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(Trivandrum Museum)



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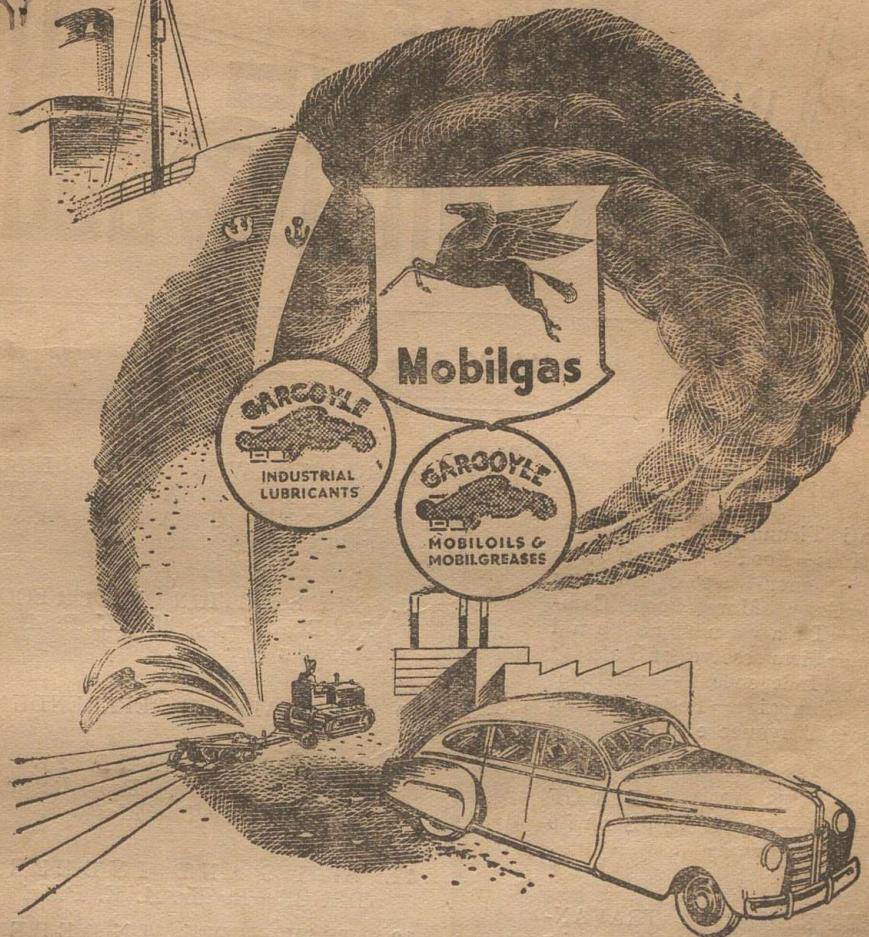
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TRAVANCORE INFORMATION & LISTENER

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PEERMEDA HILLS

In the heart of the High Range is Peermede. The road to this Hill Station lies through India's richest tea plantations and bewitching mountain scenery.



THE PERIYAR LAKE

Situated on the shores of the Periyar Lake is the Royal Game Sanctuary which no tourist can afford to miss. Nestling in the heart of mountains and dense forests, it presents one of the enchanting beauty spots in the East. Wild animals in their natural habitat may be seen on the shores of the lake.

March of Events.

SRI Swati Tirunal centenary celebrations will commence at Trivandrum on Friday, the 25th July, and continue for about a week. His Highness the Maharaja will open the celebrations. On the 26th July Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi will lay the Foundation Stone for the proposed new building for the Academy of Music.

There will be music concerts every evening by the *Asthana Vidwans* and others. Mornings will be generally devoted to talks and discussions on music and allied subjects. Efforts are being made to make the Exhibition unique in the annals of music.

FOOD SITUATION

The following Press Note has been issued by Government :

THE public are aware of the recent statements of the Hon. Food Member to the Government of India about the critical food situation in India and the caution administered by him to all administrations to take requisite steps to tide over the difficult months ahead. It has been made very clear that imports of foodgrains from abroad are likely to be insufficient and unsteady.

In common with other deficit areas, the quotas of foodgrains allotted to Travancore for the coming months have been reduced. It has therefore become necessary to adjust the ration scale in the State also accordingly. Government are therefore constrained to reduce the size of the ration unit in the State from four nazhies of rice to three nazhies of rice with effect from 22-6-1947 / 8-11-1122, as a temporary measure. Accordingly, an adult would get six nazhies of rice or twelve nazhies of paddy per week and a non-adult half this quantity. Special representation has been made to the Government of India, to enhance the rice allotment to the State. The Government of India have also been requested to allot substantial quantities of wheat or gram, which, when available would be issued under ration in addition to rice or paddy. All attempts will be made to restore the ration to the normal level as early as practicable.

TAPIOCA

IN the Press Note, dated the 15th April 1947, Government decided as a temporary measure to allow the export of tapioca and tapioca chips in order to ensure better price



for the commodity and help tapioca producers. In view, however, of the present food situation, Government have now decided not to allow any further export of tapioca in any form till the food situation improves.

LEMON-GRASS BREEDING STATION

GOVERNMENT have sanctioned a five-year scheme for the establishment of a Lemon-Grass Breeding Station near Moovattupuzha for investigation and development of superior stocks of lemon-grass in the State. The State produces a large proportion of the world's output of lemon-grass oil and it is essential that this favourable position is maintained. The scheme will be operated as part of the Post-war Development Schemes of the State.

GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

FOR the investigation and execution of the irrigation schemes in Parur and Kunnathunad taluks in connection with the Grow More Food Campaign Government have sanctioned the formation of a temporary Irrigation Sub-Division for a period of 4 months with Headquarters at Alwaye and with 4 Sections to work under the Division Officer, Alwaye—the existing two Sections at Alwaye and Moovattupuzha being merged in this Sub-Division and two additional Sections, viz., a Lift Irrigation Section and an Investigation Section with the necessary staff being created. It is estimated that when the investigation and execution of the irrigation schemes in the above taluks are completed and water made available to an area of 7000 acres of land for the next Makaram crop, about 5 lakhs

of paras of paddy can be additionally produced.

TRAVANCORE AND PAKISTAN

Government have issued the following Press Communiqué :—

As a result of personal discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Dewan of Travancore, the Dominion of Pakistan, on its establishment, has agreed to receive a representative of Travancore and to establish relationships with this State, which will be of mutual advantage.

In pursuance of this decision, the Travancore Government have nominated Rajasevapravina Khan Bahadur G. Saiyid Abdul Karim Sahib Suhrawardy, M. B. E., Retired Inspector-General of Police, Travancore, as the representative of the Travancore State in the Dominion of Pakistan and he will take charge of his duties from the date on which Paramountcy lapses, Travancore becomes an independent State and the Pakistan Dominion is established.

This agreement with Pakistan is especially valuable because it banishes the prevalent fear as to rice supplies for Travancore, which can hereafter be expected from Karachi and will be despatched direct to the ports in Travancore. As already stated in more than one conference by the Dewan, the chief surplus areas in India in respect of rice are Sind, Baluchistan, parts of the Punjab and parts of Bengal. Karachi will also be an important maritime centre through which Travancore can obtain petrol and petroleum products from the countries of the Middle East. Those countries and the Dominion of Pakistan will be most valuable markets for our tea, spices, coconut products and coir. Government have

been assured that these markets are even more valuable potentially than European countries.

It may be remembered that as a result of similar discussions and correspondence with the present Interim Government, an arrangement has been entered into in respect of the utilisation of Travancore minerals in connection with atomic research.

It has already been notified that Rajasevapravina G. Parameswaran Pillai has been nominated as the representative of the Travancore State in Delhi for negotiating temporary and stand, still arrangements, pending the establishment of permanent relations between the Hindustan Dominion and this State.

FIRM RESOLVE OF STATE TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT

ADDRESSING a packed gathering at the Legislative Chamber on the 27th June, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, reiterated that the independence decided upon by Travancore was consistent with interdependence with the rest of India, not only in regard to communications, foreign affairs and defence, but also public health, education, research, highways and several other matters. But all this was on the basis of complete equality and unforced treaties and agreements on matters of common concern entered into by an independent State. He was of the view that the talks of economic sanctions against Travancore and threats of internal rebellion and words uttered by politicians and party leaders had no meaning if the creed of non-violence proclaimed *ad nauseum* still held the field and if it was a fact that the various units which went to make up this sub-continent were economically interdependent and

intertwined with one another. If it was to be violence on the one side, there was bound to be violence on the other.

The meeting was convened for the purpose of conveying the messages of congratulations of His Highness the Maha-Raja and H. E. the Commander-in-Chief to Havildar Krishnan Rajan and his near relatives for his gallantry in Italy, for the presentation of His Highness the Maharaja's Sanads to certain members of the Travancore Labour Forces and for the award of recruiting badges to certain officers and private persons of the State.

The Dewan who presided, in the course of his concluding remarks, recalled that Travancore had sent 70,000 to 80,000 men to build the Burma Road and 60,000 to 70,000 men to service in the Army, Navy and Air Force and they had won the esteem of their comrades and the officers under whom they served.

Travancore, proceeded the Dewan, was not upset by the recall by the Madras Government of the only British Indian Officer lent to the State, whose term in any case ended on August 2nd. The State had no idea of retaliating by recalling one of their Officers on loan with the Madras Government as their Sanitary Engineer. As regards the threat of starvation, the State had definite promises of rice supplies from quarters who produced them. As regards textiles, he had greater respect for the business acumen of the mill magnates than to think that they would be a party to a trade boycott of Travancore. Should, however, all the efforts of the State fail, he had enough faith in the patriotism of Travancoreans to know that they would never give up their ideal which is worth fighting for and dying for.

After restating Travancore's readiness to co-operate with the rest of India in all matters of common interest, the Dewan sounded a note of warning that threat to future world peace, and the peace of India would come from social upheavals to be produced by Communistic ideals. Such a threat, the Dewan contended, was in no way lessened, but increased by the establishment of an Indian Embassy at Moscow.

Travancore, concluded the Dewan, was a land of the small farmer, the small capitalist and the small industrialist, and by history and tradition not a congenial soil for the propagation of these ideals, but he urged the population to watch their steps and guard themselves against this danger infiltrating from outside the confines of the State.

ANTI-INDEPENDENCE CAMPAIGN

INTERVIEWED on the possible Communist activities referred to by the Dewan in his recent speech, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that he had received reliable information that Messrs. T. M. Verghese and Pattom Thanu Pillai are contacting Mr. K. C. George, Communist leader, for the purpose of co-operating with the Communists and starting a campaign against the Travancore State and the independence programme of the State. "This information is fortified by the publication of a pamphlet by Mr. K. C. George appealing to the State Congress to recon-

sider their policy and to give up their anti-Communist mentality. It is thus clear that the State Congress and the Communists are beginning to work together.

"It is not possible to say whether this is part of an All-India movement; but all persons in Travancore can have no further illusions about the intentions and programmes of the State Congress. Some important Catholic leaders and Tea and Rubber Planters have met me and expressed their apprehensions on the same lines as Mr. T. K. Alexander," concluded the Dewan.

FERTILISERS AND CHEMICALS TRAVANCORE LTD

THE Dewan paid a flying visit on the 27th June 1947 to Alwaye to see the first crystals of Ammonium Sulphate produced by the *Fertilisers and Chemicals*, now the greatest plant of its kind in India. It has an annual capacity of 50,000 tons of Ammonium Sulphate, 60,000 tons of Superphosphate, 2000 tons of Wood Ash, 20,000 tons of calcium carbide, all good fertilisers and soil correctors. 1000 tons of Ammonia and 5000 tons of Sulphuric acid would be directly available for sale to the public. It is estimated that the production of Ammonium sulphate by this factory will increase the production of rice by five lakhs of tons per annum, which is more than equal to the total quantity of rice allotted to India for the current year by the International Emergency Food Council.

SOME SAINTS AND POETS OF KERALA

BY RAO SAHIB M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR,

(Professor of Tamil, University of Travancore)

THE Chera country has been the home of men, great in various ways, great in spiritual enlightenment, great in intellect and great as Rulers of the Kingdom. Tamil literature throws a flood of light on personages of all these types. An exhaustive survey of the references is manifestly outside the scope of this study. Omitting celebrated names, it is proposed to mention here some of the less known saints and poets of Kerala.

Sangam Period

The Chera Kings of the Sangam period, were great patrons of men of letters, some of them being poets themselves. Further, they were also characterised by intense devotion to the Lord. The *Patiruppatu* tells us that Selvakkadumgo Valiyadan was a great devotee of Vishnu who had fixed His image in his heart; he gave away the village of Ohandur as a gift to the Lord.¹ Kalan-kaikkanni Narmudicheral, another Chera monarch, was devoted to the God of Tiruvananthapuram, whose *Arat* he seems to have performed with great zeal.² Cheran Senguttuvan, we are told, was born of the grace of Siva; ³ he sought the blessings

of both Siva and Vishnu when he set out on an expedition to the north.⁴

Poets

Even a cursory study of the Sangam works will convince anybody of the great number of poets hailing from the Chera country. I wish to speak here only of two additions to this large list: Attirayanar of the village of Kallil, author of Puram 175, and Perianar of Orusirai, author of Puram 137. Kallil^{4a} seems to be a village near Perumbavoor. Orusirai must also be located in the Kerala area. Perianar tells us in the Puram song⁵ that never a thought of winning the favour of the three crowned heads crossed his mind as he was wedded to the love of the chief Nanjil Val-luvan whom he had known for long. There is a village by name Ochirai in the Karunagappalli taluk of Travancore, near Kayankulam. This name is identical with Orusirai, being only a phonetic variant of the word, with the consonant 'r' dropped and the previous vowel lengthened.⁶

4. Ibid. Chapter 26, ll. 55-67.

4a. There is another village by the same name in Tanjore District.

5. Puram, 137.

முந்தேரணி விறல்கெழு மூவரை, இன்னு மோர்யான் அவாவறியேனே, சீயேமுன் யான் அறியுமோனே”

6. c. f. ஒருவா- ஒவா meaning நீங்காத் தாவாய் becomes ஒவாப் தாவாய்ப்ப பல், தாவாய்ப்பானே.

1. 7th Decad—“Pathikam” மாயவண்ணைன் மனஞாறப் பெற்றவற்கு, ஒத்திரநெல் வின் ஒகந்தூர் சத்து.

2. Vide my article on *Arat* published in the November 1946 issue of Travancore Information and Listener.

3. Silap. Chapter 26, ll. 98-99.

Middle Period

Famous Saints

In the post-Sangam age of religious revival we find that Kerala takes a prominent part, with well-known figures like Kulasekhara Alvar for Vaishnavism, Cheraman Perumal Nayanar for Saivism, and Adi Sankaracharya for Advaitism. Besides, we hear of visits to Malainadu, the Chera country, by great saints of the day like Nammalvar and Sundaramurti Nayanar which show the great esteem in which the country was held.

Aiyan Arithanar

Before speaking of saints we have to note one or two scholars of this period. Aiyan Arithanar, the well-known author of *Purapporul Venpamalai*—a treatise on the topics of war, state affairs etc., belonged to the Chera dynasty though he did not actually rule any part of the country. His name suggests that he belonged to Haritha Gotra. He may probably belong to 6th or 7th century A. D.

Nilakantanar, the Musiri Scholar

He is another scholar stated to have transcribed the commentary of the Irayanar Kalaviyal originally composed by Nakkirar of the Sangam Age, and handed down from generation to generation. The commentary is written in a lively style and is probably the earliest of its type in Tamil literature.

Nilakantanar is called Musiri-asiriyar, that is, the Scholar of Musiri, the old seaport town (celebrated in Sangam works and the writings of travellers like Ptolemy) whose place is now filled by the modern Cranganore.⁷ To the scholar of this ancient seaport capital of the Cheras, then, we owe one of the most valuable and ancient

7. It was the Chera capital in the medieval period. From very ancient times pure

commentaries of Tamil. The date of Nilakantanar is probably the eighth century, judging from historical references in his work to the Pandya, Nedumāran of Nelveli fame.

Viral-Minda-Nayanar

Viral-minda-Nayanar is included in one of the sixty three holy Saiva saints. The *Periya-Puranam*⁸ tells us that he was a Vellala of Kodimada Chengunur (the present Chengannur). The story about him is that he used to worship, first and foremost, the devotees of Siva, considering them as even more worthy of his regard than God himself. During his stay in Tiruvarur, he saw Sundaramurti Nayanar going into the temple straight to the inner sanctum, wilfully ignoring the assembly of the Lord's devotees in the *mantapa* in front. He was stirred to righteous indignation at this neglect, and cried aloud in ringing tones that the guilty person was a *bhrashta* or an outcaste, and that even the God who favoured the sinner was an outcaste. Humbled at this outburst, Sundaramurti Nayanar realized his primary duty to the devotees of God; he sang the *Thiruttontattokai* in praise of the *Bhaktas* and won the angry Kerala saint's appreciation. Lord Siva, pleased at the achievement of Viral-mindar made him the chief of his devotees.

The meaning of the word Viral-mindar is one whose words carried victorious force and strength.^{8a} It is noteworthy

Tamil was spoken here. It is evident from the works of Cheraman-perumal Nayanar and also from the commentaries of Daivachilayar to Tholkappiyam.

8. Vide Viral-mindanayanar Puranam.

8a. “வின்டாடி த்திரிதருவார்” Thevaram-Swaminatha Panditar's edition page 1057. St. 10; மண்டைர தேவரப் பக்கம் 794-10.

in this connection that "mindu" is very commonly used in the sense "to speak" in all parts of Kerala to which country the poet belonged.

Venattadigal

Venattadigal is the name of one of the authors of the *Tiruvisaiippa*, a collection of Saiva hymns, ranking next only to the *Tevaram*. Venad is the old name of South Travancore. This name is, however, not current in Sangam literature; its usage can be dated as far back as the ninth century A. D. only.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Nambi-Andar-Nambi collected the *Tiruvisaiippa* songs in the reign of Raja Raja the Great (*circa* eleventh century A. D.) Venattadigal has, therefore, to be placed between the ninth century and the eleventh century A. D. He was obviously a King of Travancore, the name Venattadigal being familiarly used in inscriptions with reference to the Kings of Venad.

Ilam Peruman Adigal

Ilam Peruman Adigal is one of the authors of the 'Eleventh Thirumurai'; his poems have an impressive beauty of utterance. But we have no definite information as to his identity.

One Ilamperumanar of Kottar is mentioned in the Senthalai inscriptions of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan Suvaran Maran, a Pallava feudatory belonging to the 8th century.⁹ This Ilamperumanar is also the author of a song quoted in the epigraph. Judging from the facts that the dates of the religious revival and those of the Muttaraiya chief correspond, and the persons mentioned are both poets, we have reason to infer

(?) Vide Sen-Tamil Vol. VI p. 6-12. Also Sasana-Tamil-k-kavi oaritham—by the present author p. 17 and 19.

that Ilamperuman Adigal of the 'Eleventh Thirumurai' belonged to Kottar in southern Travancore.

Kulasekhara Nambi, the donor of a temple in Burma

One is agreeably surprised to find from an inscription at Main Pagan in Burma,¹⁰ that Sri Kulasekhara Nambi belonging to Mahodayarpattanam (Cranganore) in Malaimandalam or Cheranadu, built a *mandapa*, provided a door, and endowed a perpetual lamp to a Vishnu temple of the place. Strikingly enough, a famous stanza of *Mukundamala* beginning "Nasta Dharme" composed by the Vaishnava Saint Kulasekhara of Malabar is quoted at the top of the inscription.

The epithets *Sri* and *Nambi* used in the inscription would suggest that he was a venerated man, belonging to a line of temple priests. The date of the inscription as determined by epigraphists from its characters, is the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. Even in this early period, South Indian Vaishnavism had crossed the seas, thanks to adventurous persons like Kulasekhara Nambi of Malabar.

Chendalankara Dasar

Chendalankara Dasar, whose name reminds us of Narayana Dasa was, like the other saint, a Vaishnavite devotee and teacher of the thirteenth century. Many inscriptions in the Tirunelveli District—at Triukkurungudi, Shermadevi, and Kodakanallur, speak of him and his services to temples. He is also known as Chendalankara Maha Muni. His name before he assumed the role of a Sanyasin, was 'Vasudevan Kesavan.' Chendalankara is the

(10) Ep. Ind. 1903 Vol. VII Chapter 27 p. 197. The inscription is published by Dr. Hultzsch.

name of the Deity of Mannarkoil near Ambasamudram and this name is the chosen *dasyanama* of our saint. (Chendu is a weapon for driving horses.)

In the fifth year of Maravarman Sundar Pandya,¹¹ Chendallankaradasa built and consecrated a shrine to the Vaishnava saint Kulasekhara Alvar in the temple of Mannarkoil. He also arranged for the endowment of the village of Vindanur (Sambur vadakarai) in the Shencottah taluk, for the maintenance of the shrine. Maravarman Sundara Pandya came to the throne about 1251 A. D. and the fifth year of his reign would be 1255 A. D. The popular belief, current today that Kulasekhara Alvar's remains are in Mannarkoil is probably only a misconception based on the founding of the shrine by Chendallankara Dasa. Further, it is interesting to note that the temple of Mannarkoil itself was built long after the age of Kulasekhara, in the reign of the Gangaikonda Rajendra Chola. It is called Rajendra Chola Vinnagaram after the Chola King and is stated to be built¹² by Cheraman Raja Singa Devar in 1043 A. D.

Chendallankara established a *mutt* at Mannarkoil, the scene of his activities and also at Idaikal. He belongs, however, to Kerala, for his native place is stated to be Mullaippalli of Malaimandalam. Mullaippalli is perhaps the same as Mallappalli in Tiruvalla taluk of Quilon Division.

Later Period

In the years following the fourteenth century when the outlook for Tamil was dark and gloomy, the kings of Travancore kept the torch of its learning burning steadily. Many of them were great poets

(11) M. E. R. 1916, 402, 403.

(12) M. E. R. 398.

themselves like Cheraman Perumal Vauchi Martanda. They encouraged Tamil men of letters, giving munificent donations and presents to them. Some prominent instances of their benefaction are cited below.

Marudavana Kavirajan

Ramanathan

Ramanatha, the name of a poet of the sixteenth century, is brought to light in inscriptions at the village of Tiruppudaimarudur (also called Marudavanam) in the Tinnevelly District. Epigraphs of this place numbered 421 and 613 of 1916, tells us that the people of Tiruppudaimarudur, in recognition of his poetic talents, presented him with some specified property, also conferring on him the right to sing songs in the festival season. He was given the title Marudavana Kavirajan, *i. e.*, the kingly poet of Marudavana. The date of these grants to the poet is M. E. 731 (A. D. 1554).

Another grant of land in the village of Sadayamangulam, to this poet is recorded in a verse inscription of the same place. Perumal Martanda Panaikkara is said to be the donor: most probably he was a representative feudatory chief of the Kings of Travancore.

The Kaviraja, Ramanatha, was thus favoured by both King and common folk. His native place seems to have been in Venad, for in one epigraph, he is called "Ramanatha, the Maruduvana Kavi, belonging to Venad of Ravivarma."

Thirivikraman of Mullamangalam

He was praised as a man of truthful utterance. He was much devoted to the goddess Bhagavathy enshrined in a temple at the village of Valvaichakottam about 4 miles to the north west of Thuckalay. During the reign of Ravi Varma, this

Thirivikraman erected a *mukhamandapa*, an *Ottakkal mandapam* and many other structural additions in the temple at Valvaichakottam. These facts are recorded in the two verses^{12a} engraved in the temple wall.

Muthukumaraswami Pulavar

The name of this poet is also revealed to us only by epigraphy. Verse inscriptions¹³ in the temple of Ganesa in Radhapuram in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevelly District tell us that the flag-staff

in front of the temple was caused to be fixed therein by Rajendra, a senior Tiruvadi or King of Venad. He also arranged for the performance of *Jateebandham*, or the ceremony of the installation of the image in the temple; the stone-mason who built the temple was Namasivayam. Muthukumaraswami Pulavar is the name of the poet who sang the verses of the inscription. This poet must have lived in the eighteenth century, the record being dated M. E. 967 corresponding to A. D. 1791.

Kumaravelu Kavirayar and

his Son

In M. E. 989, on the eleventh day of the month of Kanni, a request was made to the King in Padmanabhapuram Palace by Nayinapillai,¹⁴ the son of Kumaravelu Muttamilkavirayar, that the allowance of fifty fanams given to his father the poet, be continued to be given to him. The prayer was assented to, and grant made by Royal Writ.

Kumaravelu was evidently a poet of standing in Tamil; his son, too, must have achieved equal mastery. Father and son, votaries of the Muse, thus flourished under sovereigns who encouraged the arts.

The Vembathur Poets

In recent memory, too, we have shining instances of the patronage of Tamil by Travancore Kings. Maharaja Swati Tirunal's benefactions were responsible for the composition of various lyrics and two long poems—*Ananta Vilasam* (M. E. 1022)

(13) M. E. R. 350, 59 of 1929-30.

(14) The relevant order is quoted in Kerala Society Papers, Vol. II, 8, (p. xvii) by Mahakavi Rao Sahib Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer

and *Padmanabhaswami Pillai-Tamil*¹⁵ by Vembathur Sankara Subramania Kaviraya Sastrigal. *Ananta Vilasam* describes the greatness of Trivandrum as well as many memorable incidents in the reign of Swati Tirunal.

Sama Iyer, the son of the author of *Ananta Vilasam* travelled with Maharaja Ayiyyam Tirunal during the king's visit to the north with the Dewan Seshiah Sastriar (A. D. 1872). This visit was undertaken at the invitation of the then Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, to be present at the investiture ceremony of the Begum of Bhopal. The King of Travancore was given a special seat of honour in this

investiture ceremony¹⁶. After witnessing the functions, the Maharaja went on pilgrimage to the Ganges where he performed the holy rites enjoined in the Shastras. The unique experiences of this *Gangayatra*, when festivity prevailed all round, have been immortalised in the poem *Gangavilasam* of Sama Iyer. Indeed, there has been an unbroken history of the encouragement of Tamil in the ancient land of Travancore.

(15) This, as well as the other works of Vembathur Poets have recently been acquired for the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore.

(16) Nagam Aiya's Travancore State Manual Vol. I. p. 576.



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BRONZES IN THE TRIVANDRUM MUSEUM

SIVA and SATI. An exquisite Bronze which belongs to the later Chola or early Vijayanagar period. (Below)

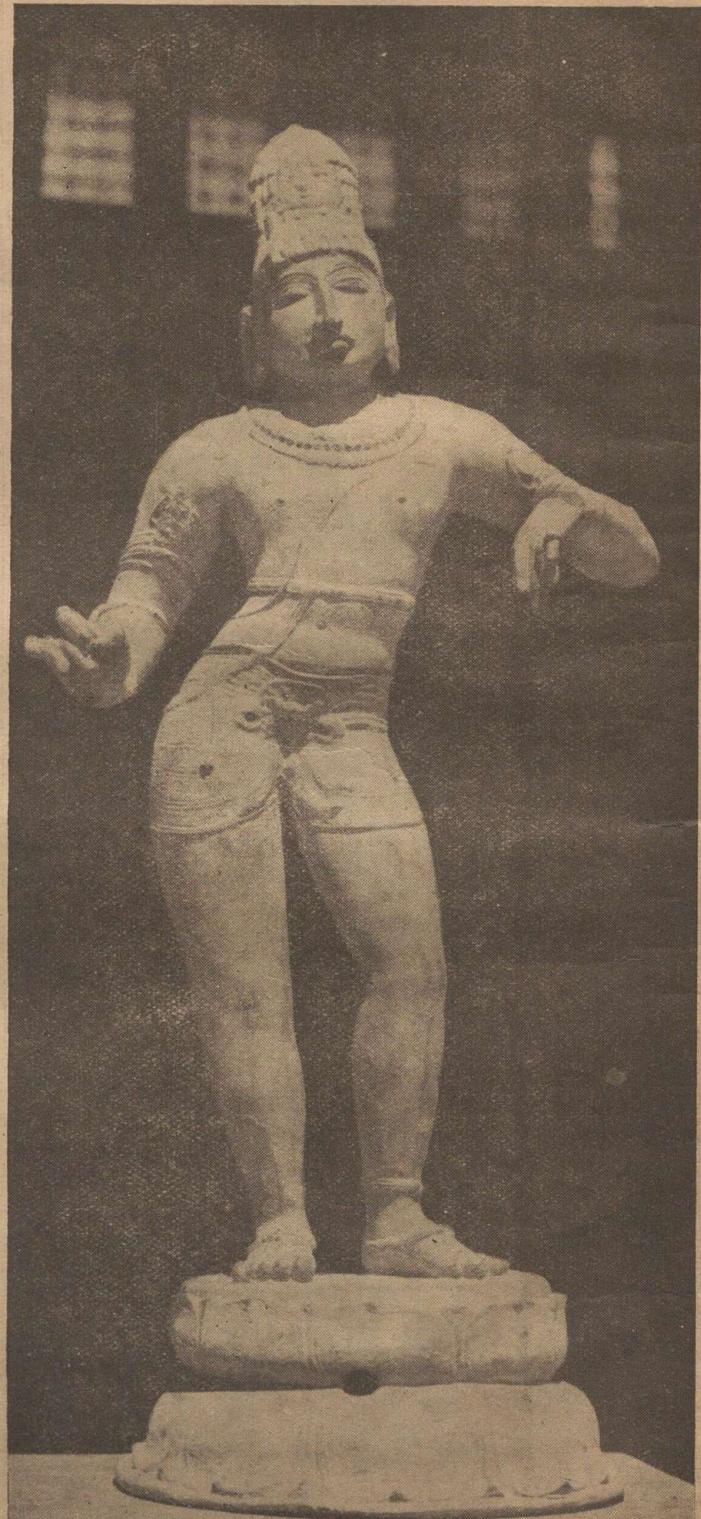


Executed in the *Abhangha* pose, an image assigned to the Chola period, this unique image of Vishnu is one of the finest Vaishnavite images in Bronze.

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LAKSHMANA ON PADMASANA

This image in the *Thribhangha* attitude, belongs to the Vijayanagar Period. (Below)



BHUDEVI in *Thribhangha* attitude.
his Bronze belongs to the late Vijaya-
igar Period.



Another Image of the Bodhisattva (Left)

THE ART MUSEUM AT TRIVANDRUM has got a remarkable collection of images of the Bodhisattva, in stone. A typical example of sculpture of the 3rd century A.D. is this image of Buddha (Right).

Beneath the standing image of the Bodhisattva is seen a Buddha seated in meditation, attended by two devotees.



BUDHA

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The Travancore State Museum at Trivandrum contains some of the finest specimens of the arts of sculpture, bronze-casting and wood carving.

One of the most outstanding sculptures here is this figure of RISHI AGASTYA, still venerated in South Travancore. This image, regarded as ancient, was found during the excavation of the Varkala Tunnel.

INDEPENDENT TRAVANCORE

Addressing a Press Conference at 10-30 A. M. on Wednesday,
the 11th June, 1947, at Bhaktivilas, SACHIVOTTAMA SIR
C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, said :—

Friends :—

I am greatly indebted to you for coming here and I propose with your permission to speak to you on recent events that have a bearing on the future of Travancore and also make an appeal to journalists, to the officials of the Travancore Government and to the non-officials. There will be no difference between officials and non-officials with reference to the programme I am indicating and the duties that I conceive will fall upon them, and I am appealing to their patriotism and their sense of nationality. I expect every official from the village officer up to the topmost ranks, to be either the propagandist of Travancore for the Travancoreans and an independent Travancore, but if the official thinks that the cry is wrong, that the call is mistaken, I shall ask the official to give up his place and take up any line that he proposes to take.

The present is a critical juncture. The future for the next 100 years at least of Travancore is in the making. The question is whether the country is behind the Maharaja or not. The Maharaja does not act, has not acted, will not act as an autocrat. He conceives himself as the trustee and the spearpoint of Travancore's activities and of Travancore's will and I am making this appeal on behalf of the Maharaja and with his special, especial permission, and on behalf of the dynasty which he represents. There is no question that Travancore is not going to enter the Constituent Assembly. There is no question that Travancore

is not going to join the Indian Union. Travancore will be an independent State, and will function as an independent State from the 15th August. I have told the Viceroy—and this is no secret—that from the next day, next to the 2nd of this month on which I met him namely the 3rd instant, I proposed to prepare Travancore to fill its role and play its part as an independent State.

LABOUR FOR TRAVANCORE INDEPENDENCE

I know there is difference of opinion on the matter, and I propose with your leave to take sometime to explain matters fully. I hope that if you are convinced, you will explain it to your friends and to those whom you have the power to influence. I am asking the officers not to sit within their office premises but to go out and work and labour for the emergence of Travancore as an independent State. If they feel they cannot do so, if they feel conscientiously that they cannot work for the cause, their resignations may be placed in my hands. This is a time when official or non-official, Hindu, Christian or Muslim, who belongs to Travancore will have to make up his mind whether he is for this ideal or against. Those who are for this ideal will work for it. Those who are against it will do a great service in being clear and telling us that they are against it so that we might know exactly where we are. I am saying this deliberately, in order that I may emphasise this point;

this great experiment, this great venture, this assertion of independence can only succeed if the Maharaja and the people are at one. If the Maharaja has not got the people behind him and the people are not willing to work for, suffer for and if necessary, die for that ideal, this ideal will not come into fruition. We are coming to a stage in history, where the crisis is clear, where the alternatives are unambiguous. If the Maharaja has not the people behind him, I do not know what will happen. But I may tell you that the Maharaja is prepared for the worst that may happen. That is clear. Either this State fulfils its destiny as by its resources, by the intelligence of its people, by the equipment of its people, by the education of its people, by the history of its people, it is fit to do ; or, on the other hand, if this State prefers inglorious existence, prefers to be submerged and suffocated, then His Highness is prepared for every step that may have to be taken, for every risk that may have to be faced.

INDEPENDENCE OF STATES

Now, before I go further, let me dispose of a few objections. A gentleman who was the Advocate-General of Madras and who has retired and is now functioning in the Constituent Assembly, gave an interview last evening. He said if the States do not join the Constituent Assembly, it is the duty of the people to force the Ruler to do so ; or he implied—he did not say so in so many words, for, he is a very able lawyer and knows exactly, what he can say and what he cannot say and could only hint at—or, suggested, that the Ruler may be displaced or set aside. Yes, that is the fact. *It is the choice for Travancore : do they want the Ruler to continue and those ideals to be cherished or do they not ? That is the real*

choice and let there be no ambiguity about that. Indeed, that gentleman, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, said that no State can be independent in his legal opinion, that it is not possible for States to have more than the present quasi independence unless they join the Constituent Assembly. Sir A. Krishnaswami Aiyar worked in my Chambers as a junior lawyer and I have great regard for his legal acumen and his legal attainments. But great as my respect and regard for Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar are, I think Stafford Cripps is also a lawyer, and he knows his law nearly as well as Sir A. Krishnaswami Aiyar.

Mr. Atlee, Prime Minister, is not a lawyer, but he knows what he is talking about. Lord Pethic Lawrence is no lawyer comparable to the eminent Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, but he has made a definite statement. On the 20th February 1947 this is what he stated with regard to the Indian States: "His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of India. It is not intended to bring paramountcy as a system to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period, the relations of the Indian States with the Crown may be adjusted by agreement." Thus it is made perfectly clear that paramountcy goes to nobody else notwithstanding Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar. Sir Stafford Cripps speaking on this very matter has stated as follows :

"As we have repeatedly stated there is no intention of handing over our rights and obligations to paramountcy. When we transfer power to British India, these rights and obligations will lapse."

In other words, there will be no paramountcy. Sir Stafford Cripps is very clear. Lord Pethic-Lawrence has stated the same thing. And it has been repeated also in the most recent statement on the 3rd of June, that the Indian States will become independent. In other words, the Cabinet Mission's plan of 16th May will be upheld. What is that plan? Let me refer to it immediately.

Paragraph 14 of the Statement of the 16th May, states:

"It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence in British India, the relations which have hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States with the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government."

It is thus clear that paramountcy will come to an end on the 15th of August, the date now fixed by His Majesty's Government for the withdrawal of the British as a paramount power.

In other words, the British will quit India in the legal sense on the 15th of August. I mentioned to the Viceroy—and this, again, is not confidential—that before the 15th of August, the States must be in such a position as to protect themselves and bargain on equal terms with the rest of India. To that there was no dissent and the proposition was conceded, as indeed it must be. Now, I may go further and say that notwithstanding the opinion of Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and people of his view, *it has been made clear that from the 15th of August no power on earth, short of an open warfare for which we are prepared, no power on earth can prevent Travancore from declaring independence. That independence has been declared.* Will the United Nations—Sir Alladi Krishnaswami

Aiyar makes another gibe.—"Will the United Nations recognize these States?" It is for the United Nations to decide that and Travancore will not ask for recognition unless she is sure that the United Nations are reasonable. But, I may make a present of this idea, that from the 15th of August, Travancore will be an international entity, exactly in the same position—people may laugh at us, people may deride us for the time being—but we shall be in exactly the same position as any other State in the world. If Switzerland, if Norway, if Sweden, if Denmark, can be independent, notwithstanding their small area, notwithstanding their small population, notwithstanding their small revenue, I do not see why Travancore should not be.

POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE JUSTIFIED

Now, I shall deal with a few matters by way of informing the people who do not seem to have fully grasped all the aspects of the question. What is the population of Travancore? The population of Travancore is 65 lakhs, its revenue this year will be about 9 crores, or a little more than that. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a very intimate friend of mine, whose only trouble sometimes is that his sense of rhetoric overcomes his sense of realism, has stated that Travancore is a small State and wonders how it can be independent? Let me analyse this a little more. Let us take the British Indian Provinces. Of course, they were supposed to be independent till the day before yesterday. Now the Union Committee says that the centre must be strong and the provinces have, therefore to be weak. That is another example of the usual reversal of policy of the Congress. Well, let us compare Travancore with other provinces. Sind: the population is $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, revenue is about 9 crores; Orissa: the

population is 8 millions, revenue 3 crores; Bihar : population 36 millions, revenue 11 crores. C. P. and Berar : (together) population 16 millions, revenue 9 crores. And the North-West Frontier Province.—The Congress sometimes wants All-India unity, sometimes it wants a Pathanistan. They say, the brave Pathans do not want to be subject to anybody else. Dr. Khan Saheb, in The Hindu of the 10th June, has stated : "We had stood for a United India, (United India is a casualty, the post-mortem is going on now) and fought the last election on that issue. But now we have been cut off from the rest of India on account of the partition of the Punjab. What should our attitude be under these circumstances? We want an independent status and would be satisfied with nothing less than that."

Well, to go back, what is the population of North-west Frontier Province? The population is 3 millions and the revenue is 2.76 crores, with an expenditure of 2.92 crores. Now, if Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who is one of the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, who is one of the highlights of the Congress, who is one of the staunch advocates of the pristine, unadulterated Congress, who is the sole repository of the confidences of Mahatma Gandhi, if he can say that they want independent status, and that for a province with a population of 3 millions and a revenue of 2.76 crores, why is it a cardinal sin for Travancore, with a population of 6½ millions and a revenue of 9 crores to ask for independence? Why should Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya hold up their hands in pious horror? That is a matter which I leave to them to deal with.

Now let us go further afield. I shall give some more figures. There is Norway with a population of 2½ million,

Sweden with 6½ million, Switzerland with 4 million, Denmark with 3.7 million, Holland with 9 million, Siam in Asia with 15 million, and Nepal in India, all remaining as independent units. If Nepal in the north can be an independent State with a population of 5,600,000 nearly and a revenue of about 10 crores and if the United States can send a trade mission to Nepal and enter into an agreement with it, as they have done 3 or 4 weeks ago, what is the great sin committed by the Maharaja and the Administration of Travancore if they decide upon the same independent status which Abdul Gaffar Khan has proclaimed. We shall see what his special reason therefor is. "We have been cut off from the rest of India on account of the partition of the Punjab." By whom? By the Congress. This cutting off from the rest of India is purely an act of the Congress, a voluntary act of the Congress, a Congress which has given up fight against Dominion Status, which has given up the fight for the unity of India. This is the Congress which has cut off the Punjab from the rest of India, the North-West Frontier from the rest of India. *If the North West Frontier Province can ask for an independent status, I do not see any particular reason why we should not ask the same. What matters in this question is the spirit, the ideal behind. What does Travancore want? Travancore wants to live its own life: Travancore wants to pursue its own ideals. It is distinct and separate from the rest of India by its culture.* My friend Mr. Sivathanu Pillai looks at me rather savagely, evidently to emphasise his point that there is a Tamil Section. Very well. Let it be. But does he deny or will the Tamil section deny that the Tamil section and the Malayalam section are both parts of Travancore. I am sure they will not.

Mr. Sivathanu Pillai and his friends do not want their Section to side with Tinnevelly and Madura. (Mr. Sivathanu Pillai: Certainly not) Very well. If that is so, the insistence on a Tamil section and a Malayalam section is pointless. *We as a country have had a history of our own, traditions of our own. All that we want is to preserve that. I go further. I say that having regard to the possibilities of Travancore, Travancore may be the saviour of South India from many dire calamities.*

I am not an advocate of non-violence. I am for immediately re-organising our military forces. I am taking steps already in that behalf. I do not want to be unfriendly to anybody. Our actions will be on the defensive. You know what is happening in India. You know how life is not safe in the north of the Vindhya mountains. South India is different. In Delhi where we stayed very recently, I saw the spectacle of a man cycling a few hundred yards away from us being stabbed. In Bombay, where I lived some time ago, under the Congress Government, I witnessed a fellow standing at the balcony throwing acid at a man driving a car. Day after day such incidents are happening in important cities. The real truth of the matter is that the Central Government and the Provincial Government in the North of India have not been able to keep the peace. The only place where peace has been kept is in Indian States. I say that quite definitely. You may like or dislike it. But it is a fact. There is nothing like breach of the peace anywhere in Hyderabad, or Kashmir, or Mysore or Travancore or in any other States analogous to what is taking place in Indian cities like Lahore, Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta. I believe that is due to the fact that the traditions of the Indian States are Indian traditions. They are not

an amalgam of Jainism and Christianity, they are not an amalgam of ill understood Christianity and ill understood Jainism. They are not part communistic or part socialistic or this morning's proof socialist and day to day anti-communist views. We are not in favour of Russian views to-day and just the contrary view the next day. We are always following a consistent policy. This morning's Indian Thinker has stated the policy of the Madras Government as adopted against the Labour Unions. They have been declared unlawful and funds have been forfeited to Government. If Travancore proceeds against the Labour Unions, it is stated there is curtailment of civil liberty, autocracy rampant and repression on the march. What has the Madras Government done now? Is this fair criticism, I ask? If Pandit Jawaharlal says, people may be bombed, he is declared right. If Patel says that non-violence can only be with defensive organisation, that is either oversight or the strong man of the Cabinet speaking. I ask you, Gentlemen, to realise that it is much better to go on in our own way rather than be at the mercy of people who do not know their minds from day to day. I go further. Travancore makes up its mind to keep aloof. "I do not ask you to help us; I do not ask your assistance; I am not aggressive. I do not want to worry you. But let me be aloof." The answer comes from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I deliberately mention his name to-day because the newspaper had not revealed the identity of the prominent leader of the Congress who had said that the ideal of independence is quixotic and that in six months' time the States that declare independence will have inside pressure from the States subjects and economic pressure from without so that the whole thing will collapse. Well, that is from Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru whose ambassadors are now functioning merrily all over the world. And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a great advocate of the United Nations Organisation. One of the fundamentals of the United Nations Organisation and the reason why it has been started is, that it banishes violence in public affairs. These threats of economic pressure from without and stirring up trouble from within are not part of the functions of the United Nations Organisation. I commend that for the consideration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

RECENT HISTORY

I want to make it perfectly clear that in all that I have said, I have only tried to assert the need for us to think clearly and closely over the questions that confront us and to make up our minds whether this policy of independence is justified or not. Let us recount exactly what recent history is. It was in the year 1917 that Dr. Besant was the President of the Indian National Congress and C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar the Secretary of that organisation. At that time the dispute was whether India should accept Dominion Status or not. I firmly believe that if Mahatma Gandhi and others who worked and thought with him had consented to Dominion Status at the time of the first Round Table Conference in 1931, the Second Round Table Conference in 1932 or at the Joint Select Committee in 1933 or in the years between 1933 and 1942, India would have got Dominion Status quite easily. That was not their idea. Some of us were driven out of the Congress on that issue. They said it was demeaning to India to accept Dominion Status. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Discovery of India has given an unanswerable argument for not accepting that. He asks what is there common between India

and the other Dominions. They are people of the same blood; they are the white race. We are different. How can we form part of that Commonwealth? Therefore we shall have nothing to do with that Commonwealth. We want independence. That is contained in Pandit Jawaharlal's Discovery of India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sang a different tune not very long ago. Very few people noticed it at that time. The News Chronicle Correspondent, cabling from Mussoorie in an exclusive interview with Pandit Jawaharlal on the 27th May, reported thus and the same matter was reproduced in the Hindu dated 'London May 27th'. "There is no doubt that the Union of India was going to be a republic; but at the same time there was a strong desire among many people in India to have very close relations with the British Commonwealth. What forms those relations might take it was difficult to say now." That was the text of his view. This was the answer given while at London. The interview was given on the 27th May and the answer had been given duly. Naturally being a politician and being the Vice-President of the Interim Government and having created embassies throughout the world, he must be very careful about his language. He is careful when he is not careless. He is either extreme and on that occasion he was very careful. The point I am at is, mark his words, "what forms those relations might take it was difficult to say then." The 'climb down' had taken place already on 27th May. The Congress was willing to accept what it disliked if an agreement of peace in India could be achieved.

WILL NOT ACCEPT DOMINION STATUS

Has an agreement of peace been achieved now? What is the number of arsons and murders in Lahore last

venering? To-day's papers have commented on it. Peace in India has not been achieved. Why? Because Jinnah is a strong man and has never yielded. Congress has yielded. There is no doubt about it. They have accepted Dominion status which could have been theirs and which some of us advocated long ago. *I shall not accept Dominion status if England offers it to us now. Travancore will not accept Dominion status. I make that plain.* Congress may accept Dominion status and say that it is only temporary. Mahatma Gandhi speaking last evening has said that criticisms have been levelled against people who have accepted Dominion status. But that is only a legal formula in order to achieve complete independence. When? How long is that formula going to last? When is that independence going to be achieved? Only time will show that. Every newspaper is full with that item. Supposing Jinnah says that he wants a dominion and the Congress say that they do not want to be a dominion, then Jinnah will be in a better position. Therefore they are not very anxious that there should be no Dominion. But if Jinnah insists on a Dominion, I do not know what new formula will be started to-morrow. Here we have a definite policy. We are following the policy pursued by the Congress from the year 1918 or 1919 up to the year 1947. Mahatma Gandhi is strongly against the partition of India. Mahatma Gandhi is strongly against Dominion status. He wants independence. But what does Mahatma Gandhi now say? "I have no following for my doctrine and so what can I do? If you want me to fast that is unreasonable." No body wanted him to fast now or at any time. But it is hardly an argument in dealing with the question. I may just refer to a message from New Delhi dated 9th June 1947.

"In a written message read out after the prayers to-day Mahatma Gandhi explained the reason for his not actively opposing the Congress acceptance of the new British Plan. When he opposed the partition of India, the message said, he was expressing the will of the people, but now he found that public opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of division and thus under the circumstances he could not persuade himself to coerce the people into accepting his personal views.

Now I am not here to judge Mahatma Gandhi. He is a very very great man and no Indian can feel anything but the liveliest sentiment of gratitude to a person who has been responsible for the association and unification of the self-respect of India. If to-day India is mentioned in the world's papers and by people all over the world it is because of the qualities of Mahatma Gandhi, it is because of the services of Mahatma Gandhi, it is because of the definite stand he has taken against his following in the past. Notwithstanding that, what is taking place now? In the case of the Dandi march, was public opinion in his favour? In the case of Champaran was public opinion overwhelmingly in his favour? He made statements leaving people behind. He created popular opinion. Now he says:—"I think the people are not behind me. I now find that some people ask me to fast. Do you think that I should fast?" Of course not. No body wants him to fast. The Congress has precipitated a crisis. In the Harijan dated 1st June 1947 it is stated:

"I had the privilege of being with Gandhiji for a week during his recent trip to Calcutta. It was very tragic to find that the Bengalis who had so valiantly resisted the division of Bengal in the early years of this century were now mad after partition."

Mark the words, my friends.

"If there is to be Pakistan, Bengal must be divided," is their slogan: "But where is Pakistan?" asked Gandhiji?" The usual replies were: "Jinnah Sahib is adamant on Pakistan; he will surely have his pound of flesh! Oh, there seems to be no other way out!" "Why do you silently submit to all the tyranny?" interrogated Gandhiji impatiently."

To-day is 11th June 1947.

"Have you forgotten the technique of fearless civil disobedience that has been so successfully employed against the British?" But the people seemed to be in no fighting mood; they were overwhelmed with panic and a sense of utter frustration. Gandhiji was, indeed, deeply distressed to witness all this frustration and abject helplessness betraying a defeatist mentality."

This is a statement by one of the greatest followers and closest associates of Mahatma Gandhiji, Professor Agarval.

"And the pity of it all is that the Congress initiated the move for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Had we not been repeatedly assured by our national leaders that Pakistan was an idle dream and that it could never be established on the Indian soil? But the communal disturbances in Bengal and in the Punjab seem to have unnerved the people and, perhaps, even the leaders."

THE REAL POSITION IN INDIA

We have now in India a position where Pakistan and Hindustan have been established. That Pakistan and that Hindustan are in a position of unstable equilibrium because Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim

League, has said more than once, and the Muslim League resolution is clear, that they have not accepted and are still protesting against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. There is no doubt to a man of commonsense that the programme of the Muslim League will be to undo that partition by some means or other. I do not go further into the question. It is quite clear that the frontiers of Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab will be in constant fight where non-violence will not be the law that is employed. That is my personal opinion. I may be wrong. God grant that I may be wrong. But the position is this. Union of India which was contemplated was in independent India and not two Dominions. Very much scorn has been poured upon me and others who have said that they are for a united India and for the States joining the Constituent Assembly of a united India. I say that again and I shall repeat it a hundred times. *If there is a United India, that is an ideal worth fighting and dying for if necessary.* To die for the achievement of that ideal is a great thing. The civil war of America was for that purpose. *That is a thing in which Travancore would have been glad to take part—for effecting union of India.* But that was not done and people who say that the opinion of the common people should be heeded have turned in favour of two dominions. So you need not worry about it. What happened? Here is a matter which is often forgotten. The Constituent Assembly has met. On the first day of the Constituent Assembly they brought what is called the 'Objective Resolution'.

It was a grandiloquent, lofty-toned resolution whose idea was that there was to be an Independent Sovereign Republic of India, not a dominion trotting after either Canada or

Australia or Newzealand. They wanted that. Some of us pointed out that there are these unfortunate Maharajas in whose absence various resolutions are being brought in. Pundit Nehru made his comments. If the republic is not immediately proclaimed where shall we be?; where shall our services be?; where is the dignity of India?; where is the honour of India? So a republic was proclaimed. That was on the first day of the Constituent Assembly. Some people are very brave. When the division of India and the handing over of power to Jinnah are considered, that bravery, however, does not appear. That line of conduct has given them two dominions.

TRAVANCORE WILL CO-OPERATE WITH REST OF INDIA

Let us analyse the two dominions set up further. His Excellency the Viceroy definitely stated that from the 15th August the Viceroy of India will be only the Governor-General. It is fairly clear from the information at my disposal that there is the likelihood of two Governors-General, one for Pakistan and the other for Hindustan. It cannot but be. Pakistan will be having a foreign policy exactly opposite to that of Hindustan. Both Pakistan and Hindustan will have to send their own ambassadors wherever they want. You will find that in the matter of trade relations, in the matter of diplomatic relations and in the matter of foreign policy, Pakistan can have nothing to do with Hindustan. If there is to be the same Governor-General, he must follow what both the Premiers and both the legislatures say. The net result of what has happened will be the formation of two dominions, which mean two different tariff policies, customs policies and foreign policies and trade policies on which there might not be a common agree-

ment reached. If that is the case, what is the great objection in Travancore remaining independent. Travancore is willing to enter into any agreement without which India will be ruined. I want the members, the Press and public to realise that. *In the first place, Travancore would not have declared independence or have taken this line if there was a United India and a Government operating for a United India.* There is going to be a divided India which leaves necessarily many chances of differences of opinion and conflicts. So we came to the conclusion that if there are to be two dominions, two independent sovereign republics, why not a country like ours be also independent? But, having said that *I want to make it perfectly clear that it will be the object of Travancore to work wholeheartedly in co-operation with the rest of India and evolve a common joint dominion policy, a common trade policy and a common tariff policy.* Travancore has given proof of that already.

MINERAL POLICY

Within the last 15 days a very important agreement has been entered into between the Government of India and the Government of Travancore. A lot of nonsense was talked about our selling away to European agencies our valuable mineral sands. The local Congressmen spouted a great deal on that matter. The fact of the matter was that the European interests were stopped. They were told that they had no rights. All the rights were taken by the Travancore Government and the Europeans were ejected. They were made our contractors or agents and they will be paid for their services. That is all what has happened. The Travancore Minerals Company and two or three other Companies were told that hereafter the mineral sands are

our own property and they are only our agents or contractors. If we get their services they will be paid. That is the agreement that we have reached. Now that was misconstrued, twisted and into a kind of handing over the treasures of the State to other people. Then the Government of India said that these are valuable minerals and they are interested, and that we shall work together, so an agreement has been entered into and a committee consisting of 9 members of which 3 are to be nominated by the Government of Travancore has been constituted, which will conduct all the research work in regard to thorium and the possibility of the creation of atomic energy from thorium. This shows that Travancore Government is quite willing to enter into any agreement which will be of any help for the good of India. I have said that publicly and without any reservation. *We are always willing to co-operate with the India Government and to come to any agreement either on trade or on commerce or on exchange or on currency or on posts and telegraphs. In this respect we are going not half the way but three quarters of the way.* Actually they are a big entity and we are a small entity. But we have our self-respect. We claim essential equality. We concede that they have big interests and we will go on that basis.

Now I remember the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that people who will not come and enter the Constituent Assembly will be treated as hostile. I trust that second thoughts would persuade him not to make speeches of that kind. Let me sum up what I have got to say. Travancore has decided to be independent; her history has been special and peculiar; she has never been conquered; she has got all the essentials of a

nation; she can work and function as a nation; there may be Tamilians in the South and Malayalees in the North, but that would not affect her functioning as a nation.

"AIKIYA" KERALA

Now, a word about "Aikiya Kerala." I am very glad to say that there is every sign that "Aikiya Kerala" is dying a natural or shall we say, unnatural death. Not long ago when I was at Ootacamund many of my Christian friends who would perhaps never see me in Trivandrum saw me and expressed the opinion that in an "Aikya Kerala" the Christians would be no where. What they said was perfectly correct. The Christians are $1/3$ rd of the total population in Travancore, a little more than $1/3$ rd in Cochin and they are about $1/8$ th in Malabar. Such being the position, if there is *Aikya Kerala* the Christians would become a small minority. But it was essential that the new idea should be enthusiastically kept up, and the Press whose representatives are before me here had to cater to this temporary public opinion.

The Maharaja of Cochin was described as the direct descendant of Cheraman Perumal and it would be only fit and proper if Travancore is also brought under his sovereignty. Here the treaties of Mavelikara and Suchindram whereby Cochin sought protection from Travancore were forgotten. I pointed out that there was no objection for Travancore joining in a Federation or sub-federation. In any case, I made it clear that Travancore could not be part of one province or district.

Regarding Muslims, some of my Muslim friends also met me at Ootacamund. They too pointed out that the

Muslims form minorities in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar and as such the *Aikiya Kerala* would not confer on them any benefit. From this one could understand that the *Aikiya Kerala* agitation has been disowned by these communities though not publicly. The time is not far when these minority communities will disown *Aikiya Kerala* agitation in public. This may come from Cochin itself but it may take some time to express itself openly the logic of events is clear. However much Mr. T. M Varghese may say that he may even lead an army for *Aikiya Kerala*, I feel absolutely certain that neither the Christian nor the Muslim Community will go in for *Aikiya Kerala*. I put this to you, my friends and I want you to think over it, ponder over it. We have got a revenue of Rs. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores and a population of about 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Cochin has got a revenue of Rs. 2 crores and a population of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Malabar has got a revenue of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores and a population of 3 millions. And in the Legislature, whether of adult franchise or any other franchise, Travancore will be in a permanent majority. As a result, in the Executive also Travancore will be in a permanent majority. We are now in the forefront in the matter of schools, general education, roads, supply of hydro electric power, and industries. Malabar is in a very backward condition. In an *Aikiya Kerala*, do you mean to say that Malabar will not like to improve its position? For improving its position will it not ask its bigger brother Travancore to help it? They will say that out of 9 crores, say, about two crores may be given to Malabar. But I fear that after a year or two, human nature being what it is, the cry will be raised "Travancore for Travancoreans" In an *Aikiya Kerala* Legislature our identity will be lost and we shall

be losers in the merger because there is no consideration yet paid to social and economic factors of the situation.

The next question is, if *Aikiya Kerala* is not there and if Travancore is entitled to live its own life what are the advantages and what are the disadvantages in entering the Dominion Status. People may say that I am purposely and mischievously referring to Dominion Status especially in view of the fact that Gandhi and Nehru have said that Dominion Status is an intermediary stage. I honestly believe that Dominion Status will last much longer. Mr. Churchill knows this. Do you mean to say that the Conservative party blessed this scheme without knowing that it is going to last longer than what is expressly stated. Now, according to the scheme, it is either two independent countries or two Dominions, *viz.*, Pakistan and Hindustan. I should like to form part of Hindustan. I am willing to work for that Hindustan and fight for that Hindustan. But let us look at the matter a little further. It is alleged that I have a very mean way of dealing with the matter, I am only mercenary, I am only thinking of my own interest disregarding the lofty ideals of those who divided India twice and thrice. My food department will tell you that between the 11th June *i. e.*, to-day and October, 2/3rd of the rice supplies ought to come from Burma or Indonesia and the rest from Punjab or Sind. We get not a grain of rice from Hindustan. Except from one or two places in Central Provinces, we have been getting rice only from Punjab, Burma and Indonesia.

PARTITION OF INDIA

I ask you, if human affairs are to be conducted on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan always fighting, why

should we take sides in that fight? Then, there is another question. Can you expect sympathetic treatment from Pakistan? This is a question which must be answered. Mr. Sarat-chandra Bose, an ex-Member of the Interim Government who is not quite fashionable to-day, has given his views on partition of India like this. This is from a Madras Daily dated June 8th.

"Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose stated in an interview to-day that India could not get peace by accepting H. M. G.'s plan of June 3, and that the Plan sounded the death-knell of freedom.

Criticising the Plan he said split was bound to lead to perpetual conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces. Mr. Bose added that it was possible even now for Congress and Muslim League leaders to retrace their steps. He asked them to reform the Provinces on linguistic basis, give them full measure of independence and introduce adult franchise and joint electorates in them.

"British Imperialists have won" said Mr. Bose. "Divide and rule has been their policy during the last 158 years and it continues to be their policy, even at the moment when they are supposed to be quitting India. Dominion Status for the two successor authorities is coming, we are told. I have not the slightest doubt that Dominion Status will come to stay".

I don't say this. Mr. Bose, an ex-Member of the Government of India and a prominent Congressman has said this. He continues thus:

"Top-ranking Congress leaders have already begun to talk in the Churchillian strain about "Co-operative Commonwealth". Some of them have envisaged very close relation with Britain. In that background, British imperialist manoeuvring will

go on, but possibly in a more subtle and insidious way. If the two Indias are going to be Republics, they will be Republics only in name. In the days to come, there will be increasing competition between them for securing help and favours from imperialist Britain. We may continue to talk big, and I have no doubt we shall. But the dream of independent India, free from British imperialist control and influences, will more and more become a forgotten dream".

OUR POSITION

The position is this: In that state of things, what is the terrible mistake that we make in essence? "You had better fight out your own battle. We shall join the battle if there is an ideal behind the battle. Otherwise, we shall look after ourselves." That is exactly what we have said.

With regard to the industrial and other aspects of the matter, I have already made it clear, and Mr. K. V. Thomas in a letter to the Press has made it clear also, that we do not need much help from the rest of India. We can give the rest of India much help. There is no point in talking about economic pressure, because the economic pressure can be exerted by us against those people who exerted economic pressure against us. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar has asked what international status can a State have. I have before me various historical exploits and I would only invite the attention of this Conference to the Battle of Colachel. We were the only country in India which defeated a European country in an open and fair fight in the battle of Colachel when the Dutch Navy was defeated by Travancore.

Mr. D. C. Joseph: Was there any Navy in Travancore at that time?

Dewan: There was. Otherwise, you could not have fought a naval battle. (Laughter).

Then there was the treaty of Mavelikara on 18th October, 1748 between the Dutch and Travancore. This was international, but Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Pattabhi Sitaramayya say: "How can there be an international vinculum between Travancore and other countries?" Travancore 150 years ago had however this international status. It was a treaty with Holland by which the Dutch bound themselves to follow a peace policy and never again to resort to force except in self-defence. Then there was the attack on the Zamorin and upon Cochin by Hyderali and Tippu when all the important Malabar Chiefs came for refuge to Travancore and stayed here for years and when members of the Cochin Royal Family were sent to Travancore for refuge. There was a treaty with Cochin in 1760 when the Zamorin of Calicut conquered a portion of Cochin and Cochin asked for the support of Travancore and Travancore went and fought and gained for Cochin and as a result Cochin granted certain territories to Travancore for the help it rendered to Cochin. Throughout you will find that Travancore has been playing an international part. "In 1761—I am quoting from Atchinson's Treaties Vol. 10, page 209" the Raja of Cochin concluded a treaty with Martanda Varma who undertook to expel the Zamorin. Though the Raja of Travancore did not carry out his obligations entirely, certain portions of territory were transferred from Cochin to Travancore as a reward for the services rendered, since the treaty gave the Raja of Cochin a much-needed respite."

In the past, we have had an international status. In the past, we have

fought on sea and land. In the past, excepting that we voluntarily, and I think foolishly, entered into an agreement or treaty with the British we have never been conquered. My friend, Sardar Panikkar, a Travancore subject, has been saying and I make bold to say it publicly, that Travancore was never independent. "Travancore has no claim to international status" and I believe he has even made a threat—I think I am right in saying that he is ashamed of Travancore nationality. Is that not so?

Rajyasevapravina G. Parameswaran Pillai: He proposes to renounce his nationality.

Dewan: He proposes to do so. That is what he seems to have said about 10 days ago. Well, it may be so. But notwithstanding the great historic background and the equipment of Sardar Panikkar, at present the Prime Minister of Bikaner and one of the highlights of the Constituent Assembly, I may say that Travancore was independent. Travancore had no doubt trouble from the Nawab of Carnatic. It had entered into a foolish treaty with him as it entered into a foolish treaty with the Government of Great Britain. There was absolutely no need for the treaty of 1795 and the subsequent treaty. Though Tippu had been defeated, the Maharaja of Travancore advised by timorous counsellors, asked for the British Army to be put in Travancore for the purpose of avoiding future aggression and promised to pay Rs. 8 lakhs. What was the result? After ten years, they took away the Army and they have been getting Rs. 8 lakhs from us all the time. All that, however, is past history. On the 15th August, the English go and there are two independent countries, Pakistan and Hindustan. Of course, we shall not join Pakistan. Geographically, it

is not possible. Ethnically, it is not possible. Traditionally it is not possible, but if we have to join Hindustan what should be the attitude of Hindustan? Not an attitude of enmity, not an attitude of supererogation, not an attitude of arrogance, not an attitude of denouncing our history, denouncing our tradition and saying that we have no international status, and also not an attitude of crying aloud for one set of doctrines and retracting them the next day. The Congress have undoubtedly yielded to force and threat of force. They are nervous to-day, as the Maharaja of Travancore was nervous in 1805. The question is whether Travancore could join them now. I say no. We are friendly, we wish to be friendly with Hindustan, and also, may be to a less degree, with Pakistan, because both are parts of India. Pakistan to-day possesses the homeland of India, what is called India. India is the Punjab and Sind. The earliest records of Hindu India are in Mohenjodaro and Harappa in Sind and in the Punjab. The Vedas were compiled amongst the five rivers, the five rivers which constitute the great Indus. The present Afghanistan was Gandhara that was the heritage of India. We have given up that heritage.

But the point that I am on is this. There are going to be two Indias. If there can be two Indias, which hope to work in friendship and amity and concord with each other, why should there be any difficulty in Travancore, with an independent history and a separate tradition, working in harmony and concord with the rest of India?

DIFFICULTIES IN ENTERING THE UNION

I am now coming to what I consider to be the most important part of what I have to say. I have endeavoured to point out that Travancore is

entitled to retain and maintain its independence. Do the people of Travancore want it or do they not? Here again, I want to make two things clear. When we were at the Round Table Conference, even when asking for a strong Centre, we said that that strong Centre will only outline policy and will not interfere in day-to-day administration. On the contrary the Congress stated to the Cripps Mission that they were not in favour of a strong Centre. They insisted upon a weak Centre, the residual powers being given to the Provinces. The Congress said so to please the Muslims; there was no question of pleasing the States, because they were negligible. So, to please the Muslims the Congress said 'we must have a weak centre. The Muslims will never give the centre residual powers; therefore, let us give them to the provinces.' And the Cripps Mission went away having made the recommendation that there should be a weak Centre with three subjects and that the provinces should be given the residuary powers. But now, three days back, after the partition of India, the Congress have gone back upon their original principle. They are talking of a strong centre. They say "We were always in favour of a strong Centre. We yielded to the Muslims. Now that the Muslims are gone, let us have a strong Centre." This morning the Muslims from the provinces are going into the Constituent Assembly. They are going to raise the question: "Why did you offer a weak Centre with the residual powers to the provinces eight months ago and why are you now going back upon your word?" That means that there will be endless disputations in the Constituent Assembly, leading to no results. But what is going to be the position so far as Travancore is concerned? I have discussed that point before, but it is worth repeating.

Incidentally the *Aikya Kerala* people were so angry with even the Congress for accepting a mere republic that at a meeting at Trichur on the 19th May this resolution was passed with an overwhelming majority:

"The Kerala Socialist Republic should be constituted."

That is a commentary upon the division of India and the Dominion Status. But I leave it at that.

If we enter the Union of India, what will be the position? The Constituent Assembly has accepted the following resolution.

"Duties and customs including export duties, excise, corporation taxes, taxes on income, other agricultural incomes, taxes on the capital values and assets, taxes on companies, duty in respect of succession to property, estate duties, all these should be raised by direct taxation from the Centre."

Therefore, their tax-gatherers will come to us and levy these income taxes, estate duties etc. And then they will return a proportion to us. We will have to be waiting at their doors to find out what proportion they will return.

The latest trend of Mahatma Gandhi's talks is interesting. He has said, 'I am against an army for India. But the people do not agree with me. They want an army. I am for no industries. But they want them.' Four days ago he made a speech, where he stated that he was against all mills and mill-made clothes, but the people are insisting on the industrialisation of India. I do not know whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others will accept Gandhiji's views, especially as Baldev Singh is thinking of a very big army. This is what Mahatma Gandhi has stated:

The Associated Press of India, dated the 5th June:

"He had to be patient. There were occasions enough for being impatient. The Congress seemed to stand for projects of industrialism in which he saw no deliverance for the masses from grinding poverty. He did not believe in mill-made civilization as he did not in mill-made cloth."

But the Congress is not only asking for mill-made clothings but they are importing them. There was a time when Congress boycotted all foreign clothes and started huge demonstrations. They are now importing mill-made clothings in order to relieve the cloth scarcity.

"He did not believe in any army for the defence of the country. But he knew of no move from the people for the removal of the menace to the real freedom of the country, says Mahatma Gandhi."

Either Mahatma Gandhi is to be the leader of India or he is not. If he is to be the leader of India, then we must be prepared for the industries and armies being abolished. Otherwise, he will say, 'the people do not follow me, and so I propose to fast.' But that does not take us anywhere.

So far as the above resolution is concerned, we shall have to give up more than 50 per cent. of our revenue, because, of the 9 crores of our revenues, about 5 crores are comprised of those items which come within the terms of the resolution. Our land revenue is about 40 lakhs and if certain proposals of the Government are carried out, it will practically be abolished. Incidentally, I may add that the agricultural income tax which was an object of tremendous criticism has been adopted practically by every Province in India. If the Congress Government adopts this, it is proclaimed as

a wise and far sighted policy. That is by the way. In return for that what shall we get from the Government of India? 6/400 of the revenue, or about 2 crores. Last year the Central Budget for the year 1946-47 disclosed a revenue of 307 crores and an expenditure of 355 crores, the deficit being 48 crores roughly. The defence expenditure was nearly 243 crores or nearly three fourths of the total revenue. That is a settled fact. In an independent dominion, it will not go down unless Mahatma Gandhi and others devise measures for the abolition of the army. In other words, we shall be entirely at the mercy of the future Government of India for the retention of our revenues, because the method of taxation is decided by them. We shall have to surrender an income to the extent of 4 to 5 crores under various items of our revenue and be satisfied with a refund of about 2 crores.

THE PEOPLE SHOULD STAND BY THEIR MAHARAJA

If we realise that there are many difficulties, doubts and handicaps in entering the Union, shall we do well to keep aloof or shall we not? *His Highness the Maharaja has decided to declare independence of Travancore from the 15th August and not to enter the Constituent Assembly and in view to that policy, it will be necessary to see that the people of the State stand by their Maharaja.* The question I am putting to this assembly is, is the country prepared to suffer? If so, I say, there is no longer a case for official reticence, sitting in office rooms and writing wholly needless notes on irrelevant and small topics. As the Head of the Administration I appeal to the officers to come out and to use their official knowledge, influence and experience to aid the people of Travancore to preserve the independence, and I expect

them to do so. If any officer of mine fails in that, his duty is obvious. Let him join the non-officials who are against the policy of Government. I do not expect that this policy will be accepted by everybody in the State. There may be people who think that my arguments are wrong, foolish or fantastic and that I am entertaining inordinate ambitions. We have nothing to do with them. We must agree to differ. But if under the guise of a Constituent Assembly Day there is an attempt to make things difficult, this Government, with the utmost reluctance, will have to take such steps as are necessary to protect the policy which they have announced and hereby make known publicly. There can be no compromise on this matter. Travancore has decided to remain independent. Who has done that? Has Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai done it? Has Mr. T. M. Varghese done it? Has my good friend Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai of Nair Service Society done it? Of course not. The Maharaja has done so. I am not speaking of C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar because he is just a nominee of His Highness. I do not say it as a mere gesture that when the new constitution comes, the Dewan will not deal with a single file. Every file will be dealt with by the Committees constituted under the Act. The Dewan's only function will be that of private adviser of His Highness the Maharaja to suspend or to veto such things for grave reasons. The normal administration from the time the Constitution comes into force will be conducted by the people of the State and this is no hypocrisy. I am told that some of my good friends of the State Congress say that the Dewan will still continue and that he will still continue to exercise the power vested under the constitution. No doubt certain powers are vested in him statutorily. But I have

said very often and I repeat it openly and publicly that those powers will be exercised only on extraordinary occasions. If the Congress High Command suddenly has to send Kripalani to upset Prakasam's policy, that is democracy. If thousands of spindles are given up by Prakasam, if they become the object of a kind of inquest or post-mortem in Delhi, that is democracy. That is all by the High Command. But the very fact that the Congress High Command has had to intervene on these occasions shows the necessity for a veto. Madras is supposed to be an enlightened Province, an educated Province. The Madrasis think that they lead the rest of India and Prakasam is a man who made many sacrifices and came to the top under a democratic constitution. He and his ministers wanted to pursue a policy not to have a certain number of spindles though certain commercial interests had arranged for them. The Government of India at that time was naturally very solicitous about the business possibilities of India. Their help is necessary. Therefore the Congress High Command came to the aid of the mill owners. The interests of the mill owners and the contractors of the spindles had to be protected against poor Prakasam who wanted to go on with spinning. The spinning by charka is not going to solve India's industrial problem. Poor Prakasam was told by Gandhi to support charka. Poor Prakasam was saying on every occasion that it was Gandhi who wanted to develop charka. But that happened during a prayer meeting. The question turned round and the interests of mill owners became supreme. If the Congress High Command can intervene like minor Providence over spindles, why should there be all this furore about the Dewan being given the veto powers? The

fact is that the Congress High Command know very well that the Legislature sometimes, on account of exuberance of emotion, on account of excitement at the moment, may make mistakes. But those mistakes will, however, be prevented, suspended or obliterated. That is all that this veto power is intended for. *I want to assure you and through you the public of Travancore that the intention of His Highness the Maharaja is to transfer power to his people in matters of administration. That transfer of power is sought to be achieved through a system which it is believed will remove some of the drawbacks of a removable executive.*

We know what is happening in Bengal, Sind, Beluchistan, the Frontier Province and other places. Suhrawardy thinks that if Nazimuddin goes out, then Bengal would be an earthly paradise. So he tries to get rid of Nazimuddin and he wants to come in. Suhrawardy to day goes to Gandhiji and to-morrow to Jinnah Sahib. He is a very ardent adherer of Gandhiji's principles. He says that the only solution for the problem of Bengal is to get rid of Nazimuddin. We know what happened when there was trouble between Dr. Khare and the Congress High Command. The Congress High Command forced Khare out of the Congress. He was forced to resign. He later on joined the Government of India. We are well acquainted with these phenomena. I have been in public life for the last 40 years. A removable executive leads to internal riots and the net result is that nobody has time to look into any papers. It is no exaggeration when I say that after the Interim Government came into power no big policy has been undertaken. Of course, a number of big speeches have been made, but nothing substantial has been done. I

do not blame them. It is because there has been trouble all over the country and they had to keep peace and order. When the British power was in force, inefficiency in administration was talked of and they said that they had to keep law and order. The Congress is saying the same thing.

NONE TO EQUAL OUR MAHARAJA

In Travancore the entire power is transferred to certain committees. I want to repeat that those committees will be the Government of the future, and on every point the advice of those committees will prevail. The fact that there is a veto power is a very insignificant thing and that veto power will not be exercised frequently. I am not saying these things for the purpose of canvassing opinion one way or the other. There is no doubt about the fact that there is a great deal of misgiving in the minds of the people in that a man, who is now 67, has been continuing as Dewan from 1936 onwards and there is no sign of the early termination of his Dewanship. Once he put in his resignation and he was asked to cancel that and still he is there. There is no chance of getting rid of him either by force or by argument and therefore naturally there is a great deal of frustrated ambition in the country. All that I can say is that the advice I have given, and I have now said, is not framed on the basis of my perpetual continuance. In the nature of things, under the new constitution, a man like me has no place. Apart from other things, for the last 25 years, I have been accustomed to deal in a particular manner both when I was a Member of the Madras Government and a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. When I was adviser to various rulers and when I came as the Dewan of Travancore I pursued the same policy.

I want to assure everybody that those who think that the Dewan of the State under the present administration under the aegis of the Maharaja, is the real factor, and that the Maharaja does not know what is going on, or that he does not exert an influence on the day-to-day administration, are doing a great disservice to His Highness the Maharaja the like of whom Travancore has not seen. Perhaps even Marthanda Varma comes only next to Sri Chitra Thirunal. I know every ruler in India. I have advised and have intimate knowledge of every ruler in India. The Maharajas of Gwalior, Kashmir, Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad are known to me personally. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has been advised by me for the last 25 years. In some of the most important matters connected with Hyderabad, he has consulted me. I had occasion to know him on many an occasion. There is hardly anybody to beat the present Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad in matters of administration. *But for dedication to public cause, for sacrificing all his privileges for the good of the State and for his ever present daily knowledge of the administration, there is no one to equal Sri Chitra Thirunal.* Those who talk of the autocracy of the Dewan do not know this. This has been a fashion in the Indian States. If there is trouble between the Dewan and the Maharaja, somebody is benefited. There is a Dewan's party and a Maharaja's party and they fight each other. It went on like that in olden days. I do not want to go into further details. Very few people like complete agreement between the Dewan and the Maharaja. It does not suit them. Hence the trouble in the States. Some people feel that the free comradeship and fellow-feeling between the Maharaja and the Dewan cannot be shaken. Even some officials feel like that. I

can even name them, Non-officials feel like that. People who talk of autocracy forget that they have in their present Maharaja one of the greatest Maharajas that Travancore has ever seen. I want the people to realise that it is not on the phenomenon of C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar they can judge the reforms. Think that that man is dead today. Proceed on that basis. That might happen at any moment. I am now 67. It does not matter how long I live. But it does matter to me that a great monarch should be regarded in the proper perspective. Argument is put forward that I am a foreigner. *I claim that I have been keeping the interests of Travancore to its best advantage and I claim to be a Travancorean.* Whether I am right or wrong in all the advice that I have given is a different matter. All of us are likely to commit mistakes. I think the people are all in favour of a united India and I find that that is not what is going to happen. If great sages and *Avatars* can make mistakes, ordinary individuals can also be allowed to make mistakes.

THE PATH OF INDEPENDENCE

I have honestly come to the conclusion that, at this juncture, the path of prudence, the path of safety, the path of glory, the path of achievement, the path of realisation is the path of independence. Is there not a thrill of satisfaction over that for Travancore? Do not people feel patriotic enough to rouse such an influence? If that little Ireland could fight with England for 200 years for independence why should not we fight for that independence? I am unfortunately not a Travancorean. I wish I were. With all your history, with all your resources, with all your education and with your people with a lively, alert intelligence, fight for independence. And should you detract

from His Highness' ideal in that respect, or should you stand by that? I call upon you and emphasise that the future is in your hands. I say this with a sense of full responsibility. I have been told of jathas coming into the State from the north and from the south, I expect Mr. Sivathenu Pillai to guard the south. I expect my friends in the north to guard against any attacks from there. If it comes to a fight let us be safe on all sides. Rather than being a subordinate agency of a dominion, a colony or a dependency of a dominion, I would rather say that the State should justify its existence. We are not aggressors but we should defend ourselves. We will keep what we have. We do not want any other's property. Mahatma Gandhi is in the habit of quoting from *Easovasa-Upanishath* "do not desire another's property". We shall follow him. If I find that there is anybody who does not co-operate it will be my duty to fight that man, whether he is big or small, whether he is an official or non-official, whether he is within the State or without the State, whatever the risk, I am determined to fight that man. It will be my duty to fight the battle and I shall advise His Highness to fight. Independence will be ours. I know that the people of Travancore will stand by His Highness.

MR. JOSEPH: After hearing your elucidative and informative speech I want to ask one question. After knowing Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai's views which he expressed yesterday, does the Government think that there is a class of people who are united in Travancore? He says that with regard to the Reforms Act, the Act itself must come from the people and not from the Dewan. So I want to know whether the Government realise that the people of Travancore are united.

DEWAN: Well; the position is this. The Maharaja of Travancore was regarded as the source of power and influence in the State. I would still believe that it is so. Therefore, I cannot admit that in a monarchical system the power is from the people and I have always contested that claim. The power in the people is represented by the Maharaja. Our old Scriptures, both the Bible and the Hindu Scriptures, make it clear that the monarchs represent the people and if the monarch does not adequately and faithfully represent the people he should be removed by the people. If there is tyranny there is a right to remove him. But so long as the monarch represents the views of the people the power remains with him. He is perpetually the president of the people. Any other question?

Mr. Josesh: I noticed in one of the local papers yesterday that the Dewan is persecuting the Christians.

Dewan: You are a Christian.

Mr. Joseph: Yes; that is why I ask.

Dewan: There are quite a number of delegates in Delhi and most of the special correspondents come to Delhi, and I take it that what they say about our country is quite good. For instance, there was a good lady called Mrs. Nicholls who came with the Mission. She lost her portmanteau and some jewels. She said that the administrator of Travancore is very efficient and hoped that I would help her to get them back. It was then found that it was lost in Ernakulam and not in Travancore. She said that ours is the ideal State. I am glad that you have raised the question. What are the points that you have arrived at as regards religion, education etc.?

I want to make the point clearer, so that my Christian friends may not

have any doubt. I am not opposed to the construction of temples and churches. But there are already too many of them in Travancore. There are about two thousand and odd churches and temples in the State. If you take the number in the whole of Madras Presidency, you will not find even 200 temples and churches. I do not want to put them down. I have told the Catholics, the Syrians, the Jacobites and everybody else to give me a list of churches which they want to build in the next two years. His Highness is not unsympathetic in the matter of constructing temples and churches. But I have not got an answer from anybody.

Mr. Joseph: Evidently the Dewan is not against. Even if one section of the Christians object, when another wants to put up a church, the Dewan is not to be blamed at all. Communal jealousies and quarrels come and it becomes difficult.

Dewan: The real point, Mr. Joseph, is this. Now, all the propaganda has been only on the one side and the appeal that I have made this morning is that every officer and non-official should be a propagandist in order to enable people to learn the actual facts, and steps will be taken for that purpose. I will make it perfectly clear. Steps will be taken to start a propaganda organisation within the State in order to remove the misconceptions that have already arisen. Mr. Mannath Padmanabha Pillai said to me very recently that he is dedicated to "Swami", that is myself.

Mr. Sivathanu Pillai: Would you allow others also to call you "Swami"?

Dewan: That depends, on Mr. Sivathanu Pillai. Mahatma Gandhi does not like to be addressed as Mahatma, but if people do so he cannot permit

it. I think he is a foolish man who addresses me like that.

Mr. Sivathanu Pillai: One more question. I want to be very serious in this matter. I would like to know definitely whether under the present reforms there will not be any sort of interference in the day to day administration?

Dewan: No; the reason is this,

Mr. M. Sivathanu Pillai: May I know, Sir, whether under the present reforms there will not be any sort of interference by officers in day-to-day administration?

Dewan: No. The reason is this. An officer is appointed by the Public Service Commission under certain rules. It has been laid down in the Reforms Act that an officer who does not bear the confidence of the Committee can be removed from that office on a resolution passed by the Committee.

Mr. D. C. Joseph: May I know whether Government feel that the local official and non-official members of the Textile Committees are doing their work properly?

Dewan: I will ask Mr. Joseph to remember that every new officer is very warmly welcomed for the first two months. At the end of it little interests spring up. But even in British India we know, especially in provinces administered by Congress Governments, there are slight murmurs heard regarding their textile policy.

(One of the representatives of the Press present wanted to know whether any referendum will be taken in the State regarding the question of the State's joining the Pakistan or the Hindustan.)

In answer the Dewan stated as follows:—

Dewan: In any case we are not going to have a plebiscite on this

question. I have already told the Viceroy that from the 3rd June I shall feel myself independent. Notwithstanding Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar things will go on as it ought to.

Mr. Thaikad Subramonia Aiyar: May I ask whether the economic facts which an independent Travancore will have to face and the advantages or disadvantages of joining either Pakistan or Hindustan will be brought home boldly to the people at large?

Dewan: There is no doubt that there is great need for pamphlets published on the subject and speeches made to the public. I am expecting that officers will do this.

Mr. M. Sivathanu Pillai: I would like to know whether the present talk will be printed for the benefit of the members of the Press?

Dewan: I propose to get this printed. But my friends will excuse me if I add some figures relevant to the topics dealt with.

There is one more matter at which I think the people might be wondering. Why is it that my good friend Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai is now on the war path? Not many months ago Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai definitely assured me that having regard to the line I have taken as to the consolidation of Hindu interests he was entirely on my side and considered that my policy was right. Later on the question of the Nair Service Society and their college came up. At the same time applications were received for starting Colleges at Alleppey and Quilon by the Sanathana Dharma Vidya Sala and by the S. N. D. P. Yogam. Certain Missionary agencies from Kottayam also made similar applications. I took up the same line with regard to all those institutions. I said that under modern conditions

about 18 lakhs of rupees was required to start and function a good college. I said that any community or group of persons might collect 5 lakhs and Government will contribute 5 lakhs and with that they could start a college. It is on that basis that certain acquisition proceedings were started in Changanacherry and the members present here know that Government were subjected to great criticisms by certain Christian interests that it was a pro-Hindu and anti-Christian move and that properties of Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai and his relations were kept out of the acquisition and the properties of the Christians were sought to be acquired. We went into the matter and arranged an adjustment. Mr. Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai did very well in that matter. He actually included some of his relations' properties in the acquisitions and I was extremely pleased with him. In the meantime the idea of a pre-University School and a college arose and there was a chance of a college being started in Trivandrum. An alternative was put and accepted and the question of fund arose. One of the members present here is aware of the negotiations. I have stated more than once and still state that the Nair community will be treated as well or as ill as any other community. The S. N. D. P. Yogam collected 3 lakhs for their college and they were given the land required for the college. They have not yet been given any money by Government. But the moment they come to me they will be given as much as they have collected.

Dr. Mar Ivanios came to me and said he wanted to start a commercial college. I said it was a very useful and necessary thing and that if he had collected a decent sum, the same amount will be forthcoming from Government. He was rather anxious that the Nair Service Society should not start a college in close proximity to

his own college. That contention was overruled. But I told Dr. Mar Ivanios that if he went to America and collected money, I should give him an equal amount. He has gone to America, and I am sure he will collect the money and that the college will start soon. I asked Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai to collect money. He said he had promises for 2 or 3 lakhs, but I learn that only one and a quarter lakhs has been collected so far. If they want one and a quarter lakhs more, I will give it. Five lakhs was what they wanted. What they have collected is however only one and a quarter lakhs, and I am quite prepared to give them another one and a quarter lakhs but nothing can be done with $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh plus $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh. It is like Alagappa Chettiar's donation. (*Laughter*). He promised five lakhs and gave donation of one lakh for starting a Tamil Chair. More amount was not forthcoming. The result was that the Government had to spend 1 1/2 lakhs in order to start the Chair and that was a drawback. But I am told that Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai never told the people that I will be paying an amount equal to his collection. I have even told him that if the prominent members of the Nair Service Society will give a personal undertaking for the 5 lakhs, an equal amount would be paid to-morrow morning by the Government. I made that offer one and a half years ago, one year ago, six months ago, and I am repeating it this morning. So far as I know, the main grouse of Padmanabha Pillai is that there is some kind of sharp practice or some dishonesty of Government with regard to this college. I have recounted the 'dishonesty' of which this Government have been guilty.

I have done.

Mr. D. C. Joseph thanked the Dewan, on behalf of the Press, for his speech.

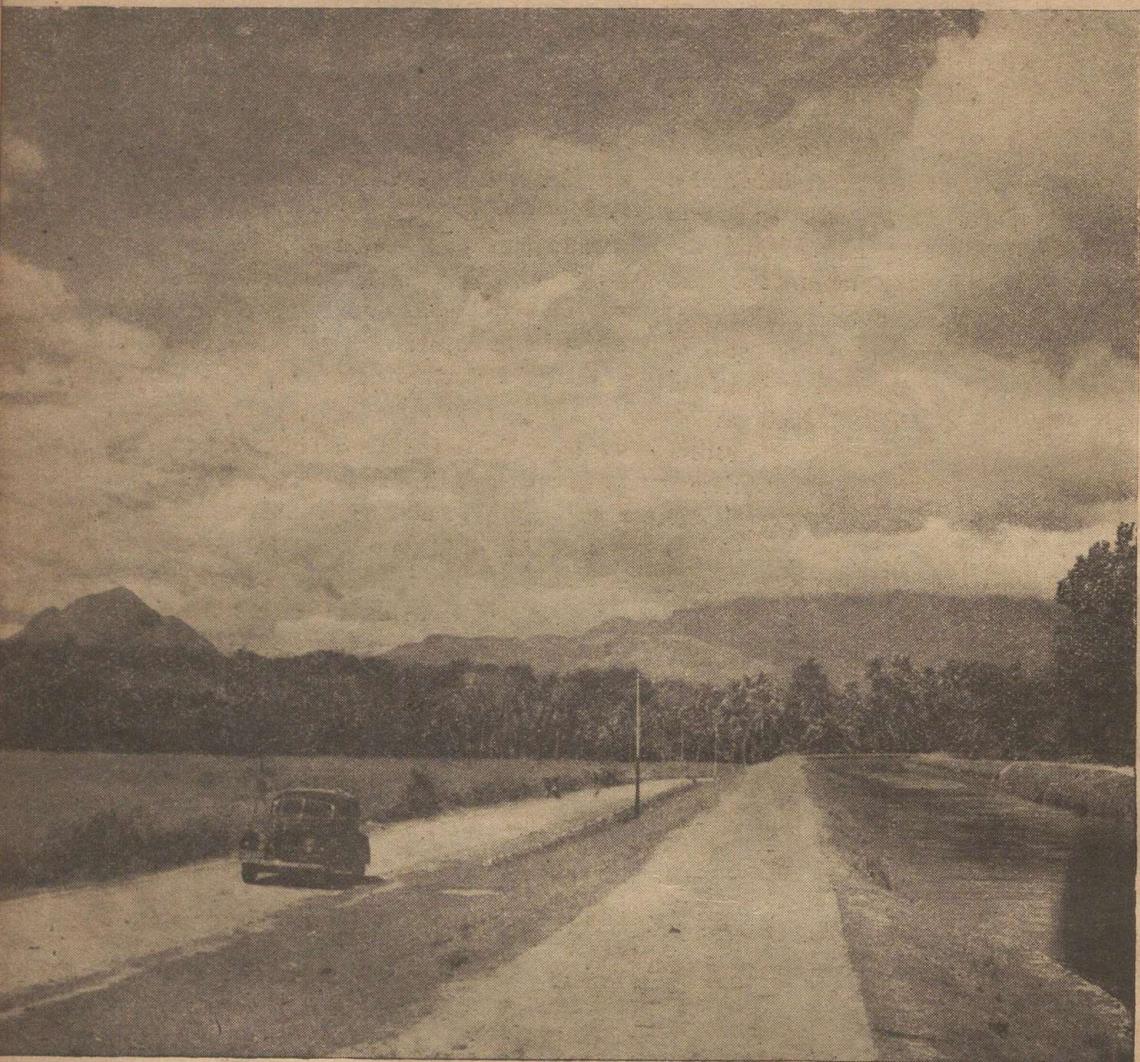
The Conference ended at 12.40 p. m.



TRIPPARAPPU

On the way to Paechippara Reservoir in South Travancore is Tripparappu, famous for its Siva Temple and Water Falls. Situated in the heart of idyllic sylvan scenery, Tripparappu attracts large numbers of pilgrims and sight seers.





ON THE ROAD TO PECHIPPARA

A short detour from the Main Road from Trivandrum to Nagercoil, at the 25th mile-stone, leads the visitor to the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir, which irrigates tens of thousands of acres of paddy fields in South Travancore. The Reservoir is a huge lake covering 3,230 acres and is surrounded by forest-clad hills.



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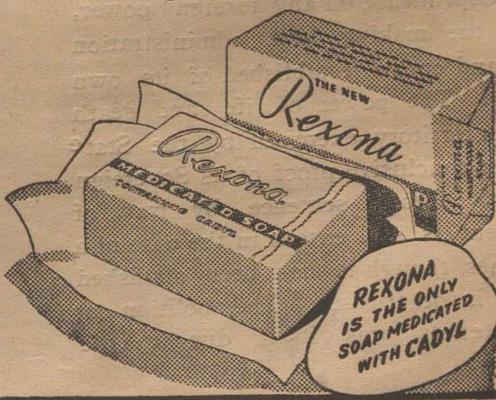
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SOVEREIGNTY IN STATES

(BY A TRAVANCORE LAWYER AND PATRIOT)

WHEN the British conquered this country many Indian Kingdoms were annexed to the British possessions and some were left alone in the enjoyment of their Sovereign rights, subject to treaty rights and obligations. That those treaties left the States as Sovereign entities for purposes of international law has been pronounced upon by Judges of the highest courts in England and India. The question was very fully examined in a recent judgment of the High Court of Travancore in 1946 T. L. R. at pages 348 to 350. The Chief Justice said:—"It is indisputable and has not been disputed before us that the Maharajas of Travancore are and have always been recognised as the Sovereigns in their own State. It is sufficient to instance the proclamation of the 24th November 1936—9th Vrischigam 1112 that the Maharajas of Travancore are the rulers and Sovereigns of Travancore.

Sovereign State

The Sovereign character of a State is to be determined *inter alia* with reference to two main factors (i) the Government of the State being vested in the Sovereign without dependence on any foreign power, and (ii) the making and administration of laws and courts established of its own authority. The power of life and death within its territory exercised by the State is another conclusive proof of its Sovereign character. Death sentence by way of punishment is still extant in the case of a few crimes though it has been abolished generally in other cases. The abolition of death sentences was itself due to the

declared will of the Sovereign. The acknowledgment of the British Government as the paramount power and the treaty obligations that may have been laid on the State of Travancore cannot detract from its status as a Sovereign State, which by the law of nations it is entitled to hold. (See *Beer Chunder Manikya and others Vs. Coomar Nobodeep Chunder Debt Burmono* and the authorities quoted therein). The House of Lords in *Duff Development Company Limited Vs. Government of Kelantan* and another held that the Sultan of Kelantan was a Sovereign Ruler and was entitled to all the prerogatives of a foreign Sovereign. It is argued in that case that Kelantan was not an independent Sovereign State so as to be entitled by International Law to the immunity against legal process which was defined in the *Parlement Bedge Viscount Cave* in setting out the character of a Sovereign State said as follows:

Droit Des Gens Vol. 1 Chapter 1 Edn. 1863.

"Defines a Sovereign State as a nation which governs itself by its own authority and laws without dependence on any foreign power but he also lays it down (Sec. 5) that a State may without ceasing to be a Sovereign State be bound to another more powerful State by an unequal alliance."

"No doubt the engagement entered into by a State may be of such a character as to limit and qualify or even to destroy the attributes of Sovereignty and independence.

Wheaton 5th Edn. page 50, Hallock 4th Edn. page 73 and the precise point at which Sovereignty disappears and dependence begins may sometimes be difficult to determine."

In such cases the subjects of a particular State and the courts of that particular State will have to take the position as declared by its Sovereign, whose word is final in the matter. This view has been accepted by all the Lords in their speeches in the above case.

Travancore not a Dependent State

It must be said that the State of Travancore has, throughout its long history, enjoyed the freedom of its own administration and far from being a dependent power has been the ally of the British from the days of the East India Company. This much has been said in this judgment not because any contention was directly raised regarding the unquestioned status of the Rulers of Travancore but merely to clear the basic premises on which the prerogatives of the Ruler of this State have to be founded. The statement of some writers on Constitutional topics describing the princes of Indian States as quasi subjects (see page 342, Keith on the King and the Imperial Crown) and not as royalties is inaccurate and has not been accepted, as any criterion of the relationship that subsists between the Indian Rulers and their subjects. (Vide Vol. V of the Regulations and Proclamations, P. 63—The speech of the Dewan.) The position of Indian Rulers as regards precedence and rank *inter se* between themselves and the paramount power or between themselves and other Rulers are extra-munici not subject to the examination of the Civil Courts

of this land. Reference may be made to the recent decision of the Privy Council in A. I. R. 1938 P. C. 165 where it was held that His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda was a Sovereign Prince and that he could not be sued in the British Indian Courts in respect of a contract relating to the Baroda Railway which was run as the personal business of His Highness the Gaekwar on the ground that Sections and 87 of the C. P. C. were not complied with.

Treaties

The parties to those treaties were the States on the one hand and the British Crown on the other. These treaties were no more than contract between Sovereigns of equal or unequal power and status. They secured some rights in the British Crown which so far have gone in the name of paramountcy. The Cabinet has definitely pronounced that their rights under the treaties cannot be assigned to the new Dominions now to be created. If the obligations under a contract or treaty are released, it requires the courage and reputation of a great lawyer like Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar to affirm the bad proposition that those rights inhere in a stranger—the new Dominions. A third party to a contract cannot enforce it. But in politics should not the reason of the law or of nature that should still count?

Paramountcy justified on grounds of geographical coherence is indeed a more difficult point to meet. For it is not at all clear what it means. It is nothing but a piece of Hitlerism. The geography of the world all these years was not disturbed by the existence of the States as independent units. The totalitarian intolerance which some of the Congress leaders have taken over cannot stand the existence of States as

allied political entities working in harmony and for mutual benefit.

Congress Vs States

The Congress has not set the Constitution definitely. So far, its administration has been one unbroken series of tribulation, famine and suffering. Its weakness has led to the bifurcation, at least, of India. The sword of the Muslim assassin has been acknowledged to be a fundamental source of political rights. May not the just legal rights of the Indian States be recognised in a spirit of tolerance and co-operation and justice.

Let the Congress set the Union in its fullness and give to the World an idea of its administration. What is it that the Union may require of the States? What does it matter if the material part of co-operation be given on the basis of alliance? Let the States join the Union not under the compulsion of threats of military invasion, underhand incitement of political and social disorders, or of economic or political pressure. The success of the Congress ought not to make it headstrong oppressive and intolerable. If the experiments of truth lay in the ways of *Ahimsa*, let it try to win the States by love, persuasion and example. We in Travancore not be in the knowledge of the conditions of the other States. We have no ill will against the Union or the Congress or the other States. But the people of the State and their Maharaja to whom their loyal support is due and will be given in a full measure cannot digest the idle threats of some of the leaders of the Congress, who, drunk with power seem to lose the good sense of even polite speech and conduct. It is curiosity of the first rank that lawyers and politicians who have served well and equally with no prejudice to their profits all Congress and anti-Congress ministries till now, should now be most vociferous against the States. This will not mislead anybody.

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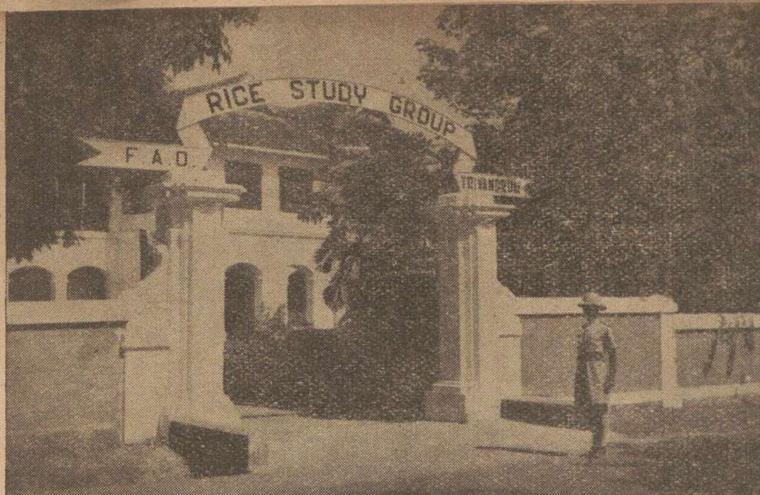
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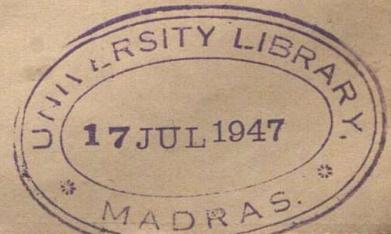
RICE STUDY GROUP

ENTRANCE TO DILKUSH, the
Trivandrum Headquarters of the Rice
Study Group.

A VIEW OF DILKUSH, the stately
government building, where the various
Committees of the Group met.



THE HON'BLE DR. RAJENDRA
PRASAD, Member, Government of
India, Department of Agriculture and Food,
being received on arrival at the
Trivandrum Air Port. MR. S. Y.
KRISHNASWAMI, Leader of the Indian
Delegation, and MR. S. CHIDAMBARAM,
Private Secretary to the Dewan, are
seen in the picture.





THE HON'BLE Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, and SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan arriving for the Conference.

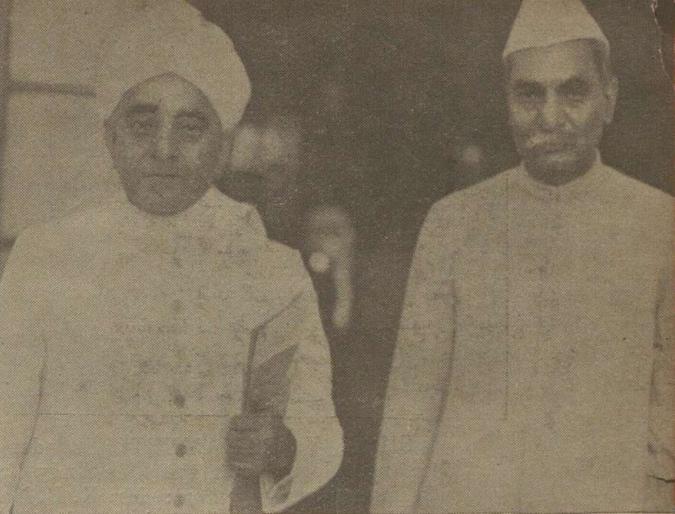


Mr. HAROLD A. VOGAL, Secretary-General of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, addressing the Conference.



SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, welcoming the Delegates to the Rice Study Group. Seated on the dais are the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Harold A. Vogal (Above)

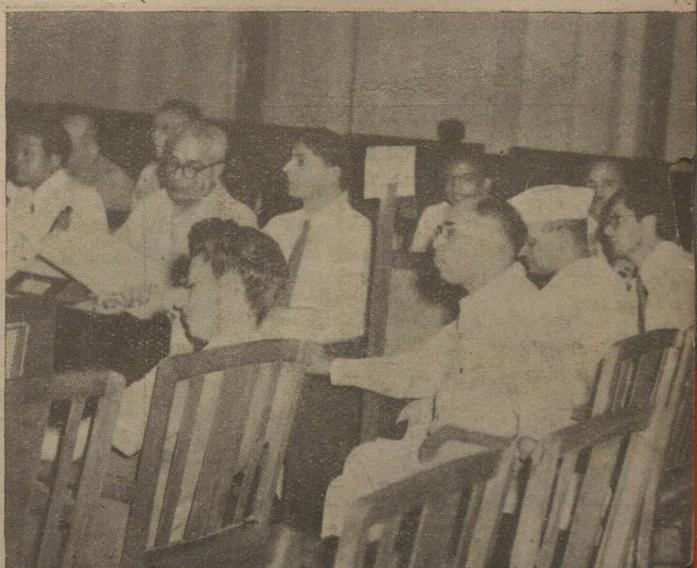
THE INDIAN DELEGATION to the Plenary Session of the Rice Study Group Conference of the United Organisation at Trivandrum consisted of Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswami, O. B. E., I. C. S., (Ag. Leader); Mr. V. S. Tyagaraja Mudaliar (Member); Mr. D. R. Sethi, C. I. E., I. A. S. (Member); Mr. T. Prasad (Member); Dr. B. M. Piplani (Member); Dr. Sanjiva Rao (Member); Rao Bahadur Dr. Viswanath (Member); Mr. Ashusthosa Battacharya (Member); Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai (Member); Mr. K. R. Narayana Iyer (Member); and Mr. Huda (Observer) (Below).



SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR and THE HON'BLE Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD.



MR. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI Chair-man of the Rice Study Group, speaking.





SIR S. V. RAMAMURTI, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Rice Study Group, at the Trivandrum Air Port: Mr. K. R. Narayana Iyer, Commissioner of Civil Supplies, Travancore, is seen next to Sir Ramamurti. Members of the French Delegation to the Conference are also seen in this picture.



Mr. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI in conversation with Mr. Harold A. Vogal.



Mr. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI, Leader of the Indian Delegation, and Chairman of the Rice Study Group in conversation with the leader of the Burmese Delegation.

CHOICE BEFORE TRAVANCORE— INDEPENDENCE OR SUBSERVIENCE

In the course of a Statement issued to the Press on the 15th June 1947, SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, analysed the situation thus:—

A Turning Point

AS was pointed out by the B. B. C. Correspondent at New Delhi to-day, this is a turning point in the history of Travancore and of the States as a whole. A challenge has been thrown out by the Congress which the people of this State have to take up, not only with reference to the proposed Independent Status but also, and even more definitely, with regard to the claim now advanced by some Congressmen and their agents that the future Congress Dominion must have powers over all States analogous to Paramountcy. One enthusiast goes so far as to say that States which do not admit this claim may have to be subjugated or re-subjugated. Those States which have already entered the Constituent Assembly on the faith of the assurance of the Congress Negotiating Committee may have to ponder over this problem and readjust their mental focus.

Further, the right of rebellion on the part of the subjects has been asserted by one or two persons and hinted at by the Congress President.

All these persons do not evidently realise the implications of their statements

and forget that this calamitous doctrine will be equally available in the future Dominion to communists and like-minded groups.

Belief in the true interests of the States

Some leaders of the Congress have blamed British Indians like myself for attempting to act according to their lights and as we firmly believe in the true interests of the States. We have been inferentially asked to subordinate our loyalty to the State and its Ruler to the dictates of a political organisation attempting to establish control over the State. If any British Indian in the service of an Indian State should feel that his loyalty is primarily due to the Congress or to ideals from time to time professed by it, his obvious duty is to resign from the service of the State and devote himself to public work and Congress propaganda as Sir N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar is so untiringly doing. Personally I hold the view that so long as I am in the service of our Maharaja, my loyalty is primarily due to him and to the State and not to the Congress. As a member of the Congress and of the Home Rule League, I pleaded for Dominion Status many years ago; and I am glad to see that the

contention put forward by the leaders of the Liberal Party has been in effect accepted by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. What was scornfully rejected has become a useful formula and may soon be a settled fact, notwithstanding the Objectives resolution passed some weeks ago by the Constituent Assembly. We also know settled facts are hard to unsettle. I am glad to learn from the very well-instructed New Delhi correspondent of the Hindu that the Congress now feels the need to change the Objectives resolution and if this be true, the leaders of the Congress deserve congratulation for the timely flexibility of their minds.

Stand by the Maharaja

The Backward Communities who owe so much to our Maharaja, the well-organised Ezhava Community as well as the bulk of the Christians and Muslims in the State, have now given ample proof of their adherence to the ideal of Independence and I feel confident that they will stand by their Ruler. Some Nair leaders like Mr. Malloor Govinda Pillai have also come out into the open; but several persons of all communities are sitting dubiously on the fence evidently because they are not convinced that the doctrine of non-violence advocated by Mahatma Gandhi will be put into practice by the Congress Dominion of the

future. The State Congress is following the lead of the Congress Dominion and Sir. N. Gopalaswami Aiyengar goes so far as to appeal to the British Crown to help the new entrant to Dominionhood in subjugating the States.

In this crisis, the sole question for decision by the Ruler and the people of the State is whether they prefer outside dictation or will stand together in vindication of an honourable and co-operative independence. Those who are at this juncture not with us are against us. There is no middle course possible. Whatever individual or communal differences or legitimate grievances may have existed or may exist must now be forgotten and can and will easily be rectified.

Rally Round the Greatest Ruler

His Highness's Government now call upon all the people of the State to rally round the greatest Ruler that Travancore has ever had and to prove that the Maharaja and his people are single-minded in their endeavour to be masters in their own houses while at the same time, they are prepared cheerfully and willingly to work in harmony with every other part of India to achieve common ends. *A comradely co-operation in the interest of India as a whole and Travancore in particular without subservience or subordination is our declared aim and ambition.*

Vast Majority Of Travancoreans Behind His Highness the Maharaja's Declaration Of Independence

NEW CONSTITUTION VESTS REAL POWER ON PEOPLE

"I wish emphatically to assert that the vast majority of people of Travancore are in favour of declaration of independence made by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and it is only the group following the mandate of the States Peoples' Conference that wishes to subordinate Travancore to the fluctuating policies of that Conference", said SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, in the course of a recent interview to the API.

I have read with much surprise the resolution of the Standing Committee of the States' Peoples Conference which obviously proceeds on the basis of misconceptions and misrepresentations.

The dissolution of the Travancore Legislature was undertaken as part of the programme for setting up a new constitution in pursuance of the Travancore Constitution Act promulgated on the 7th April. A Franchise Committee has been appointed under that Act which proceeds on the basis of adult franchise for the Lower House and functional representation for the Upper House—steps now approved by the Union Powers Committee. It is expected that the new Constitution will come into force very shortly. The Constitution is neither undemocratic nor reactionary because it vests complete powers of administration in elected representatives chosen from the Legislature providing for residual veto powers which can be exercised only very occasionally if at all. The elections on the basis of adult franchise will themselves constitute a referendum such as is urged in the resolution. I feel confident that the elections will disclose that the bulk of the people of Travancore of all communities are against the present attitude of the Travancore State Congress and in favour of the independence of the State. If the Travancore State Con-

gress, instead of boycotting the Franchise Committee, participate in it and in the elections, they will have every opportunity to advocate their points of view and demonstrate that the people of the State are really behind them. Under the Constitution Act there is a provision for a change of the Constitution after the lapse of the same period as is provided for the Union Powers Committee.

It is not legally nor constitutionally correct to say that on the lapse of Paramountcy, Sovereignty inheres in the people. Even when there was Paramountcy, Sovereignty resided in the Ruler and not in the people in Indian States although the Ruler was and is bound to rule according to Dharma and for the benefit of the people.

I wish emphatically to assert that the vast majority of the people of Travancore are in favour of the declaration of Independence made by the Maharaja of Travancore and it is only the group following the mandate of the States Peoples Conference that wishes to subordinate Travancore to the fluctuating policies of that Conference. Travancore was quite willing to join as a Unit in a United India; but after the partition agreed to by the Congress and the policy announced by the British Government on the 2nd June, Travancore made its final decision to maintain an independent status.

INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF TRAVANCORE

SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, in a Statement issued from New Delhi, says:—

THE expected has happened, and Mahatma Gandhi's appeal for a United India has failed. The stand taken up by the old Moderate or Liberal Party in favour of Dominion Status at least as a transitional arrangement has been vindicated.

Mr. Jinnah has achieved a resounding triumph and while he may have lost in some details, he has gained in principle. The ultimate effects of the creation of Pakistan, in however modified a form, will disclose themselves in the coming years and a comprehensive division carried out as now proposed is bound to create new ambitions, whose outcome cannot now be predicted.

A Delhi newspaper announces that all parties have accepted the new Plan reluctantly. Such seeming reluctance is a familiar political phenomenon, and often accompanies a retreat from principle. Mahatma Gandhi has till now stood for Hindu-Muslim friendship, the unity of India and non-violence. He still endeavours to achieve the first object and has restated his insistence on a united India, but, generally speaking, his points of view do not seem to have been accepted by his followers.

The Dominion Status now acceded to British India is likely to endure for a considerable time and will undoubtedly be of help in preserving internal peace and preventing outside aggression.

The implementing of the new Plan will terminate the unity of India. A so-called prominent Congress leader is quoted in the issue of the Statesman of the 3rd June as saying:—'The declaration of independence by certain States will be a quixotic adventure and their collapse will be a matter of months without a single shot being fired, and popular pressure within their own States coupled with economic pressure would end their isolation'. I hope this does not mean that a departure is being contemplated not only from Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-violence but from the underlying objects of the United Nations Organisation. To encourage trouble within a State and to threaten economic pressure from without is consistent neither with the principles of the U. N. O. nor with loyal discipleship of Mahatma Gandhi. Despite such threats and bearing in mind that economic pressure may well be reciprocal, I wish to re-state the position of Travancore, one of the States which has decided to remain independent.'

As has been emphasised on more than one occasion, Travancore by virtue of its geographical position and present Treaty Rights, enjoys a large measure of independence in economic and trade policies. It is a large exporting country and has a practical monopoly position in respect of many agricultural, industrial and mineral products. By reason of this circumstance, Travancore can always get her food and clothing requirements by means of barter, if not purchase, from countries which will only be too willing to enter into trade

relations with her. Travancore's relations with the British Commonwealth will be dependent on its friendliness to and co-operation with the State. Travancore's trade with England was on a reciprocal basis. I decline to believe that the British or any other Government will refuse to enter into commercial agreements with individual States as is alleged in an agency message, nor that H. M. G. will force Travancore into a position inconsistent with its interests. I am glad to be able to state on the highest authority that the press agency's message which has been reproduced in several newspapers is unfounded.

It cannot be forgotten that with the supersession of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and especially of a Union of India as contemplated by it, the Constituent Assembly formed under the Plan is continuing on a different basis to the originally contemplated. The Cabinet Mission's Plan cannot co-exist with the creation of two entirely separate sovereign States, to avoid which its main features were devised.

If a divided India comprising two Dominions can be accepted, there can be no objection to the independent existence of a State which will endeavour to function in close and equal co-operation with the rest of India.

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STATES WILL HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES AND COUNTRIES

Interviewed as to the recent statements made by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Sardar K. M. Panickar and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dewan of Travancore, stated :—

I note, that, notwithstanding the proceedings of the Union Powers Committee and the resolution of the Constituent Assembly in respect of them, Sir Krishnamachariar and Sardar Panickar have expressed their full confidence that the rights of the Indian States will be safeguarded in future. The two Prime Ministers also say that before Indian States join the All-India Union there will be comprehensive agreements relating to matters of common concern. This observation will obviously apply not only to those States which have joined the Constituent Assembly but also to those which will not be members of either Dominion.

It is manifest that States like Travancore which have asserted their independent status will nevertheless be prepared and willing to enter into mutually beneficial agreements on matters of common concern with the future Government or Governments of India, as Travancore has already done with reference to mineral research.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya vaguely refers to stories of violence and warfare, but fortunately he also insists on walking and talking on the plane of non-violence and constitutional progress. I hope he does not assume that this plane cannot or need not be attained by the peoples of the

States. If I had not known Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya very well, I should have regarded his speech as an instigation to violence.

Dr. Pattabhi, in an interview in Bombay, has made a great point of the Indian States not being given Dominion Status. The Congress has now asked for and obtained Dominion Status for an indeterminate period. This development was foreshadowed in Pandit Jawaharlal's interview on 27th May at Mussourie with the correspondent of the "News Chronicle" wherein he adverted to the desire of many people in India to have very close relations with the British Commonwealth. Dr. Pattabhi seems to be so satisfied over the achievement of Dominion Status that he cannot refrain from commenting on the impossibility of the enjoyment of this privilege by the Indian States which keep out of the Constituent Assembly.

My answer is that the States, when they become independent, are not bound or likely to ask for Dominion Status and I can assure Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that his fears that the Indian States will have no diplomatic or other relationships either with England or other countries are not likely to be realised.

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The Solution of Our Food Problem

By Mr. K. P. AMRITHANATHA IYER.

THE "Solution of our Food Problem" is of utmost importance to us as it concerns the life and prosperity of our country. What with the decrease in the fertility of the soil and the increase in the population of the land, the problem has become an urgent one and requires a scientific approach in all its aspects. It is indeed a pity, rather a paradox, that while the industrial countries abroad have made tremendous advancement in their food production, an agricultural country like ours which enjoys all natural advantages, an ancient agricultural tradition and a dense agricultural population should suffer from chronic insufficiency of food. *But for the efficient and effective system of procurement and distribution of food stuffs implemented by our Government through our food department, we would have been facing very sad catastrophe.*

Government's Lead

Thanks to the vigorous propaganda and the grow-more-food campaign including manure and seed distribution at concession rates started by our Government and the various schemes and researches sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the cultivators have begun to take great interest in scientific cultivation and cherish fresh hopes of augmenting food production. It is a happy augury for the future that a good number of scientific workers have been deputed abroad to contact and study the various up-to-date developments in the field of scientific operations and that the improvement of world food production has engaged the

keen attention of the United Nations Organisation on food and agriculture. The fixation of a fair price level for agricultural products taken up for consideration by the Government of India is indeed a wise and necessary step for the achievement of our target production.

Step up Production

Now let us consider certain practical measures which will help us to step up production, particularly of paddy which is our staple food. First of all we should cultivate edible crops including cereals, vegetables, tubers, peas, tomatoes, bananas etc. in every bit of land that is at our disposal converting even our flower pots into more fruitful than flowery ones. All the rubbish and sweepings that rot near our dwellings can be composted into good manure and the water that is washed out to contaminate the surroundings can be channelised to aid irrigation purposes. We have vast sandy tracts near the coast which can be cultivated with groundnuts, cashew and ragi, improving not only food production but also soil texture. There are portions in the back-waters and other water-logged areas capable of being converted into paddy lands provided facilities for irrigation and drainage are afforded.

Intensive Cultivation

Turning to the intensive methods of cultivation we should in the first place protect our lands from the attack of erosion and floods. Modern scientific machinery may be useful for this purpose; but we can obtain much relief by maintaining proper bunds and protecting such bunds as also

the sides of roads and canals by the cultivation of grasses or cover crops on their surface. We should also restrict as far as possible the indiscriminate planting of huge shady trees on the borders of paddy lands, the fragmentation of consolidated holdings into uneconomic slices and the disturbance in the uniformity of the level of each plot of land. Certain mechanical treatments as the admixture of clay to sand and sand to clay will be very effective where they can be done cheaply and where the soil is either too clayey or too sandy.

Use of Better Seed

Coming next to the seed we cannot but admit that the bulk seed now used is far from satisfactory. The yielding capacity of the seed can be improved by using well dried and properly preserved seeds prepared from the best grains of the best ear-heads selected and isolated for the purpose. The exposure to the cold weather at night and the sun's heat at daytime for five or seven days during seed preparation is a crude form of vernalisation that paddy and other grains were subjected to in ancient days, which we can adopt even now with advantage. It will be well if the scientists will consider the possibility of scientific treatment to seeds before sprouting including such practical treatment as seed tests in salt water or copper sulphate solution etc.; and disseminate knowledge on these matters among the ryots. We can hope to get shortly improved strains for short duration, high yield and better resistance against pests diseases, drought, floods acidity and alkalinity, since joint schemes by the Government and the I. C. A. R. have already been started for the evolution of such improved varieties and the introduction of suitable ones from foreign countries.

Irrigation

Next to seed comes irrigation. The Royal Agricultural Commission report says

that in India the question of famine is a question of irrigation. Most of the wells, tanks, channels, canals and even portions of rivers have been silted up and rendered unfit for irrigation and drainage. The improvement of our crops depends considerably on their restoration and the cutting of fresh ones where necessary. Most of these works can be done by the ryots themselves and it is here that the active co-operation and the co-ordination of the Government and local agricultural bodies will be most effective and essential.

Manure

Then comes manure. Well preserved cow-dung, compost green leaves, ashes, bonemeal, oil-cakes and fish-guano are excellent organic manures which we must periodically apply to rejuvenate our soils. The scheme for compost manure sponsored by the I. C. A. R. has proved to be successful and we can compost the water hyacinth that collects in the canals and water-ways as a menace to public health, into excellent manure as is done in Bengal. Chemical Fertilizer has now become very popular as it acts quickly and gives a sudden impetus to the plant growth. This improvement is most spectacular when applied to the plant that sustains some weakness on account of pest or disease or unfavourable weather. It is therefore a valuable supplement to organic manures especially for short duration crops, and will be more successful if applied judiciously in combination with cowdung or compost or powdered oil cake as a top-dressing after a previous basal dressing of organic manure.

Fertilisers

Travancore has taken the lead in being the first to start a Fertilizer Factory for the manufacture of Ammonium Sulphate. This Fertilizer supplemented with super-phosphate or bonemeal produces good results.

The application of burnt lime or well powdered lime-shells during ploughing after harvest will be very useful for the improvement of soils that are clayey and subject to acid reaction or calcium deficiency. The question of obtaining calcium carbonate and also phosphate as bye-products from any of the factories is a matter worth examining. We can also get good manures and carbonates from the mud deposits, seaweed, sea-shells, shell-grits etc, found abundantly in the sea. The flow of natural manure in the form of alluvium from rivers and canals into fields is another manurial supply which can be facilitated by providing broad openings in the bunds and embankments and by cutting and deviating canals and channels wherever they are possible and feasible.

In manuring it will be immensely helpful if we get the soil previously analysed and the corrective prescribed by the Research Department and also get the necessary guidance from the local Agricultural officers. The eradication of pests is another important matter which can be done by spraying, flooding, light-trap etc. under their guidance. Gamaxine powder or D. D. T. solution may be tried as insecticide for all plants as well as animals. How far scientific pre-treatment of seeds and the fish breeding combined with rice cultivation will help the prevention of such attacks is a matter worth investigation.

Improved Machinery

Lastly, we want improved machinery to supplement human labour for increasing production. Improved machinery for ploughing, levelling, harrowing etc., seed drills for the uniform broadcasting of seed and threshing machines to thresh out paddy from the sheaves by human labour are needed here. De-silting of canals and

rivers and the dumping of mud on the bunds can be done very easily if suitable machines are available. Wind mills will be of great advantage in areas commanding regular winds of sufficient velocity. The construction of locks and sluices, the supply of spare parts and improved pumps for pumping machines, the extension electric power and electro-culture operations are other factors contributing to the enhancement of production. Some of these machines can be worked by human labour and they may either be made here or introduced from abroad.

Quality of Food

I have dealt so far with the quantitative aspect of food and shall conclude with a short reference to the qualitative aspect also. The points to be noted in this connection are :—

1. The food grains should be well dried and preserved preferably in carefully fumigated wooden storages so as to avoid loss on account of damages.
2. The use of parboiled unpolished rice should be further encouraged as it is more nutritious than polished rice.
3. Rice diet by itself has poor nutritive value and should be supplemented by milk or butter milk and ghee in addition to wheat, fruits, leafy vegetables, tubers, peas etc. 8 ozs. of milk or curd, 2 ozs. of ghee or oil, 3 ozs. of grams, bean or nuts, 4 ozs. of leafy vegetables, one amla or banana or orange and 16 ozs. of rice plus wheat or rice plus jowar or ragi are said to contain the optimum calorific food-value per adult per day.
4. We have to improve our cattle for not only increasing milk production but also for evolving better working animals. This we can do by importing good breed

by maintaining good stud bulls, by cultivating improved grasses on hill slopes, canal sides and all available wastes and embankments and by giving small doses of lime water or mineral mixtures as supplements to the bulk feed to the cattle. Insecticides and inoculations for the prevention of cattle pests will also be highly effective and can be got done by the veterinary officers.

5. We should cultivate improved varieties of tapioca and ragi. The Research work of the Travancore University in the evolution of improved tapioca has augured very well and will, if successful, be a remarkable achievement.

6. The question of manufacturing food yeast is also a matter to be taken up for consideration. All these deserve our immediate attention. Want of knowledge of scientific methods of cultivation or the requisite business skill on the part of the cultivators and the lack of efforts to replenish the soil with the elements that are removed after each cultivation should no longer be allowed to further impoverish our soils. Every one should take up scientific cultivation of one food commodity or other, even on a small scale as a part of his daily routine with a spirit of sacrifice, co-operation and dedication to God.

The taste for agriculture and a practical training in that direction are badly needed on the part of our younger generation. A small farm attached to each school and some practical extra-curricular instructions in the form of simple short notes will be highly effective in achieving this object and I invite the attention of the authorities concerned to this matter.

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THE DEWAN'S REJOINDER TO THE "HINDU"

SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI

AIYAR has addressed the following letter to the Editor of the "Hindu", Madras, in reply to the leading article in issue of the paper dated the 19th June 1947, entitled: "The Future of the States."

Trivandrum,
20th June 1947.

DEAR SIR,

You have devoted two columns in your issue of yesterday to a general attack on Travancore's attitude towards the Constituent Assembly and towards the Hindustan Dominion and to a special attack on myself in particular and you have also poured ridicule on me by suggesting that it is inconceivable that the Indian Dominion should make humble overtures to the Dewan of Travancore "when he will graciously accommodate and negotiate a treaty with the Union on the basis, of course, of the State's independence whatever the latter term may mean." I trust, therefore, that you will grant me the hospitality of your columns for a reply, which, I hope, will be published at least as prominently as the attack itself.

I observe with regret, though not with surprise, that you are comparatively reticent regarding Hyderabad but in this you are not singular. Whereas individual Englishmen especially Englishmen in business and the professions, have been noted for their consistent loyalty to their friends, the British Government from 1857 have too

often taken their friends for granted and treated mainly with their opponents. The Congress is following the same policy. Gandhiji's special certificates and titles of honour are awarded generally to persons who attack him like Mr. Jinnah, whose determined courage and unalterable opposition to the Congress have secured for him not only the recognition of his title of *Quaid-e-Azam* but resulted in several humble overtures culminating in the approach of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Mr. Jinnah on the dictation of Gandhiji.

At the same time that your newspaper reached my hands I also read the message of Gandhiji advocating a free Frontier State. Pathanistan with 1/3 the population and less than 1/3 of the revenues of Travancore can, of course, be independent, Nepal with less than the population of Travancore and less resources can, of course, be independent and Pandit Nehru can appoint an ambassador to Nepal without too much scrutiny of its internal administration and without demanding a referendum. Siam can be independent, Burma can be independent, Switzerland can be independent, but it is a cardinal sin

for Travancore to ask for the fulfilment of what British statesmen have said and undertaken to do. Pandit Nehru has uttered the threat that the dream of independence will be dissipated in a few months owing to internal troubles and economic pressure from outside. Although prominent Congressmen and others have told me that his words should not be taken too seriously, as he is apt to become emotional on public platforms, I cannot forget that he is the Vice-President of the Interim Government. Added to that are the threats of subjugation of Indian States by Sir Gopalaraswami Aiyangar, the incitements to internal rebellion by Mr. Kripalani, Mr. Shankar Rao Deo and the ex-Advocate General of Madras. These utterances, however, have been of great assistance to Travancore as they have unified public opinion here and in effect solved the problem of independence. I am hoping that your leading article will complete the process.

If you do not trust your local representative, I would invite you to send any representative of yours to Travancore so as to realise for himself the intensity and the pervasive character of the enthusiastic response that has been evoked to the call of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government for the declaration of Travancore's independence. I am literally receiving dozens of unsolicited telegrams and letters every hour of the day from persons of all communities and classes pledging their support to this cause. I am myself positive that the Travancore State Congress will hesitate to ask for a referendum, I am not and shall not be afraid of a referendum, but I am confident, however, that the problem will solve itself much more easily.

In all likelihood and judging from my correspondence most members of the State Congress will soon declare themselves in favour of the independence of Travancore and will probably resign from the Congress on this issue. Public opinion is gaining so much strength that within a few weeks I believe that it will not be possible for the State Congress openly to speak against Travancore's independence. Lest it should be stated that the Travancore Government are curbing public opinion or are guilty of Fascist methods as suggested by certain Congress adherents who are apt to enthuse over every cause and every person or group that is in the ascendant for the time being, I hereby issue an invitation to your paper and to every other newspaper in India to send representatives here as observers to judge the situation for themselves.

Please do not think that I am bluffing or indulging in wishful thinking when I say that a great revulsion of feeling is already setting in against the Congress and its methods. I have yielded to none in my admiration of and my homage to Gandhiji for his great services in rousing the self-respect and the conscience of India in political and in social matters, but surely prayer meetings are intended for communion or attempted communion with the Supreme and cannot be utilised for attacks, well-founded or ill-founded on political opponents. Gandhiji made certain inaccurate statements regarding what I said at a Press Conference. Twelve journalists who were present at that Conference telegraphed to him pointing out the inaccuracies and yet during the next prayer meeting there was no retraction or expression of regret. He admits that he is a back-number and that his views on non-violence, the uselessness of the army and the evils of industrialisation are not shared by his followers. He, however, is present in every meeting of those followers and is supposed to guide them. The President

of the Congress openly asserts that on certain fundamental issues like non-violence he has parted company with Gandiji. There is definite tendency on the part of the Congress High Command to interfere with local and provincial affairs as well as with the internal politics of States. The only thing that they seem to respect and fear is open and unflinching opposition. Mr. Savarkar telegraphs to me as follows :—

"In the very interest of Akhanda Hindustan itself, I strongly support the Maharaja and the far-sighted and courageous determination to declare the independence of our Hindu State of Travancore. The Nizam has already proclaimed his independence and other Muslim States are likely to do so. Hindu States bold enough to assert it have the same rights."

You ask in your leading articles whether the Post and Telegraph offices would be closed and if companies will be wound up or railways stopped. I am not aware that with a frontier of 4000 miles the independent States of Canada and U. S. A. are adopting such measures or even North and South Ireland, notwithstanding their well-known ideological animosities.

"I feel that entry into the Constituent Assembly, if made, should be whole-hearted. There is no point in entering into that Assembly and wishing to go out if the decisions of the Assembly are unfavourable to one's own interests.

I have endeavoured to point out in several conferences and statements that the decisions of the Union Powers Committee now ratified by the Constituent Assembly and the resolution on objectives which though practically nullified by the acceptance of Dominion Status is bound to be passed at the next sitting of the Assembly and the general antagonistic attitude of the

Congress to States which do not follow its dictates will operate to the prejudice of the economic and industrial future of Travancore, whose position is peculiar. It is worthy of note that I am not alone in this opinion and that Babu Purushottam Das Tandon has openly stated that the recent decisions taken by the Congress are not in consonance with the real will of the people. I do not wish to repeat my previous arguments but the people of Travancore are fully cognisant of them and are wholly behind the State in its assertion of independence.

The Madras *Mail* and the *Times of India* have partially perceived the reasons underlying the decision of Hyderabad and Travancore and I have stated and repeated over and over again that the special problems of Travancore demand its independent status which is as much its birthright as it is that of any other autonomous unit in India, that this independence will not be used excepting for the purpose of forwarding the interests of India as a whole and that the Maharaja and the people of Travancore are determined at all costs and at whatever risks to preserve not their own isolation but their own Swarajya, which will be compatible with the evolution of common and harmonious policies for the country as a whole."

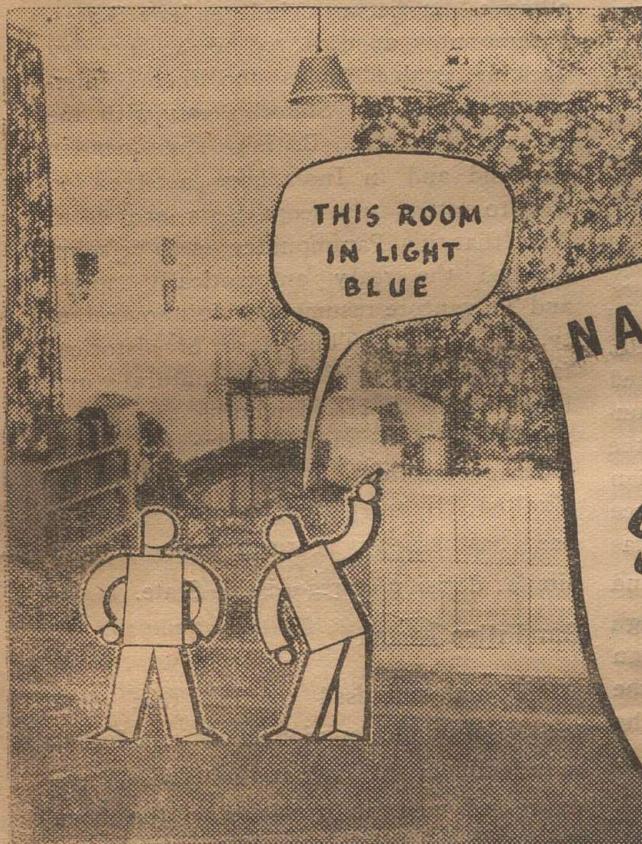
Practically all the discussion that takes place to-day in this matter ignores the existence of the U. N. O. We either believe in it or do not. If we believe in it thoughts of subjugation and rebellion are irrelevant. If we do not believe in it the world will be a congeries of warring elements and each element has to work in self-defence and self-vindication. Travancore is one such unit. It believes in

the Union of India; it believes in the U. N. O. but it also believes in the need for its own independence, consistent with inter-dependence with the other units comprising the great land of India. What it does not believe in is the dragooning of every self-reliant unit into submission by a regime that is democratic in its professions and authoritarian in practice and uses the Press

and the platform and the radio for steam-hammering opposition to its own ideologies which again within the last few months, have varied from day to day, from Independence to Dominion Status, from the non-vivisection of India into an appeal for Pathanistan.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.



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Travancore and Independence

By RAO BAHADUR K. NARAYANAN PANDALAI, B. A., B. L.

(Retired Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore)

THESE are terribly stirring times when every country in the world is faced with problems of unprecedented magnitude and complexity, which well-nigh baffle solution, and Travancore has its own grave issues to consider and decide. At the present moment, what is exercising the thinking minds in Travancore and elsewhere, is the question of its political status after lapse of British Paramountcy on 15th August 1947. There have emerged two schools of thought, both supported by eminent men—one wanting Travancore to join the Indian Union and the other wanting it to resume its independent Sovereignty. The need of the hour is deep and dispassionate thought, unswayed by high sounding slogans or by party or personal predilections and prejudices. The question has to be considered from all angles of vision, with reference to the country's geography, its history, its culture, its traditions, its resources, etc. Geographically, Travancore is separated from the rest of India by a range of mountains (the Western Ghats) on the east, the Arabian Sea on the west and the Indian Ocean on the south, with the consequence that through centuries past, the country has had a culture, a tradition, a social order and a political ideology, all its own, though disturbed at times by the impact of foreign influences. And it is the desire of the people that these special features of the country should continue and be allowed to develop and fashion themselves in accordance with its rational genius, without interference by external forces, however great and friendly.

Past History

There has appeared in the Press the ill-informed criticism that Travancore has never had in the past an independent existence, due no doubt to lack of adequate knowledge of the country's past history. The fact is that the State was never subdued by any foreign power and that its relations with the Moghul Rulers and the British Raj were based on treaties of friendly alliance, as between independent States. Paramountcy appears to be a latterday doctrine evolved by a too liberal interpretation of the States' treaty with the British Raj and British statesmen in England and in India have not been too slow to extend the scope of its operation. Now that this Paramountcy is to be relinquished, the treaty automatically lapses, and Travancore resumes its full Sovereignty, as of old. Thus, force of historical facts and inherent right have naturally and logically led to His Highness the Maha-raja's wise decision to declare the State's independence from 15th August 1947. His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, has issued a Firman announcing a similar decision as regards his State.

Gandhiji Misled

I am surprised to find that some leaders of public opinion in British India, men eminent in law and otherwise, have expressed views in opposition to the above decision, and urged Travancore to join the Constituent Assembly and Indian Union. My surprise is all the greater, because these

critics include some leaders of the Indian National Congress, one of whose oft-repeated cardinal principles is the recognition of the right of self-determination for every Province, State and Territory in India, in the matter of joining the Indian Union. The pity is that our great leader, Gandhiji, too views Travancore's decision with disfavour. I can make no approach, except in the matter of age, to that venerable leader with rare gifts of intellect and heart. But as a Travancorean with fuller knowledge of the country and its people, derived from long and close experience I have to say that Gandhiji and the other critics mentioned above have been misled by lack of full and correct information concerning Travancore and the views and feelings of the people. *I know Gandhiji takes his stand in matters like this, guided by the wishes of the people concerned. If so, I can assure him and others of his way of thinking that Travancoreans feel, out of their burning patriotism, jubilant and proud at this supreme moment when they visualise the return of the unfettered freedom of their country ruled by a Sovereign whose only care and thought, by day and night, has been how best to ensure the progressive prosperity of his subjects.*

Independence is not Isolation

Independence does not mean isolation, and for the matter of that, no State in the world to-day can stand or function without

maintaining friendly relations with other States, big or small, far or near, by means of treaties entered into for political stability and economic security. Similarly, Travancore will surely seek agreements of mutual goodwill and friendly co-operation with other Indian States, the British Indian Provinces and the Indian Dominion Governments. This, Travancore will also have to do, were it to join the Indian Union. Such being the case, what reason or justification can there be for opposition from any quarter to the declaration of its independent status.

Create A Greater Travancore

I appeal to my countrymen to stand solidly behind our Sovereign, under whose beneficent rule the country has enjoyed far-reaching benefits—unexampled in the recent history of any country. I appeal to the members of the Travancore State Congress, whose avowed end and aim is the advancement of their country's best interests its prestige and its greatness

This is the movement when every Travancorean has to prove his genuine love for and pride in his country and Sovereign and come forward with warm readiness to sacrifice his all for the creation of a greater Travancore, worthy of a distinguished place and rank in the International world.

STATES AND INDEPENDENCE

(MR. A. K. PILLAI, BAR-AT-LAW)

THE controversy that rages in British India on the question of the State's accession to Dominion of Hindustan involves issues of abiding interest to both the Ruler and the people of a State. The assumption that the people are for the State's accession to the Dominion of Hindustan on the latter's terms is wrong and misleading. On the other hand, the people would consider it a betrayal of their paramount interests if a Ruler under whatever circumstance were to sign away the State's political freedom of action without a clear verdict of the people expressed voluntarily and in no unmistakable terms, a verdict registering the deliberate will of an overwhelming majority.

THE Dewan of Travancore is criticised by the Congress partisans as if the people have actually expressed their will in the matter. The issue was never before them, and therefore, it would have been presumptuous for the Dewan to have anticipated the people's judgment and yielded to the pressure from Congress sources and his personal friends.

Able withstood Pressure Tactics

When the Dewan was more likely to have been influenced that way, it is a matter for no small satisfaction to the people of Travancore that he has put their interest as well as that of the Ruler over every other consideration and ably withstood the pressure tactics directed to hustle him into a false position involving the State's independence and freedom of action.

Now that freedom of action has been carefully preserved intact, it remains the asset of the people no less than of the

Ruler, and in future it will be up to them to do what they like. On the other hand, if the Dewan had not acted in anticipation, the most valuable asset of the State, namely, its political freedom of action, would have been alienated for ever.

Referendum

The question of a referendum can be considered only when the Hindustan Constituent Assembly has actually formulated the future constitution in concrete terms. *Ad hoc* utterance of British Indian politicians, varying from time to time in their contents and conceptions, cannot be a basis for a referendum. One thing is absolutely certain; the State's people are also part of the fast moving humanity and cannot be expected to choose a status of vassalage even under a swadeshi brand of Paramountcy. If the only other alternative offered them is fusion with the Dominion of Hindustan, they must, naturally, take

time firstly to consider all the implications of such fusion and secondly to see the shape of Hindustan itself, in its immediate set up.

Paramount Interests of the People

Pandit Nehru spoke at the AICC meeting of the ultimate vision of greater Asia. There is the still more inspiring vision of a world union of States. But the existence of progressive and autonomous States is not incompatible with a world Government and *a fortiori* not inconceivable in a free commonwealth or Federated States of India where the only paramountcy shall be that of the paramount interests of the people.

Travancore's Unique Position

The proposition of Travancore's independence in the sense of full political autonomy and freedom of action is not part of any legalistic doctrine. It is essentially a matter of balance of advantages which few Indian States have in the measure Travancore's unique position guarantees her. Why British Indian politicians should raise a false alarm over this and regard it as an "unfriendly act" passes one's comprehension.

Away with the preposterous doctrine of the "inherent paramountcy" of Delhi over the rest of India! Let alone the States people, no self-respecting South Indian will accept that pretentious claim. In the ultimate purposes the decision of Mysore State is not different from that of Travancore. Unless the present picture is considerably altered, Mysore is not likely to agree with the final act of accession. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has made that abundantly clear.

I visualise a free and prosperous India, a commonwealth of free nationalities living in autonomous states and voluntarily united within a liberally conceived political system

which is based upon common citizenship, democratic institutions and all round social justice. But that picture seems so alien to the totalitarian designs of the Congress Party which dominates the Indian politics at the moment.

Must Rally Round for complete Autonomy

The people of Travancore must rally round the stand for complete autonomy. They were not behindhand in the struggle for India's independence. But they could never have imagined that when Independence was attained they would be told they were still "vassals," and only the Suze-rainty had changed hands!

All the legal talents at the command of the Congress are arrayed today in a sort of nerve war to 'annex' the Indian States as colonies in a new imperialist scheme; or in the alternative to get the British Government to agree to treating the States as part of their transferable assets and leave them neatly tied up at the free disposal of the successor Government at Delhi. It is noteworthy that Mr. Jinnah, the leader of one of the two Dominions to be presently set up in India, denounced this nefarious proposal.

The fact of the matter is that the British Crown has no power to transfer. The Armed Forces of the British Empire constituted the sanction of its Paramountcy. That sanction in the nature of things cannot inhere in any Government in Delhi. India's future defence as well as communications and economic planning, being matters of vital common interest, can and ought to be arranged among the component parts of India on the only rational basis, namely, their equality of status and enlightened self interest.

TRAVANCORE INDEPENDENT

(By A Travancorean)

OUR dear State is reassuming her independence— independence that was hers through the ages— independence that is hers in her own right. It is a glorious and jubilant juncture and we can rejoice she is coming into her own.

The Past Calling

For centuries together, prior to British Paramountcy, the State was an independent entity of whose name and fame there was echo in every corner of India. She used to be then the fabled land of prosperity, of progress and security. She used to be even then an example of aspiring and elevated governance. Political philosophers and spiritual pilgrims used to seek the inspiration of her intellectual tranquillity and independence through the shifting fortunes of bygone times. We were a self-reliant and self-sufficient people with something or other of unique worth or of daily necessity to send to the rest of India, and the outer world.

If we go back to the remote past we find a crystal stream of commercial and intellectual intercourse between the State and the Roman Empire and its successor Christian dominions. The State has always been a glistening "monarchical republic", in which freedom reigned in the greater no less than in the smaller sweeps of life. In the early ages as in later times Hinduism flourished here with exceptional sweetness and tolerance. Here strove worthily Buddhism and Jainism for appeal and excellence. The first Christian missionaries fresh from the personal inspiration of Jesus did not find a more congenial atmosphere anywhere else on the globe for

the dissemination of the 'gospel'. Islam followed and found the same amity of spirit in this State of free and equal opportunities. The footprints of Chaitanya are yet visible to the discerning eye in the temple of Sri Padmanabha. The voice of Sri Sankaracharya, one of the most illustrious in our historical gallery, is audible yet in innumerable parts of India, from the dreaming recesses of the Himalayas to the murmurous shores of Cape Comorin. Swami Vivekananda came here from the far north-east in search of special stimulation. In our own times lived Sri Narayana Guru, the meek great prophet of oneness, calling to the soul in uncertain search of truth and bliss.

Military Traditions

In military prowess we have yielded to none in instinctive sense of loyalty, in fighting qualities, in steadfastness, tenacity, courage, in brilliance and gallantry. We have ever been the 'Gurkhas of the Far South', no less famous, and superior in the psychological elements that and nothing else mark out the true warrior. We have remained unconquered from the dawn of history. We remained unconquered when war and conquest swept over the whole of India with ruin and disaster to the fortunes of peoples. A small unimpressive detachment of our men under an intrepid General turned almost within our memory the tide of Tipu Sultan's triumphal invasions and sent him back to his downfall. We provided asylum to thousands of refugees flying from his wrath. The battle of Colachel, in which the Dutch nearly at the height of their power were pounded and

repelled by our forces, sets the seal of maritime capabilities on the State's population.

There is a stirring chapter in the annals of the last war for the fighting men of the State—a reaffirmation of the unexcelled martial qualities of our people in incredible conditions of modern warfare.

In Paramountcy

It is difficult to disguise that British Paramountcy was not an unmixed blessing though it might not have been an unmixed evil. Progress in several directions began marking time because Paramountcy became with increasing pace paramount throughout India, and it became increasingly difficult for any part of India to forge much further ahead of other parts. In fact, there was a deadweight in the period on the State's traditional impulses of high-minded endeavour and diligence.

Even so, our record has been outstanding and the audit of a century, thanks to our illustrious royal house, indubitably places us at the forefront of success in India. In the past ten years, thanks to a unique combination of great personalities at the helm, we have made such progress in almost all departments of public life as has given the State merited prominence on the map of the world. The great Temple Entry Proclamation of eleven years ago by itself provides an index of the State's leadership.

British Paramountcy in the State was itself different from what it has been in other States, resting as it did on a rather voluntary alliance of mutual assistance, and if it proved anything worse the fault was not that of the State but of the rest of India, over which the new ascendancy quickly became 'permanent' and 'unshakable'. Travancore in fact only shared the lot with the rest of India, the alliance of mutual assistance gradually merging into a sort of

subordination in the context of the imperial sway of the allied power over the entire country.

Crucial Disparity

Had there been an All-India Federation there would have been some ostensible and laudable reason for the State 'to toe the line' at the sacrifice of certain of her own interests and advantages, at least for the presentation of a seemly picture of the country's unity and solidarity before the world. The partition of India on a fictitious two-nation basis should make the saddest anecdote of Congress vacillation and weakness in the annals of this tragic century. This 'Great Rift' registered by agreement between the two principal parties in British India deprives both of any right or reason to demand that the Indian States should federate with the one or the other.

The Congress ought to know that the Indian States were not a part of British India and were not under British rule. During the British occupation of British India the Indian States still enjoyed and exercised varying degrees of sovereignty, Travancore more than any other on account of the unbroken continuity of her independent status, as being the sole unconquered descendant of the 'Muvarasars'—the Three Kingdoms of the South—that flourished as long ago as the times of Gautama and Asoka. *In brief the position was British India was subject, while the States even in extreme cases never ceased completely to be sovereign. This it may be noted in passing was the reason why the agitation for Swaraj while it raged in British India threw up only faint echoes in the States.*

Peculiar Logic

Mahatma Gandhi uses interesting logic in his statement of the position. He says that the State was content to have been

under the suzerainty of the British, but now disclaims the suzerainty of Indians themselves, as if he is himself willing that British domination in British India might be followed by some other domination. It should also be relevant to remember that there could be no question of any suzerainty for an Indian State which had never been under any suzerainty except that of the British and that but for a brief space in the almost unending reaches of her independent existence.

The inherent right of the State to her original independent status is unchallengeable in both justice and reason. 'The Indian Union' when it comes into existence can flaunt the big stick if it likes, but that would be going too near belligerency and aggression and too far from non-violence, tolerance and reasonableness, the professed ideals of the Congress, and concepts dearer than life to the great builder of its ideological fabric.

Retrocession and Resumption

The resumption of independence that always belonged to the state can in no way derogate from the power or status of either Hindustan or Pakistan, and it is difficult to understand the exacerbated sensibilities emanating from Congress circles regarding this matter. The State is not committing secession or asserting any jealous isolation. It is not on any basis of unfriendliness that she is going on to her own independent status. There are no designs or reservations behind the declaration. It is true that she does not want any vassalliance any longer; nor suddenly, seclusion or isolationism. It is a 'Co-operative Independence' in which matters of mutual concern and interest will be settled by negotiation and agreement, that the State is claiming. The Dewan has said a hundred times that His Highness's Government are ready for every accommodation and every act of

homogeneity of spirit. The State's independence is going to be 'no enemy of the freedom of any other part of India and, naturally, she is going to be so independent that her independence can only add to the freedom and independence of India as a whole—such has been the custom and tradition of Travancore in all the echoing ages of her story.

It is the fashion sometimes of politicians in British India to pretend that the retrocession of Paramountcy in Indian States was brought about by their efforts. The answer is that Paramountcy itself was mostly a by-product of British occupation of British India.

Why ?

Why is the State resuming her independence? The answer is: For the sake of the people of the State—for their Progress and Prosperity. The independence is for the classes and the masses. It is personal and general. It is freedom from political tutelage. The faith is one and indivisible; and therefore the declaration has lifted the people to a higher status. What's more, it is independence about which the 'Indian Union' need have no misgivings. "I have always asserted," says the Dewan, "that Travancore in matters of defence, communications and other matters of common concern will whole-heartedly co-operate with the rest of India, consistently with the special interests of Travancore as a maritime State with traditions of independent trade, customs and currency policies".

It is really 'co-operative independence'—independence bilaterally interdependent of the independence of India as a whole, with no cactus hedges between but cordial openings for common benefit.

Misunderstanding

Nevertheless, the Interim Government is reported to be already contemplating

'sanctions' against the State's declaration—such as deciding what policy they should adopt with regard to the State subjects in the central services and others of an economic nature that 'may lead to a crisis in the relations between Travancore State and the Indian Dominion.' The '*casus balli*' is stated to be the nomination of a State representative for 'Pakistan.'

On the face of it, the report seems hardly credible, no occasion in any realistic context having been offered for the apparent precipitancy. The nomination of a representative for the 'Indian Union' went off without notice. The State's action is in perfect accord with the Procedure Plan. No bias in favour of the one or of the other of the 'Dominions' has been indicated.

The balanced mind in politics is often taken for granted, when one side is prepossessed by hasty consciousness of superiority. Then it is what is perfectly legitimate, regular and reasonable produces strange responses. The Congress Party has evidently strayed somewhat from the highroad of democratic idealism, or else, supposing the report were true, the members of the Interim Government, who might have been responsible for it, could not have contemplated the steps mentioned therein before exhausting means of amicable adjustment of differences if any really existed.

The Dewan's reaction to the report clinches the point. He says thus in part: "When it is remembered that the Travancore Government have throughout promised the fullest co-operation and joint action with the Government or Governments of India in all economic and other matters, this announcement whether inspired or otherwise seems to be uncalled for..... The Congress and the Muslim League have both come to a joint agreement by which

India is to be divided into two Dominions; and, obviously, a maritime state cannot but enter into relations with both Dominions. Representatives have therefore been chosen by the Travancore Government to function in both Dominions. It is obvious that the British Government cannot look unconcerned when one of its Dominions starts economic boycott against a state whose independent status has been specially provided for under a scheme initiated by that Government."

The State is acting strictly within the four corners of the Cabinet Mission Plan which the Procedure Plan did not alter in so far as the states were concerned. She has chosen one of the courses laid down for the states—*independence, thinking and believing independence to be in her best interests.* The juncture bristles with so many tortuous knots and the Congress seems to be sure of nothing and speaks with different voices.

Conclusion

Travancore has often been called the epitome of India and we want to build an ideal state in Travancore. We want to conserve our human and material resources for common uplift. We want prosperity to knock at every door. We want the lamps of knowledge burn in every home. We want happiness and joy to come into each life. When we will have built such an ideal state in Travancore—the Ram Raj of our dreams—not we only but the whole of India will gain.

Our Maharaja in whom dwell and speak the great kingly virtues, who is thrice noble, being of himself king, has taken a noble stand at a most critical turn in the destiny of the State and every thinking and discerning subject of His Highness is at one with him.

Nothing shall make us rue if Travancore to herself rests but true.

What Others Say

TRAVANCORE BIG ENOUGH TO BE INDEPENDENT

A LOSER IN UNITED KERALA, SAYS INDUSTRIALIST.

(BY A MAIL STAFF REPRESENTATIVE)

TRAVANCORE has much to lose, and little to gain in a United Kerala Province, or in complete affiliation with the Indian Union, according to Mr. K. V. THOMAS, a leading industrialist and planter in the State, in an interview granted to a Mail Staff Representative.

"Although Travancore looks small on the vast map of India," he added, "the State is big enough to be an independent unit of administration. The independence of Travancore is not a matter to be dismissed lightly. Unlike British India, with vast areas of waste lands, every inch in the State is useful.

"The arguments brought forward by the advocates of a United Kerala mainly centre around the food and language question.

"Regarding food, Travancore can certainly be independent if more land is brought under food crops and properly planned food production is organised.

"Until recently, Travancore was mainly interested in industrial crops and did not trouble about producing its own food. There was money to buy food at any price. It is of course not practical economics to attain self-sufficiency in everything.

"In fact, Travancore is now exporting all her rubber, tea, pepper, coconuts, cardamoms, cashewnuts, lemon grass

oil, arecanuts, ginger and turmeric, worth many crores of rupees.

"Large quantities of vegetables, eggs, and tapioca are also being exported. The State is certainly deficient in rice but thanks to the war, people are now accustomed to a different, and more balanced diet. Rice imports in future will necessarily be less, other cereals being imported.

"The increasing revenues of Travancore are another argument to illustrate that she can be independent. When income taxes and excise are properly and legitimately tapped, Travancore's revenues will exceed Rs. 15 crores. Even the present revenues are more than those of certain Provinces in British India. Recently the tea export duty was raised to four annas a pound on tea shipped outside India.

"If all the tea grown in Travancore is channelled through her ports there will be an additional income of Rs. two crores.

"Many industries are centred in Travancore. They include shipping, fruit canning, and fish preservation. Having a monopoly of rubber, Travancore has a big rubber factory. The possibilities for the proper exploitation of vast mineral resources are also many.

"The Christians who form a third of the population will become a much smaller minority in a United Kerala. Christians will certainly prefer to be under the rule of a benevolent Maharaja who has had no inclination at any time to show partiality among his subjects.

"All these factors", Mr. Thomas concluded, "tend to show that Travancore should be in a favourable position as an independent kingdom".

(THE MAIL)

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR & TRAVANCORE'S INDEPENDENCE

SIR C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, has delivered many speeches and issued several statements. We are not concerned with them now. We are greatly concerned with what he said at the Press Conference held on the 11th of this month. That will go into history as an unforgettable document of priceless value.

A full account having been published in our yesterday's issue, we have only to let our readers to form their own judgment, free of personal prejudice or communal passion. But we must point out—if it needs pointing out at all—that the independence of a State means only independence of its people with reference to the people of other States. And if any individual belonging to a State, calling himself a native of that State and seeking to be

recognised as a patriot, should refuse to be independent, it is a position that cannot ordinarily be conceived.

Of course, under a monarchic system that independence is held and exercised by the monarch and in his name. But it is so exercised, as the Dewan pointed out, only on behalf of the people. And if at any time or in respect of any matter, it is not so exercised, there is the machinery of public opinion, both within and outside the State, both statutory and extra statutory that would and could be brought to bear with unfailing success.

Further, the size of a State has little to do with its claim for independence. Nor has its past political status. But independence, it should be remembered, is not isolation. Independence is only the ensurer of right *interdependence* with the rest of the world, which alone is real independence. This fact hardly any thinker could fail to recognise.

In the course of the Press Conference the Dewan, as Head of the Administration, asked officials to abandon their usual detachment, to take full part in what was a matter of life and death to the State, and to come out into the open and use their experience, equipment and knowledge to convince doubters that Travancore deserves and is entitled to get their unstinted support in its decision. Such of those officials who may not agree with the decision should, in fairness to the State and themselves, give up their official position and join those who are against this policy, which has been decided upon after due deliberation and consideration of the pros and cons and adequate appraisal of every aspect of the matter.

As for the question of Paramountcy on which Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar of

Madras has expressed pronounced views and which the Dewan took occasion to discuss at the Press Conference, we may point out to those who may not be aware that the expression "paramountcy" in reference to Travancore never appeared in public records until recent times. If it was allowed, it was a clear neglect of duty on the part of the Government at the time not to have protested against it and that beyond the treaties in force between the two Governments, Britain and Travancore, neither the Ruler nor his people could be bound by any provisions other than what the Treaty denotes. To call upon an indigenous State that has so long lived under treaty relationship as between allies to accept "paramountcy", and that under people who so long lived under Britain's direct rule, as suggested in the alternative by Sir Alladi, is preposterous.

Winding up his remarks, Sir Rama-swami Aiyar said that he was sorry he was not a Travancorean. But for that matter, it is not the place of birth that really counts. It is the honest sense of rightness and courageous loyalty to one's own conscience. The history of Travancore affords abundant evidence of services that non-Travancoreans have rendered to the State on various epochal occasions.

(THE INDIAN THINKER)

WHOSE RIGHTS ?

NOW that the solution of constitutional problems can no longer be deferred we witness an increase in the number of claimants to rights. Among them is the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference, which contends that in Indian States sovereign rights are vested in the people. Members of this

Committee argue that no Prince can declare his State independent without obtaining the consent of his people through a plebiscite. Without going into the legal rights and wrongs of the issue, one upon which, as to-day's news shows, there is a direct conflict of opinion among authorities on constitutional law, it may be conceded that few, if any, of the Princes of India are likely to adopt a policy which conflicts directly with the wishes of their people, or which must, if adopted, bring the ruler into open conflict with his subjects.

It is clear that the Maharaja of Travancore does not intend to take any such step. If he did, there would be no occasion for the Dewan of that State to make an impassioned appeal to its people "to stand solidly by His Highness in the stand the State has taken to assert its independence." If the Ruler intended to act arbitrarily, to ignore the proved inclination of his people, he would go his way indifferent to their views. Instead, we find the Dewan saying : "The time has now come when every one of His Highness's subjects—Hindu, Christian, or Muslim, official or non-official—should make up his mind whether he is for the ideal of an independent Travancore or against it." If His Highness were determined to ignore the declared wishes of his people, that statement would never have been made.

The Dewan's appeal for a clear and unambiguous decision by each citizen is, without doubt, his answer to those who, like the Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference, facilely assume that all the inhabitants of all the States would prefer membership of the Union of India to independence, with all that the latter condition implies. It is the Dewan's protest against those who allege

that the loyalty of States' people to their respective States is subordinate to their attachment to a Union of which the true character is not yet known. We hold no brief for the Ruling House of Travancore, it can stand on its own legs, and has an able Counsellor in its Dewan, but we are not unmindful of the many evidences of the intense patriotism of Travancoreans, of their love for their own particular section of this great country. They are proud of their connexion with the State, of its place in the history of the country, and if they agree that it is possible for the State to assert its independence while at the same time assisting to promote the stability and security of India as a whole, they will not hesitate in proclaiming their decision.

Our present concern is, however, with the right of the people of the States to be consulted before decisions vitally affecting their future are made. That right is being conceded by the Dewan of Travancore in his appeal. It will be admitted, we do not doubt, by most of the Princes, and we shall be surprised if the result does not astonish many who too easily assume that the Princes and their peoples are divorced, that their views, their loyalties, their hopes and aspirations differ. For our experience is that the States' peoples are proud of their origin, love their homeland, and defend it vigorously against ill-informed criticism from outside. What they believe best for the future of their State may not, in many cases, accord with the assumptions of those who, in British India, claim to interpret their views.

(THE MAIL)

TRAVANCORE HISTORY

ONE of the most notable events in the expansion of Travancore by Raja Martanda Varma was the battle of Colachel in 1741, to which Sir C. P. Ramaswami

Aiyar referred in his speech at Trivandrum on Thursday morning. Martanda Varma inflicted a crushing defeat at Colachel on the Dutch, who had displaced the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast, and followed it by overthrowing the chiefs in Quilon and other principalities who had allied themselves with the Dutch. The latter, in alliance with Cochin, were earlier engaged in a ruinous operation with the Zamorin of Calicut. Two years before the battle of Colachel, M. Van Inoff, Dutch Governor of Ceylon, after a visit to Cochin, wrote "that the King of Travancore having been successful in the wars which he had undertaken had rendered himself so much respected among the chief kings of the Malabar Coast that he was looked upon by every one with eyes of jealousy and apprehension."

Marthanda Varma recognised the usefulness of building up his forces on the European model and, when peace was concluded with the Dutch, employed two Dutch soldiers, taken prisoner at Colachel, to reorganise his army. They were Eustachius De'Lannoy and Donadi. De'Lannoy constructed forts and established arsenals, and the Dutch had the mortification to see an army trained by him invade the territory of their ally, the Raja of Cochin. Later, in 1766-67, Haider Ali of Mysore invaded Travancore, which had entered into an alliance with the English and his forces were routed, as were those of his son Tippu Sultan in 1789, ten years before his final defeat by the English at Seringapatam. And never again was Travancore assailed by any Power.

(THE MAIL)

PRESS CONFERENCE IN TRAVANCORE

THE Indian political outlook is not quite encouraging. There is no easy chance of a United India. Under such a

circumstance the position of the States seems to be quite anomalous. When the Viceroy and the political leaders find it very hard to effect an amicable settlement—a settlement which would be able to sink all differences and to cement all the forces that are aiming at disruption—we are sure the position adopted by Travancore is in the best interests of the Ruler and the ruled. A divided India is not going to be happy under military protection because our needs and wants are many and varied. The standard of life is at a very low ebb. Poverty is staring at the face of the labour population and the middle class. Wealth is accumulating in quarters which are practically bereft of human sympathy and unaware of the repurcussion of the communist and socialistic movements. When that is the real state of affairs Travancore is rightly interested in its safety. It does not depend upon others. This has been openly declared by the Dewan in the Press Conference.

Referring to Nehru's speech at Gwalior declaring all the States which do not join the Constituent Assembly as hostile the Dewan emphatically and in convincing terms said that there is no getting away from the fact that to-day it is not possible for any country to be independent in the old and narrow sense. It is not possible even for England, America or Russia for instance to be absolutely independent. This was illustrated by what is taking place in Palestine. He was really surprised that such a statement should have been made by a top-ranking Congress leader while organisations like the U. N. O. have not treated as hostile countries which till recently carried a war against them including Germany, Japan and Italy. The Allies are now in friendly terms with those who practically destroyed humanity and brought

about the present day disturbed condition of the whole world.

Britain is going through difficult conditions, and she is sure to leave India to her own responsibility. Evidently, India must get the support of some power or the other because her defence is very weak. In this respect we are not much worse off than any part of India. Every country is accelerating its exports and England is out to export more to and to buy less from India. It is quite natural that any future trade relations would be subject to mutual agreement and mutual understanding with as many countries as possible. We should therefore expect Government that in formulating a new policy it would not follow this or that Government but would enter into agreements which are of mutual benefit. Nobody would care to join a divided central Government which is sure to have separate financial responsibilities. The Dewan was quite optimistic and strongly felt that for the sake of the unity of India as a whole no sacrifice is too great and if there was to be one unified India, Travancore would readily undertake every sacrifice and come into it. As a token of the independent existence of Travancore the Dewan said that from next year Travancore proposed to print rupee notes and copper or brass coins to prevent the flight of silver from Travancore.

The Union Powers committee has made certain proposals detrimental to the interests of States which have advanced in every direction. They set apart certain sources of Central revenue. The Central Government would collect these taxes and probably refund a share due to the State in proportion to its population. We might surrender about two to three crores every year and get back a fraction of that sum in return. This proposal has been accepted

without any reference to the States which are likely to be affected. This is an insulting treatment accorded to the States. This arrangement would retard the general progress of the States.

The Dewan strongly opposed the Kerala Province movement. United Kerala would produce a revenue of about Rs. 15 crores of which about 9 crores would be from Travancore. As such her interests demand more money from a population point of view. It would assert a better proportion in the legislature but the minority Cochin and Malabar would be always in the background. As such a Kerala Union is not acceptable in the light of the views advanced by the Dewan in the conference. The Dewan made an impassioned plea that from the financial and practical points of view we must continue to possess the resources which a bounteous Nature and the careful foresight and vision of His Highness has placed in our hands. Travancore is better fitted to remain an independent unit than any other part of India. This is indeed an enviable position. She had a practical monopoly of several important products like cocoanut and copra, cocoanut products, tea, rubber and cardamom, ginger, pepper and kaolin.

The Dewan once again explained fully the importance of the new Travancore Reform Act and wanted the people to work it up and see if it is agreeable to them. He also wanted the Nair Service Society and the State Congress to come into the Franchise and Delimitation Committees and to co-operate with Government. This accommodative spirit of the Dewan should not be misunderstood but be taken into account in the light in which it is offered. Days are very difficult. Let us not block

the progress of the State. Changes are effected only gradually and not very abruptly.

(THE TRAVANCORE TIMES)

HANDS OFF TRAVANCORE

WE have no desire to interfere in the domestic politics of any State. The general rule which politicians in British India should observe is one of either neutrality or of passive sympathy with political parties in Indian States. If British Indian politicians wish to be good neighbours they should not poke their nose into the internal politics of States, attempt to subjugate parties to their will and utilise them for purposes, which in the final analysis cannot be termed as anything else but a desire to extend an Empire over neighbouring territories by the process of propaganda conquest. This general rule may be broken on occasions and has been broken on occasions by politicians. But the very fact of such interference being exceptional has led the authorities respecting criticisms that emerge from such individuals and to the State attempting to revise policies. But the lust for domination is so strong on the part of the Congress that it has made interference with the affairs of State and infiltration into their territories with a view to disrupting the general rule. This is not only reprehensible, this is also dangerous, alike to the welfare of parties in States and the promotion of a good neighbour policy between States and the Indian Union that is to emerge.

The Travancore State Congress has been supported by us on many occasions in the past. But its affiliation to the States

Peoples Conference and its subservience to interested agitators and self-seeking politicians abroad has led those of us who prize South Indian independence to seriously reconsider our attitude to that body. So long as it is an independent body, so long as it does not take orders from outside agencies, so long will it command the sympathy and respect of us in the South. But what is the position today? Martial-minded individuals like Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer and Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar not being content with having attempted to sell the South to the North in the Constituent Assembly by giving all powers to the Centre and reducing our powers to a shadow proclaim the right of rebellion on the part of the subjects. Every one knows that subjects will rebel when they think it worth the while. But why should Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, acting as the agents of their overlords in the North, give currency to this theory of disruption?

Congress's Infiltration Tactics

The issue today is not between Travancore and the rest of India. It is whether we should recognise the infiltration tactics which the Congress is so freely employing in South India or whether we should set our face against it. No South Indian who has a shred of self-respect in him will even consent to sacrifice the regional independence of the South. Those who have disagreed with us until recently have shown indications of coming round to our point of view. After all what is it that we lack? This great territory comprising three major States and one big Provincial area could, if its demands are recognised, work together in close amity and by example prove to the world at

large their resolve to live in freedom and to conduct their affairs in an efficient manner. In Madras due to the short-sightedness of a few, we succumbed to the temptation of yielding to the overlords of the North with the result that we have a government which is neither popular nor efficient but which is totally subservient to the dictates of others abroad.

The Congress does not realise the strength of the feeling in the South. It also does not understand the implications of the game that it is playing. Today the feeling is gaining ground and we defy any body to question it that the time has come when a cordon sanitaire should be drawn and the Congress should not be allowed to interfere in our affairs. What is the public opinion that Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer or Sir N. Krishnaswami Iyengar represents? They have become great because they were elevated by outside agencies to sit in a Constituent Assembly of Hindustan. But they cannot command the respect of the common man.

✓ The Dewan of Travancore in a Press Conference administered a serious warning to these busybodies who would be well advised to rethink their policies and not land their community into a pit. Hands off Travancore. If the citizens of that State fights for responsible Government it is their affair. While we believe in responsible Government we must point out that the way in which such Governments should be introduced and the modifications that would have to be made are entirely within the province of the Ruler and the people of the State.

Having explained our view point let us make clear an elementary fact which is apt to be glossed over in such controversies. There is a fundamental unity that links up the areas of the South to one another and a threat to the integrity of one area is likely to be construed as a threat to another area. The Congress is under the impression that it can alone play the game of interference in the politics of States. But let us remind it that States can also play the game. The neighbouring British Indian Province is not having a civilised form of Government. As we pointed out the Government of Madras is neither popular nor responsive. What is there to prevent States from retaliating and assisting agitations which will ensure the regional independence of the South? Does the Congress administration in the Province think itself so stable and powerful as to ignore the impact of interference from other areas? It would be the easiest job if the States were so minded to take upon themselves the task of commenting and passing strictures on the controlled slave administration of the Madras Province.

A contemporary of ours writes contemptuously of States modelling therein tactics on the pattern of British imperialism. If the States put up a fight for the regional independence of the South they are charged with being reactionary. But what of the tactics of the Congress? Are they not modelled on the methods of Hitlerian

infiltration, more repulsive and reprehensible than anything we know? Why cannot individuals examine themselves before they indulge in reckless, and wanton criticism of individuals and States. This menace of totalitarian domination will have to be met by us of the South if we are to survive.

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TUESDAY, 1ST JULY 1947 :

- 7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
- 7-05 P. M.—Talk in Malayalam on "Curiosities of numbers" by S. Parameswaran.
- 7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Somanatha Bhagavat and party.
- 8-00 P. M.—*Musical discourse* on "Tevara Mahimai" by R. Padmanabha Pillai.
- 8-30 P. M.—Announcements
- 9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JULY 1947 :

- 7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions
- 7-15 P. M.—*Thiruvathirakali songs*.
- 7-30 P. M.—*Music* by Neela Ramamoorti and party.
- 8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
- 9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

THURSDAY, 3RD JULY 1947 :

- 7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
- 7-05 P. M.—Talk in Malayalam on "Control of Rabies" by Rajyasevanirata Dr. C. O. Karunakaran.
- 7-20 P. M.—*Music* by S. S. Mani Aiyar and party.
- 8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—Nagaswaram.
- 8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
- 9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

FRIDAY, 4TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarumbhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—
Vidwan Mayavaram Rajam Aiyar and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

MONDAY, 7TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—N. C. Vasantakokilam.
7-20 P. M.—*Flute* by T. N. Swaminatha Pillai and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

TUESDAY, 8TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—Talk in Tamil on “கம்பரும் வால்மீகியும்” by
K. R. Ramabhadran.
7-20 P. M.—Play in Malayalam.
7-35 P. M.—*Music* by P. N. Kalyanikutty and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.
7-15 P. M.—*Clarionet* by C. Venugopal and party.
8-00 P. M.—Selections from Sri Teertha Narayana.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

THURSDAY, 10TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—Talks in Tamil on “Carnatic Music” Series :
3rd talk—“The Tala System “தாளபத்தித்”.
7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Srivaikuntam Rama Aiyengar and party.
8-20 P. M.—Play in Tamil.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

FRIDAY, 11TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—
 Vidwan Chittoor Subramania Pillai (Vocal).
 B. K. Viswanatha Sarma (Violin).
 Martandapuram Mani Aiyar (Mridangam).
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

MONDAY, 14TH JULY 1947.

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Violin solo* by B. K. Viswanatha Sarma and party.
8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—“*KALYANI*”—
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

TUESDAY, 15TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—Talk in English on “*Fuels in Travancore*” by
 Rajyasevapravina Dr. K. L. Moudgill.
7-20 P. M.—*Music* by Parur Ponnamma and party.
8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—*Hindi Bhajan*.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.
7-15 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—
7-30 P. M.—*Flute* by Aliyoor Kunjumani and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

THURSDAY, 17TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Violin solo* by R. K. Venkatarama Sastri and party.
8-05 P. M.—*Flute* by Baby Neela and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam

FRIDAY, 18TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—
 Vidwan S. V. Parthasarathy (Vocal).
 R. K. Venkatarama Sastri (Violin).
 Tanjore Ramadas Rao (Mridangam).
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—Vancheesamangalam.

MONDAY, 21ST JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Veena* by Vidwan Gomatisankara Aiyar
8-20 P. M.—*Recorded Music* :—
 M. S. Subbalakshmi,
 D. K. Pattammal.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

TUESDAY, 22ND JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—Play in Malayalam.
7-20 P. M.—*Vilpattu*.
7-30 P. M.—*Music* by N. R. Srinivasa Aiyengar and party.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

WEDNESDAY, 23RD JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—Learn to Sing—Maharaja Swati Tirunal's Compositions.
7-15 P. M.—*Veena* by K. P. Sivanandam.
8-30 P. M.—Announcements.
9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

THURSDAY, 24TH JULY 1947 :

7-00 P. M.—*Prarambhaganam*—Sri Swati Tirunal's Composition.
7-05 P. M.—*Music Concert* :—
 Ganakaladhaba Madura Mani Aiyar (Vocal).
 Asthana Vidwan Kumbakonam Rajamanickam Pillai (Violin).
 Ramnad C. S. Murugabhoopati (Mridangam).
 Palghat T. S. Vilvadri Aiyar (Ghatam).

8-30 P. M.—Announcements.

9-00 P. M.—*Vancheesamangalam*.

FRIDAY, 25TH JULY to THURSDAY, 31ST JULY 1947 :

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वारिवाहश्याम !

(राम)

अनुपल्लवि

भूमिभ कदनहर ! हे
बांधाकर ! राघव !

(राम)

चरणम्

सूर्यतनयपवनात्मज-
शोभितपार्ष जगन्नुत-
वीर्यनिलय ! पद्मनाभ
वेदवेद सततम्

(राम)

१०८० तेवगान्धारि — ताळ८० रूपकम्

पल्लवि

राम राम ! पाहि
वारिवाह श्याम !
अरमपल्लवि
क्रीष्णकृष्णहर ! हे
वेवायाकर ! राघव !

(रामराम)

परमां

३४४४ तेवगान्धारि — ताळ८० रूपकम्
शोभितपार्ष ! जगन्नात-
वीर्यनिलय ! पत्तमान्त !

(रामराम)

राकम् तेवगान्धारि — ताळ८० रूपकम्

पल्लवि

राम राम ! पाहि
वारिवाहम्याम !
अनुपल्लवि

(रामराम)

३४४४ तेवगान्धारि — ताळ८० रूपकम्
शोभितपार्ष ! जगन्नात-
वीर्यनिलय ! पत्तमान्त !

(रामराम)

सरणम्

३४४४ तेवगान्धारि — ताळ८० रूपकम्
शोभितपार्ष ! जगन्नात-
वीर्यनिलय ! पत्तमान्त !
वेत्त८० वेत्त८० सततम्

(रामराम)

ராகம்: தேவகாந்தாரி—தங்கம்: ரூபகம்

29-வது மேனம்

ஆ. ஸ்ரீமத்தானின்
அவ. ஸ்விதாபமகரின்

பல்லவி

1. ; பா தா பா ; மா	ம கி ம பா , ; ;
ரா ம ரா ம	பா - - ஹி -
2. , ம பா தா , நி த பா , ; மா	ம கி க மகரி ; ரி ப
- ரா ம - ரா - ம	பா - ஹி - - ஹி -
3. , ம பா தா , நி த பா , , த ப	ம கரி ; க மா கி
- ரா ம - ரா - ம -	பா - - ஹி - -
, ஸ ஸா ரி , க ஸ ரி ஸ ஸா	ஸ நி தா நி ஸ ரி ம பதா
- வா ரி - வா - - ஹி	ஸ யா - ம - - ஹி - -
4. ஹி ஸா நி த பா , ; மா	ம கி ; ப ம பா ;
- ரா ம ரா - ம	பா - - ஹி - -

அனுபல்லவி

1. தா ; பா ப ப ம கி	த த ப ம தா த ஸ ஸா , நி
ஹி ப - ர - -	க - த - ன ஹ - ர -
2. த நி த பா ம ப த ப மகி	த த ப ம தா தா நி ஸ ரி
ஹி - - மிப - - - ர - -	க - த - ன ஹ ர - -
3. ; ஸ ஸா நி த ப ம ப த ப மகி	ப ம தா தா நி ஸ ஸா ரி
- ஹி - மிப - - - ர - -	க - த - ன ஹ - ர - ஹே
; த ஸி ஸா ; தா தா	நி ஸ ஸி ஸா ரி க மா க
போ - தா க ர	ரா - - - க வ - -
ஹி ஸா நி த பா , ; மா	ம கி ; ப ம பா ;
- ரா ம ரா - ம	பா - - ஹி - -

சரணம்

1. ; பா பா பா பா பத	ப ம மா கரி க மகரி ஹி ரி
ஹி ர்ய த ன ய -	ப - - வ - ன - - - தம ஜ

2. மா பா தா பா பா ம பத்ப
- ஸு ர்ய த ன ய - - - | ம க ஸ் க மக ரி ரி ரி ஸ
ஸ ரிகா ஸா ரி ரி ஸ ஸா ; | ப - வ ன - - - த்ம ஜ -
ஸோ - - ரி த பா - ர் | சி த ஸி ஸரி ஸா ரி க ம
ஸ வ ஜ - க ன னு த -

க ற

வீர்ய நிலய | பத்மநாப ||
வேதவேதய | ஸததம் || ராம ராம ||

(ஷஷ்ட ஸாஹி த்யம் அனுபல்லவியைப் போன்றது)



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