R.'s name had for a long time been associated with the Governor-Generalship of India, and it was more or less settled that he would be appointed to the post. But soon the capi-

talists got nervous. They thought he would not pander to their tastes and subserve their interests in preference to those of the common masses, he could on no account be influenced, or made to give up his convictions and he would not hesitate to resort to unconventional methods of taxation whenever necessity arose. Recently the capitalist opposition grew in strength and even alternative names—those of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and, worse still, a ruling prince, the Jamsaheb of Nawanager—were suggested. Even anti-South-Indian sentiments were invoked and exploited. I thought the capitalists would have their way, but Nehru did not yield. And the capitalist anti-C.R. conspiracy has been foiled. Our congratulations to Nehru for his firm stand on this issue.

This is how I consider C.R.'s appointment as the triumph of the common man. In this connection, some will remember how, at the time of transfer of power, C.R. was relegated to West Bengal and his rightful place as Finance Minister of India usurped by Mr. Birla's nominee, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti.

The Nehru Government has thus undone a colossal blunder previously committed.

R. LAKSHMINARASIMHAN.

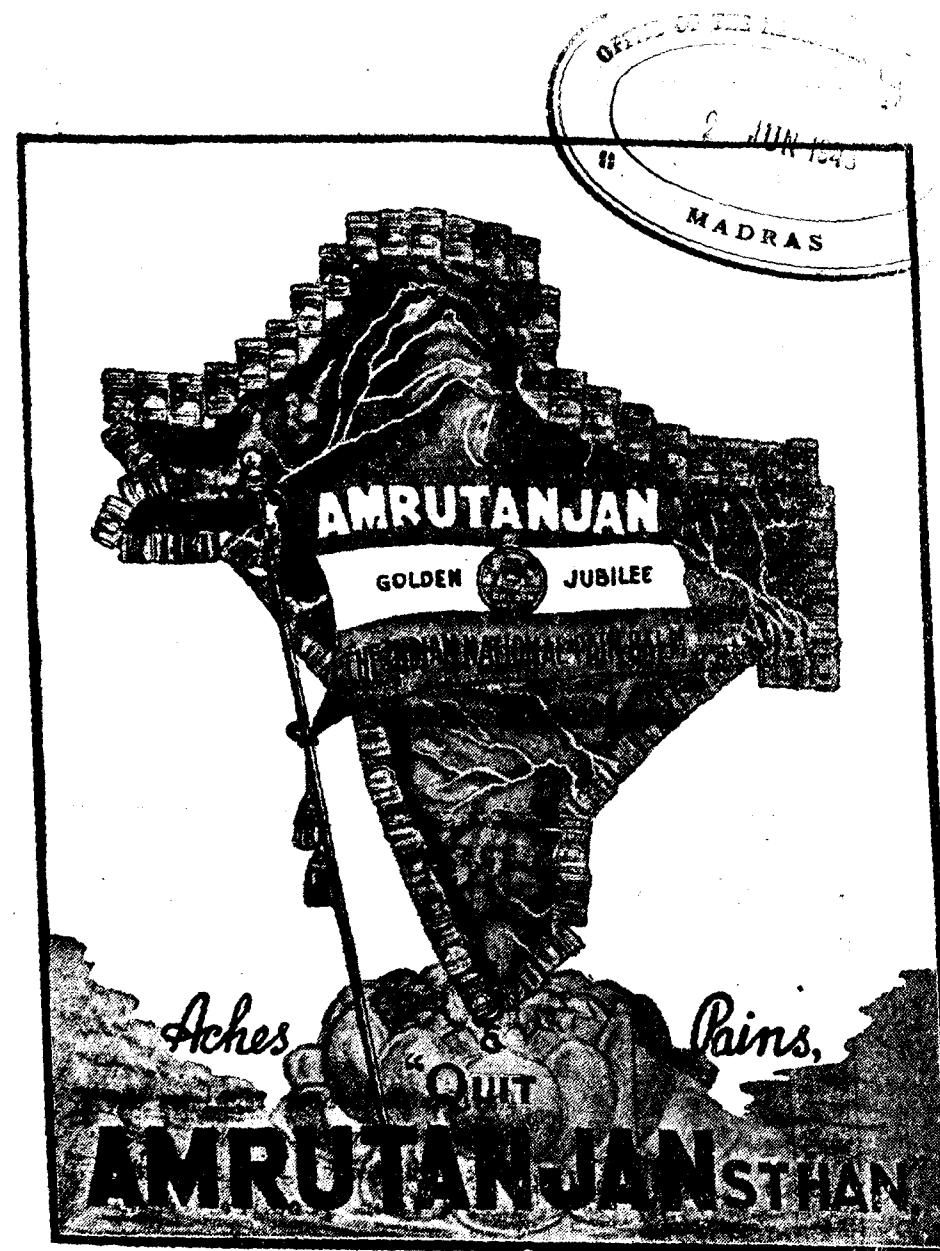
Aduthurai.

Gandhinagar Wastage

The building of Gandhinagar which witnessed the deliberations of the All India Congress Committee consumed thousands of rupees flown into the Congress pocket by the rich and poor of the country. Neither money nor energy was spared. Our great leaders, Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad amongst others, graced the session with their presence. But it was disappointing to note that none of them either exposed or gave expression to the sorrowful fact that the Congress and Congress leaders were deviating from the noble principles which they pledged to cherish once. All the grandeur, beauty and attractive decoration of Gandhinagar can in no way present to us a solution to tide over the present economic crisis.

When millions and millions of people are starving, rolling on the foot-paths on the sides of the streets in the night and when destitute children and women refugees are crying helplessly is it what they expect to witness or hear? Are our leaders any more justified in calling themselves the mouth-piece of the Indian people and in shouting that they live or die for the principles of Gandhi? We are awestruck at this change in the outlook and attitude of the Congress.

Bangalore. S. KRISHNASWAMY.



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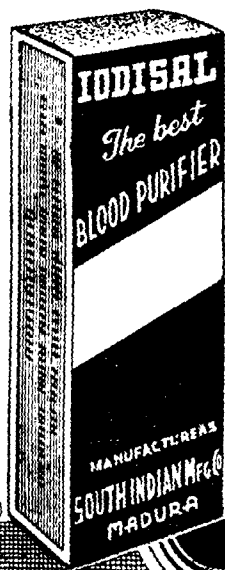
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THE SPIRIT OF THE NILGIRIS

Ah, sweet the spirit of the hills.
She sigheth in the wind, she laugheth in the rills.
She decketh her in green, or else in softest brown;
The woods her incense give, the thunders are her frown;
The lightning flashes gleam in splendour from her eyes;
And soft the raindrops fall with the pity of her sighs.

To man she largess gives of fruit and flower and scent,
And benediction lives within her sweet content.
The tall and stately pine is her fair maiden wand.
The sweet scent of the fir is on her garment worn.
So sweet the lady is, of tempest and of light.

This Woman fairest dwells in forest and in height,
And she hath tenderness for bird and beast and flower;
For they are all her own, within her maiden bower.
And does he dare to slay, rash man in wonton lust,
The gentle and the meek, and all within her trust?

And one day shall she claim, in royal, maiden rage,
The payment for her own, until rash man shall learn
There is a Spirit rules for bird and beast, and flower,
And every living thing has its own ambient fire,
The Fire of Life, that burns not in man's breast alone.
For all the earth is God's—His footstool and His throne.

SISTER LALITHA

SWATANTRA

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No. 15

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1948

ISSUED
WEEKLY

SEEDS OF CONFLICT

LESS than a year after the resolution of the conflict between the national movement and foreign imperialism, the country is already in the throes of a domestic conflict, equally fundamental and therefore bitter, between conservatives and radicals. This latter development was inevitable and generally foreseen. But few would have expected the internal social conflict to break out with such violence and acquire the most urgent importance so soon after the advent of freedom. A virtual state of war now exists between the Congress and the Communists.

During the period of struggle against the foreign power, the capacious fold of the national movement accommodated a variety of social and ideological groups. The main and immediate objective of freedom held together, in an uneasy but on the whole stable alliance, disparate elements entertaining widely differing conceptions of the ultimate ends to be striven for after freedom. Some envisaged a total transformation of Indian life, whether in accordance with the clearly defined rules of Marxist social engineering, or towards the vaguely conceived ideal of kisan-mazdoor-praja raj. Others looked forward to little more than the 'nationalisation' of the status quo. The rich and the poor were brought together to create a unity which was essentially unreal, but which acquired a temporary reality and strength in the context of a common opposition to British rule.

The creation and maintenance of this united front received a tremendous impetus from—it might have been impossible without—Mahatma Gandhi. The inclusive nature of his philosophy rendered it attractive to all sections of society. The poor and the downtrodden put their trust in him, yet the wealthy were not frightened away from him. A peculiar quality of Gandhiji's teaching was that it could be interpreted with equal plausibility as advocating a kind of Socialism modified by religion, or as sanctioning the existing class differences with the somewhat vague proviso that the rich should act as 'trustees' of the poor. Gandhiji's social philosophy called for the minimum of modern industrial mechanisation. This, again, did not disturb the captains of industry because, with the exception of a few, Congressmen themselves did not take this part of Gandhiji's teaching seriously, treating it only with good-humoured and formal respect. The national movement led by the Congress was in any case bound to lose the character of a united front and break up into parties of the Right and the Left, once its objective had been achieved. This process of disintegration has been hastened by the death of Gandhiji. The spirit of Gandhism is today wholly absent from Congress administrations, which have dispensed with even the externalities of the Gandhian programme like khadi and

Congress in power has done nothing to retain the allegiance of the common people; it has done much to weaken their allegiance. The communal disturbances and the fighting in Kashmir might perhaps be adequate explanation of the Government's failure to improve the lot of the poor and middle classes who have been hard hit by the ever-increasing cost of living. But they can surely be no excuse for *aggravating* the country's economic crisis. By deliberately embarking on the policy of decontrol, the Congress administration has made itself responsible for a further reduction in the real value of earnings which was already low due to inflation. Hoarding and profiteering still flourish. People are having to pay more for their food and clothing, the two primary needs, than they had to pay when controls (inadequate and inefficiently administered though they were) existed. The Government's courting of sectional and vested interests is constant and obsequious; the pretence of comprehensive benevolence to all classes is fast wearing thin.

The record of Congress in power being what it is, opposition to it from the Left is not surprising. The decision of the Socialists to leave the Congress was a measure of the disintegration of what was formerly a national movement into parties representing the conservative and progressive wings of the movement. But the most active opposition to the Congress from the Left has come not from the Socialists but from the Communists. The infant Socialist Party suffers from a high degree of confusion in its approach to economic and political problems. A party with the ultimate ideal of a planned economy, it is yet committed to support of the Government's policy of decontrol. In the political sphere, the party is uncertain about its relations with the Congress and the Government. Pledged to be

loyal to the State, the Socialists are finding it an awkward and difficult task to reconcile their critical opposition with loyalty. The concept of solidarity with the State has led the Socialists of Pakistan to support Pakistan's claim for the accession of Kashmir, while the Socialists of the Indian Union support Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdulla. Coming from Socialists, this is a curious and extreme instance of uncritical loyalty to the powers that be.

In contrast to the Socialists who are immobilised because they are subjected to contrary pulls, the Communists are opposing the Congress administration with single-minded ferocity. This Communist opposition, in a context of world affairs other than the present, might possibly have been constructive. As was amply evident during the years of what the Communists called the People's War, the Communists are not incapable of pursuing their policies in a constructive and peaceful manner though their aims might conflict with those of the Government. During the war period, the Communists worked up an impressive but peaceful agitation for the release of the Congress leaders from prison and for the transfer of power to representatives of the people. This demand went counter to, and was rejected by, the British administration. Yet the Communists restricted industrial and agrarian strikes to a minimum, exhorted the people to exercise restraint in the face of provocation from the Government, and co-operated in maintaining and increasing production. The Communists acted in this manner because their broad political assessment of the international situation permitted, and even called for, collaboration with the Government in winning the anti-Fascist war. This was the case not only in India but in all the Allied countries. The policy of the international Communist

movement encouraged the Communist parties in various countries to act as an essentially constructive opposition. And the Communists enjoyed civil liberties, though not political power, for the same reason. The British administration in India was interested in the maintenance of production as part of the war effort, and it therefore tolerated the activities of the Communists.

Present circumstances are altogether different. The international political situation is hardly conducive to the pursuit of constructive and co-operative policies by the Communist parties in the sphere of their respective national affairs. The co-operation between Soviet Russia and the Western capitalist powers that prevailed during the war has given place to fierce animosity. The policy of the international Communist movement is no longer to encourage collaboration of the Communists with the ruling powers. Wherever the Communists are not themselves in power, they are engaged in an active struggle, mainly through strikes, against the Government. This is evident from the present activities of Communists in such widely separated regions as Western Europe and Burma. In India, it is no longer useful to the Congress administration (as it was useful to the British during the war) to tolerate the activities of the Communists. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the Congress to suppress the Communists as the most vigorous of the potential rivals of the Congress in respect of the people's support.

The Government's appeasement of the vested interests on the one hand, and considerations imported by the Communists from the international situation on the other, have thus combined to precipitate the conflict between conservatives and radicals that was inherent in the national movement. If the Congress had not largely given up the programme of economic reform to

which it was pledged and which finds a partial and feeble expression in the legislation for the abolition of zamindaris, the conflict would not have been so bitter as it is. Equally, if the Communists had continued in the post-war period that restrained and co-operative attitude which they displayed during the war, the conflict might not have reached the proportions which it has; at any rate, the Communists would be enjoying a wider degree of public sympathy than they do at present.

As it is, the conflict between the Congress and the Communists is assuming a pattern ominously similar to that of China's disastrous civil war. The Indian and Chinese situations are essentially similar, though there are considerable differences of degree. For one thing, Indian Communists are not nearly as strong in numbers as the Chinese Communists. Our industrial development is higher and our system of administration more modern as compared with China. Further, we have a relatively—but strictly relatively—better tradition of parliamentary democracy. These are important factors. Nevertheless, the danger is there that the National Government in India, as in China, might become the tool of the vested interests and create the conditions for civil war by intensifying the economic crisis, and by its corruption, inefficiency and suppression of the democratic rights of the opposition parties. Only foreign support, as in China, can then sustain such a Government.

Already a country-wide drive has been launched by the Congress administration against the Leftist opposition, the Communists in particular. Thousands of people have been put in jail through executive action under the Public Safety Acts. They are denied the right of a judicial trial in court. They have been jailed not for any infringements of the law established against them;

but because the executive considers them a menace to public safety. The Communist Party enjoys the formal status of a legally permitted party, except in West Bengal where it has been banned. But the Communists everywhere have been compelled to function for all practical purposes as an illegal party as a result of the warrants issued for the arrest of numerous individual Communists. In North Malabar and parts of Andhra, dozens of Communists have been shot dead in clashes with the police. The Madras Government has been issuing press notes seeking to show that the clashes were the result of initial Communist aggressiveness. Frankly, we do not know the truth. Full credence cannot readily be extended to the allegations of the executive against political opponents whom the party in power is suppressing by executive fiat without recourse to the judiciary. In any case, the methods now adopted by the administration to put down the allegedly violent activities of the Communists are not themselves calculated to lessen the chances of violent means being pursued in future. To drive a party underground and to take non-justifiable action for muzzling its newspapers, will only provoke it to defend its very existence as a party by all means at its command, including defiance of bans.

Civil War In Palestine

WITH the ceremonial surrender of her mandate over Palestine stage-managed with a punctilious thoroughness which Pontius Pilate might have envied, one of the most tortuous and unedifying chapters in the history of British diplomacy comes to an uncertain and suspicious close. That tiny but distracted land is now in the grip of a civil war which has, partly at least, been willed by the mandatory power as part of the tactics of her withdrawal. A sober or objective

appraisal of the background, though difficult, is not impossible; and to achieve it, we must take a survey which would cover the history of the last thirty years, as it relates to the so-called awakening of the Arab world, during that period.

One of the double-edged weapons used by the Allies in the first world-war was the artificial respiration administered to Arab imperialists who had been lotos-eating during a thousand years under the indolent sway of the Ottoman rulers. British foreign policy which had consistently backed Turkey against Russia in the nineteenth century turned the tables against her when she was found flirting with Germany in the twentieth century. Arab friendship was thus cultivated as a potent instrument of policy with which to liquidate the existence of Turkey as a European power. But the disappearance of Turkey left a void which it has been the ambition of the client states of Britain—the Arab princelings—to fill. Britain was willing to oblige her creatures up to a point in hastening this consummation.

But another aspect of British diplomacy which had developed on parallel lines had made flattering offers and promises to international Jewry in exchange for their support in the war effort in all possible ways. Indeed, the history of European wars becomes romantic when studied from the view-point of Jewish contributions to them in the shape of money and materials. It is now admitted that the overthrow of Napoleon was as much due to the military doggedness of Wellington as to the financial accommodation extended to the British Coalition by the house of the Rothschilds through all their international ramifications. The Jews have shown a power of adapting themselves to the modern environment and exploiting it to their advantage

while remaining obstinately and essentially Jews in their cultural and spiritual set-up. In addition to this, or perhaps because of this, they have become powerful forces in the democratic politics of England and America, and wield an influence in their national policies which is clearly out of all proportion to their numerical or financial strength.

In the second world-war, their services to the cause of the Allies were even more spectacular; their sufferings at the hands of Hitlerite hordes in all the countries of Europe overrun by Nazis, and the scientific thoroughness with which genocide was practised against them brought them a volume of world sympathy which strengthened their case for returning to their ancestral home, even though ancestral voices prophesied war. Thus sentiment, gratitude, revenge and self-interest all conspired to create in all western democracies a strong current of pro-Jewish feeling. It was due to this factor that Britain announced her readiness to help them in establishing a home of their own in Palestine.

Thus two contradictory forces have been impelling British foreign policy during the last thirty years. British spokesmen have been swearing and forswearing themselves on both sides, promising and recanting in a manner which has left them, figuratively speaking, without even a rag with which to cover their moral nudity. But power-politics can make any kind of compromise so long as what is thought the substance of power is still in one's grasp.

The crucial fact in the present Palestine situation is that though Arab and Jew have been set by the ears, it is not the intention of either Britain or America to leave them to stew in their own juice or to save them from the meddlesome

interference of interested third parties. Britain's withdrawal has been only in the Pickwickian sense; she is very much on the spot through her Arab dummies. The part assigned to the Arab Legion which is now openly assisting in the invasion of the Holy Land shows the depth of *malice prepense* of which the adventurers in charge of the British Foreign Office have been guilty. With an affectation of simplicity which only British diplomats can assume with exasperating naturalness, the world is informed that the Legion belongs to the ruler of Trans-Jordan, while actually trained, equipped and partly manned by the English, and that if the Arab states are bombing Jewish settlements with British planes, it is because Britain has been selling planes to her customers in the ordinary course of business. In short, Britain is egging on her clients to keep Palestine a seething cauldron of racial, religious and economic jealousies and cupidities. An unsettled Arab world would be the best justification for Britain to 'stand by' ostensibly to avert the spread of the disturbances, while really continuing to fish in troubled waters.

With the formal announcement of the establishment of the new state of Israel, an inevitable parting of the ways between America and Britain seems imminent. America has extended *de facto* recognition to the new state; but Britain is said to be in no hurry to take such a decision on this question. Whether there is any pre-arranged concert between the two countries or not cannot be stated with certainty at this stage. But that such accord must be forthcoming sooner or later may be safely counted upon, specially in view of the imperative necessity of Anglo-American accord on many major and ancillary questions of international

politics. It would not be a matter for surprise at all if America should cultivate Jewish friendship by patronising the new Jewish state, while Britain's cue is to cultivate Arab friendship by devious methods as may be inferred from the progress of the armies inside Palestine. In the upshot, it is quite on the cards that both Arab and Jew would be betrayed by the eventual convergence of Anglo-American diplomacy at the highest levels.

The reasons that prompt us to take this view are as follows. If the Arab states move quickly and in concert in a military sense, the new-born state of Israel might be squeezed out of existence before it draws even its preliminary experimental breath. But the effect of such a development would be to complete the domination of the Middle East by the new-risen star of Arab imperialism flushed with the triumph of a victory which will draw its inspiration as much from racial as from religious fanaticism. The Arab world would then become—it is so now in an incipient fashion—the bastion of a new type of megalomania which will combine the worst features of Fascist and Nazi ideologies. That the Arab world has been aligning itself with Italy or Germany in the inter-war years is a fact which is either slurred over or under-estimated. Such a reactionary force, well-armed and well-equipped, might eventually prove troublesome, if not dangerous, to the Western democracies themselves. Therefore, it is more reasonable to suppose that the patrons of the Arab world have their own ulterior aims in extending their dubious patronage to their eventual victims.

Two subsidiary considerations pointing to the same conclusion are the existence of oil in the Middle East and the pressure of the Soviets on the periphery of the Islamic

world. Britain and America may not care for the Middle East, *per se*; but it is to their interest to see that it does not fall into the hands of any other power, for then their very existence would be threatened.

We do not pretend to be prophets enough to forecast the trend of events in Palestine; but we may hazard certain general conclusions. First and foremost of them is that neither side will be allowed to achieve or enjoy a decisive military victory over the other. The war of jitters will press more heavily than the war with deadlier weapons until the morale is sapped on both sides with the unperceived inevitability of gradualness. Such a state of 'controlled anarchy' would be the best possible argument for both America and Britain to intervene at any moment of their choice but under the camouflaged protection of the U. N. O. and its branches. A new cock-pit is thus being got ready to take the place of the Balkans which have irrevocably passed out of the orbit of the Western democracies. As for Arab and Jew—poor deluded victims of remote rivalries and profuse promises,—theirs will be the blood, the tears and the sweat, while the great powers gather the fruits of their martyrdom with Olympian serenity.

COVER PAGE

The picture on the cover page of *SWATANTRA* this week is that of Sri C. S. Mallinath. Not many would have heard of him. The nature of his service is unspectacular. In many parts of South India the crudest and cruellest forms of animal sacrifice have survived into the twentieth century. Sri Mallinath has been striving during the last thirty years, with considerable success, to bring this barbarous practice to an end. A firm believer in *ahimsa*, he belongs to the small band of unassuming and sincere people working for the acceptance of the doctrine in the practice of everybody life.

Sotto Voce

The Vulgarians



A CANADIAN County Judge has decided that a man can whistle at a woman without breaking the law, as whistling does not constitute "impeding" in the language of the Criminal Code. At the same time there comes a story from Lucknow of an old man who left his house in June last for a walk and was promptly led to the lock-up. He remained there for eleven months when it was discovered that his only offence was that he had had a walking stick with him. A policeman had regarded that as a violation of an order under Sec. 144 then in force and that was enough to deprive a man of his liberty for a year. Surely it is better to be whistled at than to be left whistling for liberty!

The English Common Law which apparently governs Ontario has a genius for obliqueness of operation. To give you an imaginary instance of the incalculable ways by which it gets its effects, an urchin may shy a piece of road metal at a running bus and hit a man. But in all probability he would be prosecuted not for causing grievous hurt but for appropriating or misappropriating the lump of granite. Being the property of the County Authority, illegal possession of it might make him guilty of grand larceny and earn for him a more severe sentence than is permissible for head breaking. It is not therefore surprising that the man who had whistled at a woman should have been charged for "impeding". Presumably Canadian law cannot conceive of whistling as an affront to a woman's modesty.

That is perfectly understandable in these days of equality when a woman resents being treated as the weaker vessel. When a friend of mine obligingly vacated his seat in the bus on seeing a young woman enter he had the mortification to be told, "No, no sit down. I could not think of taking the place of an old man"—and he was not so old either! The bright young things who flock to our women's colleges must be gravely puzzled by such a confession as Lakshmana's when, confronted with Sita's jewels, he tearfully said, "Neither the bracelet that bound her brow nor the pendants that graced her ears have I seen before. But the anklets are of a certainty hers, as I know from having bowed at her feet every day". And they would unanimously vote Sita a frowsy Victorian for proudly declaring that Sri Rama had never looked another woman in the face.

It is certainly odd that the law should have to be invoked to put down an exhibition of bad manners which the old-fashioned society of an earlier day would not have tolerated for a moment. In the little town where I went to school I have seen a man chastised for merely turning back again and again in the street to look at a woman whom he had passed. And when one or two impertinent young fellows made a nuisance of themselves by jumping into the river from a bridge near the ghat where women bathed the police inspector locked them up for a night with the blessings of the elders. Not having a front of brass they fled the town the next day.

Today that kind of action would no doubt be denounced as high-handed and obscurantist. The man who stares at a pretty woman in the street would, if rebuked, retort—“I am not drawing from my imagination—“When you see a fine sunset or a superb horse or a lovely child don't you gaze your fill? If the beautiful thing is a woman why should that make any difference?” But if you may stroke a piece of velvet that the shopman shows you, to enjoy the feel of it, could you take the same liberty with a chance woman's hand because it is sleek and glossy?

Our anglicised moralists are very severe on Sanskrit dramatists who have portrayed the *naagarika*, the gay man about town. But the old playwrights never over-stepped the line that divides aesthetic appreciation from libidinous suggestion. Men were shown as being free with

women of a particular class. The hetaera, as the *Vita* points out in the delightful first Act of the *Mrichchakatika*, must to be successful cultivate detachment, learning to rise above personal likes and dislikes.

The roue was all the same a civilized man and would not force his unwelcome attentions on a woman. When Vasantasena gives the King's brother-in-law, a dyed-in-the-wool fool, the slip, the *Vita*'s sardonic comment is: “Haven't you heard the saying, ‘The elephant is held by the tether, the horse by the bridle, woman by loving heart?’ As that is lacking here, come, let us depart”. But our modern free thinkers and free livers are yet to learn this elementary lesson. When the heart is filled with the ordure of lasciviousness ogling is ocular masturbation.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

Fortune is the rod of the weak, and the staff of the brave.—J. R. LOWELL.

FIVE more dissimilar persons can scarcely be thought of for a common venture than the members of the Indian Newspaper Society Delegation that have proceeded to London to discuss with Reuters the future of the Associated Press of India. Of the five, three, K. Srinivasan, C. R. Srinivasan and Sadanand are Madrasis. One, Ramnath Goenka, though hailing originally from outside, has become completely domesticated in Madras, indistinguishable from the native inhabitants to the soil born. Ninety per cent of his interests, properties and friendships belong to Madras. The fifth member, Devadas Gandhi, is the only non-Madras member of the delegation. But Madras has claimed him by marriage, and the influence of Madras may be said to have become the pervasive atmosphere of his life and home. Madras dominates the delegation in apt illustration of its established supremacy over the press throughout the country. A remarkable characteristic of the Madras domination of the press is the exclusion of non-Tamils from any share of it.

The delegation is saved from clannishness by a certain incapacity of its members to agree and unite. Their general propensity is for divergence, rivalry and conflict. The only exception is the case of the two Srinivasans. Together they form a redoubtable pair of complementary qualities ample enough for outmatching in skilled generalship any combination formed to thwart their wishes. K. Srinivasan has no relish for tournamental jousts to further the projects of ambition. C. R. Srinivasan is an adept in producing the effects of victory by means of warfare through superbly timed dexterous strategical moves made as in chess play in soft-spoken banter and raillery with kid gloves on. But he has insight enough to limit himself to the functions of

lieutenancy for advancement of the power and position of his better-placed namesake. As editor of *The Hindu*, K. Srinivasan enjoys in the Indian newspaper world a prestige analogous to that of the editor of *The Times* in England. *The Hindu*'s tradition has been a laborious eschewal of “sentiment” as a deadly journalistic vice. With continuous cultivation of objectivity it has thrown emphasis into a background where it acquired a tremendous reserve power because of its scarce usage. The normal under-emphasis of *The Hindu*'s style of presentation imparts to occasional deviations from it the character of an epoch-making event, whereas papers prone to exuberance are left without adequate resources when epoch-making events do actually occur calling for extra emphasis in comment or treatment.

The renown of *The Hindu* for care and caution has built round it an armour of protection from the shafts of illwill of the powers that be who have generally felt themselves impelled to be on good behaviour in their dealings with it. The paper has contrived to disarm the Government of the power of hurting it, and by using moderation as a weapon, compelled official response to its points of view in a manner given to few others among its compeers. In consequence of this, K. Srinivasan is *persona grata* with dissimilar circles at loggerheads with each other working at cross purposes—a unique position placing him in command of enviable prestige and influence. There is none so securely wrapped in the eminence of recognised status, and abroad as at home, he carries with him a readymade vantage that confers on him without much effort on his part a pulling power not attainable by others of his class even with assiduous striving.

At the other end of the scale is Sadanand. Completely devoid of

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the propelling benefits of respectability, he revels in dashing schemes of cosmic scope and dangerous import and snaps his fingers at security. He knows the newspaper business from A to Z. He is the only considerable newspaper proprietor of India that can be called a working journalist. He has wrung power and influence out of the very jaws of adversity and seeming collapse with work, grit and determination, and owes no part of his success to accidental good fortune or the momentum of ready money. In the art of newsgathering he is without a peer. He has an unbeaten record in the achievement of scoops. It was he that almost single-handed shook the complacency of *Reuters* in their days of monopoly and compelled them to descend from their attitude of almost exclusive preoccupation with European and American news to some comprehension of the place due to India on the news map of the world. While *Reuters* might accord punctilious respect to K. Srinivasan, it is to Sadanand that they will pay the tribute of fear.

Ramnath Goenka is a giant planner with the same soaring ambition as Sadanand. He jumped into the newspaper business from the share market. Mastering the intricacies of the business with phenomenal swiftness, he has stamped the press with the imprint of commerce. His aspiration is for ramification rather

than concentration. He depends on mediocrity for quantitative exploitation of the curiosity complex of common people which is the basis of the appeal of newspapers to vast multitudes. He is harassed by vague discomfort as to the incompatibility between talent and loyalty and seems to confuse purchasability with dependability. He makes no pretensions to objectivity. He is capable of rising to amazing heights of generosity and public spirit on occasions, and the charm of his gifts and deeds then persists with its captivating fragrance to neutralise the unpleasantness of many a transaction of different quality on lower levels.

Devadas Gandhi is the Fourth Estate's child of fortune. Son of the Mahatma and son-in-law of India's prospective Governor-General, he is so placed that distinction cannot escape him, and how much of it can be assessed to abilities of his own has never had any chance to get properly tested. He will perhaps turn out to be the most glamourised member of the delegation. All the five are experienced men of tenacity and consummate-ness. If they could act together, they would prove to be a match to any body of men engaging them in a battle of wits. But they are torn by jealousy and rivalry and the danger is that each may seek to play a game of his own to the detriment of the common aim.—SAKA.

Frank Nye once made a political speech in a town whose citizens were almost solidly on the opposite side of the fence. The audience joyously hissed and booed throughout the address. Afterward the auditorium janitor undertook to comfort the shaken campaign. "Never mind, Mr. Nye," the old Irishman said. "This bunch is nothing but the ragtag and bobtail of the town. Everyone with any sense stayed at home."—*Christian Science Monitor*.

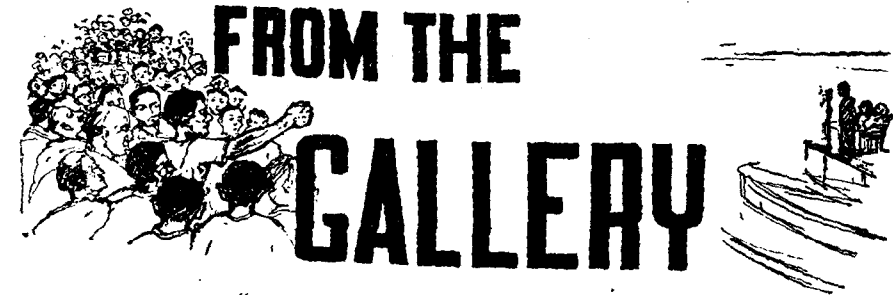


Although telling anti-Communist stories in Poland may mean imprisonment, the Poles think up new ones every day. Here is one:

In Warsaw, a Polish newspaper publisher asked a visitor, "Do you know what is the most widespread country in Europe today?"

"No."

"Poland. Its army is in Italy, its population in Siberia, and its government in Moscow."



FROM THE GALLERY

"A child's among you taking notes
And faith he'll print it."

I AM afraid that Lord Mountbatten's zeal for truncated India is outrunning the limits of ordinary discretion and constitutional propriety. For I am forced to be critical when the conveniences require that I should get ready rose-garlands and attar sprays with which to hasten his Lordship's return to his island home of Ithaca—I mean England, of course. For frankly, I don't see the need for his lordship's butting in between the States department and the solitary truant who is standing out with schoolboy petulance. I am sure that every constitutional pandit would be scandalised beyond expression if he should hear, for instance, that His Majesty King George VI had sent a private missive to M. Stalin, of course with the best of intentions. The Hyderabad question has been made such a mess of by a consortium of high-placed persons—official and non-official—that there is no need for confounding an already confused situation by extra orthodox variations on diplomatic procedure. The Nizam's refusal to accept Lord Mountbatten's 'invitation' to meet him in Delhi was snub No. 1. To cover up the discomfiture of it, a special messenger is now being sent to the equivalent of a local Munich. The pact, if any, which may emerge from this humiliating pilgrimage will be another feather in the cap of the Nizam which will be promptly capitalised by his devoted followers. While the bluff on one side is hardening into a crusty surface, the froth on the other is evaporating into air—into thin air. All this lengthening chain of mis-

chief arose from an initial and disastrous blunder committed on or about the 15th of August. It was the tacit recognition of the 'peculiar and special' position of the Nizam. That was the strongest argument in favour of his incontinent liquidation; instead it was used to normalise an abnormality. Look at the emergence of friends of the Nizam—from most unlikely nooks and corners of the world—like flies after summer rains. They impress us with nothing more than their numbers, and the cacophony of their noises.

Apparently the U. P. A. is a press organisation hailing from God's own country. It recently put out a news-item (with that tantalising air of non-committal authoritative-ness which is the triumph of news-editing) that the Indian Government would have no objection if the Nizam should decide to send out help to the Arab countries in their attempts to overrun the Jewish settlements in Palestine. It is perhaps purely apocryphal but the implications of it are highly interesting. If I were the Nizam, my primary preoccupation in the present context of affairs in India would be to devise the most dignified method of saving my skin in the hope of saving the dynasty for a maximum of another thirty years. To suggest therefore that the Nizam is anxious to ape his betters, and intervene in the international arena, is to magnify his potentialities for mischief when his stock is slumping slowly but surely. But as if to neutralise this notion, we are told

that the Nizam would have to get the approval of the Government of India for such a move. This punctures the pretensions of the Nizam and his claim to be independent far more effectively than any other action that might be contemplated against his continuing truculence. How much longer would it take the Government of India to learn the elements of the diplomatic art of: 'suaviter in modo; fortiter in re'—in plain English, be smooth-spoken, but iron-fisted!

As I feared, the cloth scandal has now become co-extensive with the geographical limits of the country. You think there is any dearth of stocks? You have only to look at the stamps on many of the pieces going back to the early months of 1947. The Nizam is further reported to have bought a crore of rupees worth of textiles against the day of an economic embargo against him. It was, if true, very sporting of Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners to have put through the deal for the Nizam. My own private recipe for the mills

arising from decontrol is to hang a few top-ranking magnates by drawing lots, nationalise the textile industry, and eventually hold an enquiry to justify all actions taken in the public interest.

I am told that a bright (and apparently young) Bengalee has undertaken to organise an Indian branch of the British Union of Fascists. We have already a Black-Shirt organisation in our province which can give points to Sir Oswald Mosley. It is the search for scapegoats which gives extraordinary vitality to these predatory organisations; for they cannot tolerate individual excellence, and therefore handpicks it for summary destruction. If you are made revengeful through personal frustration then you become a fascist; but if you become disheartened through it, then you become a Communist. And as the really cushy jobs are few and far between, the majority of us are condemned to become victims of either the one or the other.

GROUNDLING

A patriotic but thwarted civil servant, anxious to do a little more for his country, consulted the establishment officer of his Ministry about release.

"I should like to do something more useful in the national production drive," he said. "Do you think you could introduce me to anyone who could give me a really useful job?"

His senior could do very little for him, so, of his own initiative, some weeks later he found himself a job in a steel foundry. Three or four days of this, with aching muscles and scorching eyes, convinced him that he had not the stuff of the men of steel, so he begged off.

He next called upon a farmer—at least if he was not tough enough for industry, he might be able to work in the open air, and do something to help the agricultural output. Giles looked him over and decided he would give him a job at the potato clamps.

"What you have to do," said the farmer, "is to sort out these snuds, put the big ones into these barrels and the small ones into these."

At mid-day the farmer came along to see how his new recruit was shaping. He had made little impression upon his clamp of potatoes.

"What is the matter?" said the farmer. "This is simple enough job, isn't it? Not too heavy—nothing like that steel foundry you were telling me about."

"No," replied the civil servant, "nothing like so heavy, but I am afraid I must ask you to relieve me of the job. You see, it's the responsibility that is getting me down."

"Responsibility?" queried the farmer in some surprise. "What responsibility?"

"This big and little potato business. You see, Sir, I am not accustomed to making such quick decisions."—Business,

Short Story

Kumudam

by Butchi Babu

"DON'T you write a story about me?" Kumudam asked me. This surprised me because about eight years back she had asked me very nearly the same question. I still vaguely remember that day. Kumudam's father was living in my uncle's house and I used to visit them to collect the monthly rent. I saw Kumudam, two years younger than me according to her mother—driving an iron wheel with a nail stuck horizontally to the end of a stick. The nail came off. The wheel zig-zagged and fell into the ditch. Later she bade me climb a tree to pluck the fruit and lazily biting at it, I told her stories of neighbouring girls in my place, in which I invariably figured as the hero—silly stories of absurd boyhood escapades. Her eyes rounded with surprise. She innocently accepted the legends as truth and heaved what adult malice could interpret as the sigh of envy, rendered bearable by confidence. I suppose it is a characteristic of the story-teller to impart the dignity appropriate to fact to fiction. Overwhelmed by genuine emotional response to recollected fabrication, I used to lapse into meaningless silences only disturbed by the fall of a withered leaf on Kumudam's lap.

"Don't you write a story about me?" she innocently broke my silence. I don't think I would have ever narrated Kumudam's story to anybody. The reason is Kumudam is a real girl, not an imaginary being.

It surprised me that she should ask me the same question after all these years. How she came to regard me as a writer of stories I never know. Only two of my stories had been published till then, and I am sure only two people could have read them—the printer and myself. I was only twenty years old then, and in a country where old age is synonymous with wisdom, a young writer has practically no chance of recognition.

I used to believe in those days that in India, where the rich pursue money and the poor pursue God, there is no place for the writer. The writer does not 'succeed' in life; nor does he enable others to attain beatitude.

There is another reason for my not taking my writings seriously. Living in a drab environment among dull

people who are either bored or shocked by the labyrinthine mental processes indulged in by the writer, I felt I lacked the sureness and finality of ripe experience, and contented myself with a retreating hope that one day I shall transform raw experience into verbal ecstasy anchored on eternal truth—and shall die leaving behind me a great book. A great book I may not leave behind me; but the certainty of death gives me a feeling of elation born of irresponsibility which is a symbol of life.

"Don't you write a story about me?" is a query which I heard for the first time in my life from the lips of a woman. It is a question which betokens 'separateness' and therefore individuality. There is in Kumudam's question an urgency, an eagerness to make herself known to somebody, to foist as it were, her awareness and 'presence'. Remove her from the world, and a holy vacuum is established.

The women I had seen are born on the day of their wedding; merely extend a husband, you have a woman; extend her still and you have a baby. Her life ends with the death of her husband. Our women are the eternally-kept-open doors of creation. There are no doors that do not open. If there is one which does not, it is talked about, removed, repaired,—if beyond repair, destroyed. Or should it be utilised for some other purpose? The writer is not concerned with the process of repair. He can tell us what is wrong with it; if he is a great writer he can make us see its beauty and love it. Kumudam alone tore herself off the eternal pattern of Indian womanhood and asked me a question which I faintly would answer.

"What is there in you that I should write about you?" I asked her. I felt sorry for having asked her this but there is no escape from the knowledge that there is not a single trait in her which would catch the fancy of and inspire a writer.

A thin, lean body with the colour of dark summer cloud heralding rain, the weak fluid-looking limbs still in a formative stage. The bedraggled hair parted uncertainly as though somebody had combed it, Kumudam cannot be described as good-looking. Her eyes

shining like a hare running through the sunlit fog, her waist too weak to bear the torso, the green veins slender as a stem without its roots, breaking over on her conch-shell like neck, Kumudam is an ordinary woman. Even her mother had not applied the adjective 'beautiful' to her.

"What do you want me to have?" she asked.

"Something distinctive, unique; something which every other woman does not have—" I began. She was fingering her ring—with her sharp long fingers. The smallest motion she makes is inspired by the collective vigilance of her senses. Into her looks she brings to bear a concentration and a power which disable her very sight. But I don't suppose I can make a story out of Kumudam by merely describing her.

"Why did you not send me an invitation to your marriage?" I asked her.

"My mother told me that she sent you one. Had you come, you would have watched the whole fun and written stories—" Kumudam probably thought she had a fling at me.

"I am not joking, Kumudam. What is there to write of ordinary men and women? We do not discuss anyone who behaves like everyone else. But if somebody departs from the accepted codes, we talk of him. We write of him."

"You mean, then, that the people who really count are people who behave strangely?"

"Certainly not. I only mean that they are the people much talked of."

I then went on dilating on my point. Being born somewhere, sometime, marrying someone sometime, giving birth to children, and then dying sometime, somewhere,—this is what most of us do. What is there to write about in all this? These ordinary lives, without distinction and uniqueness may be rich and full; but it is a richness and a fullness attained by a worm in the mud. To have defied society, to have rebelled against tradition, to have achieved values hungered for and abandoned by others, that is life worthwhile. There is something panicky in the lives of ordinary people who, caught in the net woven by custom, and thumped by respectability, wither and die. Progress depends on those who go astray because they go forward. In Kumudam there is no sign of revolt. Kumudam has no education; she does not sing; she did not marry for love. She is not rich—she is not even poor. She is not charming; nor is she positively repellent. We can write about good people; we can write about bad people. But it is impossible to write about ordinary people.

"What is your husband?"

"He is studying for L.T."

"A schoolmaster abroad—a pupil at home!" I laughed.

"A nice husband I suppose?" I asked again.

She smiled meaningfully.

"I don't know what is being 'nice'. As a writer, you should know."

"You think it a brilliant repartee, eh! I am in earnest, Kumudam. As it is, Mother India is unable to feed her teeming millions."

She seemed to have grasped my suggestion, for she cut me short:

"I am not a mother yet. You are hinting that every woman should remain unmarried, picketing at shops?"

"I am not saying that; I merely wonder what you achieve through marriage. Love? Happiness? Bliss? None of these, surely—"

"Now I get you," she began, bursting into a subtle laughter which her innocent eyes betrayed.

"You wish that every woman should leave her husband so that you can write stories about them!" I was taken aback a little at her somewhat crude expression.

"It is not enough to leave the husband; other values must be achieved."

"It is not clear to me."

"I believe that marriage without love is silly."

"How do you know? You aren't married," said she.

"Marriage becomes meaningful only with love," I remarked casually.

"Ah, now I see what you are driving at. A woman should leave her husband and live with someone else for the sake of love." There was mischief at the corners of her mouth.

"I wouldn't condemn it, if it brings love."

Kumudam fell into silence. I don't know how far these thoughts on love had disturbed her. I do not even know whether a woman is troubled by the onslaught of emotion or the invasion of ideology. If I knew it I would know the mystery of woman.

"But...but..." she began, strangely twisting her interlocked fingers and staring at the sky. She looks as though her eyes have no use for her. She looks like one who, leaving her soul behind, strayed into this planet searching for the lost glory. Those are the eyes that are closed in this world to open in another.

"Yes.... You are about to say something?" I helped her.

"But... I see the moon and the stars almost daily. They seem so cold, so void of love—yet they are so beautiful,—and the stars are so fresh."

I rose to go. She said nothing. What story shall I write for Kumudam?

It was four years after, that I next saw Kumudam; I had gone there to collect the rent and as usual I went through the yard. Kumudam sat on the verandah cutting a pineapple and seeing me bade me sit down on an old rickety chair. The sun was hot and wiping my face I sat heavily on it and then I saw Kumudam drawing the fallen folds of her saree over her breast—a sight which somehow gave me a new sense of intimacy. Certain sensuous visions give a sudden insight into a character which a whole life spent in close study might not give. I was composing my thoughts when the chair cracked and broke and I fell down in a heap. Kumudam barely suppressed a wide giggle by biting at her saree folds.

"Don't you see. This chair is a rebel. Instead of tolerating your weight like other respectable chairs, it boldly rebels—why don't you write its story?" For the moment I ignored the sting in her remark and joined in her laughter.

"I forget all about it," I said. "Are you aware that it was four years since last we met?"

"May be,—I am bothered about living, while your worry is thinking about life—"

Time wrought but little change in Kumudam. There is the flamboyant sprightliness characteristic of maturity; there is also the innocent power of youth. Her youth seems to be endless; it does not burst out into conflagration at once. In the flashing of her youth there is gradualness coupled with sobriety. Were I not aware that certain comparisons are alien to our literary tradition, I would compare her to a colt. There is romance in the run of a stag, but it lacks passion; a goat has speed, but it lacks softness.

"I suppose you and your husband are getting together well," I said, because I must say something.

"By your grace" she replied.

"I am anxious to hear more about you."

"What is there to hear about me? We are very ordinary people."

"Already you are tired of life."

"I never asked myself this question; but tell me about yourself. How you are, where you are.... what you are....!"

I have always held that there is no greater sin than to ask a young man what he is in India. Kumudam shared the sin.

"Nothing particular. Occasionally I write a story.."

"About me?"

"Oh, no. What is there in you?"

I then saw a baby crawling towards Kumudam. I was surprised.

"My baby. Two months more, it will have attained third year," she spoke with eloquence.

"You never told me about this!" I said unable to conceal my surprise.

"There is nothing extraordinary in all this, as you very well know." She gathered the baby in her arms and pinching its cheeks continued:

"This little brat will grow up into a woman and marry somebody, sometime, somewhere. Then it will give birth to another brat sometime somewhere—There is nothing new in all this."

I conceded all this but I cannot reconcile myself to Kumudam's motherhood. Kumudam made no attempt to proudly parade her child as so many mothers do. Judging from her appearance, it is difficult to say she is the mother of a child. Husband, child, home—these had not shared her.

"Does the child resemble you, or its father?" I asked.

"You should be able to say."

"I have not seen the father."

"Why don't you see? He is there on the pial teaching the boys," she said, pointing to the interior. I could of course hear the chanting of the lesson on cats. She gave me slices of pineapple on a plate..

"Your face is heavily tanned by the sun," she remarked.

"Really?"

"Don't you think we are growing old?" she asked.

"I don't know about myself, but I see you are becoming younger."

"That is absurd," she interrupted, flatly turning down my compliment.

"Kumudam, look here, already India is overpopulated, and if the birth rate continues at the present pace, very soon we shall all be starving." I spoke hoping that these platitudes will be news to her.

"May be. But there is no escape from bondage to Nature. I do not like bondage but there is no escape. I could if I would; but I bow my head and accept life dutifully."

I felt I saw a hint of despair in all this.

"That is defeatism," I said. "This talk about duties is balderdash; duties are the last refuge of the second rate; the first rate insist on rights. 'Acceptance'—a byword for cynicism."

"May be—" she began. Freedom from dogma and tentative expression of opinion are her mannerisms.

"May be. I who appear to you so inconspicuous, so small and trivial—how insignificant I appear to the vast eyes of creation!"

I rose to go.

"Shall I get you the rent?" She too rose up.

"Don't bother about it. I did not come for money." I did not want to disturb the music of silence, with the jejune jingle of coin. I forgot to see her husband. I bade her goodbye and walked out. There was a vague uneasiness that she would call me back. But she did not do so. What story shall I write about Kumudam?

My third meeting with Kumudam took place six years after. The second world war broke out in the West and soon engulfed India in its truly democratic smoke. My education had been completed several years ago and I was still unemployed. I wrote several articles on the problem of unemployment without any benefit to myself. I even toyed with the idea of joining the Congress Party, protesting against the declaration of war against India's wishes, going to jail, and there completing the project of writing a book incidentally solving the problem of unemployment. My uncle dissuaded me, unable to bear separation from me, consoling me with the prophecy that the war would give employment to many. A suitable vacancy arose but I had not money enough for the fee to be remitted along with the application. It was then that my aunt suggested my going to Kumudam's and asking for six months' advance rent.

Accordingly I went. The sun was about to descend in the west and a number of thick clouds were flocking together to give a send-off. I saw a number of plants and trees touched with gold and scarlet in Kumudam's garden. A cradle was hung from the branch of a tree. A baby was sprawling on the grass, far off amid the bushes absurdly crying like a philosopher who failed to fathom the mystery of creation. Kumudam moved like a star in trance, bewitched by the splendid array of clouds. A girl of eight was running hither and thither like lightning

through a sombre sky. Kumudam saw me; she threw the crowbar aside; her hands were full of earth and mud. She caught the end of her saree in her mouth and threw a plant freshly uprooted at my feet.

"See, how this worm eats away this plant. The worm is beautiful and so is the plant. Beauty destroys itself!"

I could not say anything, bewildered as I was at her sudden plunge into horticulture no less than by her august presence.

"How long ago did you come? Could you not call for me? Or did you forget my name?"

"No, not at all. I was marvelling at this garden," I said, looking around.

"What is there to marvel here? You sow a seed and water it and lo, there is a sprout! Very ordinary." And she burst into her characteristic laughter in which mockery is invariably mixed with pathos.

"This is the girl you saw years ago," she said pointing to the girl who stood panting, "and you must go in search of a husband for Dr.—" She resumed—"That is my second son—who does not like Nature—he destroys it; and that is my third—like me he is ignorant of this world."

I drew the girl close to me and asked her name.

"Anuradha" the girl replied.

"It is the beautiful name of a lovely star. Then why do you remain on Earth?" I asked her jokingly. Kumudam came to her rescue.

"All stars stay in the sky. My little star is unique; she remains on Earth. She is a rebel star. Anuradha, get that bucket here."

She ordered the girl who brought the bucket. Kumudam asked me to draw some water from the well. I attempted to do so, and some of the water splashed on her saree making it wet.

"If you can't draw water, what use could you be to your wife?" She asked, as she deftly pulled out the bucket of water.

"I have no wife," I said dryly. "I am unemployed and therefore unmarried."

Kumudam fell into one of her strange silences. I watched her as she washed her hands and feet. Motherhood gave her a rounded perfection. The passage of time had given her a poised quietness without blunting the edge of passionate youth. As she wiped her forehead, the wet fold of her saree clung to her breast like the last foothold of a mountain climber. The last rays of the sun lighted

her like a red power before plunging us into violent darkness.

"How has been life treating you?" She asked.

"I am still unemployed."

"Everybody is employed somehow. What does it matter if you are not? There is bondage in service." Yet she is a servant to her husband.

"Do you know? Women in the west do not sell themselves to their husbands for their bread?" I remarked.

"May be, but bondage to someone or other is inevitable—" She idly plucked the petals of a flower. "I agree" I said.

"My problem is, how to discover love without bondage," I began moodily.

"Yes, there is bondage in love; chains at home; birth itself is slavery to life. Some wear gold chains; others wear chains wrought of iron. All we can do is to see the chains make little noise." Kumudam heaved a huge sigh. I never knew that she loved freedom so much. It ached my heart to realise that a country in which Kumudam lived should be a slave country. Suddenly she woke from a brief reverie: "If I were you, I would build a cottage on the banks of Kistna, milk a cow, row a boat and teach a group of illiterates, in the night."

A faint moon glimmered among the leaves and I saw a streak of white hair.

"There is a white hair," I said, pointing to her head.

"Yes. How long can the body be a slave to youth!"

My eyes became wet with sorrow; the stars shone mercifully and the grass quivered with longing, stifling the wish to ask for the rent. I rose to go. Kumudam had no manners. She did not ask me to stay.

Four more years rolled by; the flames of war were shooting up higher and the democratic smoke growing thicker. My uncle had passed away, and his prophecy regarding my employment was still to come about. My aunt was no more able to pay the rent for the house in which we were staying and having decided to move into her own house, sent me to Kumudam's to have it vacated.

It was a Sunday, and past eight in the night. A melancholy moon was shyly concealed behind a soft cloud. I tried the door in the yard but found it locked. I then tried the front door which was also locked. I loitered aimlessly for a while on the steps and then walked on towards the post office on the main street.

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I heard a shrill voice call my name behind me. Turning round I saw Kumudam's eldest daughter with a child in her arms. I had little time to wonder whether the child was her sister or daughter.

"My youngest sister. My mother calls her Dr. Swarajyam. See how it weeps. Be quiet, my wailing musician,—you—there," she said, patting the child.

"Where is your mother?"

"My mother is in the hospital. I have come out to comfort the child. My father has gone to hotel for food."

I took Swarajyam in my arms and we quickly walked to the hospital. Kumudam was lying in bed, her body neatly covered with a clean, white sheet. I pulled a stool to bedside and sat. Kumudam's face was grave, and the dark shadow under her eyes gave them a startling glitter. Heavy coils of neglected hair fell on her shoulders and in the midst of those ruffled hairs, her face appeared remarkably small.

"Pneumonia," she said, a phantom smile struggling at the corners of her mouth. Her face was severely contorted and the lips trembled pitifully.

"Now you write a story about me," she said at last, mustering the last dregs of energy. It was an awkward remark to make and I was uneasily striking the edge of the bed.

"What do the doctors say? Why did you not write to me about this?" I muttered.

"To become ill is quite an ordinary thing. What is there to talk about! The doctors say there is no danger. But what do they know?" I felt like getting away from that place. This time there was no mockery in her tone. It was subdued and pulsating with broken pathos. I wanted to say something but the words were choked, and without my knowing, I took out my hand and tried to place it on her hand. She instinctively withdrew her slim hand and put it inside the sheet. Her eyes began the smile which her mouth failed to produce and she said:

"I know why you remained unmarried. I know. For my sake." Her eyes were then closed. My heart began to lose its solidity and started racing through blood in a fluid state. I wiped a tear from my eye, but the stream continued. Anxious to avoid polluting her chaste body with my tears flowing from an unknown source, I turned aside my face, I could see through the window pane, darkness enveloping like a dark cobra over its prey. I heard Kumudam's voice for the last time.

"I am not sorry. The world never belonged to me and I am not sorry to leave it. But about you—you." Her eyes were closed for ever. Those were the eyes that closed in this world to open in another.

I walked out into the darkness. I thought I saw a brief vision of the mystery of existence—a bonfire of emotion and thought quenched by a flood of knowledge which superseded both.

The last words spoken by Kumudam dug out the underworld inside me and displayed the dusty contents before me. I remained unmarried for her sake! Those who make a study of the human mind tell us that in the unconscious are hidden the unfulfilled desires, thwarted passions, and suppressed longings. Like wild beasts they roam about and in a weak moment force an entry into the conscious. The search for Kumudam's hand at her deathbed was one such weak moment. Kumudam bolted the door with the withdrawal of her hand. I deceived myself into thinking that Kumudam is an ordinary woman—not worth bothering about. Yet, with an intimacy ranging over six hours, with a score or two of words, she shook the citadel of my being and turned my world upside down.

Six months after her death I began to see Kumudam in a different light. Kumudam is one of those rare women who are highly conscious of the 'separateness' of their existence. She had cultivated a peculiar attitude to life—an attitude which is not exactly philosophy, and which is not yet a negation of philosophy. These are her epigrams:

"You are worried about thinking of life, I am bothered about living."

"I bow my head and dutifully accept life."

"Birth is bondage to creation."

"There is bondage in love."

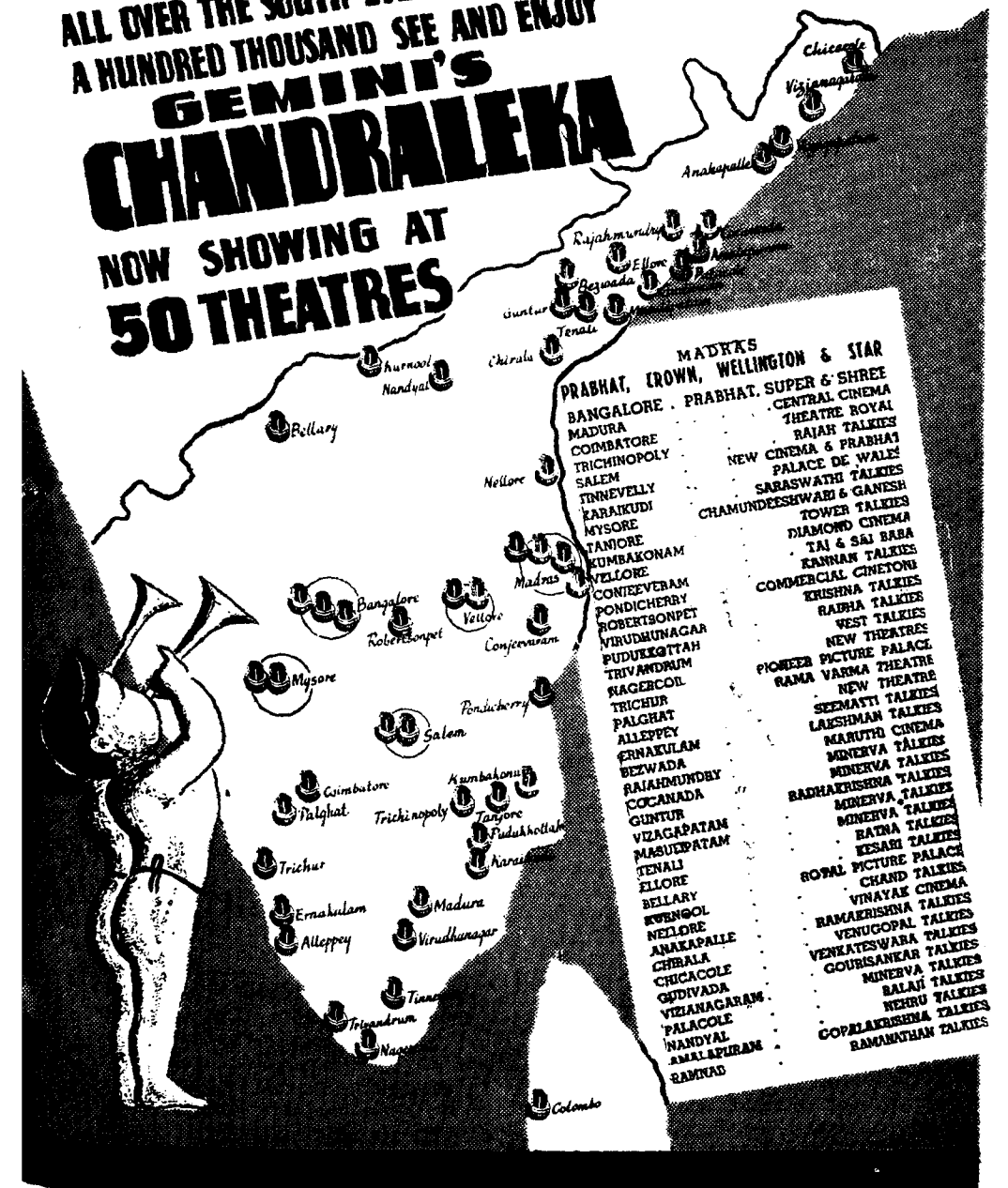
Kumudam is intensely alive, but afraid of life.

I think Kumudam is the last of a generation of women which is rapidly dying out. Kumudam had spoken for those of her generation.

"We accept life." It is presumptuous of me to say of the women of the present generation that they reject life. I do not know which of these two views is the better view. For, if I begin to assess their moral worth, I may have to go round myself, repeating Kumudam's question "Won't you write a story about me?"

(Translated by the author from the original in Telugu.)

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SHEIKH MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH

by V. K. CHINNAMMALU AMMA

QUITE an ordinary man in appearance. Were he pointed out in a crowd you would be disappointed and ask doubtfully, "That man?"

Yes, it is Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, the lion of Kashmir, the man who, more than anybody else, saved his beautiful country from impending collapse in the present tribal raids. Today he is the undisputed leader of all sections of Kashmiris—Hindu, Muslim and Sikh—and the greatest protagonist of communal harmony. Yet he began his political career as a defender of Muslim rights.

Born in 1905, the son of a shawl merchant, he was educated at the University of Aligarh where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1930. The family was one of small means and young Abdullah sought to improve his fortune by entering public service. He found himself confronted by a dead wall of communal discrimination. Unsuccessful in entering the State service, he became a school teacher. The failure, however, left a deep impress on his mind and influenced his political outlook.

The ruling family of Kashmir is a Hindu one, of the Dogra community. The Government was till lately an undiluted autocracy. The public services and all responsible positions in the State were monopolised by the Hindu oligarchy. So ridden with communal virus was the administration, that the crime of killing one's own cow, was punishable by seven years' imprisonment.

This was not a happy state of things for the Kashmiris, the majority of whom are Muslims. Young Abdullah came forward as the leader of an agitation to secure for the Muslims their legitimate place in the public services.

Naturally, he soon gained the support of the Muslim middle

classes. Later, he was able to enlist the sympathy of the religious leaders of the community. The Muslim masses now rallied under his leadership.

Repression, the perverted homage that autocracy always pays to freedom's struggle, came to Sheikh Abdullah and his followers. The leader was arrested in June 1931. Imprisonment of his followers, punitive taxes, military law and flogging followed with dramatic swiftness. But these measures failed, as they always fail, to suppress the people's will. The Government was forced to adopt conciliatory measures such as a small degree of popular representation and an increased number of Muslims in the services. Sheikh Abdullah was released from jail.

After his release, the young leader's political outlook underwent a change. This was a testimony to his freedom from any bias and receptivity to new ideas. His mind shifted to the economic state of the country.

Kashmir is rich in natural resources. It has a fertile soil, valuable timber and other forest produce and immense but unexploited electric power resources in its rapid rivers.

Yet, the Kashmiris are one of the poorest peoples even in poverty-stricken India. This poverty is no respecter of communal barriers.

Sheikh Abdullah realised that the root cause of this poverty lay in the autocratic, irresponsible nature of the State administration, and that the struggle was not one between Moslem and Hindu but autocracy against the people. He changed the policy of his movement. The goal of the National Muslim Conference—renamed National Conference—was declared to be responsible government with joint electorates

and seats reserved for minorities. The minorities, both Hindu and Sikh, were not slow to respond. The struggle against autocracy was henceforward national. Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference became the symbols of that struggle and the mouthpiece of its demands.

The change in Kashmir's political outlook was followed by a close co-operation between the Indian National Congress and the National Conference. In Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then closely associated with the State People's Congress, Sheikh Abdullah found a valuable ally of Kashmir's political aspirations.

Today when the "Azad" Kashmir Government sponsored by the raiders and their patrons of the Pakistan Government, claim to speak for the Muslims of Kashmir, and deny to Sheikh Abdullah the right to represent Kashmir at the U.N.O., it is well to remember the part played by the Muslim League, a little more than a year ago at the most critical hour of Kashmir's modern history.

The years 1946 and 1947 were dramatic ones for Kashmir. The Cabinet Mission came to India in 1946. The Indian National Congress had already passed the 'Quit India' resolution. Analogous to this the Kashmir leaders gave a "Quit Kashmir" ultimatum to the Maharaja. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an interview with Sheikh Abdullah in Delhi. The activities of the National Conference did not go unnoticed by the Government of Kashmir. An orgy of repression followed. The instigator of the move was Ramachandra Kak, the Prime Minister. The Maharaja and his Ministers found an unexpected ally in Mr. M. A. Jinnah and the Muslim League. The National Conference view was supported by the Indian National Congress. The stand taken by the Congress cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mahatma Gandhi in an interview with the Maharaja: "I for one do not wish you to go. If you win over the people and they wish to keep you, Sheikh Abdullah

will not be able to insist on your going. The will of the people of Kashmir is the supreme law in Kashmir."

Pandit Nehru who desired to study the situation on the spot, was denied entry into the State. Better counsels, however, prevailed and this insult to the Indian National Congress was rectified. Pandit Nehru was allowed to enter Kashmir. He was able to effect a reconciliation. The Maharaja accepted the principle of popular representation and promised a general election. The National Conference on its part interpreted the "Quit Kashmir" resolution as full responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

The Government, however, broke faith. Sheikh Abdullah was arrested in March 1946 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Many National Conference workers followed their leader to jail.

Public agitation, however, forced the Government to release Sheikh Abdullah before sixteen months of imprisonment were over. He met with an enthusiastic reception on his release.

Today the picture is entirely changed. The erstwhile allies, the Maharaja and the Muslim League, have parted company. Ramachandra Kak was dismissed and has been virtually under arrest in his own house since last November. Of his own accord and to save the State, the Maharaja has come into the Indian Union. He has made Sheikh Abdullah the head of the administration. When the question of representation of Kashmir at the U.N.O. arose, the choice naturally fell on Sheikh Abdullah.

The proceedings at the U.N.O. on the Kashmir question are still inconclusive. But one thing is certain. The gospel of communal harmony insisted upon by her leader will bring Kashmir to her cherished goal of a free, secular, democratic Government serving as an example both to India and Pakistan.

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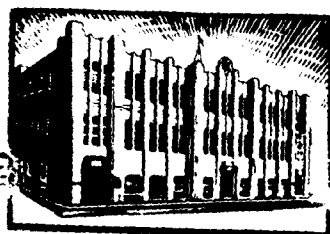
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EFFICIENCY OF INDIAN WORKERS

by "VISVAM"

THERE is no doubt some truth in the allegation of our industrialists that the average Indian worker is inefficient and hence is not deserving of higher wages. Yet, it should not be forgotten that no serious attempt has ever been made to increase his efficiency. In spite of enhanced wages obtained by factory workers since the war, it is felt that there has been no corresponding increase in production. The labour cost per unit of production in India is about twice or thrice that existing in highly industrialised countries like England and U.S.A. for similar occupations, and this is attributed to the lower productive capacity of the Indian worker. The reasons for the apparent inefficiency of labourers in India are many, viz., illiteracy, climate of the country, the comparatively unhealthy environment in many of the factories and the treatment meted out to workers by the management and the superior staff.

Illiteracy is being sought to be tackled on a national scale by the Central and Provincial Governments. The management of factories can supplement the Government programme and hasten the growth of literacy by starting adult schools for aged workers, besides the elementary and secondary schools which many big factories possess at present for the education of workers' children. Something substantial can be achieved by providing facilities for the technical training, theoretical as well as practical, of unskilled and semi-skilled men who are recruited fresh to the factories. Full scope and opportunity must be given to a worker with a natural aptitude and an earnest desire to study and improve in his line of work. The management stand to benefit by these measures and so the question of cost should not stand in the way of their implementation. Popular lectures on

subjects which are of interest to the factory as a whole may be given by the officers and these lectures will serve the twofold purpose of educating the workers and of providing that close and informal relationship between the executive staff and the workers which will have a great psychological effect on both and which will be conducive to smooth running of the factory.

The climate of our country is a natural handicap for sustained, hard work, and so one has to make the best of a bad situation. Extreme heat and humid conditions have both physiological and psychological effects on workers. Providing plenty of cold water to drink may have the psychological effect of giving temporary relief, but practical research has shown that taking in some salt with the water to replace that lost by sweating is essential to prevent the occurrence of heat cramps, and to minimise the danger of heat prostration among workers in tropical climates. It has been found advantageous in some factories in U.S.A. to install automatic apparatus for supplying only salted water to men working in hot places and near furnaces. This method can be tried as an experimental measure in some of the Indian factories. Further, good ventilation, provision of canteens supplying wholesome nutritious food at reasonable rates and occasional rest periods during working hours will all be helpful in alleviating the fatigue of our workers.

The hygienic conditions in many of the Indian factories are not entirely satisfactory. Elimination of smoke and dust nuisance, proper handling of poisonous gases, toxic fumes, and corrosive liquids, and adequate provision for the drainage of factory effluent are all important from the view-point of the workers, management and the public. A clean and healthy atmosphere is a

sine qua non for efficient work. To overcome unsatisfactory working conditions, remedial measures in the form of improved machinery and other safety equipments should be incorporated in the lay-out and design of factories. To cite one instance of a scientific approach to a problem, in a concern dealing with coal, absenteeism was very common among the unloading crews because the atmosphere was full of coal dust. But when the coal was treated with a solution of calcium chloride before unloading the dust nuisance was considerably reduced and absenteeism among workers was almost eliminated. Inefficiency in certain sections of factories has been traced to unhealthy environment and as soon as this was rectified efficiency has gone up.

Nothing will help so much in building up good industrial relations between capital and labour as the realisation of the workers that the management is always concerned with their welfare. Whenever changes and innovations are introduced in factories by the management with a view to stepping up production, to reduce operating costs, and to improve the quality of finished products, the workers must be apprised of the necessity for these changes; because, after all, it is the workers who will have to carry out these policies. Only then will they appreciate that these measures are actuated, not by a profit motive, but by a sincere desire on the part of the management to afford the workers higher wages, better living conditions and lesser working hours. At present, the workers are never consulted, with the result that they always have a lurking suspicion that money is the guiding factor behind these moves and that they are made to work more for the same wages. The logical result of this suspicion is that workers slack off in their jobs and even disregard the orders from superiors. According to the findings of "The Committee on Work in Industry of the National

Research Council, U.S.A.", the worker as an individual has a basic urge for self-expression. He must have freedom and occasion to discuss frankly with his superiors about his work, his social life and the policies which determine production and efficiency. He must be convinced that as one of the important units in the running of the factory his views and ideas are treated by the men above with sympathy and consideration. The Chief Engineer or General Manager can personally interview each member of the factory and thus have direct and personal contact with workers. Also, non-official social workers and Government inspectors may be given facilities to study the workers as a group in different factories and to suggest suitable measures which will keep the workers contented and efficient. It has been observed that workers willingly obey men with ability, tact, and integrity, and hence in filling up responsible executive positions in factories, the management should exercise great care; by appointing unsuitable men who happen to be their relatives or friends they invite inefficiency and indifference among the workers.

It is said that "Government rests upon the consent of the governed" and similarly the efficient management of a factory depends upon the willing co-operation of its workers. The prosperity of industries is bound up with that of the workers, and on the increased productive capacity of the workers depends the prosperity of the State. Much can be expected when much is given, and hence frequent conferences between labour and capital should lead to a sort of collective bargaining which, besides conferring a decent status on workers should contain an efficiency clause. The workers will then be under an obligation to the public and the nation, and it will surely happen that the average Indian worker will turn out as much work as his fellow worker in other countries.

On those planets where life is now extinct the scientists probably got just a little farther than ours have got.—Dublin Opinion.

THE SCRIPT PROBLEM

by R. SRINIVASAN

THE Madras Government's decision to introduce Hindustani from the First Form stage has come not a minute too soon. But the clause which says Hindustani will be taught in either Devanagari or Persian script carries within it the seeds of a controversy. East Punjab and U.P.—some percentage of whose population speak and write Urdu—have not included Urdu in their language policy.

In discussing this question of script we should rise above purely communal and religious considerations. Pandit Nehru regards it not as a communal but a territorial problem. But in January '47, a Madras Leaguer described Urdu as "the repository of Muslim culture and civilisation." Judging by the utterances of responsible persons on this question, it is safe to assume that a right royal battle is in the offing. But the question does not resolve itself into a clear choice between the two scripts. A section among Indians favour the Roman script but their number is too small and they are unlikely to receive any attention. "Let it not be said of India", declared Mahatmaji speaking on the Roman script, "that it is so degraded as to become the blotting sheet of civilisation."

Those who favour Hindustani in both scripts (almost all Indian Muslims and a few Hindus are in this camp) quote the Congress constitution in support of their contention. But it strikes one as untenable. The Congress constitution regarded India as one and indivisible, but now India has been divided and the percentage of Muslims has shrunk from 23 to 12. Indian Muslims should be told that co-operation should be on a reciprocal basis and no one-way traffic can be tolerated. For instance, in Hyderabad Muslims, though they form 12 per cent of the population, enjoy a brute majority in the services and Urdu occupies a place of pride in the State. But their co-religionists in India de-

mand weightages and separate electorates and do not conceal their contempt for Sanskrit and Devanagari script. When the U.P. Assembly passed the resolution declaring Hindi in Nagri script as the official language of the province, the Leaguers staged a walk-out and one of them threatened to refer "this question of genocide of minorities" to U.N.O.

Mahatmaji favoured Hindustani "which is an easy fusion of Hindi and Urdu", the Nagri script which is "scientifically perfect" and the Persian script which is graceful and said he was hurt by U.P.'s decision as fair treatment of Muslims demands respect for Urdu. Therefore "use of either should be acceptable in official dealings." Protagonists of Hindi say Urdu is un-national, if not anti-national, that all Indian languages have sprung from Sanskrit and that if there are two scripts the iron curtain between Urdu-speaking and Hindi speaking Indians will be perpetuated, thus giving the two nation theory a fresh lease of life. Their slogan is "Hindi in Devanagari script: national consolidation through one script and one language." Looking to the temper prevailing in the country it seems fairly certain that they will carry the day.

In this connection it is impossible not to regret the unwillingness of the A.I.C.C., the Government of India and the Constituent Assembly to come to an early decision on the question. Provinces should not take a unilateral decision on a matter of supreme importance to the country. The Centre should evolve a policy for itself and for all its units. This alone will end the anomaly of Madras, with no connection with Urdu, providing for it while U.P. chose not to do so.

It is the duty of the South Indians to demand with one voice that if there is to be hardship, it should be imposed in strictly equal degree on one and all. It is cruel to ask

South Indian children to learn the two scripts in addition to English, their mother tongue and the regional language where it is not their mother tongue. As they will have to start from scratch, the task may prove well beyond their capacity. It is impossible to share the optimism of the Education Minister of Madras who said that even if the Centre decided to drop the Persian script "our boys will be in a position of advantage." It will be mere waste of time. As against the plight of South Indian children, people with Hindi as their mother tongue will be in a position of natural advantage. The Government of India should consider Acharya Bhawe's suggestion that every North Indian should learn a South Indian language. Further they should lay down that one with Hindi as his mother tongue should be required to appear in some other paper in lieu of Hindi in the Federal Public Service Commission examinations.

Secondly, there should be no hustling in this matter. Non-Hindi speaking people should be allowed enough time to pick up Hindi. It does not behove the National Government to say "Learn Hindi in three months or quit your job". We are not magicians to wave a magic wand

and acquire complete mastery of Hindi overnight. Moreover too sudden a change-over from English to Hindi will throw the administrative machinery out of gear and tell upon its efficiency.

People in the South should demand of the Reddiar Cabinet to go ahead with the scheme of teaching Hindustani in Devanagiri script but to keep that part of the resolution dealing with Urdu in abeyance till a decision on the question of script is taken on an all-India level. Keeping alive Urdu does not mean that it should be extended to areas where it is not currently in use. To appease Muslims is it fair to impose a burden which will prove well nigh unbearable to South Indians? It is no use arguing that in Switzerland or South Africa, administration is conducted in more than one language. The fact is that carrying on the administration on bilingual or multi-lingual basis creates all manner of difficulties and it is to avoid these that it has been decided to separate Indian Provinces on a linguistic basis. Just as Pakistan gives Urdu or Arabic the place of honour let us give the place of pride to Hindi in Devanagiri script.



ANAND SARAN

Mr. Anand B. Saran has returned to India after an extensive and successful tour of the European countries.

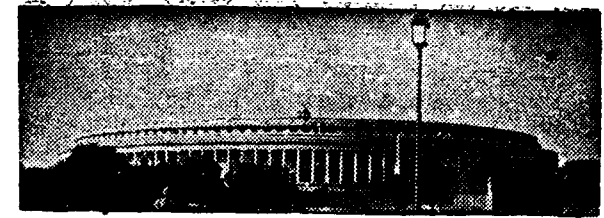
Mr. Saran was the first Indian dancer, who introduced Indian dances at the Television at the B.B.C. His partners were Miss Sita Jayawardena, a gifted Indian danseuse from Ceylon, the daughter of the Finance Minister Mr. Jayawardena, Maya Rani and Miss Kamla.

His shows were visited by Lord and Lady Pethick-Lawrence and other prominent Members of Parliament. The team gave a wonderful recital for Their Majesties at the Buckingham Palace. The party had toured France, Switzerland, Norway, Holland, Scotland, Berlin, Zurich, Marseilles, Cairo, Egypt, Basrah, Iran, Iraq and all district country towns in the Continent.

Mr. Saran is getting ready for producing a picture "THE FESTIVALS OF INDIA" and for a tour of the United States of America from where he has already received invitations.



NEW DELHI DIARY



by V. V. PRASAD

"I CAN answer that question", said Rajen Babu when this Diarist asked him when the Boundary Commission for the creation of Andhra Province would be appointed. And then he gave the scoop to this correspondent. The Commission would probably have been announced by the time this Diary appears in print.

Mahatma Gandhi had told Shri Prakasam just a few days before he was assassinated that he would like the boundaries of the Provinces to be decided by mutual agreement rather than by Boundary Commissions. Decisions by such Commissions, said the Mahatma, were decisions arrived at according to the western method. Gandhiji then told Prakasam of the various virtues of the Andhra people, their intense love for the country, their highly emotional temperament, their capacity for sacrifice, and their readiness to put their faith in new experiments. "But the greatest defect of the Andhras", said Gandhiji to Prakasam with his usual chuckle, "is that they quarrel among themselves. Their leaders have plenty of grit and capacity and talent. If only they come together, Andhra can become a model Province for the whole of India." It is yet to be seen whether Gandhiji's hopes would be fulfilled.

The Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, has begun to be very badly criticised by observers in the Capital for his supposed stand on Kashmir and Hyderabad. The impression here is that Lord Mountbatten has not acted in the best interests of India.

Observers are quick to point out that he has not gone to the Freedom

Celebrations in Kashmir. Lady Mountbatten was scheduled to go to Kashmir, but she cancelled the visit. A spokesman of the Government House stated that she had never planned to go to Kashmir. This was due, he said, to her extremely busy work elsewhere, which consisted of visiting hospitals. Despite the spokesman's assurance, critics are saying that the British are none too pleased about the developments in Kashmir. They wanted Kashmir to be part of Pakistan for strategic reasons. And they cannot brook the idea of Sheikh Abdulla thwarting their plans. The Cabinet Mission's plan was their last word on the subject, and they wanted its implementation (together with some more last words in the shape of the various amendments and modifications), whatever the cost in human blood. It is pointed out that the story was that it was Lord Mountbatten who advised the Prime Minister to go to U.N.O., whereas Gandhiji was known to have been opposed to it. Although the final responsibility for the decision rests with the Government, it is thought that the British interest was being served—though it might not have been calculated to be served—by Lord Mountbatten.

Observers in New Delhi also say that Lord Mountbatten did not proceed to Kashmir now because the Pakistan Press has been accusing him of personally directing the operations in Kashmir. But Lord Mountbatten is regarded as being unwilling to appear a partisan in the Hindu-Muslim squabble. The British myth of British impartiality continues.

Recently one of those present told the present writer of the meeting

which Lord Mountbatten had with the Frontier Ministry just before August 15. He said that Lord Mountbatten was a true British imperialist, and indicated to them that he thought that the Khan Saheb Ministry's representative character was open to question. The then Viceroy and Governor-General was reported to have trotted out the old imperialist arguments. He also cheered and waved to the demonstrators against the Congress Ministry in the Frontier Province. This gentleman said that he refused to believe that Mountbatten could have changed overnight from an imperialist to an Indian nationalist. It is true that the G.G. refers to himself as Pandit Mountbatten and refers to the P.M. as Admiral Nehru, but can the Britisher change his skin or the leopard its spots (it is asked).

It was repeatedly suggested in some quarters long ago that Lord Mountbatten should relinquish his post in India at the height of his prestige as soon after August 15 as possible. There were also some British observers who felt thus. Because the longer he stayed the harder it would be for the people of India not to feel bitter against Mountbatten. His role was such.

He carried it out with great tact and ability: but he overstayed. He had announced before August 15 that he had already bought his steamship ticket to go to London in November. But November went, and February went but Mountbatten did not go. He is very near reaping the whirlwind now.

As regards Hyderabad also, political observers are not overruling the possibility that the continuance of the British Governor-General has been acting as an encouragement to the Nizam to persist in his intransigence. Even in the Press Conference before August 15, Lord Mountbatten replied to a question on what the British Government would do if a native State, after the lapse of paramountcy, applies to the British Government for accession. Among the many things that he said, Lord Mountbatten also said that he would refer such an application to H.M.G., but, he said, he thought such a case would not arise. In actual fact such a contingency has arisen. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Butler have spoken about the need for patience, and the presence of the two major communities in Hyderabad. One cannot help recalling Einstein's quip that trouble-making is a British enterprise.

The ant is not always as busy as man has long believed, according to scientists of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. After following two groups of ants for five months as they travelled at the rate of about 500 yards a day through dense jungle in Panama, they reported that many ants spend their time lolling about all day.

The scientific group carefully recorded the movements of individual ants identified by a special marking system. The whole scheme of ant behavior constitutes a very "complicated social order," they found, and ants have personal differences. Forty per cent loaf all of the time, 40 per cent are good workers, and the balance can be counted on to work "occasionally". Queen ants gather workers around them by a "peculiar chemical attraction," as yet baffling to science.

Dr. Theodore C. Schneirla, curator of the museum's department of animal behavior who led the expedition, is seeking to learn more about human behavior by studying the behavior patterns of the ants. In this study the American Philosophical Society, the National Research Council, and the Office of Naval Research has been participating. About 20,000 of the Panama ants were brought to the museum for further tests on what and how they can be taught. Dr. Schneirla observed that ants learn to go through a maze, in search of food, that would baffle a university psychology student.—USIS.



WHILE by now Prime Minister Nehru has been universally acknowledged as the political successor to Gandhiji, the spiritual *gaddi* still lies vacant. Had the self-confessed agnostic assumed a mystic pose he could well have claimed the Mahatmaship, too. But, as it happens, those who feel a vacuum in their spiritual life after the assassination of Gandhiji are on the look-out for a suitable saintly personality to be placed on the vacant pedestal. An undeclared, "cold war" of succession already may be said to have been started by the supporters of the various likely claimants to the *gaddi*.

Vinoba Bhave, the sincere and well-meaning but by no means inspiring *chela* of Gandhiji, whose sole achievement during Gandhiji's life was to have been selected to lead the "individual satyagraha" campaign, has already started holding prayers at Gandhiji's *samadhi*—and, in that respect, may be said to be carrying on the Gandhian tradition. After his experience of one long fast, he is said to be contemplating more such fasts to rouse the conscience of his countrymen. It is doubtful, however, if this unassuming and unspectacular ascetic will ever achieve Mahatmaic status and stature. Moreover there are others whose claims are being more vigorously canvassed by their followers and supporters.

MAHATMA RAJEN, Or—?

Mr. Nanik Motwane (proprietor of the million-dollar Chicago Radio

firm, I presume), Secretary of the Sindhi Hindu Seva Samiti, Bombay, has issued a statement to the effect that Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, should resign from the Congress "as our great Gandhiji did" and likewise hold day-to-day prayer meetings to enable the people to find "solace and support" in him. Mr. Motwane is reported to have addressed a letter to Rajen Babu in the course of which he said: "God has enshrined in you that nobility with which you will be able to serve the nation very greatly on your kindly adopting the first camp-follower's attitude in preaching the gospel of Gandhiji from day to day."

The suggestion has been loudly and enthusiastically acclaimed in many circles—and not entirely for spiritual reasons! Krishen, the editor of the Urdu daily "Pratap" in a signed editorial entitled "Spiritualism in Politics", supports the idea in these words: "...How good it will be if Rajen Babu frees himself from Congress affairs and begins to preach spiritualism like Gandhiji.... Gandhiji had two great qualities: Love of God and Love of Country. He wanted to 'spiritualize' politics. Pandit Nehru is repeatedly declaring that our Government will have no concern with religion.... But if religion is taken out of politics, politics will be a dead corpse.... We need someone to remind people of their religion as Gandhiji was doing. Among the

Congress leaders if there is any one who can do this, it is Rajen Babu."

MAHATMA AUROBINDO?

An even stronger claimant is Sri Aurobindo of Pondicherry—once a terrorist, then a litterateur, now a Messiah living in iron-clad seclusion. His candidature for the Mahatma's *gaddi* has been announced (and supported) by a literary critic, Mr. K. D. Sethna, who wrote an article in last Sunday's "Bombay Chronicle Weekly", beginning with:—

"When Gandhiji breathed his last, the political leaders of India felt that a gap has been created in the national life. A gap not strictly political but essentially moral, a gap that by being essentially moral might rob political activity of the sense of truth, justice and love without which it would be no more than a melee of self-seeking passions. The question keenly faced the leaders: "Who shall take Gandhiji's place?"

Critic K. D. Sethna puts the Socialist Leader in an embarrassing situation by saying that "Jayaprakash Narain... suggested the names of three possible successors. He spoke of Dr. Bhagwandas, Sri Ramana Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo. He called them saints, and appealed to them to step forward, leave their 'religious seclusion' and fill the gap left by Gandhiji, lest the country should go morally to ruin." (Actually there was no reference to these three 'saints' as "Gandhiji's successors" in Jayaprakash's statement).

But Mr. Sethna thinks the gap left by Gandhiji is "too small for him", for Aurobindo's "methods of dealing with the world's urgencies and conflicts are not those of narrow struggling individual brain-clamped mind. One who lives in the cosmic consciousness and acts from a Gnosis (What's that, brother?—K.A.A.) of ultimate truth has an occult technique.... No department of the world's manifold labour but is Sri Aurobindo's concern; his action secretly shapes the things to come.... if the present leaders of the nations sought for his help they would get the wisest and most fruitful guidance possible." By the way,

we are told to read a heavenly portent in the fateful selection of August 15—Sri Aurobindo's birthday—as India's Independent Day.

CHHOTA MAHATMAS

If at least one follower of Aurobindo regards the sear of Pondicherry (Gnosis and all!) as greater than the Mahatma, there are others who would like to instal the Americanized Krishnamurthy (the discovery of the late Mrs. Annie Besant) as at least a Chhota Mahatma. He was in Bombay last month delivering wordly-wise spiritual discourses in a slightly Yankee accent on the lawns of local millionaires' palaces.

Then there is Amatul Salam, a disciple of Gandhiji, fasting in Bhawalpur; the Socialist-spiritualist Sane Guruji, interpreting socialism in religious terminology (or religion in Socialist terminology?) in Maharashtra, using fasts instead of strikes to bring about the social revolution; an obscure American businessman who wants to preach Gandhiji's "spiritual" message through a Peace University, not to mention lesser and unknown saints and seers all over India and the world, aspiring, or being urged to aspire, for the *gaddi* of the Mahatma. They do not know that just as there was only one Buddha, and no second Christ, there shall be no successor to Mahatma Gandhi. He was a product of the ideas and circumstances of his epoch. That epoch is no more. Nor will there be another Gandhi. But, meanwhile, in more and more temples, the Mahatma is being placed among the gods.

Listen, then, to the words of the great Gandhi himself:

"Often the title (Mahatma) has pained me.... I do not feel like one.... I hold it to be a blasphemy to represent me as Shri Krishna.... I have become literally sick of the adoration of the unthinking multitude. I would be certain of my ground, if I was spat upon by them.... I have been known as a crank, faddist, mad man. Evidently the reputation is well deserved. For wherever I go, I draw to myself cranks, faddists and mad men."

Even after death, the cranks, faddists and mad men have not spared the Great Soul.

THE FIRST CASUALTY

A delegation of principal representatives of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society (which means owners of the big dailies and newspaper chains) flew last week-end to London for "negotiations with Reuters in connection with the future of the Associated Press of India"—which means, in plain language, to negotiate for the purchase of the news agency!

The Associated Press of India (a branch of the British-owned Reuters) has been as much "OF INDIA" as the "Government OF INDIA" was up to August 15, 1947. India paid for both—the news agency as well as the Government—while both served the imperial interests of Britain.

The story of the perversion of truth and betrayal of the cause of Indian freedom by this news agency would easily fill volumes. It is blazoned on every page in newspaper files for the last so many years. Since August 15 of last year, the agency has tried to acquire a "nationalist" pose but its anti-national and mercenary character has been demonstrated by the cynical manner in which it has been supplying coloured and even false pro-Pakistan news despatches to Pakistan. There have been occasions when the Associated Press of India, reporting an identical engagement in Kashmir, has "supplied" a victory for raiders to the Pakistan press and a victory for the Indian troops to the Indian press.

Also, recently, the agency has been trying to placate the capitalist-owned Press by giving a consistently anti-Communist bias to its news stories. Judging by the A.P.I. reports, the Communists (and, in some cases, even Socialists, Trade Unionists, Peasant organizers, etc.) were no better than cut-throats and ruffians, engaged in anti-social activities and dastardly outrages.

Truth, it has been said, is the first casualty in a war. In a class war, it is no less true. The recent

A.P.I. "scoop" about the alleged Communist-Razakar alliance provides the latest confirmation of this fact.

HYDERABAD IN NEW DELHI!

On the morning of Friday, May 7, newspaper readers found their morning dailies screaming in seven-column headlines; "COMMUNISTS BACK NIZAM'S CAMPAIGN—Lifting of Five-Year Old Ban on Party And Its Sequel." "With the lifting of the five-year old ban on the Hyderabad Communist Party by the Nizam's Government", we were informed, "the Party has issued an eight page pamphlet condemning the Nehru Government", and further that "the pamphlet appeals to the people not to be carried away by the State Congress propaganda, but try to remain an independent State."

Curiously enough, this message about Hyderabad carried a NEW DELHI dateline. Yet it was seized upon by almost the entire nationalist Press to damn the Communists. Every possible abusive epithet was hurled at them, and the cartoonists went to town with the grim spectacle of a wild-haired "Bolshie" shaking hands with a murderous Razakar. Here are two typical reactions of newspaper readers who did not wait for a confirmation and accepted the A.P.I. message as gospel truth:

"The turnabout of the Hyderabad Communists has vindicated Nehru's stand against the Party.... we did not realise the party boys would stoop so low as to earn the title of Nizam's Reds". (BLITZ reader from Madras).

"Permit us to give expression to our outraged feelings at the news that Hyderabad Communists have made a dishonourable deal with the State's rotten, reactionary regime.... Let their action libel them for ever as the most traitorous of opportunists and the most abject quislings" ("Man & Wife" from Secunderabad, who described themselves as erstwhile "misguided fellow-travellers").

TESTIMONY IN BLOOD

In that very issue of the papers dated May 7,—but not with a seven-column heading!—was a small piece of news (also from A.P.I. and, this time, with a Hyderabad dateline)

which completely repudiated the suggestions and innuendos of the New Delhi message. Few read it because it was shoved in some obscure corner. In the interests of truth, it may be read now:

HYDERABAD (Dn.) May 6 (API) "Dr. Narayana Rao, notorious Communist of Bezwada, was shot dead in an engagement with the police at Sahur", says a Press Note issued by the Nizam's Government to-night.

The Press Note adds: A police party in a motor lorry came across a party of 20 Communists and Congressites hiding in ditches 8 miles from Bhongir. The police gave chase whereupon one of the men tried to throw a bomb at the police. He was shot dead. The search led to the recovery of six muzzle-loading guns."

Here was conclusive testimony—testimony in blood. Death, after all is the final argument.

I am no apologist for the Communists and don't agree with their policy in Hyderabad which is too violent for my liking. But it is preposterous to suggest that Communists, after leading the armed struggle of the Telangana peasants against the Nizam, would suddenly make peace with the Razakars—just to spite the Nehru Government! Of all the parties involved they are the bitterest and least compromising enemies of the Nizam and his regime. It was not the Communists but high dignitaries of the Government of India (like Agent-General Mr. Munshi) who were paying fulsome compliments to the Nizam and making "deals with the State's rotten, reactionary regime."

A few days later the Communist Party came out with authorised translation of their pamphlet which categorically denounced "the dangerous slogan of Azad Hyderabad." As regards the "unholy alliance between the Communist Party and the Razakars" (which Professor Ranga has discovered), this is what the pamphlet said: "The Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen not only wants to retain the present Fascist rule but wants to strengthen it further.... Qasim Razvi wants to perpetuate the rule of the Muslim jagirdars. He raises the slogan of 'Independent Hyderabad' to preserve the

Muslim landlords." Does this sound like an unholy alliance?

Any way, very few papers had the grace to recant the anti-Communist capital they had made out of the A.P.I.'s perversity of news. And, of course, while the lie was splashed across front pages, the contradiction was relegated to obscure corners. That is called Freedom of the Press!

MEMO TO PREMIER NEHRU

Re: The "Slow change" policy of your Government and its reluctance to adopt a socialist programme: "What shall it profit the masses of this country—the peasantry, the landless labourers, the workers, the shop-keepers, the artisans—if every-one of the offices held by Englishman in India is held by Indians?.... fundamentally their condition cannot improve until the social fabric is changed and I think that the only effective change can be the formation of a democratic socialistic State...." (YOUR speech at Punjab Provincial Conference, 1928).

BOOK OF THE WEEK

PUNJAB UPROOTED by Mrs. J. Nanda (Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay Rs. 2) is a timely and movingly graphic account of the great tragedy of the Punjab. It is a sincere, generally impartial but by no means completely scientific analysis of the causes and course of the horrible mass massacres in both the partitioned parts of the Punjab. She reveals a certain amount of naivette in stating that the social and economic fabric of the Punjab society may be saved by the Zamindars whom she wants to "stage a comeback." The key to her narrative is in the opening passage of the Preface:

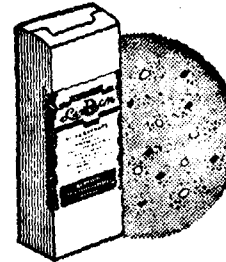
"I once read about a man who stood on the top of a hill and saw two passenger trains racing on a single track in opposite directions towards the inevitable disaster. During the last year, whenever I brooded on the communal strife in India, I thought of that passage and felt myself—and others may have similarly felt—like that helpless man on the hill who was a witness to the tragedy which he could foresee but could not prevent.

"At last, the terrific collision occurred. From the hill the accident appeared a great disaster, of which neither the causes nor the results were clear to those who were involved in it. Very many people were so busy in compiling death rolls in the two trains, in comparing the relative details of the wreckage, and in cursing the drivers and the passengers of the opposite train that they did not give a thought to the blunder of the station-master who had started the wrong train; they even forgot to tend the wounded and to clear the debris in order to resume the journey."

It will need more than a pamphlet (however sincere and readable as this one undoubtedly is) to fully analyse the causes of that fateful, fearful "collision."

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

RAJKOT: About a dozen persons were injured in what are described as "bread riots" in Morvi, about 45



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miles from here, when the police used force to disperse the mobs. Fifteen persons were arrested in this connection. A mob of fifteen hundred strong gathered at the collectorate and attacked and damaged some furniture. The Superintendent of Police fired four or five shots in the air, which resulted in the dispersal of the crowd. But later, assaults on policemen were made and fourteen persons were injured in incidents when the police had to resort to force to defend themselves."—News item.

"I wonder if the Government is a free agent to deal with the textile industry. The Government are composed of industrialists and capitalists and cannot give a square deal to the people."—J. C. SETALVAD, President of the Commerce Graduates Association.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

JAIPUR: Mr. Chotelal Jain, aged 40 of Pali, Jaipur, has been sentenced to seven days' simple imprisonment and fined Rs. 25 for attempting to marry a girl of nine."

"LUCKNOW: Failure to secure admission to the T.B. Ward of the King George's Medical College led a middle-aged patient Mahmud Ali to commit suicide....He could not endure the prospect of losing his last chance of recovery, and in sheer desperation ended his life by cutting his throat with a knife in the hospital premises."

BOMBAY: A strange incident happened at the Bombay Secretariat this morning. A middle aged man came up to the first floor where the ministerial chambers are situated. He prostrated himself on the floor and lay there motionless for over a minute. Then he walked away."

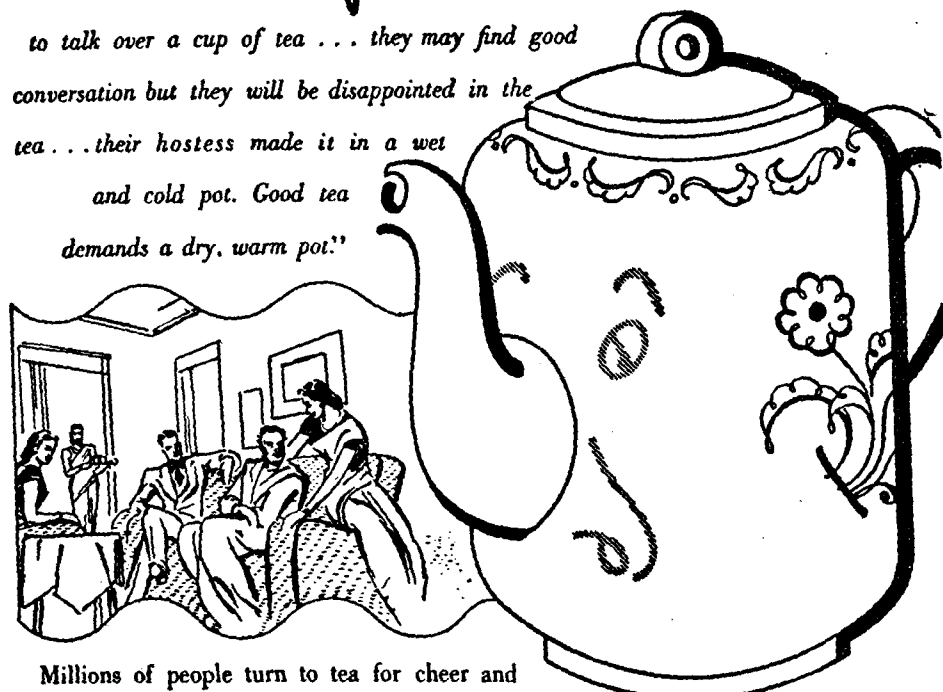
SWATANTRA

156, Lloyds Road,
Royapettah, Madras.

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“The guests have come ...

to talk over a cup of tea ... they may find good conversation but they will be disappointed in the tea ... their hostess made it in a wet and cold pot. Good tea demands a dry, warm pot.”



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MORTUARY MIRTH

by V. SUBRAMANIAN

DEATH is too serious a reality to be made fun of. Even philosophers who accepted death as inevitable rarely made a joke of it. Old men who pray to God at death's door or arrange for *apath-sanyasa*, and misers who stint themselves and pile up hoards as if they intended taking them all with them on their last journey, have always been objects of ridicule. Some philosophers have described the sight of men weeping for their departed, as dying corpses weeping over a dead one. But all this cannot be called humour in the lighter vein.

The man who first made death an object of a joke was Abuhasan of Bagdad. Abuhasan collected money from the Sultan for the funeral expenses of his deceased wife, while Abuhasan's wife collected money from the Sultana for the funeral expenses of her dead husband. When both the Sultan and Sultana came to see the truth, they both pretended to be dead. Abuhasan is the spiritual father of all modern reporters who make capital out of death reports and obituary memoirs.

Some really good jokes on death have come from press reporters. It is not again uncommon for school students with a grudge, to report their headmaster dead. Generally, all such reports are followed by hot denials and deep regrets. Mark Twain took the wrong obituary notice of him lightly, and remarked that it was highly exaggerated. But the death of men in power always leads to wild speculation. Addison describes how, on the wrong report of the death of Louis XIV, a coffee house politician in London, began to dispose of the fate of the Spanish monarchy, Netherlands and American colonies. Another interesting story is in connection with the death of Lenin. An astute American correspondent, knowing full well that he would not be allowed to report Lenin's death for political reasons, arranged with his Head-

quarters that if he wired for a thousand dollars, it meant the death of Lenin. When actually Lenin died and he wired for the dollars the Headquarters had forgotten the arrangements and promptly wired back for reasons for the demand. The poor frustrated reporter had to keep quiet.

Many doctors are famous for their unconscious humour over their patients' deaths. When a patient treated by a doctor for liver trouble was reported dead due to stomach-ache, the doctor boldly denied it, saying that when he treated a patient for liver trouble, he could die of liver trouble alone and not of stomach-ache. Another notorious doctor, on seeing an unknown corpse pass by, is said to have wondered how anybody in the town could die without his knowledge and ministrations. The common remark "operation successful but the patient died" summarizes succinctly the glory of surgical science, and the righteous indignation of the medical profession against the thankless, ungrateful patients who manage to die out of sheer cussedness and spite against surgery.

Some good jokes on death have come from philosophers. Socrates looked on death just as a new voyage of discovery, but it was Sir Thomas More who really made fun of it. He took away his beard carefully from the execution block, for he said that it had not offended His Majesty Henry the VIII in any way. Charles Bradlaugh, the famous atheist, when he was advised to ask forgiveness of God during his last moments, is said to have prayed, "Oh God, if there be a God, save me if you can". Another philosopher, Venkatadwarin, on the death of his son, found that he had nobody to carry the bier. He remarked that as in life his son was a *Nirvahaka* (manager), so in death he was a *Nir-vahaka* (without carrier). When chided for his inopportune pun, he replied that even if *Shwasa*

(breath) left him, his *Brasa* (pun) would not.

The knotty question whether life or death is preferable has been treated with supreme humour by many. A character in Hades in one of the Aristophanes' plays, threatens to go back to earth from Hades unless his spouse ceases scolding. One of Shaw's characters in *St. Joan* blurts out that he will probably not die, when the Bishop seriously remarks that all of us must die one day. In the same play, Shaw characteristically makes *St. Joan* return to earth again after her canonization, but she finds that she would not be welcomed alive but worshipped only in death. Similar perhaps is the fate of all saints. But the jokes of real life are however more interesting than the jokes of the theatre. Poor Bhowal Sanyasi came to life to disturb the peace of mind of those who thought him safely dead and burnt, lived just long enough to prove himself to be himself, only to cheat the end of the process again, at the moment of his success. His life was one of the grandest serio-comic dramas, conceived by nature, to illustrate the absurdity of life and human effort.

But the finest jokes on death are to be found in the force of a Bengali playwright. The poor old father of a rich respectable family is bedridden while his snobbish sons anticipate his death in their letters to friends and relatives and press messages. Soon condolence messages came pouring in and the bed-

ridden father stubbornly refuses to die at the scheduled hour while being belaboured by his sons for his 'Indian punctuality' even in death. While the local worthies outside are discussing his tragic death and great qualities, and wondering why the funeral is delayed, some of them peep in to find out, up jumps the bedridden man, bawling out that he is alive.

The Roman emperors wished to die standing, while saints wished to die praying. But Max Beerbohm had a brilliant idea on the most suitable manner of death, namely by laughter. He deplores what a grand chance Shakespeare missed when he was finishing the second part of *King Henry IV*, where the newly reformed Henry V preaches a sanctimonious sermon to Falstaff and disowns him. To quote from Beerbohm, "Falstaff was not the man to stand cowed and bowed while the new young king lectured him and cast him off. Little by little, as Hal proceeded in that portentous elocution, the humour of the situation would have mastered old Sir John. His face, blank with surprise at first, would presently have glowed and widened and his whole bulk have begun to quiver. The final words would have been the signal for the release of all the roars pent up in him. The welkin would have rung, the roars belike would have gradually subsided in dreadful rumblings of mere unutterable or unconquerable mirth. Thus and thus alone might his life have been rounded off with dramatic fitness."



UNUSED STOCK

In his own gentle, procrastinating way Dr. George Harris did much as president of Amherst College, but the unpleasant duties of such a post he neglected or ignored. He was not really opposed to work, but I never heard him say much in favour of it. One autumn he rose in chapel to address the students at the first assembly of the year, but after a sentence or two he got tired and broke into a happy smile:

"I intended to give you some advice, but now I remember how much is left over from last year unused."

With that he took his hat and walked out.—John Erskine in "The Memory of Certain Persons."

C. R. IN THE SADDLE

by POTHAN JOSEPH

WHEN C.R.'s name was announced as substantive successor to Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India, the Premier of Madras interpreted it as a compliment to Tamilnad but to most people appreciation must have come on a different focus. In a recent speech, C.R. remarked how the function of the Governor of a province had changed with the march of time and how today the Cabinet wields power while the Governor stands excluded from executive responsibility in spite of the fact that orders are expressed in his name. Whether the Governor of a province remains a stipendiary figurehead or he exercises a beneficent influence depends on the personality of the individual. It was a disappointment to many when C.R. was exiled from the forum of effective authority in New Delhi to ornamental office in Calcutta, because truth to tell, India is suffering from a shortage of man power in respect of first-class personnel to cope with all the opportunities and responsibilities confronting us since August 15. In the tradition of foreign appointments in Britain, scions of aristocracy unequal to a first-class career in political life at home found openings in embassies abroad where good breeding and moderate accomplishments made them a success. The craze for opening foreign embassies as from August 15 drew away a large number of actors on our political stage, and it is believed that there are not a sufficient number of candidates to meet the demand for diplomats as estimated by the Prime Minister. Within India itself, sound policy would be to fill vacant governorships with men and women of standing who are entitled to reasonable rest for the simple reason that the effective part of administration vests in the Ministries, the attributes of commonsense and social elegance being adequate for governorships. If these jobs were in half-yearly circulation, the practice would no

doubt provide satisfaction to others who had in equal measure borne their part in the "national struggle" which culminated in our "hardwon freedom." The sending away of C.R. from the Centre was the result of "power politics" at the Centre where his outstanding ability is supposed to have marked him out as an inconvenient man. Everyone felt that in his role as Governor he might linger as a wasting asset, but in Bengal, where local patriotism and provincial exclusivism are inefaceable, C.R. proved a success, personality transcending limitations.

When Lord Mountbatten decided to visit London, C.R. was appointed officiating Governor-General but it was not a choice by a vote of the full Cabinet, and according to knowledgeable quarters Sardar Patel's wish was that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should be the incumbent. Much cannot be hazarded about the choice (Gandhiji was then alive), but it was said that Lord Mountbatten had on his own recommended C.R.'s name to the acting office and that the King having already expressed his approval, even a secondary selection like Sir John Colville could not be pursued. Anyway it is of little importance now. The routine practice of stop-gap appointments in the Governor-General's executive Councils in the past used to depend upon the discretion of the individual who went on leave. If Sir Mohammad Zafrullah shot up in the horizon as Executive Councillor at the age of 36, it was because of Sir Fazl Hussain nominating him in his vacancy and grooming him for permanence.

When Lord Mountbatten returned in a fortnight, C.R. moved back to Calcutta as Governor. That he is a Tamilian or Madras has not affected my delight that he becomes Governor-General. The criticism that it should have been a non-party appointment outside the Congress fold has no force because those in power must needs prefer an old comrade-in-arms. Out of 14 Minis-

ters, there are 3 Madrasis but vital influence does not go by numbers, and now comes the Governor-General. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Dr. Matthai and Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar constitute the largest provincial quota to satisfy the most provincially minded in the South. Just before the announcement it was stated that C.R. was not the sole possibility as other competitors were entering the field, the names of the Jam Saheb and Dr. Rajendra Prasad being specifically mentioned as dangers. The Jam Saheb's elevation would have been a clumsy piece of courtesy to the tumbledown order of the princes whose ambition when they accede should be confined to becoming Rajpramukhs. The Sardar has never told any of them "The sky is the limit." The Jam Saheb is well known to be a person with a grasp of practical economics translated into continuous interest in commercial investments. With seven ports in Kathiawar for purchase by the Government of India, his filling the vacancy would have been incongruous. There was a whisper about Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, being elevated to the Governor-Generalship. I always regard him as a passenger on board the ship, and there is nothing to his credit that he should be bolstered up beyond present dimensions. Such a development in the career of a person with an inelastic and uneducable mind would have constituted a mockery for India without stirring even a ripple of goodwill in Pakistan of the kind elicited by the announcement of C.R.'s appointment.

As for Babu Rajendra Prasad, the fact of the matter is that he is a humanitarian who began cultivating Gandhian traits from the days of the Champaran Satyagraha. As the head of a nursing institution and as a collector of funds he is unexceptionable; but beyond loyalty to the Congress he has not shown much originality in his interpretation of political events. Persevering to look peasant-like he built up a reputation for simplicity; he went about unkempt, in shabby clothes like a sort of Shanker Deo who had

at last blossomed into maturity, only Rajan Babu limited his face-growth to a sieve-like moustache in token of his rustic stolidity. When he became President of the Constituent Assembly, he trimmed his moustache to smarten up but without any improvement in fetching power. Clumsily dressed, hip-conscious in his gait and with his hands fidgetty and fumbling like those of his fellow-Bihari Mr. Hussain Imam when he speaks, Rajen Babu unfortunately carries a personality artificially lowered below his natural par. He looks what in textile controversy would be captioned as the "Cloth Muddle." His book foredooming Pakistan traversed sterile ground and deserves no place on the shelf containing Dr. Ambedkar's analysis of the same subject. Moreover, his extreme provincialism is the talk of New Delhi since the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly is Bihar in miniature. Far different is the personality of C.R. who without intrusion or interference will prove to be a profound influence in the immediate future of New Delhi and its All-India range of administration. He is no dandy but there is in his deportment a neat, spruce and dignified bearing, and when he speaks at any time on behalf of India, no Indian need be nervous about his dropping a ton of bricks. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel last January declared at Bombay that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had through overwork become a shadow of himself, worn down by ten years in his life. Here it is my belief that the Prime Minister will find a sagacious Counsellor in the new Governor-General who incidentally could be a great shock-absorber in times of peril. Pandit Jawaharlal is intensely overworked and after the appearance of invalid conditions in the Sardar, Pandit Nehru's burden has distinctly increased. Apart from what *Swatantra* wrote about the sedative effects of C.R.'s personality on any form of militarism in the Hyderabad theatre, I feel that in the Kashmir affair also suggestions for cushioning off wasteful developments may exert their influence towards pacification without appease-

ment. Pandit Jawaharlal may be ideologically ruthless, but when it comes to responsibility for bloodshed that could be avoided by diplomacy, it is in him to feel the perplexed mood of Hamlet. Really he takes more after his gentle mother Swarup Rani than his implacable father Motilal Nehru. When Gandhiji lived, it was on example of Arjuna's drooping spirits being revived by philosophical exhortation, and now the presence of C.R. would afford him a source not only of restful comfort but also of the power of visualising things in the right proportion, a faculty for which C.R. is celebrated. Not that C.R. would interfere but that his winsome personality and radiation of wisdom would affect the members of the Cabinet who individually and collectively come into contact with him. As a Brahmin scholar and a political sadhu, he would command the respect of the newly-converted princely order into a feeling of secure co-operation without any open Peishwa-like aggrandisement for a Unitary State in cast-iron mould denying freedom of movement for the limbs.

John Gunther no doubt called C.R. a sly fox but to know C.R. at his best you must talk to him everything but politics. I have had the privilege of many conversations with him but I take care to avoid barren political topics about Akhand Hindustan, Rashtrabhasha, the fate of Jinnah, the future of the charka and the latest complaint about the

firkhas in Kerala; because such themes put him on his guard and the alert tactician sends you home tied up in 24 knots. On the other hand if you allow him to speak disinterestedly on other subjects, it is amazing how he could unveil a wealth of knowledge, observation and wisdom that stimulate you into reflection for 48 hours note-book in hand. Even with regard to Gandhian doctrines and the planks of the Congress programme, C.R. is not a slave of pietistic fatuities since he has his own scale of virtue inherent in the character of men. Plato defined virtue as knowledge, Aristotle as the "golden mean", Bentham as the greatest good of the greatest number, a mathematical puerility in respect of quantum and quotient. With C.R. it would be the middle definition, namely the "golden mean." When he was Governor of Bengal he gave a cup to the best horse at a race. When he was acting Governor-General he opened cellars of the old Viceroy's House and let the guests go home skinfur and happy with the liquor unearthed. These are not inconsistencies but a measure of the trumpery valuation he sets on the superficialities of conduct which when misused into slogans of political salvation have so little to do with individual habits and idiosyncracies. C.R.'s choice brings to the head of affairs the right man to help in steering India clear of more than one danger against which she is sailing for lack of better helmsmanship.

WHAT WOMEN ARE MADE OF

In the beginning when Twashtri came to the creation of woman, he found he had exhausted his materials in the making of man, and that no solid elements were left. In this dilemma, after profound meditation, he did as follows: He took the rotundity of the moon, and the curves of the creepers, and the clinging of the tendrils, and the trembling of the grass, and the slenderness of the reed, and the bloom of the flowers, and lightness of the leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk, and the glances of the deer, and the clustering of rows of bees, and the joyous gaiety of sunbeams, and the weeping of the clouds, and the fickleness of the winds, and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant, and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire, and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of the kokila, and the hypocrisy of the crane, and the fidelity of the chakrawaka; and compounding all these together, he made woman, and gave her to man.—Dan Wheeler in Hindu Myth.

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BOOKS & AUTHORS



Life And Myself. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. (Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1353, Bombay.)

This is the first part of Harin's autobiography, bringing the story of his growth as man and artist upto his early twenties. It is a most interesting story not only because Harin himself is among the most interesting figures in India's cultural life; he was born into and developed within a circle of people with more than ordinary qualities. His sister Sarojini is well known, but the portrait which Harin has sketched of his brother Virendranath, the revolutionary in exile in Europe, is a valuable record which will be news to many readers.

Of Harin himself, the frank and pleasant narrative tells us a great deal—about the influence of that remarkable man, his father Aghorenath, on his early life; about the shattering impact of youthful love on his whole being; and about the beginnings of his poetic work. This first instalment of the autobiography is only spoilt by the frequent carelessness of writing. Harin's prose style is even less disciplined than his verse. "I could not help paying a tribute to his tribute of father, and the most natural way was expressed by my eye which shed a tiny, almost unnoticed tear"—things like this are repeated many times in the course of the book. There is also an abundance of platitudes solemnly stated, which one would hardly expect of Harin.

The All-India Business Directory, 1947-48. Compiled by Mr. P. J. Jacob, M.A. (Published by Messrs. M. Paul Varghese & Co., Kanjirapally, Travancore, and printed by Associated Printers, Madras, Price Rs. 45.)

The second edition of the above volume which has just been released for publication runs into over two thousand pages and is a treasure-house of valuable information not only for businessmen in India and Pakistan, but also for businessmen all over the world. The book is divided into twelve sections comprising business information and addresses from all the leading industrial countries of the world. The book has been well brought out and is unique among modern business directories in so far as business and general information relating to each country is given side by side with business addresses of that

country. The lakhs of leading addresses are given under broad and suggestive heads.

A number of useful maps and statistical graphs constitute an additional feature of value. The price of the book is moderate in comparison with its usefulness to the business public. The Associated Printers have done an admirable job of the printing, which leaves nothing to be desired.

The Secret of Life. By Dr. F. Kahn, translated from the original by George Rosen, M.D. (Published by Odhams Press; available through the Home Library Club, Times of India, Bombay. Price Rs. 10-8; pp. 640).

Reading this book is an exciting and adventurous experience. It helps us penetrate, as far as the human biology of today can take us, the perpetual mystery of seeing, hearing, experiencing and living. The outstanding merit of Dr. Kahn's work is the presentation of medical and biological knowledge, complicated and not always easily comprehensible to the lay man, in a manner that uniformly sustains interest. The 460 explanatory drawings, photographs and diagrams included in the book are a valuable aid to the appreciation of the factual information. Printed in large type on good paper, it is a useful book which is not costly at its price.

TELUGU

Finger Print. By K. S. Ramamurti. With a Foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. V. Rajamannar. (Andhra Publishing House, 278, China Bazaar, Madras. Price Re. 1.)

Finger prints play an important part in the detection of crime, inasmuch as they do not change in a man's lifetime. Especially in India, where the illiterate population forms a large percentage, forged finger-prints cause a good deal of litigation.

Mr. K. S. Ramamurti, the author, is a finger-print expert of considerable experience and research to his credit of which he has made good use in this book. Written in easy simple Telugu, with explanatory illustrations, the booklet will prove to be an invaluable guide to subordinate police officials specially and the public generally.

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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.

Questions For A.I.C.C.

The article "Merge Hyderabad with India" by no less a person than the Secretary, Foreign Department, A.I.C.C., came as a very pleasant surprise to me.

Apparently Dr. Rajkumar expects his views to 'shock' some people. I can however assure him from my limited knowledge of public opinion, as can be gathered from frequent conversations during third class railway journeys, that the solution advocated by him is the one favoured by all people. But few could put it as bluntly and clearly in so many words. What however 'shocked' me was that such realism and bluntness should come from the chief office bearer of the A.I.C.C., from which most people, like me, had ceased to expect any realistic lead in this matter.

What I and many others would like to know is an answer to the following questions: (1) Does the article represent the considered views of most A.I.C.C. members of the Cabinet, as evidenced in the secret session? (2) Is the article simply an expression of private opinion, as was done by Keskar, an ex-Secretary of the Congress Working Committee, about the unrealism of Congress leaders, in an article in the "National Herald" in August or September '47? I understand that Keskar got into the bad books of the High Command as a result of that article. (3) What practical steps are the A.I.C.C. going to take to implement this commendable plan, besides article-writing? The hopes many people had, from a successful Communist underground movement, have been shattered by their recent volte face. There remains the I.N.A. and the volunteer army of Major General Bhonsle of the I.N.A. But what great enthusiasm can we expect from people who know that all their sacrifices for their country have been most ungratefully forgotten by the very men whom they had lifted up to power, by their sacrifices?

Dr. Rajkumar owes to the public at large a very clear and unequivocal answer to all these questions.

V. SUBRAMANIAN.

Trichy.

Textile Policy Anomalies

When cloth control was in force, textile owners and merchants hoarded goods and thus created an artificial scarcity to force the Government to

remove all restrictions. Government warned them seriously and threatened to take drastic action. Then rationing was abandoned. As expected, when prices began to go up, Government got perturbed and issued long statements hinting at severe punishments if prices were not kept at reasonable levels. Then the export control was relaxed. When prices again began to go higher and higher making it impossible for the common man to buy, Government once again got seriously worried and even suggested re-imposition of controls as if to frighten the merchants to submission. Then stamping of ex-mill prices on cloth was removed. What is the consistency between these pious platitudes and actions of the Government? We, the poor people, will be fortunate if this governmental anxiety for our welfare does not lead us to complete nakedness. Perhaps the big people in authority think that the ordinary man is not able to see through the official pretensions and crocodile tears, and what if some of them do see through them when Government could use the big stick to put down everyone who dares to question them.

V. A. LONAPPAN.

Bangalore.

The Communists

In the Letters Section of "Swatantra" some have rightly denounced your views regarding the Communists.

The Communist Party had long since developed antipathy towards the Congress. For instance, in 1939, when the Congress was carrying on negotiations with the then Government, the Communists urged that the Congress should start a fight. In 1940, when Mahatma Gandhi started individual civil disobedience, the same Communists criticised the Congress saying that mass struggle would meet the situation. Again in 1942 when the whole nation was in the throes of a rebellion the Communists turned round and called the war a "People's War" and gave an undertaking to the Government to support the war effort. They have been changing like the chameleon. Consequently they have done more harm than good to the country.

Let the Communists now at least merge themselves with the Congress casting aside all differences by co-operating with the National Government for the betterment of the country

which is distracted by war in Kashmir, communal frenzy in Hyderabad, petty quarrels here and there, and restlessness everywhere.

Bangalore.

P. M. D.

Order Of The Day

Bans, black bills, arrests, lathi-charges and shootings seem to be the order of the day. The desperate measures adopted by our "popular" Government shows how fast they are losing the support of the common people when they can no longer trust even their own laws, courts and judges and have to depend on naked unrestrained force.

At this time it is worthwhile to remember Pandit Nehru's words that a Government which has to resort to extraordinary and undemocratic powers has no right to exist because it has not the support of the people.

(Miss) KUSUM SHETH.

Bombay.

"Abusing Hospitality"

I am a regular reader of your reputed weekly "Swatantra". It is gratifying to note with appreciation one rare feature of your journal. This rare feature with which I am particularly concerned is that of publishing letters from critics too adverse and merciless at times, judged by their tenor of language at which, I think, every impartial and sensitive reader cannot fail to feel annoyed and pained. I know not what your feelings are on such occasions. This does not mean that I am against any criticism against you, or for that matter, I am not opposed to criticism as such. My grievance is not against criticism as such if it is genuine and constructive, but against criticism for criticism's sake. Critics of the latter type are many that crave the hospitality of your columns. This too is not so much annoying as the tenor and tempo of their language. Perhaps they have young blood in their veins or they may be enamoured of such style. But that is no proper reason or excuse. In fact in such sort of letters, one can discern more of heat and less of light. I am constrained to say that they should not indulge in personal attacks either directly or indirectly. Let them confine themselves to meeting the points with all sagacity and

I consider you and your journal at its best when you meet such critics with innate patience and instinctive psychology, and also in publishing their letters as instructed by them unlike

other dailies or weeklies. This attitude of yours compels my admiration and humble veneration.

Allow me, Sir, to express my thankfulness for the lead you are giving to the people of this province in particular and to the public of India in general through your worthy weekly.

C. M. GOPAL RAO.

Kavali.

The Only Fitting Memorial

It was the express wish of the Mahatma that no memorials should be constructed in his memory. We would be betraying him if we forget what he preached and content ourselves with raising memorials, naming the streets after him, keeping a little of his ashes on our foreheads and what not. It is in deeds and not in words that we have to prove ourselves worthy inheritors of his way of life wherein only lies salvation for restless humanity. The best memorial to his memory which would keep green the services rendered by him to the country, will be to translate into action what he preached and to propagate his gospel of peace and non-violence, in those countries whom black clouds of war are fast enveloping.

C. RADHA KRISHNA MURTHY.
Nellore.

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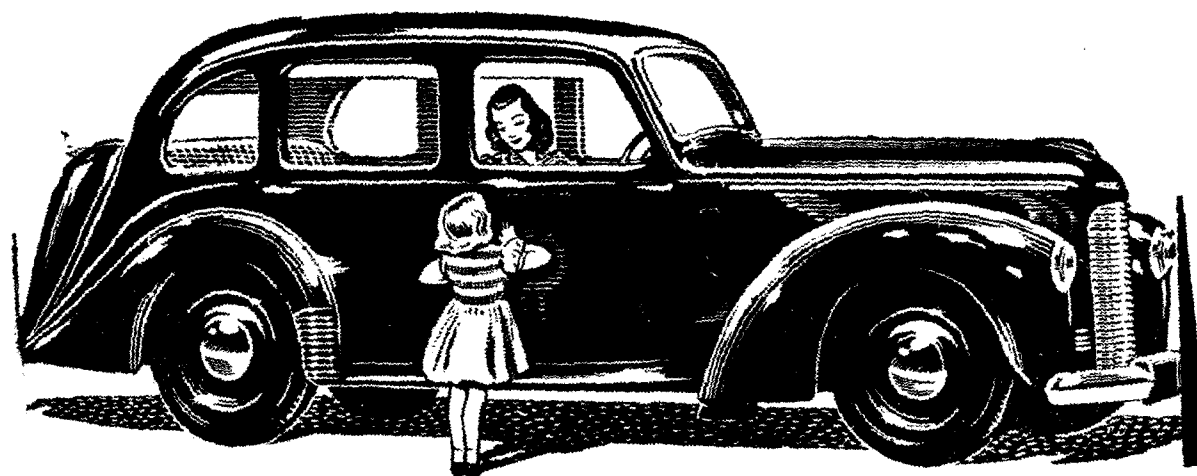
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