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SWATANTRA

VOL. I

NO. 12-15

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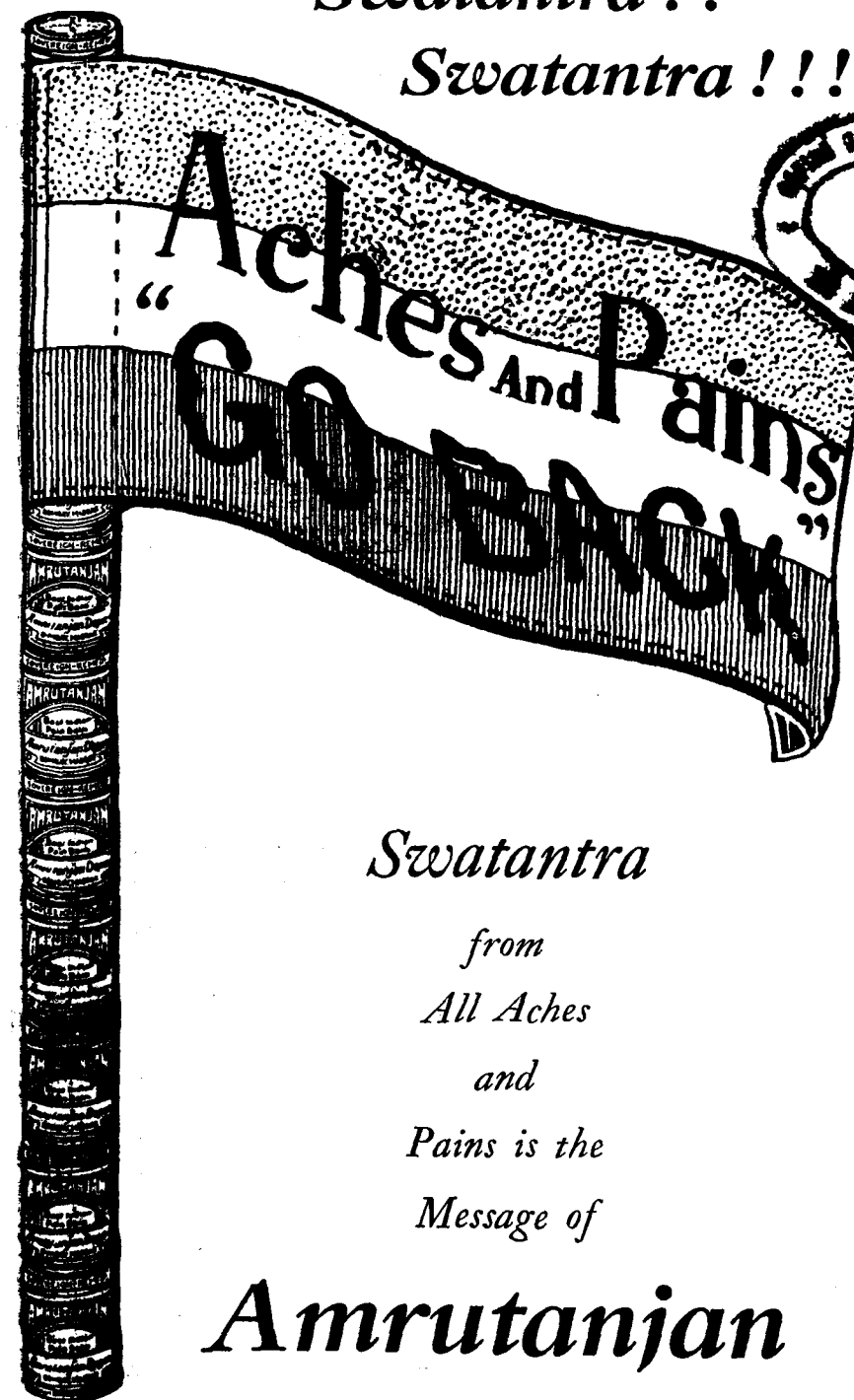
VEPERY, P. O.

MADRAS.

Swatantra!

Swatantra !!

Swatantra !!!



Swatantra

from

All Aches

and

Pains is the

Message of

Amrutanjan

Verified
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SWATANTRA

(SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1946.)

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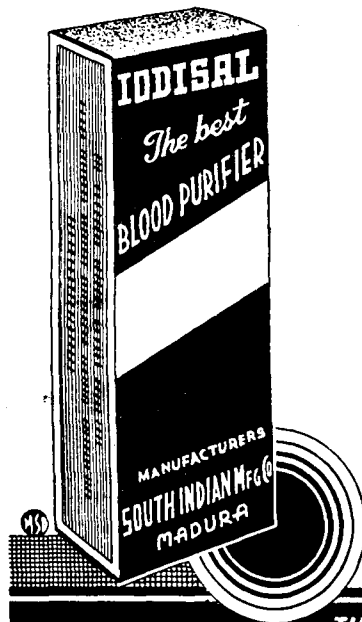
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There are numerous requests from agents and others interested in our journal for more copies. We have also been receiving several letters from persons asking to be enrolled as subscribers.

Under the present conditions of controlled production, we are not able to supply the agents as many copies as they desire, the full quota of paper allowed having been reached. Agents and subscribers are requested to make do with the copies now sent to them. Readers are requested to make up for deficiency of supply with voluntary circulation arrangements among themselves. We regret the inconvenience caused, but it is due to circumstances beyond our control.

In the meantime we will be registering all the applications whether for agencies or for enrolment as subscribers, and they will be dealt with in the order of priority as soon as we get an increased quota of printing paper and are able to meet the demand.

Contributors who wish unaccepted articles to be returned should send a stamped self-addressed envelope. No correspondence can be entered into over non-acceptance of contributions offered for publication.

On account of the demand exceeding the supply, it is found that requests for specimen copies cannot be always complied with.

SWATANTRA

VOL. I
No. 12

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1946.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

FOOLED AGAIN

THE mountain in labour has produced something less than the proverbial mouse. The Combined Food Board at Washington announced last week that "at least 292,500 tons of wheat would be allocated for India for April." There is little use pinning our hopes to that fugitive "at least." For the British member of the Board has declared that the figure 1,400,000 tons of wheat which, our Indian Food Delegation has been giving out, had been promised to India, represented nothing so definite as a promise. "It represented merely the agreed 'target objective', but did not constitute the allocation, on which the Board had so far failed to agree." And Mr. Maurice Hutton has in fact suggested that, if the statements to the contrary made by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and other members of the Delegation have caused misunderstanding the Food Board is not responsible for it; and Mr. Clinton Anderson, the U. S. Secretary for Agriculture, is equally emphatic that the Board had reached no final agreement on the allocation to India during the Indian Mission's visit to America. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's nice distinction between 'allocation' and 'allotment' is meaningless, in the face of this emphatic assertion of the Food Board that no definite allocation to India had been made. On the other hand, Sir S. V. Ramamurti in a statement issued the other day circumstantially explained that "the figures of 1.4 million tons of wheat and 145,000 tons of rice as *allotments* to India for the

first half of 1946 were supplied by members of the British Food Mission at Washington to Sir Robert Hutchings, Food Secretary of the Government of India, and member of the Food Delegation, and communicated by him to the rest of the Delegation."

It is now categorically stated that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar had from the very beginning been made to understand that the so-called fixing of a target "could not conceivably constitute a promise of any definite quantity of supplies—a point which Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar apparently failed to make clear in his statement on his return to India." Confronted with this Sir Ramaswami refers airily to his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly and suggests people had not read him carefully. But that speech does not alter the fact that he has gone about saying that India had been allocated a certain amount of grain, whereas it is now disclosed that there was no definite allocation. We cannot help feeling that Sir Ramaswami in his anxiety not to disappoint popular expectations soft-pedalled the stark reality. If that was the case, he undertook an onerous responsibility light-heartedly; it was no service to the people to lull them and the Government into the belief that outside succour was coming when it was not.

And yet here is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar announcing that, undaunted, he will go again to batter the citadel of the Food Board. What earthly use will it be? The odds are



Veteran Punter: There goes the hot favourite.
Inquisitive Novice: Which one?

—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury



Edward Thompson

Edward Thompson was one of the few Englishmen who, inspite of all the difficulties in the way, felt and acted naturally towards India. There was no condescension in his friendliness, no conceit marred the criticism which he did not hesitate to offer when he felt there was need for it. He never forgot that, whatever might have been the historical justification for the continuance of British rule for generations, it had long ceased to enjoy the passive consent of the people which was its greatest strength and that it was the biggest obstacle to the rapid and orderly development of the country. Starting life as an educational missionary he was fortunate in his first experience of India; he lived and laboured for many years in Bengal, learnt the language so well that for many years he remained the best interpreter of Tagore to the outside world and acquired a knowledge of the political and social background which was wide as well as deep. He realised the havoc that individual arrogance and colour prejudice of some of his countrymen was playing on the relations between the British and the Indian peoples. And as he was a gifted writer with a natural talent for story-telling he managed to put into the two or three novels he wrote the essence of the tragedy of frustrations and cross-purposes which the Indo-British connection has come to connote. There have

been other and even more distinguished writers who applied their creative talents to the Indian scene—Kipling, Edmund Candler and E. M. Forster among them. But what invests Thompson's novels with a special quality is the catholicity of his sympathy. Unlike most Englishmen he had no need to fight against an instinctive antipathy to the Hindu. In his more objective work as historian in the best sense of the term he never forgot the constructive role that a right interpretation of the past may play in resolving present tangles.

The Congress Presidentship

All speculation as to who is to be the next President of the Congress has been set at rest by Maulana Azad's public recommendation of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter's intimation in his characteristically modest manner that he will be prepared to shoulder the responsibility if that is the nation's will. The attitude of Gandhiji, the only incalculable element in Congress politics, has long been known. He looks upon Mr. Nehru as his successor and has for years carefully groomed him for that position. And Mr. Nehru has consequently displayed a high sense of the obligations of that position. Though often his personal inclinations and instincts were strongly opposed to the official policy and he did not hesitate to say so, he has demonstrated in practice that sagacity in leadership often lies as much in following wisely as in initiating boldly. A capacity for patience, when it is wedded to consciousness of strength in reserve, often achieves more than the hasty kicking over the traces of the high-spirited who are apt to overestimate their staying power.

Gandhiji used to say that, however unexpected or even violent might be Jawaharlal's reactions to the events of the hour, he could rely upon his loyalty to himself asserting itself when the time for action came. There is nothing in Mr. Nehru's recent history to show that that is the less true to-day. Consistent personal loyalty may be a dubious virtue when the plight of



the times would seem to require revolutionary leadership. A man who has qualified as a good second over long years of apprenticeship does not always make a first-class chief. But Mr. Nehru has that incomparable asset, a mind that has not ceased to grow with the years. It was always wide-ranging, well-stocked and urged by a noble rage against meanness, cruelty and oppression of every kind. Age has mellowed it and given it that equability which comes from a realised philosophy of life. Mr. Nehru is not less alive to our deficiencies as a nation than he was twenty years ago or less keen on leading us over the hard and narrow way; but he knows his people better and has

now a greater insight into and respect for the perennial springs of inspiration that have sustained them. A certain partiality for generalities and a habit of choosing a wide canvas for self-expression which have been noticed in him might prove a handicap in tasks which call for purposive concentration and the ability to worry out the intricacies of an intractable problem. But with Mr. Nehru there is every reason to think that he will rise equal to the demands of the occasion, however various they may be. His work as Chairman of the National Planning Committee, though it has so far remained a magnificent torso, affords ample justification for that confidence.

Sotto Voce

Forbidden Fruit



To a casual company consuming dubious coffee I was relating an incident that had happened long ago. A little boy had an acute attack of jaundice. Charms, incantations, the rural apothecary fetched at a great cost, had all failed. The disconsolate mother sent for the village barber woman as a last resort. She came, an old shrivelled crone, applied to the forearm of the ailing boy a thick daub of some herb ground to a paste with water, and sat down to wait. Within three hours all the superfluous bile had collected into a big pendulous blob which the old woman pricked with a thorn. The next morning the boy was running about as if nothing had been the matter with him.

At this point the wisacre of the party thought fit to interject: "And I suppose that old woman refused to reveal the name of that magical herb to others and took her secret with her to the grave? It is just that kind of stupid selfishness that has

been our bane. How can we progress in the face of this anti-social tendency to hoard knowledge?"

My barber woman would have just smiled at the foolishness of the question. She was anxious neither to make money nor to make a name. She had been told to keep her knowledge as secret and she kept faith. If she had understood this portentous talk about responsibility for the conservation and growth of knowledge she would have probably said that the good God would look after all that. And the atom bomb seems to bear out her simple wisdom. Almost every one of the scientists who has had something to do with it would prefer to forget it. Some are demanding that the bombs that have so far been made shall be dismantled, the blue-prints burnt and all research on the subject tabooed. Unfortunately it is not so easy to blot the memory or purge the

heart of every one of the scientists and administrators who were in the secret.

Post-Renaissance man pursuing secular knowledge for its own sake has brought the world to this pass. We may blow up our little earth one of these days if we are not careful. Self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control are not just words with which idle men contemplating their navel like to mystify the man in the street. They are as much of a dynamic reality as is the atom bomb and the assiduous cultivation of these virtues by the scientists and other leaders of thought is our one small chance of escaping race suicide.

But looking at our scientists by and large one does not feel very hopeful. Satan at least knew what he wanted when he said, "Evil, be Thou my Good!" But those who worship at the shrine of Freud fondly believe that his teaching represents, not a clean breach with that authentic Tradition which is the support of all valid knowledge, but the crown and consummation of man's age-long endeavour to know himself. An amusing instance of this cocksureness is furnished by an article in one of the monthlies in which Hinduism is X-rayed.

The writer has fished up from the dusty files of a quarter of a century ago a couple of papers written by an alienist. Owen Berkeley-Hill thought he had established that "the group of characters attributed by Freud, Ferrenzi and Jones to highly developed anal-erotism, are typically displayed by Hindus, especially Brahmins." And Mr. Spratt at this distance of time certifies that "the array of evidence is sound", though—so far as I

know—he is no professional psychoanalyst.

These superior persons when they talk of Hindu "asceticism" assume it is a product and an instrument of repression. But renunciation for the Hindu means neither an avoidance of responsibility nor a limiting of sympathies. It effects, on the contrary, the destruction of the prison wall of the ego and makes the sage feel at one with all that there is. "No man has a right to more than will suffice to ward off hunger; he who takes more is a thief and should be punished", is Suka Brahman's uncompromising judgment based on love. "Let every one look upon the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, the crawling serpent and the stinging mosquito as if they were his own children. For what is the difference between those and these?"

If *The Bhagavata* is suspected of irony in those last words, listen to the testament of faith of Kalidasa, the most civilised mind that India has known. He was no anchorite. The famous Bharatavakya of the *Sakuntala* says, "May the King labour for the prosperity of his people; may Saraswathi prosper the poet bred on Revelation and winged with power; and may the All-merciful who swallowed the poison that might have consumed the universe save me by His strength from the misery of conditioned existence." Here is no shrinking from life. Action, Creation and Realisation are all recognised as equally man's right and equally necessary for self-perfection though the last, leading to the bliss of unconditioned Reality, transcends and subsumes the rest.

VIGNESWARA.

It is regretted that owing to SAKA'S illness, the usual feature **SIDELIGHTS** is not appearing in this week's **SWATANTRA**.

SOVIET AUTOMOBILES

By I. Andronov

In accordance with the recently adopted Five Year Plan automobile production will be brought up to 500,000 machines in 1950. This means an increase of 250% in comparison with the pre-war year of 1940. In gross tonnage the increase will be four-fold since the present machines have higher carrying capacity.

The new passenger and freight models marked for production are eight in number.

Bantam car, the "Moskvich", a four-seater equipped with twenty-three horsepower motor, will be produced by the Moscow light car plant. The machine weighs eight hundred kilograms and its fuel consumption is eight litres per hundred kilometres.

The Molotov Gorky plant is preparing for mass issue of M-20 "Pobeda" car, a five passenger machine fitted with a fifty horsepower motor.

The third type is a comfortable seven-seater—Zis-110 put into production last year at the Moscow Stalin Plant.

The new designs will have hydraulic brakes, strengthened double action shock absorbers and other improvements.

The chief item of production will be lorries. Of the 500,000 machines to be turned out in 1950, 428,000 will be lorries.

New types of freight cars will be two and a half ton Gaz-51 and two-ton supertread Gaz-63 with a four-wheel drive; three and a half ton Zis-150 fitted with carburettor engine; Diesel-powered, Zis-253, with a carrying capacity of three and a half tons and heavy five to seven ton Yaz-200, a lorry.

A characteristic feature of the new models is their increased carrying capacity and economic fuel consumption. A part of the machines will run on diesel fuel in the place of gasoline. These lorries have better assemblies; they are more reli-

able, not so tiring for drivers and look nicer.

In addition to manufacture of basic types, the autoworks will manufacture omnibuses, taxis, ambulance cars, dumping cars and gas-generating lorries. A majority of the machines will be built to conform with the basic types now in production.

Mass production of eight new models on such a big scale has never been undertaken in the Soviet Union before. The Ministry of Automobile Industry will deal with the organization and manufacture of machines. New works are under construction in the Ukraine, Belo-Russia, Georgia, Western Siberia and Volga. The existing plants in Moscow, Gorky, Urals and Yaroslavl are being extended.

Production will be mechanized to the utmost. The streamline system has been developed to the extent of combining all technological processes. Thus, in 1940, for example, six hundred manhours were spent on every ton of the carrying power at the Gorky plant and now only forty. Radical improvements have been made in the technology of casting and forging processes and in heat treatment and machining. Experimental laboratories organized at all automobile plants will work on improving the technology of production of ten to fifteen thousand parts and seventy to ninety thousand operations employed in the manufacture of automobile.

Extensive development of automobile production naturally entails considerable increase in the output of industries associated with automobile construction — highgrade steel, oil, chemical and rubber produce; machine-tools and machinery, as well as automobile glass, ball bearings and electric equipment. Eleven and half a thousand motor-roads will be built. In comparison with the pre-war days the automobile park will double during the five year period of 1946-1950.—*Tass*.

LORD KEYNES

By N. R. Bhuvarahan

In David Low's famous caricature which hangs in my study one can notice Lord Keynes of Tilton reclining on a huge sofa, with his long slender legs crossed, besides a sheaf of newspapers, pamphlets and books. The caricature conveys the impression of an alert academician deeply brooding over ideas. It was Lord Keynes more than any other economist of our epoch who expanded and enriched the Cambridge tradition in the science of Economics after F. Y. Edgeworth and Alfred Marshall. Before 1919, Keynes was a Don and a Treasury official. With the publication of the 'Economic Consequences of the Peace' he became a best-seller and one of the most highly paid journalists of the world.



Lord Keynes

Trained as a mathematician and a philosopher, Keynes discovered that in that field he could never be in the first rank; in economics, the least explored and most abstract territory, he found himself completely at home. And unlike most economists he combined supreme analytical ability with a superb gift of lucid exposition, a capacity for brilliant characterisation and a passion for applying intelligence to human affairs. He could not help becoming a prophet and a peerless pamphleteer as well as an economist. It required great courage to offer oneself as chief economic adviser to the world and not all his prophecies had been so precisely correct as those in the "Economic Consequences of the Peace." But the charges of caprice and inconsistency so often levelled against him really signified very little except that his mind dealt swiftly and somewhat cavalierly with practical difficulties, offering one possible solution after another in a way that was terrifying and bewildering to the cautious and the solidly rooted. Thus in the economic crisis of 1931 it was said that wherever five economists were gathered together

there were six opinions, two of them Keynes's. Why not? Either of the alternative policies he offered to meet the urgent facts would have saved the Government from the catastrophe that awaited those who were incapable of making up their minds. Keynes's intellect was so elastic that he could digest any fact and derive immense delight in the process. He belonged neither to political, university, nor business life, but to all three, and looked after ballet and pictures when he had leisure. He was a vigorous and trenchant writer and expressed his views in clear muscular prose. His numerous letters to *The Times* were not only an intellectual treat but formulated economic policies for enriching the content of social welfare.

Like Cantillon, Keynes was often called the Economists' Economist and when one met him in opposition one understood where he got his reputation for arrogance. He had an unavoidable consciousness that he was intellectually superior to the great rank of mortals. He did not suffer fools. He cared deeply about culture and personal freedom but not at all about equality; he hated waste more than he hated suffering; and he was quite

capable of being ruthless when he wanted his own way.

This persuasive promoter of ideas, this prince of unorthodoxy, this *enfant terrible* of political economy, stirred up more bitter controversy than any other man of ideas. He who had referred to his writings as "the croakings of a Cassandra who could never influence the course of events in time" because the world had not caught up with him, found himself assailed by the croakings of new Cassandras who declared that Keynes had not caught up with events. But Keynes' ideas definitely shaped

economic policies in England and those who guided the New Deal on its way were self-confessed disciples of the Keynesian policies of economic expansion. Few men of theory ever succeeded in acquiring the experience, mental discipline and the energy of the man of action as Lord Keynes. More, even those who had combined both, rarely possessed that artistic genius which made him one of the outstanding prose writers of this generation, one of the most persuasive of orators and far and away the most effective propagandist of unorthodox economic thought.

TIT-BITS:

[These tit-bits are collected from books and magazines. No claim is made to originality. Readers are also invited to contribute.]

Sir Henry Irving was at one time a witness in a street robbery. The thief's lawyer roared at the distinguished actor: "At what hour did this theft happen?"

"I—I think—", began Sir Henry. The lawyer interrupted: "It isn't what you *think* that we want to know."

"Don't you want to know what I think? the actor asked mildly.

"I do not", the lawyer snapped.

"Well, then," Sir Henry replied, "I might as well leave the witness box. I cannot talk without thinking. I'm not a lawyer."

Each day the British House of Commons opens with prayer to which only the members are admitted—a custom of long standing. On one occasion William E. Gladstone took his grand-daughter over to the House and the little girl asked: "Why do they have prayers, grandpa?"

Gladstone replied: "The Speaker looks at the members and prays for the country."

When David Hume, the agnostic, was twitted with his inconsistency in going to hear the orthodox Scotch Minister John Brown, he replied: "I don't believe all that he

says, but he does, and once a week I like to hear a man who believes what he says."

When Sarah Bernhardt played in Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, she received from the aged poet a fine chain bracelet, with a drop attached. With the gift went a note:

"Madame,

You have been great and charming. You have roused me—the old combatant—and, at one moment, while the public whom you enchanted cheered you, I wept. This tear which you caused me to shed is yours, and I place myself at your feet.—Victor Hugo."

Reading his newspaper one morning, a man came across an article in which he was severely criticised. He was furious and immediately consulted his lawyer on how to take vengeance. Should he challenge the author of the article to a duel? Sue him? But the lawyer was a philosopher.

"You will do none of these things," he said calmly. "Half the people who read the paper didn't see the article. Half of those who did see it, didn't read it. Half who read it didn't understand it. Half who understood it didn't believe it. Half who believed it were of no importance anyway."

MUSINGS ON BEAUTY

By Kumara Guru

The idea of Beauty and the Beast has taken on various forms in the several nations of the world. As the Hindu conceived it, the beautiful woman, but chaste in mind to her husband, is endowed by nature with such enormous powers, that even if she roams in the wild forest, neither tigers nor lions nor elephants will hurt her, and she would be unmolested. This is emphasised in the story of Nala and Damayanti originally told in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata and known to every child in Hindu homes. King Nala, under a curse, was sharing a common cloth between them, and tore himself away from her with half her saree, while she was asleep in the forest. She, in bemoaning her separation from her beloved, asked a tiger for Nala's whereabouts, strengthening her mind that she would rather allow herself to be devoured up by the wild animal than suffer grief, when the animal simply turns quietly away from her, to drink water in the lake nearby. The serpent alone among animals, which bound her in the lonely travel and was about to crush her to death, is perhaps an exception among them, which could not be lulled into *quietness* by beauty. It is also said that a beautiful and chaste woman can, by her power of chastity and will, if about to be molested by a man with evil intention, make him stone-dead. The story runs that when a herd of wild animals in rut destroyed a whole sleeping camp of merchants when they smelt the tame riding elephants, Damayanti was left unhurt though she was alone on foot.

Tennyson affirms this belief of the Greeks in the words of 'OENONE':

Methinks I must be fair, for yesterday,

When I past by, a wild and wanton pard,

Eyed like the evening star, with playful tail

Crouch'd fawning in the weed.

But there are other types of beautiful women depicted in mythological stories of other nations. She is either a tempter or a sorceress, as the case may be. In the Biblical story, Eve, the woman, is depicted as the tempter of Adam, the man, to eat of the fruit of knowledge, leading to his fall from heaven. In the ascetic religions of Buddhism and Christianity, the female is thought of as bringing about by her temptation, a degradation of man in regard to spiritual ascent to godhead, as we find even in the Hindu story of Menaka and Visvamitra, where Visvamitra is thus thwarted by the gods from the fruits of his penance or tapas. The sorceress is also generally believed to be a beautiful woman, who after sensual enjoyment of man, converts him to an animal by her magical wand, so tempting one man after another for similar purpose. 'Circe' in Grecian mythology is a sorceress, who sings and lures men from their work, as in the case of Ulysses and his sailors; many of them as they are drawn to her by her sweet song and beauty, find that when they have had food from her hands, are turned into swine by her magical art. The picture, however, of 'Circe' by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, typifying "Beauty and the Beast" represents her as a beautiful woman surrounded by black leopards with ferocious eyes, moving around her.

Shakespeare in the drama of Pericles, Prince of Tyre, has symbolically dealt with the subject of Beauty and the Beast. He has it that the beautiful woman can by her beauty alone, change the character and outlook of a voluptuous man. Though the entire episode of Lysimachus, the Governor of Mitylene, does not find a place in Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare as the book is intended for adolescents the reader of the play is led

into an insight of the transformation of Lysimachus's character by the beauty and mother-wit of Marina, when she was carried away by roving thieves into a brothel, which he generally visited. As the character Boulton put it, she sent Lysimachus away 'as cold as a snow ball, saying his prayers too'. Thus was Marina afterwards put into an honest house to teach the arts of singing, sewing and dancing. Later, Pericles the father of Marina, even allows Lysimachus to woo her and win her in marriage. For Pericles learns that Lysimachus had been noble towards her.

Homer's Helen of Troy is acclaimed as the highest ideal of beauty and of womanhood by the Western mind. The English poet Marlowe too, makes Dr. Faustus proclaim of Helen: "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium? Make me immortal with a kiss". This was the Helen who succumbed to the courting of Paris, when Menelaus, King of Sparta was absent from home, and whom the Fates had decreed unto Paris, as a guerdon to his decision of the fairest amongst the Goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus. But Shakespeare affirms that the lover—presumably an Ethiopian—sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt. How then shall we define 'Beauty'? Let us leave it to the philosophers. To the Hindu however, 'Sita' of the Ramayana is the ideal type of beauty and grace of womanhood, who resists Ravana's advances though carried away forcibly to his home far beyond the seas. This difference is great indeed in the matter of the approach of the East and the West towards womanhood.

To sum up, if woman should dub man a beast, man can also declaim woman a sorceress. Their mutual attraction cannot be dismissed off lightly by one sex reviling the other. It is the adoration of the Hindu mother by the son, which is perhaps responsible for the general feeling of the Hindu, who

regards his wife more as the mother of his children than as a mate and friend, though the latter emotion would arise in the fullness of their long associated life, as marriage is at present constituted in the majority of Hindu society.

It may be that the age-long usage of such words "Mayest thou have a long life, happiness, children and grand-children" in conveying the blessings to youngsters by elders, is responsible for the idealism of the youth of this land, if educated and imbued with Sanskrit culture, who on the night of consummation with the wedded wife, as a prelude and in private, would whisper softly in her ears in vernacular. "Wilt thou present me with a son?" thus absolving their mental content of all animality and obscenity in their physical relationship.

To contrast the above with the modern attitude in the West, which may have unfortunately affected our English educated young men also, I need only quote from the Chapter on Married Life of the book "Character and Conduct of Life" written by the British Psychologist, William McDougall (1927)—"The modern custom of marrying with the explicit understanding that there should be no children for the first few years, is extremely dangerous. . . The observance of it in any way whatever inevitably detracts from the perfection of the embrace and risks all the train of sad consequences that flow from such imperfection".

Ah! the glory of that civilisation, which from Vedic times, teaches man and woman a religion of healthy-mindedness (not of 'a sick soul' like Tolstoy's or Gandhi's in William James' phraseology) in their understanding of sex. The Gita also affirms of a *Dharma-aviruddha-kama* (vide Chapter 7, verse 11) or the righteous passion of man for woman and *vice versa* and of the need of a moderation in the enjoyment thereof in a consecrated wedded life, as suggested in Chapter 6, verses 16 and 17, for food and sleep of man.

Short Story

MILL MAGNATE AND HIS SON

By C. R. Ramaswami

Shanmukha Mudaliar, owner of the Kali Mills in the flourishing town of C... arrived at the office of his mill at 11 a.m. in his Rolls Royce. He entered his private room in the office and called his manager to him.

"What is this I hear? Are the mill hands going to strike? Have they given notice?"

The manager said, "They were fined. They submitted that the fall in efficiency was due to dryness and high temperature, the mill's arrangement for it being old fashioned and insufficient".

Mudaliar called the engineer and asked him if it was the truth. The engineer admitted it was so. Mudaliar blamed the manager for not informing him of it beforehand. Rotten machinery was available and cheap. The fines were collected from the labourers in the department concerned. The labourers struck work. There were sympathetic strikes in other departments. Labourers were brought in from other industrial towns. There was picketing. The police were called in. There was shooting. This kind of thing happened too often till the products of the mill were looked upon by the public as a symbol of exploitation.

II

Shanmukha Mudaliar heard that his only son Govindaswami was tending to become a Communist. Mudaliar regretted having sent him to England. He must have picked up this infection there. He called his son to him to take his coffee with him. He told him: "How are the Communists superior to me? I eat simple fare. I work from morning till night like any of the labourers. Why, I do not even have the holidays they have. My working hours are more. There is no limit to their demands for increase in wages, shortening of hours and bonuses. They do not understand that they are cutting the trunk of the tree while sitting on it. They will not allow any branch of industry to flourish in India. Why do not you wait till I die? You can then work out your new fangled ideas and see for yourself how impracticable they are? But this is not what I am worried about. What is this I hear about your flirting with Natesa Mudali's daughter? The time-keeper told me. It

seems you are going to his house every Sunday and making her dance and sing. Do you wish to spoil her? You are making a very good exhibition of Communistic morality".

Govindaswami said: "Oh, did the time-keeper tell you? You have not heard the other side. Natesa Mudali told me of the indecent way he was behaving and of how he was trying to exploit his position as time-keeper for forcing the father of the girl to give her up to him".

Shanmukha Mudaliar said, "I have arranged for your marriage with Prakasa Mudaliar's daughter in the town of M. He is a rich man owning several mills. He has no other issue but his daughter Parvathi. I have another thing to tell you if you care to listen. My financial position is not as sound as my name and fame may indicate. Unless this marriage is celebrated, I shall be sued for debt. You are ready to give up wealth. You do not care about ruining my position and sending me to an early grave. You will soon be forgetting that girl you now pretend to love."

Govindaswami said: "Why do you care so much for me? What am I going to do for you in return? Please devote your attention to the welfare of the labourers who sweat for you. They deserve your kindness and attention more than me".

His father was deeply affected by his son's speech. But pretending to be severe he said, "I am sending away the labourer and his family. I shall see whether you have the same feeling towards her after the forced separation. See that you do not take undue advantage of the sacrifice I make for your whim."

Govindaswami did not reply. But when the labourer was sent away he too went away. Nobody knew where he went. His father thought at first that his son went away with the labourer's daughter. On enquiry he learnt that the labourer had got employed in a film company in the town of S. and that his daughter was given minor female parts to act for her singing and dancing. Her wonderful dancing and singing soon earned her brilliant fame and she was now in high demand for every costly picture and her inclusion in the actors'

list was considered a guarantee against financial failure by every picture-producer.

III

Abhedhanand was walking to the railway station to catch the train to Madras. He could forsake position and prestige but he could not resist the attraction of the races. So he went to Guindy to see the races. This would be the last one he would see, he said. He bet on an unknown horse. It won. He got one lakh of rupees. What was he to do with it? He purchased a printing press and started editing and publishing a paper. He preached Communism. He said a country with India's heritage of Vedantic culture could achieve it without violence and bloodshed. The Communist State will have to shame its traducers by showing toleration of race, differences in religion and colour and more efficiency and honesty in the economic and political management and in the education of its people. As to fear about Communistic ideas about marriage, what was there to admire in the sanctity of marriage relationship in Western countries? In the sudden change from one system to another some of the good things in the old may be lost. But they will reinstate themselves by their own vitality.

The reader may guess that Abhedhanand was no other than Govindaswami, the millowner's son.

IV

Shanmukha Mudaliar had to face financial ruin, the ruin of his reputation, and worst of all, gradually failing health, with nobody to sympathise. He was discharged from the hospital into which his doctor had advised him to get admitted when he had a heart attack. He remembered with wonder the special nurse that was attending on him. It was wonderful how people turned up from nowhere, who expected nothing in return, yet showed kindness such as one could not expect even from one's own mother. And the one in whom he had such great hopes had left him without a word of explanation. He examined his post. There was a letter from the Marvadi money-lender threatening to give notice. Another was from the lady actress, who, he had heard, was running a mill in the town, offering to purchase his mill—not minding obligations—for a lakh of rupees. Another instance of unexpected kindness. There was also a Communist magazine sent free,

offering suggestions which the actress-millowner was rumoured to be closely following, such as sharing the profits of the company among the labourers, taking only a small salary herself running co-operative stores of grains, milk, and cloth, and providing for things like hospital, insurance, recreation. He wrote back asking when he could settle the sale of the mill. The lady sent word that she would be coming herself with her adviser.

V

It was 7 p.m. The lady came in an unostentatious small car. With her was her adviser, a young man with a face that must have avoided the blade for a month at least. The lady saluted him in Indian style. They all went into the hall. While taking tea the actress showed the sale-deed to her adviser. Mudaliar looked at the adviser, thought that the face was familiar. The actress extended the sale-deed to be signed by Mudaliar. Mudaliar put his signature, the actress put hers, the adviser put his as a witness and the actress gave one lakh of rupees in hundred-rupee notes. Mudaliar was trying to recollect who the young man was when the young man got up, fell at his feet and asked, "Do you not remember me, father?" Mudaliar recognised his son by his voice and tears flowed from his eyes.

Govindaswami said, "Father, you must remember your promise to allow me to marry Sita, the labourer's daughter?"

"Where is she?" asked Mudaliar.

The lady actress said, "I shall bring her."

She went out. Half an hour afterwards a nurse came in. Mudaliar was glad to see that she was the same as the one who nursed him during his stay in the hospital. Govindaswami said, "She is Sita. I ask you permission to marry her, according to your promise." Mudaliar readily agreed. He asked, "Where has your protegee, the actress, gone?" Govindaswami said laughing, "Sita is also the millowner. You can find it out by her diamond necklace which she has forgotten to take off in her change of part from the film star to the poor nurse." Sita laughed.

The marriage between the famous film-actress Sita and the editor of the Communist paper Govindaswami gave an enlivening shock to the industrial world of the town of C. and M. when it was notified in the leading papers a fortnight later.

JAPAN TO-DAY

By Boris Gorbato

There were interesting things to be seen in Tokyo during the New Year celebrations which in Japan last almost a week. Families of the Japanese went to the Imperial Palace to make their bow to the Emperor: old men walking with the aid of sticks, women with children on their backs and men with their faces wrapped in a gauze to protect them from the cold.

They stood still outside the Palace, took off their overcoats or outer kimonos, folded and laid them neatly on the ground beside them. Turning their faces towards the Palace, they stood stock-still for a minute and then bowed deeply from the waist. The worshippers then clapped their hands twice to attract attention of their Mikado God and whispered something. This was followed by another bow. When women bowed, children slung over their backs bowed with them.

Emperor Hirohito still sits in his Palace. Who is he, this Emperor? Some of the Japanese consider him God; others call him a war criminal. Some people still make their bow to him; others are astounded that he has not been brought to trial. What is to be done with the Emperor, with the Imperial system and the Emperor's family? This is one of the most burning questions in Japanese politics to-day.

The only political party in Japan which consistently and firmly demands abolition of the Imperial system is the Communist Party. The Communists say that as long as Tennoism exists in Japan, there is danger of a resurrection of fascism and militarism and that Hirohito should answer jointly with Tojo for the horrors of the war which he had launched.

Upto now this had also seemed obvious to foreign observers. During the war American newspapers called Hirohito "War criminal number one". The question was apparently clear. Hirohito sat in his Palace and trembled.

Various sensations have been featured in Tokyo newspapers. Suddenly, a new pretender to the wobbling Japanese throne was announced. A watchmaker from Nagoi announced that he was the last descendant of the second branch of the Imperial Family and demanded that he be given his

rights. American and Japanese newspapers published his photograph and seriously discussed his rights and his chances. This pretender soon disappeared.

Then there were rumours in the papers that Hirohito wanted to abdicate and that the court circles were convincing him of the necessity of taking this step. This was a sort of a reconnaissance method of testing the ground. Then happened the most sensational thing of all.

Hirohito did not abdicate. He did not take his place in the war criminals' dock. The Japanese Emperor decided to "democratise" himself. He decided to go forth amongst the people.

Upto now Mikado has been God in the eyes of the Japanese. Mortals had no right even to look at him. When the Emperor on very rare occasions passed through the Tokyo streets in his car people had to stand still with their heads bowed. At such times nobody had the right to remain in the upper storeys of houses; nobody could be higher than Mikado. Tenno never talked with simple people. He was God.

Now this God has consented to come down to the earth. The time of elections was drawing near and something had to be done to support the Tennoists.

Mikado's descent to the earth was not at first a very showy affair. Guarded by his green-trousered gendarmes and the American Military Police and accompanied by officials and journalists, Mikado toured the streets of Tokyo to inspect the ruins. There were not many people on the streets; there was no jubilation on the part of the masses. There was an equal lack of popular enthusiasm.

He was shown the ruins of Tokyo. He stared stupidly at areas burnt out by airraids.

"Ah, so!" he exclaimed.

Things were explained to him by his officials.

"Ah, so," said he and no other sound escaped his lips.

What was he thinking about? His Empire lay in ruins. Ah, so. Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been wiped out by Atomic bombs. Ironwork had been twisted into knots and grass burnt. There was no longer any Greater

DAWN OF DISILLUSIONMENT

(From Our Correspondent)

Japan; the Japanese are islanders again. Ruins, ruins.... thousands of dead, killed, burnt and starved.... And he—Hirohito—is guilty of All this. Ah, so.

The Emperor making his tour on foot jumped from hummock to hummock amongst the ruins. Almost pushing over him, journalists and photographers were hard on his heels. A small crowd especially brought there for the purpose bowed to him. Ah, so. Mikado did not know what to do with the people. He took off his hat and also bowed. He did not know how to behave himself. He realised that he ought to talk to simple people. He did not know what he could, and should, ask them; he asked the most foolish questions.

"Are those your children? Ah, so!" "Is there a bathhouse in this district?" "There is, but there is no fuel for it; the baths are only heated once a week".

"Ah, so", said the Emperor and stood wrapped in thought, "Still it would be better to take bath more often".

The next morning all the Tokyo newspapers published photographs of the Emperor amongst the people. Simpering stories were told of how kindly, cleverly and simply this God had talked with the people, how tender and kindhearted he was. It was then reported that Tenno was going to the village to dine with a simple peasant and then he would go to see his people in the provinces.

That is how the "democratisation" of the Japanese Emperor actually happened. The chances of reactionaries at the elections increased by leaps and bounds. "War criminal number one" became a kindhearted, democratic father of his people....

It is true that the Government headed by Baron Sidehara, son-in-law of Baron Gwasaki, owner of the Mitsubisi, was still in power. The government, however, was considered to be something in the nature of a funny anecdote. The fall of this unpopular and anti-democratic government was expected daily. The cabinet experienced interesting ministerial crises: the cabinet was in fever; it trembled, as though suffering from malaria—one after another of the Ministers had to be removed as they came on to the lists of those guilty of war.

Still Sidehara's cabinet held out. "Japan is a volcanic country", said one of the Ministers. "We are used to earthquakes. Earthquakes occur; a few houses are destroyed but everything goes on as before".

Many people in Japan, however, thought that the present "earthquake" would at least upset the Sidehara Cabinet. New people would appear; cherry trees would blossom and Japan would become a democracy.

It is already April. Cherry trees are in bloom. But Sidehara's cabinet is still sitting. And it is Sidehara's cabinet that is carrying out the elections—the "democratic elections".

One of the cleverest and most honest men I have met in Japan, a man who belonged to no party, once said to me fervently, "We have not fought for and won democracy; we have been given it by our conquerors. Although the cage has been broken, we have not emerged like lions that have broken through the iron bars but like sheep that have been let out of the pen. Yes, like defenceless sheep.... And all round us there are so many wolves at the farce...."

The bureaucratic machine of old Japan has been retained—it has been but slightly reduced and slightly purged.

Japan remains a monarchy. The Emperor retains his right to appoint the Prime Minister. The Parliament of two Chambers is retained. It is true that the House of Peers will be renamed the House of Councillors, but it is not clear what this is, or where the Councillors will come from. It is clear, however, that there will always be an Upper House in the Parliament which can paralyse actions of the Lower House if the latter should prove too democratic. Hereditary peerages of Japan are abolished but the Peers retain their titles for life. In view of this, the once-deserted club of Peers in Tokyo is being hastily redecorated.

Such is the democratic constitution! No wonder, it was so joyfully received by all the Right wing parties.

Does this constitution curtail the Emperor's rights? It does. The strange thing, however, is that, at the same time, it gives the Emperor a legal status. He is now actually an Emperor by the constitution's right and is no longer the historical anachronism that he was yesterday.

The Draft Constitution that was published in the Press showed everybody the limits of democracy that was presented to them from above. Hopes of the Japanese democratic circles were scattered like dust before the cherry trees began to blossom. The reactionaries scared by this rapid growth of genuine democratic forces and people of Japan, mustered their strength and assumed a counter-attack.—Tass.

New Delhi : The return of the Cabinet Mission from Kashmir was welcomed with hope from every side. Leaguers expected that the Cabinet Mission would have prepared an award on the final solution conceding the substance of the League demand. On the other hand Congress leaders expected that the Mission had realised that Mr. Jinnah was an impossible man to negotiate with, that it was useless to attempt a final solution and that the Mission would therefore return determined to transfer power to an interim government which would inevitably have to face up and solve the question of Pakistan.

There is little doubt that very first meetings between Cripps-Nehru and Jinnah-Cripps have rudely awakened both sides to the reality that the British hold the power and will not relinquish it to either side. This awakening is as yet a painful process. Old illusions and strong hopes die slowly.

Inside the Congress camp where optimism had been the dominant note throughout, a note of cautious vigilance not yet of disillusionment is clear for all to see. I reliably learn that one of the most important Congress leaders remarked that "the Mission seems to have changed its attitude during its stay in Kashmir. When they left Delhi they had felt that it was not profitable to continue negotiation with Mr. Jinnah in view of his unyielding stand. Now on their return they have started where they first began." It is widely said in Congress circles that the Cabinet Mission had almost decided to transfer power to an interim government and quit, but while staying in Kashmir reactionaries both in India and in England seem to have got at them and frightened them that an interim government without the Muslim League would be strong enough to squeeze the British out gradually and completely. On the other hand if the League was also induced to come into the interim

government then their mutual antagonism and suspicion would be the best guarantee for a continuation of the Viceroy's power and British interests. Basing themselves on such arguments many Congress-minded pressmen have begun to say that hopes of satisfactory settlement are not bright and add that the Cabinet Mission is too weak-willed and afraid to implement their declared aim of transferring power.

Inside the League camp a similar note of complaint and qualified disillusionment can be seen. In Thursday's meeting of the League Working Committee Mr. Jinnah reported on his talks with Cripps. I reliably understand that the League High Command reassured itself of the "reasonableness" of its demand for six provinces. Figures of Muslim majority percentages in Bengal and Assam as a whole were discussed but a few members obliquely hinted that by adding up too much territory they might in reality be subtracting from the Muslim majority and thus weakening the League case. There is little doubt however that Mr. Jinnah and some of his trusted lieutenants silenced any such voice of doubt and reason. The dominant sentiment inside the League was expressed to me by one of the members of the League Working Committee. He complained against Cripps thus: "Even before you left for India you knew what the problem was. You knew what Congress wants and what the League demands. You say you have come to solve the problem. Why don't you go ahead and do it? Why carry on this tiring show for a month and at the end of it start where you began?" I understand that another important Leaguer said that if the Cabinet Mission went back without settling the problem both Hindus and Muslims would be enraged and even if they acted separately would rain blows on the British together. This is, however, not indicative of growing

anti-British urge for common action but the weakening of pro-British hopes and illusions.

Inside the official camp the view is gaining ground that Indian leaders are not realistic and constructive. Their unyielding stand and negative policy leave the Cabinet Mission no option but to admit defeat in their attempts at solving the Indian problem. The bureaucrats with a slightly affected concern say that in these circumstances there can be no transfer of power, that the Viceroy's and the Governor's right of veto will have to remain and the most that can come out of the present negotiations is a re-constituted executive council which will differ from the present in only one fact that it will be more representative. Surprisingly enough quite a few officials are confident that Congress and League would ultimately, albeit unofficially, co-operate in forming such a Government.

Congress President Azad's statement to the Press that he had borne the responsibilities of Presidentship for six of the most difficult years in the life of the Congress, that he deserved relief and recommending Pandit Nehru as the successor gave rise to good deal of speculation here. In spite of strong anti-League prejudices the urge for unity in a section of Pressmen and Congressmen expressed itself in the hope that this was a move to facilitate Congress-League negotiations. One of them very hopefully remarked: "It may be that Azad would say that it is better that the in-coming President took over charge of negotiations right away." Another curious way in which anti-League sentiment interpreted Azad's statement was shown in the words of

an experienced journalist: "Jinnah has at last succeeded in driving Azad out of the Presidentship."

I can confidently assert that Maulana Azad's statement has no such significance. It is widely said here that in the period of big economic crisis, strikes and present struggles with Congress in power, Nehru alone was the best choice of the Congress High Command.

The fifth week has apparently started where the first week began. But the fact is that for a whole month the outside world has heard our leaders expressing complete faith in the sincerity of the Mission to transfer power. It has seen proof of Indian disagreement in the strongly-worded statements issued by both sides to the foreign press. The initiative is wholly in the hands of the Mission and world sympathy has been worked up for them and the courageous way in which they are sticking to a difficult task.

There is growing weariness and annoyance at the prolonged single-file circus that the Cabinet Mission is staging. A well-known journalist wittily remarked, "At this rate things will come to such a pass that all Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, would tell the Cabinet Mission 'We are quite agreeable to let the British stay on, but for Heaven's sake will you quit?'"

Concretely the Cabinet Mission through its spokesman Cripps is now busily engaged in getting the League to come nearer to the British idea of a just final solution and inducing the Congress to accept the British conditions for a good interim Government. The unreasonableness of the other side is being heavily underlined to induce each side to yield.

The wild passion of the pacifist is the material of war as much as any other wild passion. It is not soldiers who bring about wars, but civilians, and civilians whom as a rule no conscription boards can get hold to make them fight!

DEADLOCK IN WHICH THE YOUNG LIVE To Break It, Dependence On Social Approval Must Be Broken

By T. V. S. Rao

I am wholly in sympathy with the author of the article "Deadlock in which the young live" who has given effective expression to the problem which is weighing down the intelligent young men and women of our age. It is gratifying to note that in spite of our westernised sophistications and the consequent worship of success in terms of wealth and power, one of us has found the courage to lay bare the struggles and disillusionments that are eating into the soul of the young. But I am afraid he has greatly confused the main issue by dragging art, culture and nationalism into the discussion. The frustration underlying the whole article is not the result of a conflict between "the disillusionment of modern chaotic competition and nationalism" at all. The conflict is, in reality, between the will of the young to freely seek self-expression and the easier and apparently safer course of conforming to current social prejudices.

The clue to a straight understanding of the problem is to be found in the remarks, "This (the worship of success in terms of wealth and power by society) makes us abandon our ideals in an effort to earn the respect of society on its own terms" and "the young realise that the problem is their own and in its solution, they must make the principal effort". The first remark implies that the problem centres round personal relationship among all members of society in general and between men and women in particular. Personal relationship is determined by assessment of the individual with reference to certain values. At present, these values are concerned with caste in the first instance, and within the caste, with economic and social status. The old accept these as the only criteria for judging the worth of a person and are intolerant of other considerations such as intellectual or artistic aptitudes. But the pity of the situation is that the young themselves do not have the courage to transcend these artificial barriers and so accept them, although under protest. This leads to anomalous situations. The middle-class young man, after graduation, seeks a modest job without losing caste, whereas the young woman who emerges from the university along with him aspires for an

aristocratic standard in life. The personal relationship between them, be it only friendship or the more serious tie of love, is brought to crisis. Out of their own inability to strive to be together, they suddenly find themselves transported to two different social strata. In these circumstances, the relationship is inevitably broken and there is suffering on either side. The young man has either to live hankering perpetually after the impossible or content himself with the association of others who, by a lack of education, are bewildered by and unsympathetic to his intellectual attitude towards life. Thus he feels that education, the economic order and above all, the social prejudice in favour of wealth, power and "success", all conspire to make him an outcaste from the social atmosphere in which he has grown up and which he has come to look upon as his natural element. The widely prevalent frustration that inspired the author of "Deadlock in which the young live" derives chiefly from this strange, yet all too common social phenomenon.

The sudden break of the naturally established personal relationship throws the woman into an attitude of passive waiting (often in vain) for a windfall which might transport her into a higher strata of society. The question which she has to answer decisively is to whether she will take her chances in an unpredictable but possibly exalted living or whether she will seek self-expression as wife and mother within the small but definite framework of an ordinary life.

From this view of the problem, the second remark, accepting the problem as our own and owning the responsibility for its solution, becomes extremely pertinent. For mental integration and fulfilment are to be achieved through satisfactory personal relationship and these could be formed and developed only by our own effort. Though we live amidst a scarcity economy, we are not on a desert island. Life is possible, if only we have the courage to overcome our prejudices and psychological dependence on the sense of social approval.

THE proposals for modifying the Congress constitution in important respects, which have been set out in the report of the Constitution Sub-Committee, acquire a special significance in the light of the fact that the Congressmen will again rule in a number of Provinces and that a popular Government in which the Congress organisation will play a dominant part is bound to come into existence at the Centre sooner or later. In the circumstances, organic changes in the structure of the Congress are of more than domestic interest. The abolition of the four-anna subscription is all to the good, but one doubts very much whether the mere fact that a man has signed his name to a slip of paper should be accepted as conclusive proof that he knows and accepts "the aims and objects of the Congress." Indirect election to executive offices in the party by constituting an electoral college on the basis of every hundred adult members choosing two 'voters' will make for compactness. But a disturbing vista of possibilities is opened up by the cryptic statement that "from among the 'voters' a new class called the 'workers' will emerge and they only will constitute the field of candidates for holding executive offices." What are the special qualifications that are to be required of the "workers" which will distinguish them from the ordinary body of voters? If the idea is to recruit a *corps de elite*, corresponding to the Communist Party in Russia, which while not taking part directly in the tasks of administration constitutes itself into a super-guide and censor of governmental activity, an *imperium in imperio*, a law unto itself subject only to the will of the 'leader' whom it sets up or who imposes himself upon it, that will be an absolute negation of democracy and the vast body of men and women who have given their allegiance to the Congress for a variety of causes will have none of it.

THE danger is by no means fanciful, as anybody who has carefully watched recent developments will testify. In Assam the Prime Minister, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi has

CONGRESS REORGANISATION

BY ONLOOKER

been defeated in the party elections. He has offered to resign his office, but the Congress President considers him indispensable and insists upon his remaining in office. Maulana Azad is perfectly justified in setting a high value on Mr. Bardoloi's services. But the fact that such a man could be thrown out in the party elections is an indication, as much as the dead set that has been made against Mr. Rajagopalachari in Madras, that the caucus spirit is likely increasingly to infect the organisation of the Congress if those at the top give their countenance to forces that are intent on changing its character from that of a national organisation to that of a party with narrowly defined principles and rigidly regimented membership. The fact that the men who give their allegiance to such a party are austere in their personal life and fanatical in their devotion to the cause as they conceive it will be no guarantee that the party as such will be a liberalising and constructive influence in the national life. Excessive and lop-sided discipline may only breed hypocrisy and heart-burning.

TO take an example, the Working Committee has adopted a resolution to the effect that no public worker or leader is justified in taking for his personal use money collected from the public and presented to him in the form of a purse, as that is bound to lead to corruption. The money, it says, could be used only for public purposes and account should be rendered. It is a perfectly wholesome rule—provided it is enforced regularly and other practices are not winked at which make a mock of this rule. The Congress is almost the only political organisation in the world that expects men to serve as whole-time workers but bestows no thought on how they are to live. Many of them are poor men, others are men who have given up rich

and comfortable lives at the call of the country. Except the handful of men who are elected to the legislatures on the Congress ticket none of them gets any financial assistance from any organized body for carrying on their political and educative propaganda in the country. The top men have their wants attended by wealthy supporters of the Party who happen to be also personal admirers. Of course not the slightest breath of suspicion attaches to the giver or the taker of help in these cases. But it must be emphasized there is no difference in principle between assistance given and amenities provided privately by wealthy political supporters and funds secured from the general public by voluntary collections to which every man has contributed his mite. If these collections have been made on the understanding that they were to be made over to a particular worker for his personal use, without any conditions, that would be hardly more objectionable than leaving leaders in a position where they have to depend on the hospitality and generosity of private friends. It would certainly be more desirable to save the worker, however big or little he may be, from the humiliation and the risk of having to depend upon outside help.

THE country is desperately in need of genuine workers. And the Congress, if it will, can conceive its function correctly and organise itself properly can provide through such workers the intelligent leadership we require not in tens or hundreds but in thousands and tens of thousands. The Madras Government some time ago hit upon the idea of converting the National War Front into an organisation to provide the leadership for the rural masses. The proposal was palpably opportunist in intention being actuated not so

much by the wish to promote popular enlightenment as to provide sinecures for men who had served as propagandists for the bureaucracy's war efforts and distinguished themselves by their virulent vilification of the Congress and its leaders. But there is no denying that a disciplined volunteer force for carrying on continual war against the ignorance, fear, poverty and ill-health that afflict the masses is India's greatest need. *Ad hoc* campaigns have been carried on, with striking success in some cases, for such causes as the liquidation of illiteracy, the spread of khadi, the abolition of the drink evil, and so on. But no plan based on the recognition that life is integral and whole has been thought out so far. And the campaigns above referred to have been too often evanescent in their results since they were directed to producing an effect on the mass mind and tended therefore to rely too much on stunts and demonstrations rather than on patient work.

WE must have a comprehensive plan. The whole nation must go to school, not merely for learning the Three R's but for learning to live as intelligent citizens, and a sufficient number of tutors must be provided. The village guide, who will be the private in this civil army, must be prepared to give himself absolutely to the service of the five hundred or thousand people in his beat which should be small enough for him to be able to establish personal contact with every individual in it. He should have the personality to win their confidence and the rectitude not to abuse it. He should be an all-rounder, with a lively curiosity, an unaffected sympathetic interest in all that concerns and interests his neighbours, able to find at a moment's notice the information that they may require on the thousand and one matters in regard to which they have now to seek

costly and unsatisfactory professional aid. Above all, he should be able to bring them together for friendly debate on public issues and constructive co-operation in promoting the well-being of the locality. Such men can retain their utility unimpaired only if they lay on themselves a self-denying ordinance—not to seek any public or elective office and not to identify themselves with any political or communal party. They must be paid a living wage; there is no use asking men with family responsibilities to live like ascetics. When the radical and long over-due reform of the entire wage and salary structure in the country comes to be tackled it should be possible to arrive at what might be regarded as the basic wage which every useful member of society is entitled to receive and also the allowances and amenities which his needs require or the onerousness of his responsibilities justifies. Meanwhile the village worker should have enough to live upon without ostentation and the organisation to which he looks for support should provide for old age, illness and accident.

THE Congress in a self-governing India will continue to play the high and honourable role it has achieved by the patient self-denying work of two generations of patriots only if it realises in time that it should neither sink to the level of functioning as one political party among many nor arrogate to itself the authority of king-maker. Power without responsibility, as Baldwin once remarked, is the privilege of the harlot through the ages. It should be the proud purpose of the Congress to function as the nursery of statesmen and the nation's school master who aims not at bludgeoning its will into submission nor at regimenting its action but at developing its powers of vision and discrimination and supplying it continually with the data and the cultural background which would help it to come to right conclusions on public issues. It should, in other words, revert to what it was at the very beginning of its career, the grand forum of the

people of India to which all bring their stock of ideas for pooling, testing and propagating, where misunderstandings are removed by discussion, animosities shamed by friendliness and contending rights reconciled without bitterness. Such an organisation can evoke and retain universal confidence only if it strictly abjures political office.

I FORESEE great danger in unthinking zealots in power trying to enforce ill-digested and untested ideas from a feeling that they would be thereby propitiating those who have the ear of the Congress and enjoy the nation's esteem in an exceptional degree. The other day, Gandhiji wrote that popular Ministries could help to spread khadi by insisting on every village spinning sufficient yarn to clothe it and prohibiting the supply of cloth to villages, which fail to make themselves self-sufficient in this way. A too liberal interpretation of such a suggestion would not only

lead to the worst kind of tyranny, it would breed the most unlovely hypocrisy. Who that has seen how the yarn franchise has been reduced to a farce, if not a wooden lie, can contemplate with equanimity a Government ruling by *dictate* to enforce ideologies which, whatever their other merits, have not secured the intelligent consent of the overwhelming mass of the people? Gandhiji is perfectly entitled to forward the cause of khadi with all the power of persuasion and moral authority that he commands in such a unique measure. But no Congress Ministry could undertake to implement that kind of suggestion without laying the Congress open to the charge of abusing its power. The demand for the exercise of the legislative power to secure such ends must come from the people and the Congress is entitled to persuade them to back that demand. But the Congress must not write itself down into a caucus.

RAILWAYMEN'S STRIKE IMMINENT

Growing Communal Tension—Formation of Madras Ministry—Indonesia offers rice.

The demands of railwaymen all over India regarding scales of pay, absorption of temporary staff, etc., have been before the Railway Board for a very long time. In view of the continued refusal of the Board to consider these demands, the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation decided on direct action and a strike ballot is being conducted for the purpose. The Government's intervention is not merely belated but is thoroughly unsatisfactory since the Adjudicator whom they have now appointed is to concern himself with only minor items and has not been authorised to deal with the really vital demands of the workers. Strike ballots on the different railways have demonstrated the readiness of as many as over 90 per cent of the workers to go on strike. The forthcoming meeting the Railwaymen's Council in June will decide on the

launching of a general strike. Unless the Government immediately widen the terms of the Adjudicator so as to satisfy the workers that their grievances will receive just consideration, a situation of the utmost gravity will develop. Justice to the workers, and the urgent necessity of maintaining transport of food during the coming months of crisis, both require that Government should act swiftly and bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The men at Delhi are at last getting down to brass tacks. The Cabinet Ministers are going to begin joint discussions with duly authorised representatives of the Congress and Muslim League. The venue of the negotiations is likely to be Simla. Whether the scene will witness a happier conclusion of affairs this time remains to be seen.

The Ministers are understood to be disclosing their plan piecemeal and separately to Mr. Jinnah and to the Congress leaders. They have not yet decided whether precedence should be given to the formation of an interim popular Government, or to the reaching of all-round agreement on the future permanent constitution. With regard to the interim Government, the Congress favours its immediate formation with members nominated by the eleven Provincial Legislatures, with a few more to be nominated by the Viceroy from among the minorities. This proposal is vigorously opposed by the Muslim League since it would leave the choice of nine provincial nominees in Congress hands.

Meanwhile the sabre-rattling by the spokesmen of both the parties in their speeches has resulted in the acerbation of communal feeling. The rumblings of approaching communal riots are beginning to be heard in the country. It is significant in this connection that Bombay's Home Minister, Mr. Morarjee Desai recently convened a meeting of local newspaper Editors to discuss the conventions and restraint which should be observed in publishing news of communal riots, if they should break out. Sardar Patel has also indicated that "there would be no civil war—just a little disturbance here and there." Remarkings on outbreaks of violence, Gandhiji has expressed the hope that "when the British go, there may be a little fight here and there and then we shall settle down as brothers." Unless the habit of making inflammatory speeches is given up by political leaders, there is a grave danger of a "little" trouble developing into a social menace and further complicating the already tense political situation.

The election of Mr. T. Prakasam as Leader of the Madras Congress Legislature Party has resulted in considerable strain on its relation-



Dr. Sharir, the Indonesian Premier

ship with the Congress High Command. The Party insisted on exercising its right of electing its own leader, rather than submit a panel of names, as the Congress President had suggested. The congratulations subsequently showered on Maulana Azad for respecting the democracy of the provincial Party do not seem to have succeeded in mollifying the High Command. They have ruefully asked the Madras Party to manage its own affairs, and have turned down Mr. Prakasam's request for their aid in selecting the personnel of the new Ministry.

The Combined Food Board has repudiated its reported agreement to allocate 1,400,000 tons of wheat for India. The actual allocation for April has been announced as 292,500 tons. Neither this, nor the paltry 60,000 tons of British wheat provides any adequate measure of relief. A generous offer of half a million tons of rice has been made by Dr. Sharir, the Indonesian Prime Minister. But the Dutch imperial Government have promptly thrown a spanner into the wheel by denying the availability of the necessary surplus. Considerations of prestige or other political reasons should not be allowed to prevent the fulfilment of this fraternal offer of substantial assistance to the millions of our people, who are admittedly in sore need of it.

INDIANS' FIRST MATCH

"Of course, *Elysium* means Lord's" says the Rev. James Pycroft in a pleasantly dogmatic style. But it is open to question whether the field on which the third official Indian touring team takes the field to-day (May 4) in the first fixture of the tour is not as much adorned with asphodel, amaranth and moly. Though the Worcester ground has little of the fierce dignity that appertains to the Headquarters, it is for that very reason the most suitable stage on which can be staged, not merely a revival of cricket in England, but a renaissance of the essential gracefulness of life. The peculiarly appropriate proximity of the Worcester Cathedral and of the Severn raises this contention to a poetic level.

When Hitler invaded Poland, the West Indies touring team, with strange precipitancy, left Britain without fulfilling no less than eight fixtures. It is on the anniversary of Hitler's downfall that the next team to tour England takes the field. Chronologically speaking, it is only six years that have elapsed but the changes have been of such tremendous import that "to look back upon the English cricket season of 1939 is like peeping curiously through the wrong end of a telescope at a very small but very happy world." It is, however, unwise to tear a passion of regret to tatters at this period of time; it were more seemly to rejoice, with Mr. R. C. Robertson-Glasgow, that men can again "turn to cricket as to an old friend, who gives you a seat, a glass of beer, and something sane to talk about. They can watch on the Mound at Lord's and borrow from a small boy in a school cap a score card to see what it is all about, and find strange entries and pencilled mysteries; once more, they can sit on someone else's sandwiches in the tram that sways to Kennington, or trip over the marquee-ropes at the Saffrons, or

smell the sea at Hove, or argue at Old Trafford." The world's return to sanity is best exemplified in these trivial nameless things, for has it not been proclaimed that God makes Himself manifest, not "on the morning light of majesty", but on the "viewless wings of poesy"?

It has been mistakenly given out that the present visitors have been assigned Worcestershire as their first opponents as a "graceful tribute" to their Captain, the Nawab of Pataudi, who was such a leading light of the county. It is, however, clear that this Midland team, who have had the privilege for a long time of playing touring teams first, are merely continuing the practice. However it be, this match holds much interest. The disastrous defeat sustained by the Indian team led by the Maharajkumar of Vizianagram will be within the recollection of many. But the county's overcoming of West Indies in 1939 possesses added interest in that it was the last precedent on which to rely.

That match was full of interesting fluctuations. Sent in to bat on a lifeless wicket, the homesters suffered themselves to be dismissed for paltry 83 runs. The three fast bowlers, Martindale, Johnson (left-handed), and Constantine shared the wickets. But the visitors, in their turn, did little better. Apart from Headley, no batsman showed to advantage, and the score crept only to 142. E. Cooper and S. H. Martin rescued the county from a second collapse with a stand of 122. Even then, the West Indies were set no formidable task. But they failed of the goal by 85 runs.

It is, therefore, clear that the Indians will encounter a strong opposition. How far successfully they will be able to counter it will be watched with interest throughout the length and breadth of this country.—N.S.R.

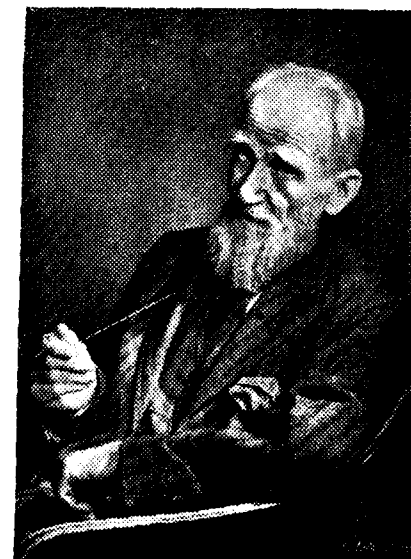
EGO ET SHAVIUS MEUS

By C. Srinivasan

The title is borrowed. It means 'I and my Shaw'. It was under this caption that years ago an illustrious contemporary of Bernard Shaw wrote a veiled criticism of Shaw and his views. In the article I refer to, the critic gives his impressions on reading a book of Shaw and thinks aloud on many topical questions in the Shavian context. I do not agree with most of the illustrious critic's views. My opinion is—Shaw is a singular man. Also that Shaw is more heard of than heard. He is probably the least understood though the most talked of man among the literary figures of our century. Literary critics would say: Behind every book is a man; behind the man is the race; and behind the race are the social and political environments whose influence is unconsciously reflected in it. The great fact about Shaw is that instead of reflecting unconsciously the social and political ideas round about him, he consciously and deliberately analyses and explodes many of the accepted ideas of his time and many of the doctrines believed in as gospel truths by his age.

A Fundamental Thinker

A great speaker once drew the picture of a 'sphere of knowledge'. At the centre of this sphere, he said, was a core of established knowledge. Surrounding this core of established knowledge was a zone of uncertainty wherein practically all the controversies occurred. Outside this nebulous or twilight zone was the dark and vast unknown. This picture is a correct representation of facts. Great thinkers and writers are supposed to add to this central core of established knowledge and it is this core that is supposed to go on expanding as civilisation progresses and humanity advances in knowledge. But oftentimes it happens that certain ideas that are neither true nor unassailable get into this central core and people just take them as fundamental truths and don't argue about them, since they have got 'established' and have been 'accepted' as true by the world at large. It requires intellectual and moral courage for a thinker to focus attention on many of these accepted doctrines, analyse them threadbare unhampered by popular



George Bernard Shaw.

prejudices and explode them, if necessary. Such a thinker is a true revolutionary—a fundamental thinker. Shaw is one such.

An Eternal Jester

I admire Shaw. That does not mean I agree with him on all matters. It may not be possible for any one to agree with Shaw on all matters. But certainly all can admire him for the way in which he thinks and writes. Shaw is a versatile genius; he writes on all topics and in all moods. Sometimes he is very serious and schoolmasterly and people are seldom able to understand him when he is so. At other times, he is semi-serious or not at all serious. It is then that most people seem to understand him and Shaw strikes them as an 'eternal jester'. His views and his manner of expressing them are both arresting. To Shaw cricket is a game which "in slowness and stupidity is without parallel or rival". In fact, he cannot stand the boredom of sport of any kind. Talking about himself, he would claim to be greater than Shakespeare and argue that he is greater than Shakespeare because he stands on Shakespeare's shoulders—he knows all

that Shakespeare knew and wrote and something more!

On Doctors

Mahatma Gandhi, in one of his earliest books (*Hind Swaraj*) put the blame for the continuation of British Raj on the doctors, the lawyers and the railways. Shaw is one with the Mahatma in his dislike of the doctors. His objection to a sick man subjecting himself to a doctor's treatment is the same as his objection to an accused accepting the prosecutor as judge and expecting justice to be done to him. When a 'sick' man goes to a doctor, to diagnose the 'disease' as simple indigestion will certainly not pay the doctor. Says Shaw: "A judge whose salary and reputation depended on whether the verdict was for plaintiff or defendant, prosecutor or prisoner would be very little trusted. To offer me a doctor as my judge and then weight his decision with a bribe of a large sum of money and a virtual guarantee that if he makes a mistake it can never be proved against him, is to go wildly beyond the ascertained strain which human nature can bear... When some one is seriously ill, you rush to a doctor. . . . Sometimes what the doctor does kills the patient; but you do not know that; and the doctor assures you that all that human skill can do has been done. And nobody has the brutality to say to the newly bereft father, mother, husband, wife, brother or sister 'You have killed your lost darling by your credulity'." Shaw wants us to treat every death as a possible and under our present system, a probable murder by making it the subject of a reasonably conducted inquest and execute the doctor, if necessary, as a doctor by striking him off the register! His suggestion to the Government is: Do not register more doctors than are absolutely needed by the community; and let the registration constitute the doctor as a civil servant with a dignified living wage paid out of public funds!

On Divorce

Getting married is a very old habit contracted by our ancestors long long ago. But the methods of getting married, the obligations imposed on the man and wife by marriage, the exact significance of marriage have all varied from time to time and from country to country. In all times and in all countries, there have been controversies—very heated indeed—on these matters.

Recently our Editor Saka had to quarrel with Dr. Pattabhi on this issue. Dr. Pattabhi's good heart could not tolerate anything smelling of Communism as Communism tried to do away the 'firm family tie' so dear to his orthodox heart. He forgot, however, that no tie could be really firm if it was not based on the willing consent of both the parties. The pet argument against divorce levelled by learned doctors of Pattabhi's type is that divorce means the destruction of the institution of marriage. Let us hear Shaw on this point when he is in a semi-serious mood:

"Divorce, in fact, is not the destruction of marriage but the first condition of its maintenance. A thousand indissoluble marriages mean a thousand marriages and no more. A thousand divorces may mean two thousand marriages; for the couples may marry again. Divorce only re-assorts the couples; a very desirable thing when they are ill-assorted. Also, it makes people much more willing to marry, especially prudent people with a high sense of self-respect."

Shaw has written whole chapters of well thought-out stuff on this important question. The quotation is what Shaw observes as a side-remark—all the same characteristic of the Shavian way of saying things.

On Democracy

Shaw has his own way of looking at political theories. He has no great fascination for democracy as understood and practised in most countries to-day. Shaw's objection to Democracy arises chiefly from his belief that, by the very nature of things, inferiors cannot and should not be entrusted with the task of electing superiors. The inferiors cannot have a correct idea of the qualities requisite for the able administration of the country. To make a man ignorant of economics and the meaning of money Chancellor of the Exchequer merely because he could play to the mobs in the country and get a few thousand votes is very dangerous to the welfare of the nation. Democracy, according to him, merely substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few. "The politician who once had to learn how to flatter kings has now to learn how to fascinate, amuse, coax, humbug, frighten or otherwise strike the fancy

of the electorate.... He who holds popular convictions with prodigious energy is the man for the mob, whilst the frailer sceptic who is cautiously feeling his way towards the next century has no chance of coming to power unless he happens by accident to have also the specific artistic talent of the mountebank, in which case it is as a mountebank that he catches votes and not as a meliorist." This is the essential limitation of Democracy and wherever Democracy has been pursued blindly and without regard to the ability or qualities of leadership of individuals, the results have always been ruinous to the interests of the country. We, of this province, had an experience of this truth in the recent unfortunate controversy about Rajaji's leadership. To those who were anxious to replace Rajaji's leadership by their own, the qualities required for leadership or ability and vision to plan for the future well-being of the people did not at all seem to matter. They could pose as leaders and do the mischief simply because they could 'fascinate, amuse, coax, humbug or frighten' a large number of their fellow-men. Shaw smelt this danger long ago and he wrote for all times!

On Men And Supermen

Like Carlyle, Shaw believes in supermen. One of the greatest illusions that we are suffering from is the illusion of progress. We are constantly fed on the idea that humanity is progressing in civilisation and we are more evolved human beings than our ancestors of a few centuries ago. Nothing, according to Shaw, can be more dangerous than this misguided notion. Man is what he was several centuries ago. Science might have put into his hands new weapons of destruction; new methods of fighting disease, new and quicker modes of travel. These are certainly changes. But no man can seriously suggest that the chauffeur who drives a motor car from Paris to Berlin is a more highly evolved man than the charioteer of Achilles. Man's heart has not under-

gone any revolutionary or reformatory change and so parliaments and vestries are just what they were when Cromwell suppressed them and Dickens derided them. The world needs supermen who take to life's problems more seriously, who do not humbug themselves and the world, and who are capable of raising their stature by honest endeavour. Shakespeare and Goethe, Tolstoy and Gandhi are true examples of supermen. All men must become supermen and the Yahoo should be eliminated if the world is really to progress. "Until there is an England in which every man is a Cromwell, a France in which every man is a Napoleon, a Rome in which every man is a Caesar, a Germany in which every man is a Luther plus a Goethe, the world will be no more improved by its heroes than a Brixton villa is improved by the pyramid of Cheops". The production of such nations is the only real change that is worthwhile and desirable.

A Front-rank Psychiatrist

Shaw is a prolific thinker and writer—surely one of the greatest that the world has produced. The two real tests of a great literary work are its universal interest and personal style. Judged by these two tests, Shaw is bound to emerge as a great and inimitable writer. Shaw is unique. No other writer has thought on such a great variety of problems with half the ease, vigour and brilliance of Shaw. It must, however, be said that he has not very profoundly influenced the social movements of his time, much less the life of the individual. Nothing can save or reform society except the clear head, the wide heart and the strong urge to set a personal example—all the three going together. In the case of Shaw, it is the last quality that has been lacking to some extent. Unlike Tolstoy and Gandhi, he has greater belief in thinking than in acting. Nevertheless, his place among the front-rank thinkers and psychiatrists of the world is secure and unquestionable.

Belloc: 'Here am I, scribble, scribble, scribble; and it takes a devil of a lot of scribbling to make £2,000 a year.'

Raleigh: 'But need you make £2,000 a year?'

Belloc: 'My dear fellow, I live at the rate of £2,000 a year. Would you have me run into debt?'

WAR TIME COMMUNISTIC THINKING IN INDIA

By A. Ramachandran, M.A. (Cantab).

The Communist Party of India is much maligned by the political leaders to-day. On the declaration of war it was only the C.P.I. which immediately branded the war as one between one imperialism and another, that Indian people could not support such a war and that the opportunity must be seized to wrest power from Britain. The Congress leadership, however, would not agree to the appeal of the C.P.I., but chose an entirely different line. At first the Congress leaders would not even embarrass Britain in her hour of trial. This did not strike any sympathetic chord in Colonel Blimp. Therefore the Congress subsequently adopted individual Satyagraha as a mark of protest. It merely ended as an effete protest. Had the war continued without Russia becoming a participant therein, the C.P.I. would have supported the August Resolution (1942) of the Congress however much the Communists might have criticised the delaying tactics of the Congress.

But the entry of Russia and Japan in the war changed the situation. In 1942, Japan was threatening India after her many sanguinary victories in the Far East. U.S.S.R., the most progressive nation, was involved in a life and death struggle. If U.S.S.R. were defeated, the rights of the common man would have been extinguished. It was also evident in this period that Britain was greatly depleted of her strength and the Cripps' proposals were made by a tired and worn-out Britain. The Cripps' proposals provided an opportunity which, if accepted, would have given more power to Indians than ever before. This power could have been enlarged to absolute sovereignty by astute leadership. The Congress however missed the bus, but what is more tragic, passed the August Resolution which, if anything, is mere irresolution. It was extraordinary that the Congress, which declared its sympathy for China and Russia, should have chosen, in the same resolution, a course that could not but weaken the allies of China and Russia. It is interesting to recall Mahatma Gandhi's statement in *Harijan* of 9th September 1939, where he pleaded for unconditional co-operation with Britain:

"India's independence will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall?" The orthodox Congressman will reply that Gandhiji's statement was his own personal view and not of the official Congress. Well, they can tell it to the Marines. The Congress seemed to have forgotten to take into account the situation that would arise if the British were driven out of India in August 1942. Nothing is so sure and certain as this, that in that event, India would have been occupied by vigorous, imperialistic Japan.

The Congress High Command was living too much in the wood to see the trees, and the hatred of the Congress for Britain was so great that the Congress did not care even if the Japanese occupied India.

When the Communists opposed the August Resolution and the subsequent movement, they became traitors to the Congressmen. Congressmen would not listen to the logic of the Communists' stand. Even if the Congressmen did not agree with the Communist policy, how dare they accuse and dub the Communists as traitors? Do the Congressmen claim any monopoly of patriotism? If so, then this sensational and unheard of monopoly will be resolutely opposed by the progressive forces throughout the land.

Communists throughout the world believe in one political philosophy. It is therefore not strange that the C.P.I. should support not only the Communists of U.S.S.R., but also other Communists in other parts of the world. World history is full of examples of people who owe allegiance to ideas and creeds. There are Indian Christians who support the Pope or the Church of England. Is it seriously contended that such Indian Christians are stooges of Rome or Westminster?

To the genuine Communist, Communism is not only a philosophy of life but also something more. It is more than religion to them. Why should they not be sympathetic to Moscow, the birthplace of practical Communism?

To-day Britain is willing to quit India. It only remains for us to take charge. The credit goes to the C.P.I. for having correctly visualised and prophesied this state of affairs.

THE PEOPLE'S POET OF KERALA

By Chitrabhanu Nambudripad

If Poet Vallathol is the Tagore of Kerala in that he introduced the patriotic element into Malayalam poetry, G. Sankara Kurup—popularly known by his initial 'G'—is also the Tagore of Kerala in that he introduced Tagorean mysticism into it. Next to Vallathol, he is the greatest poetic genius of Kerala. He is adored by the young as their leader and respected by the old as one of them. The young claim him as their own and the old want him to be theirs. But he belongs to neither of them; is above them all, an example to all of them. He is widely regarded as a mystic poet who is above the people; but he is really a people's poet in the true sense.

G's earlier works were mainly romantic poems. His *Sahithya Kauthukam Series*—collections of his earlier works—will show that the young poet's work was full of echoes of Vallathol, Kumaran Asan and Ullur and was uncertain in its aim but withal original. Romanticism, passionate love for one's country, admiration of natural beauty—these are the main subjects dealt with during this period.

Turns Mystic :

The impact of western culture produced a Tagore in Bengal; it produced a Sankara Kurup in Kerala. 'G' got inspiration mainly from Tagore in his mystic wanderings. But Hafis, Omar Khayam and other Persian poets and Iqbal also attracted him. He translated many of their works, including Omar's Rubaiyat.

G's poems of this period are collected in three volumes. NAVA-THITHI (New Guest), SURYAKANTHI (Sun-flower) and PUJA PUSHPANGAL (Flowers for Worship). Unlike the first two volumes

the third is so obscure as to be almost incomprehensible.

His most widely-acclaimed poem of this period is "ENTE VELI" (My Wedding). This is considered as the best example of mysticism in Malayalam poetry. In it, he, with his high capacity for observation, pictures Death as coming to marry Life. He describes the bride:

"Time has already adorned my hairs

With the garland of jasmine,
And my forehead with the lines
of the castmark".

and the bridegroom:

"One would shudder at the
name of my beloved,

I have heard of him long ago.
The hand he stretches nobody
can avoid;
All have to bend their knees
before his will."

Then he goes on to describe further the plight and tears of the bride's family and friends at her departure from home.

Belonging to this period, but of a quite different type, is another poem "NALE" (To-morrow). In this famous poem, the poet addresses the star which shines high up in the sky and says:

"Shudder, shiver, ye, for see in
Front of you the chivalrous
to-morrow.

The darkness is flying and your
glory too;

The world is awakening from
its stupor

Along with your terror.

You know why To-morrow has
come

Clothed in red with a red flower
pinned to its dress?

To fly the banner of work, triumphant

And red, and to revive the
world;

To diffuse the world, immersed
in
Darkness, the happiness and
light
Which you have unlawfully
seized.
The time which stood smiling
on a
Few stars now trembles and
shivers
On scorched leaves
The poor peasant will challenge
you
With his face shining with hap-
piness and glory.
Shudder, shiver, ye, for see in
Front of you the heroic
To-morrow."

His words to the peasant are:

"Delight ye, peasant, for
To-morrow
Has come to wipe off the tears
of Justice.
You dressed the earth in green,
but
Yourself went half-naked!
Glittering gold you gave the
world, but
The world ousted you from
your home
For increased debts!
Even the tiny little grass you
made
Smiles, but cheated by fortune
and robbed
Off your smile you looked!
The world would have been
frozen
But for the heat of your blood;
It would have been a desert but
for
The sweat of your brows!
Your back became bent by the
burden
Of the country;
But to-day you have become a
burden
On your country!"

This poem brought to him a
warning from the Cochin Govern-
ment under whom he was working
as a Malayalam Professor in the
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

Another Turning Point:

With the World War II began
another period in the poetic career
of G. Sankara Kurup. The whole

sky became cloudy and the poet's
mystic muse which was wandering
in the blue void high above now
came down to the earth. The roar
of the machine-guns and bombs
awakened him to the stark reali-
ties that the world was facing. The
atrocities committed by the Fascists
aroused the bitterest fury in him
and he sang:

"Away, away, you beast,
Crimson-dyed are your hands
with harmless blood,
Exists there a thing as justice,
Then with unceasing tears shall
you be forced
To wash that stain from off
your hands."

The shadow of Japanese invasion
was hanging over India. The Japa-
nese spokesmen were saying that
they were coming to liberate India.
To that the poet gave the stinging
retort:

"Liberation, indeed, from those
hands!
A glance but to the changing
blue of the Pacific
And there you will beholden
frozen lands,
Laid low and fare as if ready
to be skinned;
With arrows in sides, unable to
stir and half-dead,
There they lay, yes, all at the
door of Deliverance!"

In his "HEART OF INDIA",
from which the above lines are
quoted and which is perhaps the
best of all his anti-Fascist poems,
he warns the Japanese that

"Fettered though her body be,
India's heart is stout and free"
and therefore she cannot be duped
by their songs of liberation.

His poems of this period which
are collected in CHENKATHIRU-
KAL (Red Corn-stalks), NIMI-
SHAM (The Moment or Second)
and MUTTUKAL (Pearls), have
made a great sensation in the lite-
rary circles of Kerala. His critics
are saying that Mr. Kurup has left
his 'original field' of activity and has
landed himself in an unknown
place in which he cannot adapt
himself. But the fact is just the

reverse. There is no other period
during the whole of the poet's acti-
vity in which his original potentia-
lities are so much exhibited as in
this period. As Mr. M. S. Devadas,
Editor of *Deshabhimani* and a pro-
minent Malayalam critic has said,
Mr. Kurup, instead of leaving his
field of activity, has just found it.
In his early period, the poet was
influenced by Poet Vallathol, Ullur
and Asan, in the second stage, his
affiliations were to Tagore, Iqbal
and the Persian poets, but in the
third period—the present one—he
has become himself.

But the basis of all these criti-
cisms can be understood if we bear
in mind that it is the same critic
who has found the decadence of
Vallathol's poetry itself in one of
his poems, "DECADENCE", in
which the poet describes how a
Chinese woman defended herself
from a Japanese Fascist who came
to rape her.

Poet Sankara Kurup is an ardent
friend of the Soviet. His "JAI-
THRA PATAHAM" (Victory
Drum), written at a time when the
Red Army was marching victori-
ously to liberate Europe after free-
ing itself, is one of the best poems
written by the poet. In this poem,
he exhorts his own heart to beat
the victory-drum to the Red Army-
men. For, he says:

Not the thirst for strife, but the
thirst
For peaceful life, love for
Humanity, that smiles on his
sword.....
On the Red Flag, flying at the
highest
Peak of human greatness, is
exhibited
The red glory of the long-
awaited dawn.....
Peace from war, happiness from
sorrow,
Life from death—These the
sickle, the
Symbol of your flag will reap.
Seizing light from the hands of
Darkness, the moon at sunset
kisses
Its comrade on the Red Flag.

Defining his attitude towards
Communism at the Second All-
Kerala Progressive Writers' Con-
ference held at Kottayam (Travan-
core) last year, he said: "I have
come to Communism not through
books, but through experience.
Communism to me is not a dogma
but a weapon to fight all evils."

As An Essayist:

Kerala has yet to produce such
an essayist as G. Sankara Kurup.
His essays on Tagore, Iqbal and
other poets and on various other
subjects have opened a new vista
in the art of essay-writing. Clothed
in flowery language, they are
thought-provoking.

Apart from being a poet and an
essayist G. is also an extraordinary
speaker. While speaking, his com-
pressed ideas and sentences flow so
quickly that you have to be very
attentive in order not to miss him.
His technique of exposition is quite
different from all others. His lan-
guage in speeches is also as flowery
as it is in his writing. While poet
Vallathol at meetings will make
you laugh, G. will make you think.

G. Means A Genius:

G's penetrating muse can trans-
mute even an ordinary silly inci-
dent into a matter of world
importance. Thus, in his "COB-
WEB", he sees the downfall of all
imperialisms through the action of
a spider. In another of his poems,
he pictures the cigarette as repre-
senting the monied class and the
beedi as representing the working
class.

The Maharaja of Cochin recent-
ly conferred on him the title of
"Kavithilakan". But Kurup is a
man who does not care for conven-
tional distinctions as "Mahakavi G.
Sankara Kurup", he wrote to him
telling his friends to save him from
that title. "Let it be conferred on
somebody else," he wrote, "craving
and striving for it."

Poet G. Sankara Kurup is a
genius. I have tried in this article
only to give the non-Malayalee
public a glimpse of his writings.

HOOVER THE MAN

(From Our Bangalore Correspondent)

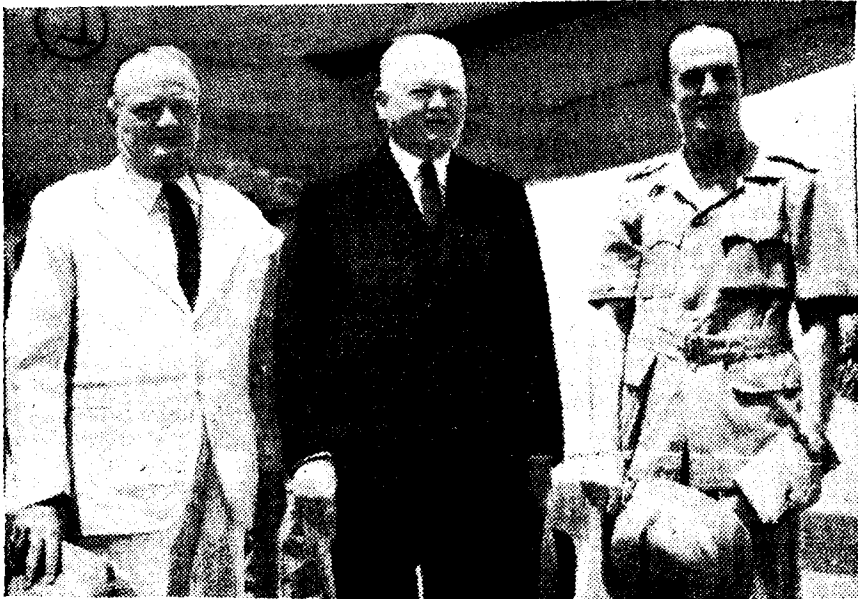
If you ran into Mr. Herbert Hoover across the street, you would probably take him for anything except an ex-President of the United States. I expected to see a personage of commanding presence whose very air proclaims his greatness without his or his agents having to shout about it. Actually, I met a man rather on the short side for an American, with common place features and a total lack of that atmosphere which creates a sense of importance where there is none and enhances it where it is present. This was so much of a surprise to me that you could have knocked me down without a feather.

Silence seemed to me to be Mr. Hoover's mother-tongue. During the 158-mile tour of the drought-affected areas in Mysore State the ex-President hardly opened his lips to offer a comment on what he saw. But he saw attentively, and listened attentively and the ease and confidence with which he subsequently related his impressions of the trip

was a measure of his capacity for absorbing what goes on around him without making a fuss about it.

It is evident that age is telling on Mr. Hoover. Even in Bangalore the weather in April isn't ideal and the motor drive along the dusty, narrow tortuous roads in the heat of the noon-day so tired him out that the programme on the return journey to Bangalore had to be considerably curtailed.

The Press Conference that Mr. Hoover held was brief and businesslike. The ex-President hasn't the brilliance of, say, Sir Stafford Cripps, who takes the questions out of your mouth and answers them even before you have finished. In fact Mr. Hoover refused to answer oral questions and insisted on their being put on paper and presented to him in advance. He also made it clear that all questions bearing on politics would be "killed". But the others he answered with a sureness and quickness which reflected his tremendous experience and knowledge.



Ex-President Hoover in Delhi. Left to right : The Hon'ble George R. Merrel, American Commissioner in India; Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hutchings, Food Secretary.

EDUCATIONAL OMISSIONS

By JAMES H. COUSINS

There are two developing motifs in the pattern of human life to-day that stand to one another in the relationship of mutual need and satisfaction. One is the demand of youth for liberation from externally imposed restrictions on its expression, a demand as old as life itself, yet naturally new to each new embodiment of that life; the other is the increasing tendency to draw humanity together into larger and larger groupings of affinity and mutual interest.

The complementary relationship between these two motifs may not be immediately realisable by the mind. They may even at first glance appear as foes. Liberation might well be the slogan of nascent anarchy, and regard a movement towards social synthesis as the conspiracy of an enemy to freedom. And it would be right, if the whirlpools on the river of life were completely separate entities unrelated by the onward-moving water. But Nature has placed this among the impossibilities, and decreed the ultimate futility of all efforts towards separation in human relationships. Between the individual and the group, between the group and the total, there can be no complete and permanent disruption. Liberation finds its satisfaction in ever-widening bonds of mutual relationship.

This optimistic view of apparently antagonistic human relationships is true, as all optimism is ultimately true, or at least nearer truth than pessimism. But it is not a truth to sit down and rest upon. It is rather a truth to inspire to confident effort that group within the temperamental caste system of humanity who are sensitive to the efflorescence of young life and who desire to serve it towards the solution of the problems of the adjustment of the individual and the others; that is, the group of natural educators.

Revolt of Youth

On the one hand the educator finds a human individual; on the

other the individual's universe; that vast synthesis of substances, orders, qualities, powers, materials, which the interactions of nature and humanity have elaborated from the simple root of universal Life. The whole business of education is the intelligent, fruitful, happy adjustment of developing youth to its environment which is also developing. The "revolt of youth" is a symptom of the failure of such adjustment.

The failure of education to adjust youth to its universe is due to the fact that, while educational theory, taken as a whole, contains all the needed means to adjustment, educational practice, as decided by persons and circumstances outside the domain of theory, has only dealt with a part of the student's nature, and for an inadequate purpose. It has not sought to adjust an individual synthesis of growing desires and capacities to the synthesis of its environment. It has only sought to push a more or less trained mental unit into the melee of relatively polite antagonisms called "life" for the satisfaction of desires that are mostly at a lower level than the desires of the mind.

Cardinal Defect

The cardinal defect of education is just this: it has failed to realise that, despite the emphasis in our time on the mental function of humanity, humanity is supremely a creative being, a sharer in that vast ferment of productive activity which has originated and which carries on not only the orbital dance of the stellar universes but the individual electronic dance which makes the living body of man and woman as stupendous a wonder as the celestial galaxy. This universal impulse must find expression. The creative impulse produces the interaction of energy and substance that we call life; and the activities of life, including the mental activity, justify themselves only according to the measure of their creativeness. To apply any other measure to them,

the measure of personal gratification, of group pride, of material success, is to measure them not for life but for death.

In the realms of nature, where need and satisfaction are within hail of one another, the creative impulse expresses itself with minimum of obstruction to its perpetual flux, and achieves within accepted limitations the exquisite perfections of the crystal and the flower. But in humanity, with its complex instrument of expression, the river of creative energy breaks into a number of distributaries, physical, emotional, mental, which have a tendency to pile in their own exits the deltaic deposits of self-consciousness. Instead of the irrigation of the whole area of life being accomplished, aridity is set up in one section through artificial obstructions, while in another section, whose distributary is forced to carry more than its capacity of the fertilising waters of life, there arises in seasons of special lightnings from the clouds of desire the catastrophe of unmanageable floods.

Creation Is Liberation

Creation is liberation. That which youth has in all ages needed, and what it is demanding to-day under the pseudonym of freedom, is opportunity to create its own subjective universe, not external compulsion to manufacture an imitation universe from stale objective models. Truth and security are in the demand; so also are falsehood and danger. The elements of unreality that were built into the past will crumble at the touch of new embodiments of reality. Where the new liberation is real it will reinforce and be reinforced by the realities of the past. Reality is dateless, and is never in danger from the erosion of time. But there is danger of disillusion, disruption and unhappiness to both youth and its universe in partial demands and partial fulfillments which project the inescapable creative impulse in one direction to the impoverishment or exhaustion of another, and achieve only exaggeration and instability instead of the joy and repose that are the inevitable

outcome of complete expression.

This completeness must be emphasised, for it is the crux of the educational problem. Liberate physical capacity alone or predominantly, and you let loose not a human being but an articulate animal. Liberate feeling alone or predominantly, and you produce sentimental uselessness. Liberate both and you put into operation a double power which, on the side of the physical, will degrade the divine function of physical creation to the level of sensual gratification without responsibility, and on the side of feeling will sentimentalise the physical relation of the sexes into an erotic obsession such as pollutes art and entertainment to-day. Liberate thought alone and you unsheathe a ruthless weapon. But to liberated thought add liberated feeling and physical fitness made intelligent by knowledge, and you set free an entity in whom judgment, responsiveness and power, energising and at the same time controlling one another, will produce not merely "candidates for humanity" but approximately decent human beings. And when, with the coming of educational wisdom, the school authorities and universities of the future realise that thought, feeling and dynamic power are not the essential educable entity but only the instruments and tools of Man the Maker; and when they adjust their syllabuses, materials and methods to the setting free of the creative spirit in humanity through its characteristic, though not its exclusive, modes of expression, the arts and crafts; we may then, and not till then, notwithstanding the ponderous terminology of pedagogics and a psychology that never reaches the psyche, hang out the banners of welcome to the forerunners of a race worthy of the name of humanity.

A Prophylactic In Action

Moving outwards towards expression, the liberated creative impulse, preserving its own integrity, declining servitude to any of its instruments, will release the arts from the burden of the flesh and the bondage of the nerves, and make them

the audible, visible and tangible embodiments of man's highest function as creator not only in objects of art but in every expression of life individual and corporate. The creative spirit, mingling with thought, will transform it from automatic futility and inept shallowness into the potent contemplation that perpetually plans the New

Order of Humanity; it will turn feeling from selfish sentimentality and infructuous excitements into wise compassion that will remove the cruelties both sacred and profane from man's relationship with man and beast; and it will act as a prophylactic in action by making it purposeful, pure and joyous.

THE WORLD ABROAD

A Survey of Foreign Affairs

The U.N.O. Security Council has adjourned after passing the dilatory motion calling for a further report on Franco Spain. Russia remained neutral as a protest against the decision which was held to be inconsistent with the earlier finding that Franco Spain was a fascist menace to international peace.

* * *

The Prime Minister of Azerbaijan has arrived at Teheran to discuss the details of the partial autonomy promised to that province by the Central Government. The conversations are reported to be carried on in a spirit of mutual determination to arrive at an agreed settlement of the provincial question. The spokesman of the revolted province made the curious forecast that he expected the rest of Persia to obtain and enjoy before long the same kind of freedom that Azerbaijan has earned for itself. These reports are followed by semi-official assurances that Russian troops are expected to be withdrawn from Azerbaijan before the 6th May. Another news-item states that Sultan Gavam, the Premier of Persia, has been elected President of a new society to promote better cultural relations between Russia and Persia.

* * *

With the fade-out of Persia from the daily news-parade, interest shifts to the proceedings of the Foreign Ministers' Conference en-

gaged in discussing the terms of peace treaties with the defeated Axis satellites. The fate of Italy was taken up for discussion as the first item in the agenda. After a general agreement on the terms of the preamble which stated the 'war-guilt' of Italy, the question of fixing the amount of reparations to be exacted from Italy was turned over for determination to an expert committee. It has not been possible to arrive at any measure of agreement on other aspects of the peace to be imposed on Italy. The suggestion of an inter-allied commission to supervise the country in the interim period is thought to be unpalatable to Russia, as the acceptance of such a principle by her would enable the Western Allies to pierce through the 'iron curtain' now drawn over the countries of Eastern Europe which have come under the Russian sphere of influence. In addition to this factor, there are also counter claims on Italy preferred by a ring of states surrounding her from the West to the East. France wants 'slight rectifications' of the border in the Alpine region which are calculated to transfer many of the power installations of Italy to French ownership! Austria has already preferred her claim to Tyrol, while Yugoslavia wants Trieste and Albania brings up the rear with demands for compensation for losses suffered during the Italian invasion of her small territory.

For the United Nations, to square up or harmonise all these inordinate claims, and then to sign a peace treaty with what remains of Italy, would be to reveal a degree of optimism more than ordinarily incredible! As one commentator has put it, the more greedy of the claimants perhaps hope to obtain what they want by the simple device of postponing a settlement for as long as possible.

The sailing of the American battleship 'Missouri' through the Dardanelles has been construed as an unfriendly act by the Soviet press; and the occasion has been seized for a mild spurt of the war of nerves against Turkey. Official circles said that they had no comment to make when confronted with the reports that the U. S. Air-force has been concentrated at important strategic points in Europe for 'an atom-blitz' on Russia—if necessary. This is a reminder that the United Nations, though still united, now act on the principle that there would be no harm in keeping their powder dry!

The report on the Palestine Question is expected to be out in the next twenty-four hours. The more significant feature of it (to judge from forecasts) is that it is said to be unanimous. Whether this means that Britain has given up its stand in favour of that of America or whether both have evolved a new but mutually acceptable solution, it may be safely stated that the solution of the questions is not likely to be any more acceptable to the contending parties. The reported readiness of Britain to withdraw from strategic points in Egypt will have to be offset against a corresponding determination to make the most of Palestine for imperial purposes.

The Arab claim for the possession of Tripolitania is so natural from the point of view of geography that we can only wonder why such a claim was not advanced ear-

lier. The Western democracies might well support the claim as the easiest way of postponing the advent of the Soviet in the Mediterranean zone. In any case, the Arab claim introduces a new element of complication which is likely to have the effect of postponing the signing of peace-treaties in Europe.

The Indonesian deputation is returning from the Netherlands with a sense of dissatisfaction at the meagre terms offered to the nationalists. This is only to be expected; for time, which has been gained, has enabled the Dutch to get their troops into position in Indonesia; and this has contributed to gradual stiffening in the attitude of the evicted interloper who has managed to come back with the help of British bayonets. There is armed neutrality in Indonesia as elsewhere, and incidents continue to be reported almost daily; but peace seems as far off from the country as ever.

Sultan Sjarir has made an offer of rice to India which cannot be availed of except by a quick provision of transport. President Hoover has made a forty-eight hour survey of India and has broadcast a long memorandum which could have been drafted comfortably at a table in an office room in New York. Officials rushing from India to America and from America all round the compass strike simple folk as all cry and no wool. Mammoth air-craft were used in the war to transport iced-drinks etc. to the troops over incredible distances. Nobody then raised the questions of cost, time and distance. These are now made prominent. If there is a surplus, and you know where it is, the United Nations have means enough at their disposal to transport the food to areas which are most urgently in need of it. We are still discussing averages and percentages, while either nothing is being done or no adequate publicity is being given to the measures already taken to raise short term crops here and

elsewhere. The situation seems truly Gilbertian, except for the fact that it is surcharged with potential tragedy on a colossal scale!

Notwithstanding the return of Gen. Marshall to Chungking, it has been reported that attempts to end the civil war in Manchuria have failed. One reason advanced for this lamentable result is that the Communists have stiffened their demand for the retention under their control of both the key-cities Changchun and Harbin. This is a reminder that in China the struggle is for the free sway of an imperium within an imperium. Persia Vs. Azerbaijan is being re-enacted *vis a vis* China vs. Manchuria. It is

ghastly that the Chinese on both sides should thus contribute to an indefinite holiday to be enjoyed by third parties who have no interest in a strong or peaceful China!

The Empire Prime Ministers' conference is apparently engaged in devising an alternative master-plan for the defence of empire with the nominal grant of 'freedom' to dependencies like Egypt and India. Only meagre reports have been published; but the meeting is an indication of British awareness to changing conditions in the world which entail changes in the organisation and exploitation of the empire itself.

PLAYING THE GAME

In one of Galsworthy's plays there is a dialogue between a country squire and an unemployed down-and-out, caught in the act of laming a favourite horse on the eve of an important race. The squire, being also the magistrate, is anxious to get at the motive of the deed. He therefore presses the culprit to disclose what prompted him to injure a harmless animal, and what he hoped to gain by such wanton cruelty. The wretch who had long remained silent and crestfallen, suddenly flared up and retorted: 'Look 'ere, guv'nor, wot's all this talk of a 'armless animal? Don't you set your hounds on the deer and the hare? Ain't they 'armless animals too? Wot makes *you* do that?'

The squire was cornered; for he pursed up his lips with the remark: 'Thanks, we shan't discuss the ethics of sport.' Note that it was the squire who started the discussion, and it was the self-same squire who burked it when it threatened to recoil on him!

This *locus criticus* throws some revealing light on the mysticism of the English camouflaged in the most material things. For the English have succeeded in investing

their national character with significant traits derived from seemingly innocuous or healthy manifestations of human nature. Duelling, gambling, boxing and sporting in general have been refined into much more than arts—for they have come to epitomise the English way of life in concrete symbols for the delectation, if not edification, of the rest of the world. The phrase 'playing the game' is surcharged with a spiritual content which is above all argument. You have to take it or leave it; in the latter case, you run the risk of antagonising an uncertain friend who has it in him to become your deadliest enemy. It is therefore worth while to explore the implications of this phrase with reference to the two questions provoked by it, viz, what is the game and how should it be played?

That the answers to these questions are not simple or obvious is evident from the discussion between the squire and the offender. At first sight it looked as if the squire was stating a universal truth; but we see at closer quarters the emergence of fundamentally irreconcilable points of view. Unlike the squire, however, the world does not apply closure, but goes on

discussing them interminably; on crucial occasions they invariably provide inflammatory material for starting wars. The formula of the *casus belli* may vary from time to time; but the real cause is traceable always to a few primitive dichotomies. We pride ourselves on being the most rational of creatures; but there is in all of us an ultimate residue of stubborn unreason which we cherish with subconscious tenderness. All our totems and taboos, our shibboleths and superstitions are organised round an essentially irrational radix, even as the coral reef is built up round the nucleus of the polyp.

Consider for instance the hold of the categorical imperatives on the popular imagination, or the inhibitions and conventions of organised society which alone give cohesion to that society. While nobody dreams of questioning them openly or of subjecting them to a frontal assault, we have evolved a multiplicity of devices through which to by-pass or transgress them in quiet and unostentatious ways! The fiercest iconoclasts are those who force you, at the point of the sword, to worship *their* idols to the exclusion of the rest! You are enjoined to honour your father and mother especially in their old age; but as it is only then that they prove to be an unmitigated nuisance, Mosaic law enables you to get rid of them sastracically by the payment of Korbán—a sort of commutation of future service in present cash-value! Many a decorous householder is an anonymous and ungailing patron of Mrs. Warren's profession! And the sturdiest pillars of Society are usually those who have exploited it most. All these classes of people have no doubt in their minds that they are playing the game, while furtively engaged in violating as many rules of it as possible!

The idea of treating life as a kind of sport or game may be traced back to the evolution of the idea of leisure as the unburdened interval between the periodically recurring struggle for bare existence. It is the sense of a volun-

tary, self-imposed privation or discipline with intent to make the subsequent enjoyment of deferred pleasures keener. It is in short the instinct in all of us (of varying intensity) to fashion a cosmos of our own which is parallel to the objective one around us, and which enables us to set Fate and Free Will by the ears for our own amusement.

Hence every game has got its own rules. Obeying them becomes as frightfully important as obeying the laws of nature; for infringements are punished with an impersonal severity which contributes to the prestige which belongs to the rules. From time immemorial, duels have been held in the highest esteem by the most sensitive spirits. Prevailing conditions and external factors are equalised as far as possible, so that the combatants start level. Success is adjudged in favour of the man who is able to produce a more decisive quantum of the invisible *plus* which we vaguely call the soul or the spirit or the morale of the winner. Duelling is no more in fashion,—it is indeed illegal. But in surrendering the right of private defence to the state, we have taken care to reserve the right of private judgment to ourselves. On rare occasions, we even manage to bring it to bear on the state,—to mend it or end it!

The Age of Chivalry devised its own code of conduct with a view to facilitate the transition from the medieval to the modern world. By making woman the centre of its cult, it helped the growth of a stable society on secure family foundations. But it must also be remembered that abduction of women must have been at least as general as the protection of them in the chivalric code!

Indeed, the injunction to play the game has more often been honoured in the breach than in the observance. For we have the other saying to reckon with, viz., that all is fair in love and war! What remains in, or of life, after these two imperative demands have been satiated or exhausted? Precisely nothing at

all. When the plot thickens, and there are too many knots to be untied in the natural course, we have recourse to Alexander's way of cutting them with the sword, or invoke a *deus ex machine* to get us out of the mess. In such cases we play the game by breaking all the rules of it! Such was the origin of Rugby football which is said to be a game without any rules at all; such is the character of modern 'global or total' war.

The exhortation to play the game is an insidious attempt in favour of the *status quo*, and, to that extent, deserves to be resisted. But let us be frank enough and admit that, in this matter, we have no intention of following the advice we are so eager to give to others. Our leaders have been denouncing the government for staging the I.N.A. trials; but they themselves have refused to let bygones be bygones wherever they had the power to do so! At one time, we went to prison as the well-to-do used to go to Spas; but then we complained of ill-treatment in jails, and objected to being called C-class prisoners, although such a distinction was one of the rules of the game as laid down by the other side. Communists unfettered by any pledge of non-violence can burn, loot or kill according to exigencies, but they score a fine debating point over Congressmen found guilty of indulging in acts of violence! When Bradman made mammoth scores at Cricket, and Lindrum did the same at billiards, they so shocked public opinion as to seem guilty of unsportsmanlike conduct; and proposals were pushed through to change the rules of the game which would render such record-breaking more and more difficult. In war, we intensify propaganda by a meticulous compilation of the lapses of the enemy from the rules of the game; but in our own case we justify such contra-

ventions as still within the letter of the law.

Playing the game is fair-weather philosophy. When we sense impending danger to ourselves, we make a hurried holocaust of the rules, if thereby, we could save our skins. Yuddhishtira himself had to utter a *double-entendre* to be assured of victory; he played the game—impeccably in its externals alone—on the only critical occasion of his life. In the shifting sands of modern diplomacy there is, for every nation or state, one constant and over-riding aversion that shapes policy. To get rid of Hitler, Mr. Churchill went as far as Moscow although it was a more bitterly humiliating journey to him than that of Barbarossa to the Pope. If a tenth of the concessions which he has given to Stalin had been offered to Hitler, there would not only have been no war, but what is much more to the point, Hitler would have become the most powerful Anglo-phil of all time! But that would have meant a spectacular loss of prestige which no patriotic Englishman could contemplate with equanimity. In the sequel, the loss is now being enforced with the inevitability of gradualness which goes on unperceived, because the number of people who, at any given moment, see beyond their noses can always be counted upon the fingers of one's hands.

The moral is obvious: no man born of woman can play the game perfectly. For then, he ceases to be man. That is why when God as in our Puranas, assumes the human form, he gives hostages to Censorious time by being guilty of at least one peccadillo. The reason for this frailty is that human conduct is subject to a sort of ethical relativity even as the universe itself is subject to a sort of cosmic relativity, which both before and after Einstein, has been caviare to the general!

P. M.

'I have the greatest regard for X... But there is a fatal objection to his becoming a member of this club, or indeed of any other dining club that understands its business. He is the same after dinner as before.' It was like a flash of light; the rest agreed and he was not elected!

BOOKS

League of Youth. By S. Ramanathan, (Royal Printing Works, 11, Mount Road, Madras. Price Re. 1-8-0.)

The world has always had hard words for those persons who deny in later life what they had preached in their earlier years. The author of this book is a notable example in the public life of this Presidency of this unpopular change of opinion. But it would be foolish to reject this book as either an apologia of a renegade or as the bitter complaint of an embittered politician. The arguments of Mr. Ramanathan deserve careful consideration.

His contention is brief but emphatic. It is that the "constructive programme" of the Congress, the heirs to the British in the rule of this country, is dangerous and mischievous. He believes that in its various aspects it is anachronistic, superstitious and unfair. These are hard words, and he who delivers himself of them owes it to his readers to present his case with integrity. The reader will be able to learn how far the arguments of this book fulfil this necessity.

The author devotes a considerable portion of his book to the insistence on the spinning-wheel, and his words carry weight as he was in charge for a long period of the Congress spinning organisation in this Presidency. He has now come to the conclusion, fortified by his travels in Russia and Japan, that this instrument is entirely anachronistic, and has no relation whatsoever to economic facts. He believes that "charka" is a dead body. The life went out of it centuries ago." The efforts of the Congress to attempt to clothe the nation through this outmoded contrivance cannot but, he is assured, end in disaster.

Mr. Ramanathan has another cause for quarrel with the All-India Spinners' Association. During the late war, an excellent opportunity presented itself to test whether, even in seasons of acute scarcity, the spinning-wheel could help to relieve this difficulty. But before he had fully addressed himself to this task at Tirupur, he

received orders, during the 1942 movement, to refuse to pay taxes to the Government and premia to the War Risks Insurance scheme. Despite repeated professions to the contrary, the Spinners' Association was thus proved to be a political adjunct of the Congress, though it had received grants from administrations and donations from the public on the explicit understanding that it was non-political. Mr. Ramanathan had no choice except to resign from the Association.

The author is unable to reconcile himself to the imposition of Hindi as the *lingua franca*. He has some wise words to say on the foolishness of attempting to eradicate English which are probably the most valuable part of this book. "English is the language of the intelligentsia all over the world. The prejudice created in India against English learning by Gandhian propaganda is not only unreasonable but unpatriotic. English is the only means by which science and all the amenities of modern civilisation can permeate our huge population". The spinning-wheel is but a harmless toy, which has imposed itself on the otherwise acute intellect of a great man, who sets excessive store by mediaevalism. But the rejection of English is of altogether graver import. It can only spell the ruin of the modern Indian civilisation, which, it should be remembered, has something to be said for it.

The author will not command universal assent in his objections to prayer. If he does not like Mahatma Gandhi's inviting, not, as he should remember, ordering, people to pray with him, there are those who do. Secularism is not, as he appears to think, the sole means of India's regeneration. It is, however, one of his main objections to the Gandhian programme.

Enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Ramanathan's opposition to the "constructive programme" is fundamental. He is much concerned that when the Congress "succeed" the present rulers, they may be tempted to put it into practice. His book may

succeed in imposing some correctives on it if his fears should prove justified.

Vishalandhra (Greater Andhra): By P. Sundarayya. (Published by Prajasaki Karyalayam, Bezwada. As. 8.)

The Andhras are an ancient race with 3000 years of history behind them, with a rich tradition in every branch of their culture. Greater Andhra to-day consists of the 11 districts in the Madras Presidency with 2 crore population and 9 districts in the Nizam's Dominions with nearly 1 crore population. This book is an analysis of the living conditions of present day Andhras, and makes a thorough enquiry into their economic, social and political problems. It suggests a practical programme for their betterment in every branch. The writer who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party is well-equipped for writing this book, having done years of selfless work in the cause of the poor. The economic condition of the *kisan*, the state of affairs in the zamindari estates, water resources for irrigation, medical aid, educational facilities and other allied problems are analysed here in detail and practical remedies suggested.

Though written from a Communist point of view, the author has succeeded in making the study an impartial one. The language used is lucid.

A map of Greater Andhra is appended and is a special feature of the book.

It is available in two languages, English and Telugu.

Jolly Old Tales of Ind. By A. S. P. Aiyar, I.C.S. K. V. Press Depot, Vellore, South India. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. A. S. P. Aiyar is well known to the reading public as an indefatigable and versatile writer of stories, sketches, translations and adaptations from the motley mass of legend, tradition, folk-lore, history and literature of our country through the ages. In the present volume, he has given us an English rendering of classics like Manimekhalai, tales from the Panchatantra, little anecdotes of wit, humour

or wisdom, of undermined authorship and age, and a selection of the adventures of *Tenali Raman*. Mr. Aiyar's aim is laudable and may be compared with the efforts of Percy (on a higher level) and of Scott to gather the reliques of ancient poetry which in their time were beginning to be forgotten by people. The volume provides unfailing amusement and can be opened on any page without the reader feeling lost. But we must add that Mr. Aiyar writes with a slap-dash facility and vigour which lead him to the commission of numerous solecisms from the point of view of English idiom and usage.

Authentic Reports of Ten Talks given by Krishnamurti: Ojai (U.S.A.) - 1944. Issued by Krishnamurti Writings, Inc., Adyar, Madras.

In these talks Mr. Krishnamurti, as is part of his manner of exposition, lays down a theme; in this instance (May to July 1944 in his Californian centre) it is "to develop what seems to me to be the process of right thinking so that each one of us is truly creative, and not merely enclosed in a series of ideas or prejudices." To rid humanity of the tyranny of ideologies and prejudices is surely one of the most urgent needs of our distracted time, and many will turn to Mr. Krishnamurti for indications as to how it may be done. He puts the matter negatively and positively in two sentences: "Right thinking is not to be discovered through books, through attending a few talks, or by merely listening to some people's ideas of what right thinking is. Right thinking is to be discovered for ourselves through ourselves." This, he adds, necessitates self-knowledge. This is primary, for "as we are—the world is." Mr. Krishnamurti's way of beginning with ultimates, instead of leading to them, must be a difficulty to many. Vedantic heredity breaks through, even though Mr. Krishnamurti puts tradition, which is large-scale heredity, among things to be avoided if one is to think and act rightly. Consistently he emphasises the need of mental largeness, benevolence, knowledge, integration, calm, if one is to "understand that which is beyond all measure, beyond all formulation". It is open, of course, to the inquisitive mind to question whether even a mind that has attained all the qualities that Mr. Krishnamurti sets out, will attain such understanding.

LETTERS

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

"Rajaji's Place Is In The Centre"

The invitation to Rajaji by the Congress President has brought the unhappy controversy about Rajaji's leadership again to the forefront. Rajaji's place is in the Centre and not in the province where petty prejudices hold the field. Here in Tamil Nad, more than 50 per cent of so-called Madras Congress legislators are really communally-minded while professing Congress ideals. If the Justice Party did not contest the elections, it was because: (1) there was no chance of success against the Congress candidates and (2) the majority of Congress legislators were really people with the ideals of the Justice Party with Congress clothes and caps on. Hence it is that the revulsion against Rajaji has crystallized into communal spirit. The reason trotted out against him, that he resigned from the Congress, and that he did propaganda against Congress workers in the 1942 disturbances, was a stick that came in handy. That is all. Any other stick would equally have suited his detractors.

The result is we are in a quandary. Here in Madras Province, we have an absolute Congress majority. But there is no cohesion among them. They cannot agree on the choice of their leader. They are equally indignant that anybody else should mediate. Madras thus bids fair to become a benighted "Congress" Province!

M. S. V. CHARI,
Tindivanam

Modern Leaders

No nation in the world can ever rise without a leader. The whole success of a movement depends on an able leader just as the success of a battle depends on an able general. In our fight for freedom the Congress has played the most important part. It has given us the lead and brought us to the present status. Our leaders

are to be congratulated for this. To-day India is proud of Mahatma, Azad, Nehru, Patel and those who have died in harness.

We must follow our leaders and work according to their instructions. To-day, the situation is delicate. If our leaders miss us, we are gone for ever. It is our duty to warn them against it. It is no good beating drums in praise of the Congress. This is not the proper time for it. We have to warn Congress leaders against the capitalist element which is creeping into the Congress fold. Possibly after entering, it might torpedo our movement.

Rajas and Maharajas are renouncing their titles and putting on Khaddar caps. To-day, the Tatas are putting their aeroplanes at the service of our leaders. The Birlas never refuse to pay money whenever it is required. The Dalmias are bent upon converting Anglo-Indian papers into Indian papers like staunch Arya Samajists. Some of the business magnates are busy making good all the damages caused by mobs at Calcutta and Cawnpore. The capitalist papers appear staunchly nationalist. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has paid Rs. 10,000 towards the INA fund. They are all becoming good people. They have started believing in independence. But why? What medicine has changed their minds suddenly? Is it the Mahatma's nature cure?

Do they think that they can make money in the name of the Congress? Has the time come when they can deceive the innocent with Khaddar caps? No doubt, some people have already exploited in the name of the INA. Some earn by publishing, "When Bose was Ziauddin", others by selling books, photos, notes and badges.

We see that to-day in the Congress there exists a spirit which had never been seen in the past. Our leaders and workers care little for constructive work. Most of them hanker after publicity and portfolios. Pandit Pant gets angry if his arrival is not mentioned

in the Herald the next morning. Kidwai likes to see his statements in the papers.

This time Bhulabhai Desai is neither in the Central nor in the Provincial Assembly. Why? Is it due to his bad health? The Congress has lost a gem.

Our leaders are preparing us for the last struggle. Everywhere they say that if the Cabinet Mission fails Indians should put forth their last ounce of energy and fight to drive away imperialism from India. But are they ready with their plans? They should let us know and prepare us fully. It is a great responsibility at this critical moment. Otherwise, there is no point in issuing long statements and fiery speeches.

"SON OF THE SOIL"

People's Rights

The following news is published in the Free Press Journal, Bombay, dated April 27:—

Magistrate Disobeys Minister!

Orders passed by the Finance Minister (who is a Congressman) for the release of M. Yusuf. . . have not been carried out, by the District Magistrate of Gujranwala. The Magistrate sent the orders back to the Home Department for reconsideration.

Mr. M. Yusuf was detained in a police station under Rule 129 of the D.I.O. Rules.

It is said that Magistrates dare to disobey Ministers' orders because they are given secret instructions to meet any contingency in case the Delhi talks break down.

In our own presidency, news comes from Madura where a strike is going on in the Sri Rama Vilas Bus Service. No incidents are reported. Peaceful picketing is going on. But the police and the authorities, instead of making any attempts at adjudication or arbitration of the claims of the workers, have chosen to invite the black act, "The Criminal Law Amendment Act," and arrested 170 persons. We should remember that this Act, passed in 1932 in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement, has never been used till now against peaceful picketings.

Other recent instances are not wanting where the high-ranking officials

and vested interests moved by political prejudices and selfish ends continue to use the obsolete and current criminal law of the country indiscriminately, to terrorise and suppress peaceful activities and the democratic rights of the people.

Our countrymen should view these instances in their proper focus and not merely look at each attack of the police isolated from the rest. Complacency over the matter is bound to leave all people to the mercy of policeraj. A united protest of all sections of the public to put an immediate stop to this sacrilege on the people's rights is of urgent necessity.

'SRIVATSAVA'.

A Warning Against Romantic Love

I read with interest K.S.'s comment on your attack against Hindu marriages and your answer to it which appears mischievous. As K. S. points out, you proceed to a sweeping generalisation on the basis of what is happening in a few cases of Hindu marriage. To-day the fathers have awakened to a sense of reality and are allowing in a large measure individual freedom of choice to their sons and daughters. There is a growing realisation among them that the marriage is not an exclusive concern for themselves. Your pleading for setting romantic love as the basis of marriage can only be described as the tendency of the modern "progressive" who is for making a clean sweep of all, even the good, that is inherent in our tradition. The so-called romantic love, as seen to-day, is comic in its process and tragic in its result; but never romantic in any sense. The modern romantic hero bases a contact upon a temporary feeling, a momentary fascination, and when the structure of romantic idealism is shattered by the intimacy of common life as often happens, a new foundation is in demand for an enduring and staunch affection. This new foundation 'romantic love' does not seem to supply. All at once he turns into a tragic hero and as he looks back at himself along the vista of his past romantic enactments, his thought will be something akin to Heine's:

"Above the youth's inspired and flashing eyes
I see the motley mocking fool's-cap rise."

It is wrong to suggest that existence becomes 'dull and drab' without

romantic love. Can you say that the Hindu couples do not love each other or that they drag on a dull existence?

Your reference to Sita and Savitri as unfit as examples for the modern girl is, to say the least, wicked. You say that no modern girl with a head on her shoulders would follow her husband to the forest as Sita followed Rama and that "if any widowed Hindu woman revealed an immovable faith in the possibility of rescuing her husband back to life from the kingdom of the God of Death, her relations would scarcely regard her as an incarnation of Savitri. It is more likely that they would consult a doctor." Sita and Savitri typify the ideal Hindu wife and to follow their example is to follow the principle that they embodied. The details of going to forests or seeking the God of Death form but the framework of the story; what is essential is the moral that informs it. No sane man, following Yudhishtira, would gamble staping his own wife and brothers, and yet does not the story reveal to us the extremes to which even a man like Yudhishtira might push his love of gambling? Modern conditions have no doubt changed and yet the old ideal can still be adhered to, though not exactly in the same form of going to forests or dogging the shadow of Yama which you seem to consider the way of emulating the example of Sita and Savitri. You plead so ardently for romantic love. Just imagine a modern girl drawing inspiration from Rosalind or Viola or any of Reynold's heroines. I am sure that there would be no need for consulting a doctor. She can be straight despatched to a lunatic asylum. Even the romantic Shakespeare while giving us a Rosalind did not fail to give us a Miranda.

K. R. NARAYANASWAMY,
Presidency College, Madras.

There cannot be too much love in the world. The adjective 'romantic' is of others' choice. Love blesses any relationship, and marriage without love is a dreadful thing whatever sacred texts and angry correspondents might say.—Ed.

Argument And Achievement

It has become the fashion now-a-days to pride oneself on the fact (or, at any rate, assumption, that he holds revolutionary ideas on a subject. But invariably such ideas are in a nebu-

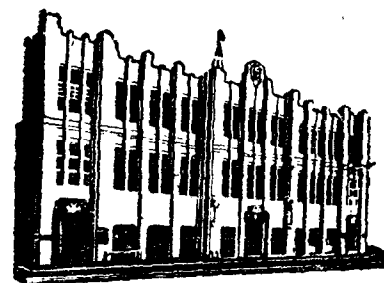
lous stage and when it comes to a question of translating them into action the revolutionary proves just a visionary and nothing more. So much so that the so-called moderate is found to be capable of higher achievements than the radical.

Let us take the case of the first Congress Ministry in Madras. People feel that its pace of reform was rather slow and tepid and lacking in zeal. It is said that social matters took precedence over economic and nothing tangible was done in the way of amelioration of the conditions of the worker and the peasant. But it is conveniently forgotten that in a country such as India social barriers hinder the economic development of the community and unless effective steps are taken to bring into being a state of society in which equality of opportunity and status for all is assured all talk of emancipation of the underdog is sheer bunkum. So it was that the Congress Ministry laid particular stress on the social side of development rather than the economic and succeeded in a measure in creating self-confidence in those who formerly were suffering from inferiority complex.

Again it was fondly hoped that if people settled down to devising ways and means of curing the economic ills of the country the inter-communal differences would disappear and that all sections would co-operate to attain the millennium. But India has for many centuries lived in absurd superstitions so that the distinctive features of each community have come to be regarded as something worthy of being paraded and we are yet nowhere near arriving at a workable agreement. Hence what is required at the present moment is the generation of a feeling of brotherhood between man and man no matter to which caste or group he belongs. To this end Rajaji initiated a series of reforms which while intended for the uplift of the backward sections of the population tended to make them better and more respected citizens. Prohibition and temple entry are instances in point.

So he is the best friend of India's oppressed and depressed who is a relentless social reformer. And can we afford to forget the name of Rajaji in this context?

"NON-DESCRIPT".



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SWATANTRA

Editor: KHASA SUBBA RAU.

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SWATANTRA

(SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1946.)

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importance and with it the emphasis on the need to clothe it with magisterial powers. An overhaul of the administrative machinery is overdue and Mr. Bhashyam may well be able to carry out the promise made in the first flush of assumption of office. We would, however, suggest his reading the Government of India Act of 1935 and if he is already familiar with it to refresh his memory and decide if this particular reform, highly desirable as it is, has to be given a place of high priority having in view, firstly, the powers of the Governor over the appointment of a Public Services Commission which decides initial recruitment and also has a voice in subsequent promotions in the matter of the Subordinate Judiciary; and secondly, the complete lack of any say for the Ministry in the matter of appointment of judges to the High Court. As matters stand at present this very necessary reform can hardly produce the results that are expected from it. It does not however mean that the Minister concerned can do nothing towards the reform of the administration of criminal law in this province. A beginning can be made in the direction of the appointment of a lawyer of some eminence as Director of Prosecutions. The magistracy in the metropolis and in urban areas can be replaced by men with legal training even if administrative controls remain unchanged for the time being. The public will be interested to know what the Ministry as a whole thinks about these matters, specially in view of the fact that the lawyer element is so strong in the Cabinet.

The Education Minister need not have been so hasty either in the matter of issuing statements and at any rate he has hardly said anything to comfort or reassure the public. It is quite possible that the over-riding considerations he has enumerated would leave no chance for any visible improvement in the field of education excepting the Minister's deep interest in children, boys and girls and his abundant sympathy for the sufferings of teachers. Blueprints now exist which suggest the basis and direction of

progress in education even if the suggestions contained in these are in some respects chimerical. Mr. Avanashilingam Chettiar will do well to commence work on the basis of these blueprints, enlisting for the task the support of the teaching profession instead of depending on his own experience in the past under conditions which can scarcely be relevant in the future setting up of education.

We would urge upon the Prime Minister and his colleagues the need for some restraint in the matter of individual Ministers enunciating policies, piecemeal. The strength of the Ministry lies in collective action and they would do well to thresh out major questions of policy together before taking the public into their confidence.

Railwaymen's Strike

The General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, representing a million railway workers, has decided, after a secret All-India ballot, that railwaymen throughout India will go on strike on June 27 unless their demands are conceded by that date. The demands put forward by the railwaymen are:

- (1) no retrenchment;
- (2) revision of scales of pay, at the rate of Rs. 36-3-46 for unskilled men, Rs. 40-4-60 for semi-skilled and Rs. 60-5-100-10-200 for skilled including subordinate and administrative sections;
- (3) adequate dearness allowance as per the recommendations of the Rau Committee; and
- (4) three months' pay as bonus for all.

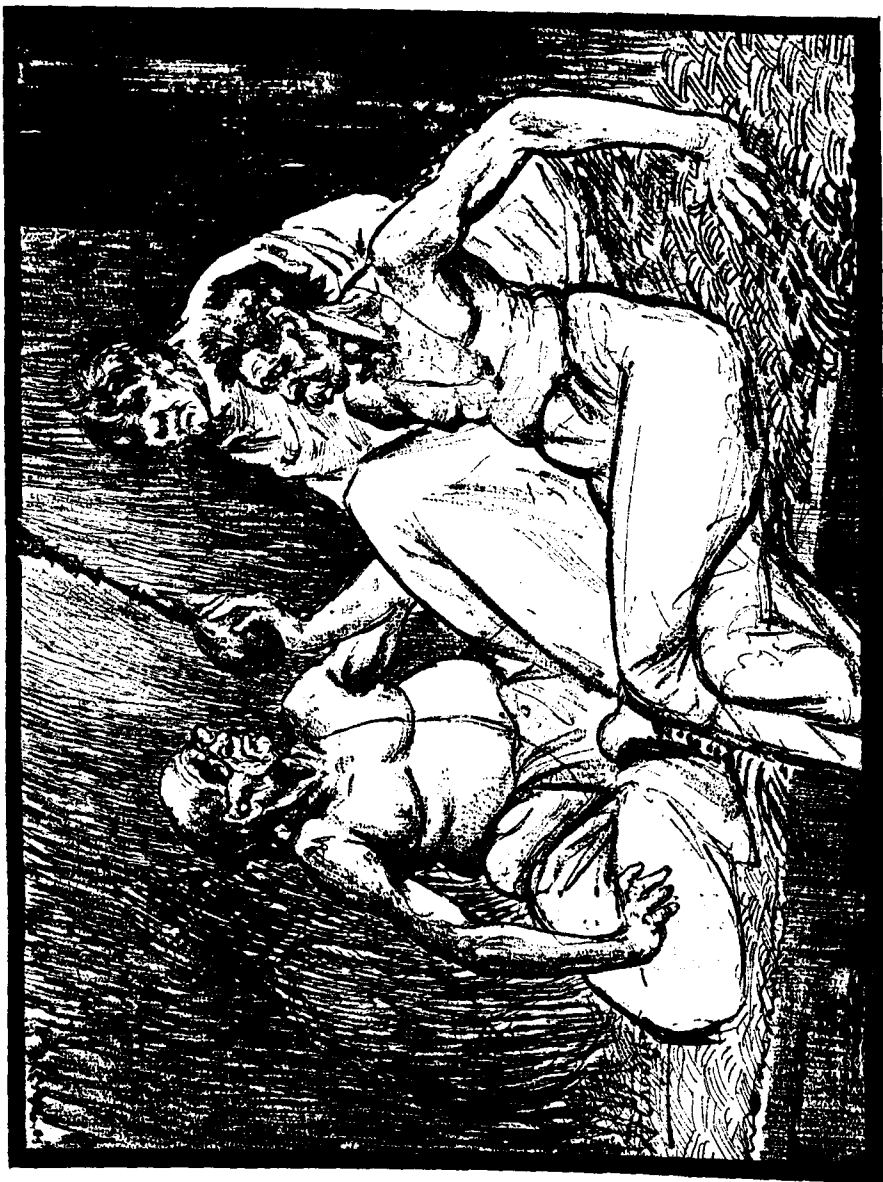
When the demands of the railwaymen became intensified into preparations for a strike ballot, the Government of India stepped on the scene with an offer to appoint an adjudicator. Apparently a conciliatory move, the Government's proposal was vitiated by the fact that none of the main demands of the railwaymen were brought within the purview of work of the adjudicator who was to concern himself with hours of work and leave

rules. In regard to the main demands of the railwaymen the official attitude has been one of evasion and prevarication. Their answer to the demand for increased scales of pay is that the whole question of revision of scales of pay should await the report of a non-official commission to be appointed to investigate comprehensively the entire question of a general revision of pay of all Government employees. Their answer to the demand for dearness allowance is that the dearness allowance already granted is adequate enough. In answer to the appeal that there should be no retrenchment they state that employees to be retrenched can easily secure other employment. Actually, nothing is known as to when the contemplated committee of enquiry for considering general revision of pay for all is likely to be appointed. Nor even if it is appointed can the railwaymen hope to draw sustenance from the mere fact of appointment of such a committee. There has been no lack of elaborate investigation of the service conditions of railwaymen by pompous committees in the past. The Royal Commission on Labour started its work under sanction of the highest authority. Sixteen years ago, the Commission stated that 54 per cent of the railway employees earned less than Rs. 20 per month and the engineering workers who formed one-third of the staff were paid on an average Rs. 18 only. They had recommended substantial increases. Yet to-day there are station masters on the South Indian Railway paid Rs. 35 only per month while the average pay of a railway worker ranges between Rs. 12 and 17 per month. How different is the treatment meted out to the officers whose average pay works to Rs. 1,400 a month.

The plea of financial stringency for the niggardly treatment bestowed on the railwaymen has only to be mentioned to be dismissed as untenable. "Financial stringency" has not prevented the Congress Ministries, reputed custodians of

workers' welfare, from taking up as their very first measure, the provision for themselves of three times the salary they had been getting in their pre-war tenure of office. The pressure of need is greater in the case of persons of smaller incomes and if a fraction of the measure of generosity usually conceded to the richer classes in the top-ranks of service had been extended to the railwaymen as well, there would have been no labour trouble at all on any of the Indian railways. In the matter of income earned, Indian railways hold probably a world record. During the war the income from passenger traffic multiplied enormously. The Transport Member's boast that train fares for passengers have not been increased while the prices of all commodities have risen phenomenally is a rather lugubrious one that can deceive nobody. Nowadays less than a quarter of the pre-war scale of comfort is what passengers get for the same old fares. The economic equivalent of the situation is an unacknowledged fourfold rise in rates belying all pretensions to the contrary from responsible railway authorities.

The fact is that the prosperity of the railways has not been translated into conditions conducive to the contentment of the railwaymen. Far too much of the earnings that they helped to pile up has gone into high salaries for officers, reserves and depreciation funds. Now when the threat of mass retrenchment faces them, organised protective action on their part through the last weapon of strike after all other methods have failed to secure redress, is sought to be discredited on the ground of the effect it must have on the food situation. Concerned as everyone is over the tragic possibilities of dreaded famine, the official game seems to be to set the people against the railwaymen and utilise famine panic as a weapon to beat the railwaymen down with. If public opinion fails to deal intelligently with the situation, the consequences are apt to be disastrous.



SCANDAL MONGERS:

They are having an important discussion, the subject being "Can old scandals be made palatable?" The answer apparently is "no".
—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury

SWATANTRA

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No. 13

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1946.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

NEW MINISTRY AT WORK

THE incidents that occurred prior to the formation of the Madras Ministry are familiar to the public. The effect of these has prevented, for reasons into which we need not now digress, some groups in the Congress Legislature Party from participating in the formation of the Ministry. We commented in the past on the selection of Congress candidates for the legislature and the public are aware that by and large, talent, knowledge of human affairs and familiarity with subjects like economics, were not amongst the qualifications that determined the choice. But taking the Congress Legislature Party as it is, we are inclined to the view that the selections for the Ministry are not unsatisfactory. Examined individually, the Ministry does not reveal any outstanding talent, but looking at them collectively they might prove a good team if they decide to work together, and it is this fact that we would like to urge on the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

Some of the Ministers have been tempted to speak about the subjects covered by their portfolios immediately on assuming office. In view of the fact that in the case of many of them the choice of the portfolio was not made on the basis of prior familiarity with the subject, such pronouncements cannot help being merely conventional. On a scrutiny of these expressions of ministerial views we wish the Ministers had not been so hasty. Mr. Giri has come out with two pronouncements, one on the Labour situation and the other on the Government's industrial policy. Mr.

Giri requires no coaching to make a statement on the Government's policy regarding Labour. We only wish that his views had been more definite in view of the extreme tension prevailing in Labour circles at the moment. On the question of industrial policy we find his statement supremely unsatisfactory. The Advisers' regime had been handling this most important matter in a most perfunctory and indifferent manner and where they have taken positive action, such action has been dictated by political and personal considerations. We sympathise with Mr. Giri for being heir to such a legacy. But we do not feel that the situation can be remedied by glossing over the realities with catchwords and cliches. With the threat of abnormal unemployment staring us in the face, the portfolio of Industries assumes almost the place of primacy. We would suggest that no statement on this question must emerge without full discussion in the Cabinet and without a reasonable number of the Ministers agreeing on the policy to be pursued.

Similarly, Mr. Bhashyam has come out with his views on the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive, apparently to provide a striking contrast to the attitude reputed to have been adopted by the former Congress Ministry and presumably without any careful thought over the problem in its present setting. That the administrative set-up now existing is completely out of date and is unsuitable to the needs of the times few would deny. The Land Revenue administration is rapidly losing its place of



trous. Railwaymen are not alone in striking out for a better wage. The urge for economic betterment has become universal among a large multitude of wage-earners hitherto kept on short rations through bad pay, and it has not failed to make itself felt even in the police, a comparatively pampered department, destined to be employed for teaching salutary lessons to recalcitrants giving trouble to the authorities. An urge like this cannot be fed on old slogans. Nothing less than a complete overhauling of the values of Government and the standards of administration as applied to the treatment of workers and the regulation of wages, will meet the situation, and to bring it about quick enough to avert further spread of mass distress through all possible means of pressure on the Central authorities, is now the most urgent of the tasks of the popular ministries in the provinces.

The Paris Conference

Though the Bourbons have disappeared from France, their spirit is certainly holding sway in the Luxembourg Palace, where the Foreign Ministers of the four prominent Powers of the world have been conferring for the last two weeks. These eminent politicians have forgotten nothing and learnt nothing from the cruel results that accrued to the world as a result of the high-placed wranglings in 1919 and 1920. Before the late war, an indignant world was sought to be comforted by the fact that all its ills were due to the machinations of politicians at the Versailles Peace Conference, when Clemenceau and, to a lesser extent, Lloyd George outwitted the hapless Wilson. Who are cast for the same roles now, it is difficult to specify. But the result impartially promises to be the same chaos, the same hatred, and the same stupidity that were the direct causes and the consequences of the error of Versailles.

For the fact is that the four Powers have disagreed among themselves on almost every point they took up for consideration. The

Italian peace treaty is as far from signature as before, though a formal agreement on the preamble of the treaty was reported on April 27. The eminent gentlemen's powers of accommodation have not been exercised since that miraculous compromise.

The extent of reparations, the delimitation of the frontiers and the size of the naval forces are the important issues now dividing the late Allies. A fundamental difference of opinion is disclosed. Britain and America, to whom the civilisation of Italy is still a source of inspiration, naturally propose that she should not be heavily mulcted in reparations, considering the fact that she is now living on the doles presented by them. They are content to ignore the enormous loss of lives and treasure which they incurred in their arduous Italian campaign. But Russia claims compensation for the damage which the few Italians at the tail of the Germans caused in the Russian campaign. The Anglo-Saxon Powers have not accepted this claim, and the matter has been shelved by that useless expedient of an "expert committee".

If Italy is not Russia's *protege*, Yugoslavia most certainly is. This fact explains the Soviet solicitude for the Yugoslav claim to Trieste. Mr. Bevin was talking with his tongue in his cheek when he gravely rebuked Molotov for suspecting that the "expert committee" had been influenced by political considerations. There can be little doubt that it was, for no body, however detached, can escape politics in the present juncture. Trieste is just another pawn in the grave match now being played on the chess-board of the world by two players, who are steadily growing more and more violent.

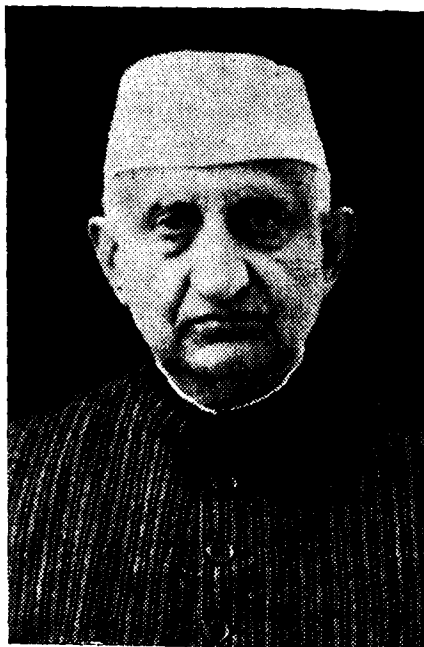
The same Russian anxiety and the same Anglo-Saxon uninterestedness will be undoubtedly repeated when the peace treaties with the other Balkan countries, now lying behind the Soviet "iron curtain" of Mr. Churchill's description, come up for consideration.

The Paris Conference has also incurred the displeasure of Vienna

for denying Southern Tyrol to her. That a starving and desperate country should want territories and should, for this purpose, be willing to stage "incidents" and give other provocations, is the final indication of how deeply power politics and aggrandizement have taken hold of the world.

Bhulabhai Desai

A varied and picturesque career, all too uncommon amongst a subject nation, has come to an end with the passing away of Bhulabhai Desai. Our land has seen many successful and outstanding lawyers and Bhulabhai's career till 1930 as a lawyer and the Advocate-General of Bombay, eminent as it was, had nothing unique about it. His entry into Congress politics and his imprisonment for some months in 1932 which followed it, was nothing out of the ordinary. Bhulabhai's real political career began with his entry into the Central Assembly and his assumption of the leadership of the Opposition. He soon proved that while he perhaps lacked the dignity of bearing and the calm self-assurance of Pandit Motilal Nehru, he was much superior to the Pandit as an orator, an oppositionist and a committee man. Bhulabhai's strength did not depend merely on the content of his opposition speeches, or in his language or diction but in the grand manner in which he made his speeches aided by a rich and pleasant voice which permeated the Chamber and held every person within it spell bound; and he sustained that reputation till the end of his Assembly career. Bhulabhai had many faults but they contributed to make him all the more human and lovable. He was reputed to be a very generous person, as generous in the matter of unloosening his purse strings as he was in forgiving his opponents. He had the peculiar faculty of being able to walk out of committee room arm in arm with the person with whom he had been quarrelling vehemently while the committee was in progress. It is well known that he took the initiative in com-



Bhulabhai Desai

mencing the political pourparlers with Lord Wavell and with the Muslim League, through Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, early in 1945 and whatever maligning tongues might say he it was who had prepared the ground for the political talks that are now going on, the culmination of which he did not live to see. His action was not prompted by the glittering baubles of office but by an acute sense of realism and a conviction that a policy of drift in our politics should not be allowed to continue to hold the field. Political manoeuvring drove him out of the sphere in which he had shone with such splendour. It was however a matter of consolation that he was not allowed to die with the feeling that his country had need of his services no more. His performance in the I.N.A. trials was the crowning point in a career so rich and so abundantly successful and the touching exhibitions of the nation's gratitude for his services in this connection must assuredly have assuaged his injured feelings to some extent. Bhulabhai will have a high place amongst the architects of Indian freedom.

Sotto Voce



Saying And Doing

Pity the poor City Fathers of Madras! They are in the unenviable plight of the bride's party which has made all arrangements for the wedding only to find on the eve that the bridegroom has discovered that the intended is an "image of God cut in ebony" and will have none of her. Lt.-Col. Lakshmi of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment of the Indian National Army has no use for a civic address for which she must cross a threshold decorated with the Union Jack. "It is merely a bunting, not a flag; and it is nothing new," wails Mayor Sivaraj. But the gallant lady who has defied the British Empire has a soul high above conventional courtesy.

And yet it is difficult to withhold sympathy from the Mayor and Aldermen. They must have sent out the invitations with a modest glow of satisfaction that, in a rather difficult situation, they had managed to maintain the appearance of being in the swim of things without getting into deep waters. They could not have suspected that more was expected of them than verbal admiration of the spirit of resistance. If pressed too far, they might retort that, though we might stow away the emblem of British rule out of sight, we shall not get rid of that rule so easily. And indeed civic receptions, khaki parades, stars and epaulets, do not all these adopted symbols suggest an unconscious submission to that cultural domination from which British rule draws its vitality?

Consistency is the youngest of the virtues. It has all the gawkiness and the arrogance of the parvenu. Those who boast that they never say one thing and do another are

generally people whose sayings and doings matter very little. The man who never hesitates to act on his 'convictions' is a danger to society if he sheds his opinions as lightly as he picks them up. And that is what the typical child of the West does under the spell of the fallacy that because life means growth and change any kind of growth and any kind of change is to be welcomed and to be worked for. You travel hopefully but do not know where you will arrive and do not care.

Freedom in action is the privilege of the *Mukta*. And the true mark of the liberated man is that he refuses to put on our common human kind more burden than it can carry. The sages have always said, "Don't, for Heaven's sake, do what I do and get your fingers badly burnt. Do what I tell you to do and you will find that I have not let you down." Our drawing-room rebels will denounce that as authoritarianism pure and simple. But they have no difficulty in putting their trust in 'leaders' who are happily circumstanced in that they are never under the necessity of having to prove their claims.

Thought is free. But some of the most revolutionary thinkers of the world have not only conformed to the external requirements of the faith in which they were brought up. They were men of unaffected piety, though lesser men drew facile conclusions from their work which seemed destructive of old established things. Faraday and our own Charvakas are examples of that admirable scrupulousness that arises from profound reverence for the soul with its uncharted depths

and shoals. Their discretion was not dictated by policy. If they feared to upset the faith of the multitude it was because they realised that knowledge is contingent but action is past recall.

The change involved in the organic growth of society is continuous and imperceptible. Evolution in the world of ideas does not proceed by jerks: it is more of a seesaw action. The daring speculation of the father becomes the familiar mental climate of the son and part of the unconscious life-impulse of the grandson—provided that time, which is an ineluctable factor, establishes its viability and brings about its assimilation in the bloodstream of the social psyche. Attempts to short-circuit the process

may be as disastrous as they are unscientific.

Erwin Schroedinger, the Physicist, in his little book "What Is Life?" indicates what may prove to be the central clue to the mystery when he draws attention to the manner in which the chromosome structure foreshadows and also produces order. It has been aptly remarked that this would seem to postulate "a purpose to promote order to the inner self of each of us." Nor is that all. "The purposes which I embody in my individual organism are also, mysteriously, the purposes of mankind." These sempiternal purposes are not to be served by callow thinking or wilful action.

—VIGNESWARA.

MINISTERIALIST MUDDLE

By A. R. Venkataraman

Even the man in the street is fully alive to the troublous times through which the country is passing and knows well enough that only a clear head and firm grasp of the situation could save us from complete ruin. That the 1937 Congress administration in this province had earned the approbation of all right-thinking men and that their doings had the full consent of the nation and were in its interest are facts which the "clique" dare not refute.

The "clique" vehemently indicted Rajaji of various acts of omission and commission and how therefore he did not deserve to hold the leadership. They had gone to the extent of pressing for strong disciplinary action against him for his "un-Congress" activities. To-day, not very long after the indictment, the "clique" jointly and severally question the right of the Congress President and the Working Committee to issue directions in regard to provincial politics! "Their party" would not tolerate the High Command's interference if it was mandatory and would ignore it if it was recommendatory. They fail to realise that they are laying themselves open to the greatest censure not only of the Congress High Command but of the

nation and the electorate. They were returned to the legislatures not by virtue of each one of them individually being so and so, but by virtue of their being members of the Congress and in the normal and logical expectation that they would carry out the directions of the High Command, which the elector prizes most. Their personalities do not matter to the citizen. He does not expect his representatives to be cutting the ground from under his feet by their unimaginative, unnational and unsocial activities. If the representatives could not discharge their primary obligation to the electorate—to wit, tacit acceptance of the lead of the High Command in all matters—they can only be considered to sabotage the freedom movement from within at the most critical moment as the agents of some obstructionist and anti-progressive elements outside. Should they have the courage to admit that it is so they should in fairness resign their places in the legislatures and face the electorate with their own revised pledges—certainly not on the Congress ticket—and they should cease their connection with the Congress forthwith; or their names must be "struck off the rolls" regardless of their past.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The artist is the child in the popular fable, everyone of whose tears was a pearl. Ah! the world, that cruel step-mother, beats the poor child the harder to make him shed more pearls.—Heine.

The cover page of this issue of *Swatantra* carries a photograph of Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury, Principal of the Madras School of Arts and Crafts. Pictures drawn by Chowdhury have been adorning practically every issue of *Swatantra* for some time. There are pictures and pictures as there are artists and artists. Chowdhury's pictures have a distinct life and speciality of their own coming from his unique individuality and the unclassifiable character of his mettle as an artist.

My acquaintance with him is comparatively recent. But time is not the essence of understanding. Time passes anyhow, and the fact that more of it has passed, rather than less, is no indication of special merit. Because this is not commonly realised, we have the ridiculous practice of making a celebration of it when people reach the age of sixty. Sixty, being the gateway to decline of faculties and growing infirmity, is more befittingly an occasion for regrets and mourning than for joy. Moreover, in merely growing old there is no achievement involved. Growing old is a compulsory process from which no created thing is permitted to escape, and celebrations meant to reflect or confer distinction should be grafted on uncommon achievements and not on all-too-common, indeed unavoidable, happenings.

Understanding between individuals comes not through passage of time after acquaintance. The number and frequency of the times that people look at each other provide no index of their knowledge of each other. Knowledge comes only in the rare moments

when real nature is unfolded, through all the masks of disguise in many forms that are imposed on the behaviour of people in the course of their endeavour to get on in the world and seem better than they are. But the disguises of convention do not serve well persons who are greater than what they seem to be. This is the case with Chowdhury. He is greater than what he seems at first sight.

He studied art under great masters. But even while he learned from them, he refused to accept everything they taught as the final limit of merit. He lacked docility. He converted tutelage into a continual challenge to the teaching of his masters, so that he broke every mould in trying to learn the art of making a mould, and acquired nothing without questioning, resistance and struggle. He therefore survived all the teaching in art that he received without having any set style or pattern imposed on him. The greatest of the masters of art that taught him sent him away saying that he had nothing more to give as he had already more than taken all he had to teach.

Against himself he directs the same critical spirit that he brought to bear as a pupil on his teachers. His artistic being is a blend of two personalities: one that creates, restlessly seeking to discover new forms of beauty in colour and design from the vast variety of nature and experience; and the other that destroys whatever is created with unsparing criticism and exacting insistence on more and more of excellence and perfection. He is never content with the best of his work beyond a short duration. A favourite masterpiece of to-day will be relegated before long to receding importance in his regard. The artist's deadly vice of complacency is nowhere to be found in him. The

SPOTLIGHT ON LAVANGI

result is he is saved from the comfortable habit of resting on old laurels, and is continually found breaking old patterns to pieces in an unending quest for new ones of greater beauty and vigour. He never allows any style of work to solidify. It must be perpetually kept in a fluid state to provide scope for the widest initiative and the most daring experimentation.

* * *

Chowdhury's favourite medium is clay. He is among the world's greatest living sculptors and his works as a sculptor have received the plaudits of connoisseurs all the world over. But the artistic faculty is in his blood and it is second nature to him to turn whatever he touches into a thing of beauty in any medium. With one dashing line he can create in black and white a marvellous flowing mantle. His genius in the mixing of colours is superb. His latest painting is of huge withered tree which he christened "The Dead Giant". You could see the sunlight actually dancing on the giant tree in the picture, and apart from the mastery with the brush that went into its making, the skill revealed in the alchemy of mixing paints so as to produce by colouration the resplendent effect of sunbeams was a wonder to behold.

* * *

Technical excellence alone cannot make a good artist. Technique is reflected in form, but the form of a creative work of art is just like the exterior of a person—it is the reflection of something that lies behind which is more fundamental. One should be great as a man to be a great artist. Chowdhury the man is terrifically engrossed in concern for under-dogs. His pictures of the starving and the destitute are

among the most moving I have seen. Rarely have I seen the might of toilers and workers so powerfully represented as in his drawings. They are positive incarnations of vigour and vitality. Biology, rather than ethics, is the inspiration of Chowdhury's art in intersex themes. The independence and superiority of the worker and the artist as against the rich employer of unappetising ways constitute the keynote of his economic and social philosophy, which is not however a consciously theorised system of principles, but an expression of impulses given effect to intuitively. Unconsciously to himself he is a Left wing progressive. For sheer anti-capitalist vigour and force, I am yet to come across the equal of his picture "Purgatory" with which readers of *Swatantra* are already familiar. It is the picture of a young artist condemned for pot-boiling to do the portrait of a rich expressionless snob. (Is the artist to go on or commit suicide?)

* * *

External inspiration and encouragement are valuable stimuli for artistic development. In music concerts, the singers are egged on to their best when the front row is occupied by appreciative and gesticulating admirers. Chowdhury seems somewhat lost in Madras where there is as yet no general recognition commensurate with his genius. People far away have learned to appreciate him and rate him at his proper worth far more than those nearer. Madras however is fortunate in having him. His influence is a source of enrichment to lovers of art, and if wisely utilised, it is capable of being turned to immense public good.

SAKA

Society can overlook murder, adultery or swindling; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel.
—Frederic Harrison.

LAVANGI (produced by Sri Jagadish Films) is the story of a poet to whom love of poetry is above all other loves. He has no tolerance of poetasters; no fancy for worldly wise ways; and no eyes for the young wife who has just come to start life with him. So he leaves home and goes out to conquer the world with his wit and learning. Fame falls into his lap. Honoured everywhere, he at last reaches the court of the great Moghul at Delhi where he is held in high esteem and is maintained in great state. Twelve years pass by.

His deserted wife is meanwhile subjected to the lashing of wicked slander as is the way in most villages where orthodox idlers abound with time on their hands and no particular work to do. In despair she leaves home at dead of night bent on reaching Delhi by foot to join her husband. Just near the gate of the city, she falls into the hands of a villain and is rescued in the



Kumari Rukmini as Lavangi

nick of time by the Empress passing that way. The Empress gives her shelter and helps her to recover her lost husband.

Y. V. Rao plays the part of Jagannath, the poet; Kumari Rukmini, of Lavangi, the poet's young wife; and Jayamma, of the Empress. Y. V. Rao strikes just the balance between naturalness and graphic portrayal that reveals the mark of genius in screen acting. "Being natural" has its pitfalls histrionically. It is apt to pale away into inconsequence, lacking the elementary level of obtrusiveness necessary for attracting and gripping the attention of on-lookers. On the other hand, graphic expressiveness is easily capable of passing off into excessive gesticulation, vulgarising the sentiment it is supposed to bring out. Both the flaws are very skilfully avoided by Y. V. Rao. The result is a work of consummate art. Y. V. Rao has a face and figure admirably formed as



Jayamma as the Empress



Y. V. Rao as the Poet

much for tournamental display of scholarly feats as for excelling in the importunities of romantic love. They are set off to excellent advantage in this picture by the remarkably appropriate sartorial equipment selected. The grooming is perfect. The part fits the man. Extremely pleasing, therefore, is the impression he makes through all the variety of roles that the story imposes, and there is never a false turn to mar the harmony of his appearances in the general setting.

Rukmini starts rather amateurishly, but as the story gains in tempo, she improves swiftly. Towards the closing scenes, she reveals first-rate talent in no way inferior to that of the greatest screen stars of our day. Is this difference between the beginning and the end expressly meant to

mark the vast distance in sophistication traversed by the once rustic girl in the course of a short stay in the Moghul court? If so, the translation of the change to the screen is a triumph of well directed art. Kameswari (as she was known before, she was named Lavangi by the Empress) and Lavangi seem in fact totally different beings, and the difference is illustrated not only in the manner and style of dress and behaviour, it is as if it is carried to the point of actually making a change in appearance, altering the very lineaments of the face and figure. Jagannath's failure to recognise his wife in Lavangi, though a subjective condition, is reinforced by as much of objective support as art and intelligent direction can give to it.

The most delicious parts of the picture are those in which the Empress enjoys the fruition of her good work in reconstructing the broken life of Jagannath's discarded wife. Jayamma as the Empress has proved to be a charming paragon of benevolence and intrigue, the like of which is rather rare on the South Indian screen. For ability to fill in a single eloquent glance and smile the concentrated essence of mischief, fun and kindness, she seems to be without a peer. In this picture her achievement of goodness is rendered doubly enjoyable by the potentiality for mischief simultaneously reflected along with it in some indefinable way, though held in check for the time being.

An excellent production this, well worth your time. I must say however that the dancing scene in the Moghul court is somewhat of an incongruity, planting as it does a modern vulgarity on a setting refined enough to deserve to be saved from it.

K. S. R.



Short Story

The Faith Of An Alien

By G. K. P.

CALDWELL was pacing up and down the small tent, hands behind his back, fingers tightly closed. There was an odd expression on his face. Lines had begun to appear in that handsome, almost boyish face. He suddenly stopped his perambulations. There was a determined look about his eyes as he shouted "Peon, peon." The voice was strident and brought the liveried *chaprasi* running from his cronies, with whom he was playing dice.

"Fetch Ramnath at once. Chalo jaldi."

Caldwell was the Chief Engineer to Government and was now in charge of that colossal scheme of a dam across the Vygai at Mangalapuram. It was one of the grandest schemes ever thought of—a dam—the biggest dam out East, harnessing the waters of that fast-flowing unruly river. Acres and acres of land will now come under cultivation, which before were just arid moor. Caldwell had dreamt of the long stretch of greenish fields and now that dream was coming true.

Ramnath, assistant to Caldwell, far away in his tent, was worried too. His English education had left him without any belief in the so-called superstitions. Brought up in a scientific atmosphere, he poohpooed the idea of God and all that He stood for. Though an Indian by birth, he was an alien in spirit. Steeped in alien culture, alien etiquette and alien outlook, it was difficult for him to believe in the cock and bull stories and legends that were going about.

Called so peremptorily, he hastened to Caldwell's tent, a furlong away. As he neared the tent, he could feel that this was going to be a turning-point in his life. That premonition which tells you that something is round the corner made Ramnath pause before he entered the tent. And as he paused he saw Caldwell with a stern look staring

fixedly at the dam. Suddenly as though he had made a great decision, Caldwell turned round. "Hullo, Ramnath. I am sorry to disturb you but I have just heard that there is trouble again at the dam. It seems to have developed a crack at the very spot where we were told it will occur by the *maistry* and the village headman. I am afraid I will have to go back to school to learn my subjects again. This is the third time in a week that the crack has developed, and it looks as though there is something in what these fellows say. Can you tell me what all these mean?"

Caldwell was referring to the protests of his *maistry* and the village headman who had pleaded in vain that no work should be started until the local deity was appeased with *puja* and festival. Try as they would the *maistry* and the headman could not persuade Ramnath to carry out this. Ramnath had simply laughed at the idea that a stone piece of an idol could interfere with anything that they were to do, and the *maistry* had to content himself with administering a warning that all will not be well, that the deity was all powerful, and surely the dam would come to some harm.

The work had proceeded smoothly, and Ramnath was laughing up his sleeve. At last final touches were given, and only a week remained for the opening ceremony. And then came a shock. The dam had developed a crack almost at the centre and in a line with the temple of the village nearby. Twice had they examined and patched up the crack, only to find that it had appeared again now. All their engineering skill was in vain.

It was a desperate situation. Caldwell was at bay. Outside a pale moon was shining and from far off came the music of the pipe and the beating of the drums, where the village folk were having their

weekly gala day. Stepping out of his tent, Caldwell eyed the dam with gloom and just to think more clearly and refresh himself he went out and walked along the dam. As he approached the point of the crack he was surprised to see a figure moving something. He at once shouted and ran to collar the fellow, but when he visited the spot nothing was visible. He thought it was his own imagination playing fast and loose with him and walked on. And yet curiosity and intuition made him turn round after a few yards—and look! there it was! The moving figure meddled with something indefinite at the cracked spot. Caldwell made a mad rush at the figure only to find himself clutching the air. Again and again the incident happened, each time leaving Caldwell perspiring and ferocious. Then came the revelation. Superstition or no superstition, Caldwell thought there must be something in that old vil-

lage legend of the power of the deity. Out there in the centre of the dam he crossed himself and vowed to build a grand hall in front of the temple. When he looked up he saw that phantom of a figure smiling at him and slowly moving back towards the village. Caldwell was looking with wonder and amazement at this strange phenomenon, and stood rooted to the spot. When he came to, he saw the crack had disappeared and he was not sure he had not dreamt all these. He slowly walked back to his tent to find Ramnath with a strange look on his face eyeing with wonder something in the distance.

Early next day he sent for the village priest and asked him to perform the necessary *pūja* and then set himself to the task of constructing a grand hall or *mandap* in front of the temple. You can see it there now.

Was it superstition, or was it faith—the faith of an alien?

STRIKES

Till the end of the war people were talking of post-war plans and predicting that in six months after the cessation of hostilities the country would start the greatest era of production ever known, probably exceeding the maximum war-time output of 1943. But we now realise that this was too optimistic. Strikes have already delayed the switch-over from war to peace by weeks and months. If they continue at the present rate, prosperity is a long way around the corner.

With the whole country in need of Swadeshi goods and our countrymen short of many necessities and most of the luxuries to which they were once accustomed, and in fact almost all of us faced with the spectre of famine, starvation and nakedness, it would seem that striking without a very urgent reason is almost a crime against the public welfare. It is probably safe to say many strikes are not at all urgent. Mostly they are started for little grievances which might be and should be settled without stopping the wheels of industry or drying up the streams of agriculture.

The strike epidemic is by no means confined to this country. England has more strikes to-day than at any time in her history. America is reverberat-

ing from coast to coast with echoes of vast and wasteful strikes. Even in war-scarred Europe, the spectre of strike has not failed to raise its ugly head.

Perhaps some readers can suggest a practical method of preventing strikes without encroaching too far on the rights of either labour or management. It has already been suggested that many strikes might be eliminated if the unions adhered to the requirements of the Trades Disputes Act, which calls for a strike ballot and a fourteen-day cooling-off period. But many lightning strikes to day appear to be unauthorised and certainly many were started without a previous strike-ballot.

Whatever benefits any individual may have derived from a strike, the net result is that so many weeks of wages, work and production are lost, at a time when more work and more goods, not less, are needed all over the country and all over the world.

Where strikes are conducted in an orderly manner, it is a real pleasure to compliment the strikers. But unfortunately, violence and bad feeling in industrial disputes have lately become all too common in this land of Truth and Non-Violence.

A. T. KRISHNAMACHARI.

INDIA AND TREATY RELATIONS

By D. Narasimha Rao

Sharing the optimism of New Delhi Correspondents, one feels that India is soon to be "Independent" and be on the high road of Progress and Nationhood. The mere pronouncement that India is no longer a subject country but would be a sovereign state will not make her a Nation overnight. Three hundred years ago India lost her freedom and became a slave country. Three more centuries are not necessary to undo what had been done. But certain time should elapse, before she regains her rightful position as a partner in the comity of the Nations of the world.

Three centuries of slavery wrought many changes both in the national and international life. Science has progressed much and influenced the world politics in more than one way. India even in the glorious days of the past was never having diplomatic relations with foreign countries. It does not mean that she did not have any connexions with the neighbouring countries. But these relations were of more commercial nature. It was only in the early times that we find Greek and Egyptian ambassadors attending Indian courts. We do not hear anywhere about Indian ambassadors attending the Courts of foreign kings. The various Indian missions and Royal representatives that frequently left India for foreign countries were either religious or commercial.

India has to begin her international life afresh, unlike the Axis-ridden countries which are more or less resuming or reviving their international life.

It is needless to say that India's first relations are intricately bound with her immediate neighbours. Who are the neighbours? Tibet and China in the north-east, Burma, Malaya and Siam in the east, Australia and the Indonesian islands in the south-east, Ceylon in the south, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq in the west and north-west and Russia in the north. What should be the nature of India's relations with these countries? Should they be one of military security and non-aggression or should they be one

of mutual economic help or treaties of a political nature binding the countries in South-East Asia Federation or some other thing.

Before we arrive at any conclusions let us examine the views and sentiments expressed by our political leaders from time to time. Pandit Nehru's recent cry for a South-east Asia Federation has found an echo in Burma, Malaya, and other countries. The sympathy of the Congress and all other patriotic parties lay with China in its monstrous struggle against Japanese aggression. The Congress sent a medical mission to China as a mission of goodwill. The Indian leaders have always showed a sympathy with China's backwardness and the best of personal relationships existed between the leaders of China and India.

The Congress had always stood by the cause of the oppressed and much exploited countries of the Middle East. The Khilafat movement of '21 had for its background the reinstatement of the Caliph of Turkey. As a matter of fact this attitude to Turkey had a profound influence on the national politics so much that it formed the bedrock of national unity between the Congress and the League. Recently, however the pronouncements of a more marked nature came from Indian leaders both of Congress and League over the issues of Palestine and Egypt. In the Central Assembly, Mr. Masani wanted the Government to convey India's concern over the question of Iran.

Some time back Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Sardar Patel have expressed a desire that Ceylon should join the Indian Union as a free partner for her own economic and military security.

The general tendency in the Congress and the League, however, is one of apathy towards Russia and Communism. They openly expressed fear of invasion from that quarter. Though throughout the war Congress resolutions have always expressed sympathy with Russian peoples, the more recent speeches and writings are in contradiction to the official policy. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has echoed

Lord Chorly's fears of a probable Russian onslaught. Pandit Nehru too has expressed amazement at the Russian policy and suspected her of Imperialist designs. Mr. Aligunikhani's (Congress member from N. W. F. P.) statement in the Central Assembly reflects the fear of a Russian invasion.

Mahatma Gandhi's concern for the emancipation of the Negroes of America and the natives of South Africa and his twenty-five years leadership of the Congress bound the Congress to play the role of the liberator of colonial peoples.

How far should these sentiments guide our national policy in the international affairs, in the context of the new world situation? Though there is a change of parties inside the British Parliament the foreign policy of the Labour Govt. has remained the same. The Greek elections, the Egyptian question, the Palestine trouble, growing opposition to Russia and her unwillingness to part with power in India and the Far East, should all serve as a warning to the future Government of India. It would be unwise to enter into any military alliance with Britain unless she abjures her imperialist designs either in the shape of colonisation or economic penetration. The nature of existing relationship between India and England must lead to certain trade agreements between the two countries, but even these should not leave any outlet for foreign capital to be imported. A non-aggression pact may be signed for the security of India only. Our relations with America, too, should not be any way different from our relations with Britain.

Turning to the East, our attitude should be one of helping the people to regain in a just and democratic way their lost independence. We should refuse to have anything with the British Government in Malaya and we should openly declare our sympathy with the Burmese people. Our attitude to the Indians in Burma should be the same as our attitude to the Burmans. We must impress on them that their lot lies with the Burmans and not with the Indians. The same principle should also guide our policy with regard to Malaya and South-East Asian islands. With regard to China, it is worth noting that Marshall Chiang has openly declared that American capital should be imported

to China to develop China's industries. This attitude of the Kuomintang is not in the best interests of the Chinese people and our past pronouncements should not blind us to realities. The Indian Government should neither allow Indian capital to be exported.

The Middle East is to-day the bone of contention and a war of nerves is going on between the Anglo-American Powers on the one hand and the Russian Government on the other. Prejudice towards Russia and Communism should not blind us to realities. Iran, Iraq and the other Middle-East countries are in a medieval state. Reactionary feudal dynasties are in power. They can justly be compared to our Princes in Indian States. Britain is making every use of these reactionary elements to strengthen her own position in these countries obviously for two reasons. They are of strategic importance. Secondly, they are rich in mineral resources and in alliance with the landed aristocracy. Britain may hope to exploit them to the fullest extent much to the disadvantage of the masses. It is in this perspective that we should view the recent deliberations in the U.N.O. Security Council. Imperialist countries like England, America and Holland are openly helping reactionary elements in liberated Greece, Japan and other countries.

The only country that seems to have any respect for the various declarations made from time to time on behalf of the Allied Nations is Russia. Russia's treaty with Iran cannot be described as economic penetration. This is proved by the nature of the Russo-Iranian Oil Treaty which is in refreshing contrast to the arrangement under which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Coy. holds its concession. Rightly the Iranians felt jubilant over the conclusion of the Treaty.

The war has brought many changes: the most revolutionary change occurring in countries like Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia which have shed Fascism and changed their role. India as the leader of Asiatic countries should fulfil her role not as a partner of the imperialist countries but as one aligning herself with the progressive countries. She should reinforce by her culture, civilisation, education and natural resources, the progressive forces of the world.

CABINET MISSION REVEALS ITS PLAN

From Our Special Correspondent

SIMLA: At last the cat is out of the bag. After denying that it had a plan, the Cabinet Mission on its return from its fishing and feasting in Kashmir, announced its plan. This is:

Firstly, that an Indian Union be established having charge only of three subjects: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

Secondly, regrouping of provinces to form a Hindu majority group and a Muslim majority group.

Thirdly, Indian States to be free to choose how they will come into this scheme.

This is the Coupland plan pure and simple.

The Decisive Phase

In the invitations extended to Congress and League, it is this plan that has been passed off, as the offspring of the Cabinet Mission's independent and tireless efforts to bring about Indian settlement. It is now clear that after the first phase of listening to the main parties sympathetically, the decisive phase came when they had to put back each against the other and then try to get each to settle with the British. It is in this phase that alternative schemes were put before Mr. Jinnah in regard to the final solution and detailed discussions were carried on with Pandit Nehru in regard to the interim Government. Each is asked to modify its demand. Having failed in its efforts in this phase the Cabinet Mission decided to bring both face to face so that the vehement opposition of the other might make each (Congress and League) to moderate its demands. None here believes that there could be any settlement between Congress and League. The Cabinet Mission knows

this well enough. It is said that in view of this, the joint conference has been devised to make both Congress and League yield and surrender to the British plan.

The Cabinet Mission will use the Congress stick to beat down the League demand for complete separation and the League stick to beat the Congress demand for full power to the interim Government. The Mission itself is not very hopeful of this plan succeeding. Proof of this is found in the fact that air passages are being reserved for the Cabinet Mission towards the end of the third week of May.

Inside Congress Camp

Inside the Congress camp, the Cabinet Mission's solution came as a complete surprise. I understand the Congress Working Committee met the proposed solution promptly with firm but gentle refusal. The Working Committee finally accepted the invitation subject to the reservation that Congress representatives would not be bound by these terms and will be free to raise all the fundamental issues involved. Maulana Azad, in a statement to the Press, said that the Congress would insist on united India, single Constituent Assembly and one Centre. It is said that Sir Stafford Cripps readily agreed to the Congress putting up this case strongly, in fact that would precisely meet the Cabinet Mission's aim in calling the Conference. There is no doubt, however, that all the Congress leaders feel that the Cabinet Mission has let them down. I reliably learn that Gandhi took Cripps to task for this breach of faith. Cripps with his cunning alertness argues, I understand, that the concession to the League was only nominal and in reality the plan was very much

in favour of the Congress conception of a united India, vital subjects like Defence and Foreign Policy being Central subjects. It is by clever persuasion such as this that Cripps finally succeeded in persuading Gandhiji to go to Simla.

Legislation Necessary

Inside the League camp there was unconcealed pleasure at the Cabinet Mission's acceptance of Muslim aspirations. Qualified though the acceptance, the Leaguers feel that big advances have been registered. In the League Working Committee Mr. Jinnah played superbly his usual tactics of sitting tight, making the other party advance, then reflecting the terms, making retreat impossible and further advance necessary. I understand that he vividly painted the dangers of allowing a Centre to have control of armed forces, and roused in the Working Committee members the fear that such concessions would mean complete pulverisation of Muslim units. After putting them to such fright, it seems Mr. Jinnah insisted on each member of the Working Committee expressing his opinion. Needless to say they supported what he said. There is little doubt that the League, while welcoming acceptance of the principle of separation, would insist on a separate State with its own armed forces, comprising the Muslim majority provinces. This demand by the League and discussions over it would, it is clear, be equally welcome to the Cabinet Mission, be-

cause it will make its plan seem far more acceptable to the Congress.

Wavell's Intentions

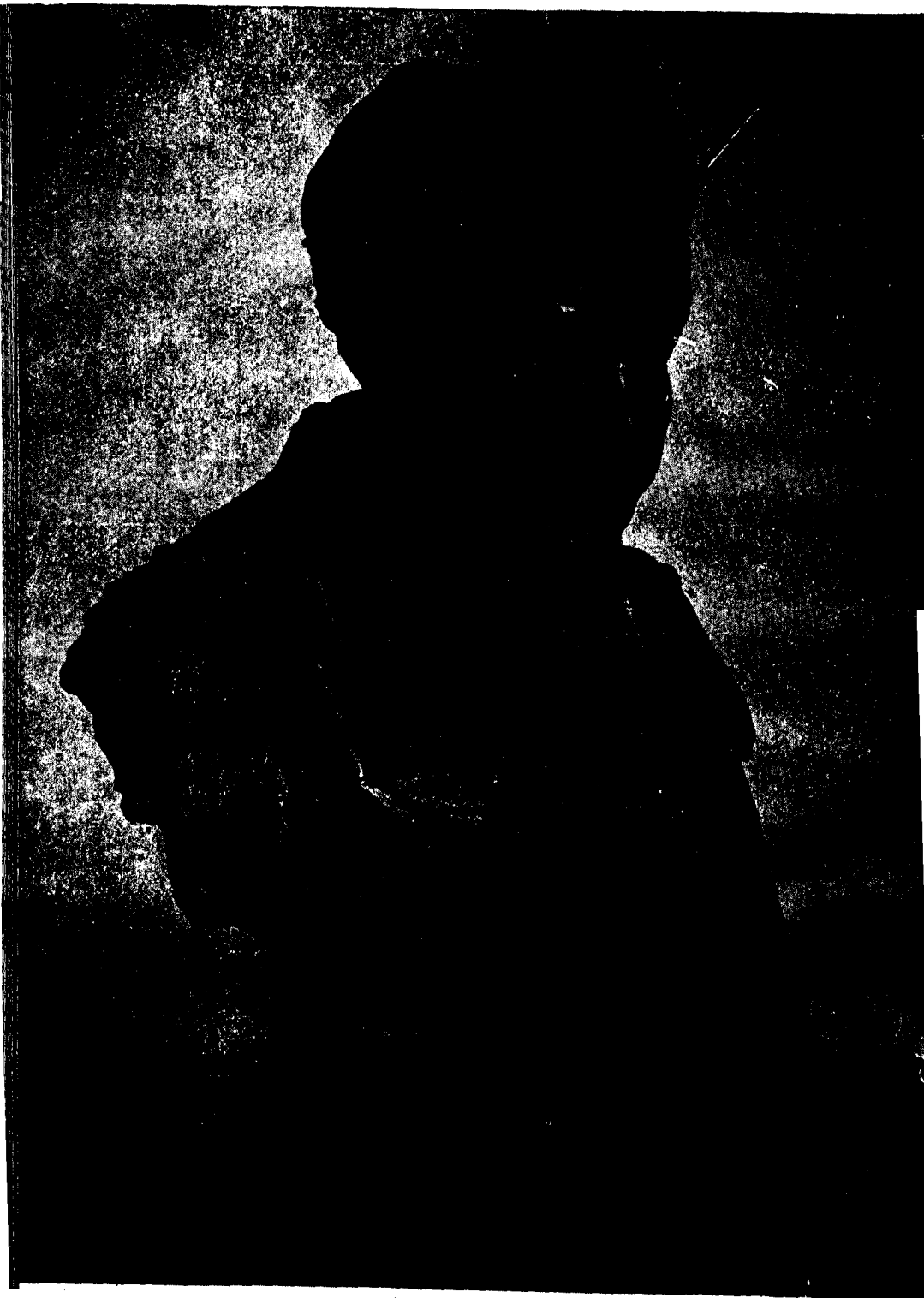
The Cabinet Mission and the Congress representatives are already here. League leaders will be arriving later. The position inside the Congress camp appears to be one of little hope of the conference succeeding. Both Congress and League leaders dislike settlement over these terms and would far rather have the conference fail. The Cabinet Mission is also not in any illusion that it can succeed but it is quite in favour of it for the reason that it will lay the basis for the imposition of its own plan. The official world is quite happy because it knows that the discussions in regard to the interim Government would be part of the agenda of the joint conference. It is said, however, that even if the conference fails, Lord Wavell would reconstitute his Executive Council giving it a more representative character though not responsibility. One school of opinion believes that the Cabinet Mission would also indicate one constitution-making machinery on the basis of the present elected legislatures with two separate compartments each independent of the other which would leave the whole problem open and ripe for an imposed solution. Nevertheless there is still a section of opinion in the Congress which holds that even after the failure of the joint conference, the British cannot escape transferring power to the interim Government.

The chief interest in history lies in the foolishness of men rather than their wisdom. If all politicians and statesmen were clever politicians and statesmen, if kings had been as infallible as their supposed divinity should have ensured, if people had behaved as intelligent units instead of flocks of sheep, the history of any country would be dull reading. In fact, it is doubtful whether there would be any history in the usual sense of the word.—Grant Under.



PRINCE OF BEGGARS

—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury



ANNIE BESANT (Bronze)

—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury



Dewan Bahadur KARUNAKARA MENON (Plaster of Paris)

—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury

THE MADRAS CABINET

Work, Wages And Food Must Be Found For People

Mr. Prakasam has chosen his team very well considering that the High Command in deepdudgeon has refused to have anything to do with ministry-making in Madras because Madras legislators twice failed to respond to the central whip. Not even C. R. can put together a better cabinet out of the material now in the Assembly and the Council, and in his case it will be admitted by friends and foes alike that it would not matter whom he chose, for by virtue of his abilities and in the light of previous history it would be certain that the Prime Minister would be the Cabinet and Government. But Mr. Prakasam is not Mr. Rajagopalachari. The adverse comment on the Premier's age was not fair when we remember that the Congress has long been a body of old men in a hurry to achieve Swaraj in their life time. It is a pity that but for an encouraging telegram from the redoubtable Mr. Khare, there has been so little public expression of sympathy and support for Mr. Prakasam.

A Time Bomb ?

Perhaps there is a feeling in "informed circles" that Mr. Gandhi's letter, later telegraphed to Mr. Prakasam *in extenso* is a time bomb ticking away till it explodes leaving the Cabinet a cloud of dust. *Swatantra* did a service to Madras politics in bringing the accusation against Mr. Prakasam from the dark world of whispered calumny to the clear light of print. After all the charge appears extremely flimsy and the Press reports of the Working Committee resolutions on purses only show a disingenuous and "timely" regard for proprieties on the part of an organisation that had triumphed over its traducers in the matter of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. But the real question is, "Will Mr. Prakasam survive the avowed hostility

of the big three?" Even *Swatantra* in its editorial columns has felt it necessary to emphasise the need to obey the High Command. Yet it is arguable that the High Command stands to gain in moral stature and practical usefulness if it can learn that it is proper to listen to other voices besides that of its own conscience. The charge against the authorities of the Tamilnad Congress organisation made by Mr. Gandhi is repeated by many who think hostility to Mr. Rajagopalachari is synonymous with self-seeking, and therefore the legislators who do not want Mr. Rajagopalachari as Prime Minister outrage rather than reflect public opinion. The vehemence of the section of our Press which wants C. R. to govern Madras is such that the High Command may be tempted to do to Mr. Prakasam what it did to a bigger personality, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Gandhi's statement, "Pat-tabhi's defeat is my defeat", set in motion forces that compelled Mr. Bose to give up the Presidentship to which he had been elected by the regular process. That was an incident in recent history which reflected little credit on the methods or policy of the party bosses. What Mr. Bose proposed was later adopted by the High Command in 1942. Again in the matter of the I. N. A. the High Command was not slow to discover and exploit the powerful mass appeal of an organisation founded by Mr. Bose and originally condemned by the Congress.

Past Errors

These facts are not adduced to blacken the National Congress but to show that it can and in fact has erred in the past. In recent weeks in the negotiations about ministry-making in the Punjab and in Bengal the High Command has been more solicitous about punishing the Muslim League than anything else. Even in the negotiations with the



STREET DWELLERS

—By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury

THE MALAYAN UNION

(From Our Correspondent)

Kuala Lumpur: The inauguration of the Malayan Union has caused considerable opposition in Malaya, and it has been roundly condemned by all classes and races, from Sultan to Communist. I called in at the Government Publicity and Printing Office for a copy of the famous White Paper, where I expected to see large framed copies of this 'Malayan Charter' in every Asiatic tongue,—a democratic challenge as it were to the rest of the world. Imagine my astonishment when the first baboo I spoke to had never even heard of the White Paper. While several peons were emptying waste paper baskets and turning out drawers, I took the opportunity of explaining to the ignorant baboo the benefits of British rule. But before I had even completed a sketch map of the S.I. Railway, an excited peon appeared waving a paper over his head. It was a copy of the White Paper in Javi (Malayan script.)

Further consternation was caused when I confessed my ignorance of Javi, and asked for an English edition. Finally a fly-blown office copy was discovered which I borrowed after giving references and a promise to return it the following day.

A Disappointing Document

It is a disappointing document, very reminiscent of paper constitutions foisted on the Indian people in the past, with hand-picked Advisory Councils and Governor's nominees as the vanguard of the new democracy. Although in the main it is full of vague generalities, one or two references to British privileges are very specific.

The introduction deals briefly with the pre-war administration in Malaya which was remarkable for its complexity. The Sultans had treaty obligations, 'freely entered into as between equals', whereby they graciously accepted British advice through Residents and Secretaries in the Federated and Un-

Federated States, while the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang, Malacca, and various odd islands were administered as separate colonies.

Legislation was carried out by Federated Councils, State Councils, and Straits Settlement Legislative Councils. And this top-heavy Governmental apparatus controlled less than 50 lakhs.

Then followed the sensational reforms which must be dealt with separately.

Handpicked Executive

In the past H.M. had no legal jurisdiction over any of the States, so Sir Harold MacMichael representing H.M.G. was sent hurriedly to conclude new agreements 'in friendliness and goodwill' with the Sultans which gave H.M. full jurisdiction in each State. Our Socialist friends in the British Government proudly proclaim that the Crown will provide the common link in the Empire. It was decided to make the Singapore Settlement a separate colony, and to group the settlements of Penang and Malacca, together with all the States into one Malayan Union. The British Government gave up in despair all talk of self-determination and UNO-ism when they realised that democratic camouflage could never disguise the vast docks and airfields of Singapore which must remain a colony naked and unashamed. The unfortunate citizens of the Malayan Union will receive a Governor, with an Executive and Legislative Council, together with a local council having subsidiary administrative and legislative powers in each State and settlement. Both local and national members will be handpicked by the Governor. To give the Sultans an appearance of authority, an advisory council is to be set up in each State—when the Governor has approved of its members. On all

Cabinet Mission the High Command seems to have reached a point where Mr. Amery is glad to find it though it is a position which was open at the Simla Conference and on earlier occasions. Thus Mr. Prakasam cannot hope to convert the High Command and must so steer his Cabinet as to retain the overwhelming support of the legislature in the event of a regular trial of strength. The supporters of Mr. Rajagopalachari must remember that their leader did attempt to lead Madras legislators away from their allegiance to the High Command. He was perfectly right on that occasion and it was a great misfortune to Madras and India that he failed in that gallant attempt. Those who put loyalty to the High Command above every other consideration at all times have heroic virtue, but they do not serve the cause of the country or even that of the party. Mr. Prakasam's task is to keep up the spirits of the legislators, who may find time to regret their temerity. That he can do by putting immediately before them and the country a short and precise programme of legislative and administrative reform indicating at the same time the order of importance attaching to each item. There are in Madras service enough men with legal, drafting and administrative experience to put laws into proper shape once the Cabinet has plainly and firmly indicated the main lines of policy. Any dearth of talent on the part of individual Ministers will not matter at all provided they realise the imperative need to band together and can overcome the temptation to make long and contradictory public statements.

No Cheap Credit

The release of prisoners and return of fines and forfeitures must happen as a matter of course and the Ministry need not trumpet the achievement and try to win cheap credit. Then there will be the temptation to take revenge to which other provincial Ministries are succumbing. Madras must be spared the folly of an inquest into

the past misdemeanours of minor and major officials, and the Ministers must turn a deaf ear to demands for punishing people for being on the losing side.

The first major task of positive value should be the establishment of a small commission to draw the boundaries of Tamilnad and Andhradesa and determine the political status of the city of Madras which can well be a free city and a refuge from fanatical rule elsewhere.

The next business must be to settle the question of Land Revenue and our Province can follow the enlightened lead of Travancore.

And then the Ministry ought to start a vast scheme of public works even if it should involve waste on a large scale, and see that the "waste" goes to feed the masses and not fatten the contractors only. The public works programme should include irrigation, drainage, highways and housing. The time is not opportune for raising controversy on private and public ownership and the prime necessity is to boost Government spending on an unprecedented scale as in war time without any regard to outmoded canons of financial caution. Minor ports should be made major ports and not be denuded of their funds.

The Ministry of Information should lay less stress on the moral and spiritual aspects of national regeneration and adopt current advertising practice in selling the achievements of Government. Educational and social reform, opening of temples and closing of toddy shops can certainly wait while Government finds people work, wages and food.

It is by this sort of actual secular achievement adequately publicised by continuous and strenuous legislative and administrative activity that the Prakasam Ministry can serve the people, turn their minds from barren old ways, keep them busy and happy and thus survive the potent displeasure of the High Command.

matters affecting the Mohammedan religion, the Sultans will have full legislative powers—subject to the Governor's approval.

In the next section the White Paper claims to encourage harmonious and mutually profitable trade relations between the Malayan Union and Singapore.

Although it stresses the need for identity of policy on commercial matters, it makes no reference whatever to tariffs.

At present beer is one of the few commodities exported from Singapore. It leaves the island at r. 1. as. 4., and it reaches the Union at r. 3, the main difference in price being duty. When Singapore regains its position as the centre of entrepot trade, there will be some crores of rupees of duties entering the coffers of the customs without any nonsense of trusteeship or what have you.

Problem Of Citizenship

Finally the White Paper deals with the problem of citizenship. This can take three forms.

- (a) Those born in the Union or in Singapore will acquire citizenship.
- (b) Persons resident in these territories ten years out of the fifteen years prior to 1941 will acquire citizenship.
- (c) In the future people will acquire citizenship after five years' residence.

Those included in sections (b) and (c) will have to affirm allegiance to the Union.

Lot Of Claptrap

Then after a lot of claptrap about equality of race, creed, etc., comes the *piece de resistance*. 'British subjects who acquire citizenship will not thereby lose their British nationality.' How can we interpret the obvious omission of other races? Are we right in assuming that Chinese, and citizens of a free India must renounce allegiance to their homeland, while the British will remain a citizen of both? I think that this is a reasonable assumption, especially as

the *Times* of London in a leading article complains that 'the Indians and Chinese are increasingly coming under the political influence of their own countries'. But it tactfully ignores the fact that the British not only come under the political influence of their mother country, but directly under its orders.

But the people of Malaya are not hoodwinked by the new Union. The Malays themselves are sharply divided. On the day of the official inauguration of the Union, the Sultans made a remarkable *volte face* by boycotting the installation ceremony. Secretly advised of the Sultans' intentions, the Governor had prepared two addresses to 'our loyal subjects', dependent on whether they attended or not. But it mattered little what he said as only a handful of adults were present, and the average age 'of our loyal subjects' who attended the ceremony was ten years, as the schools were closed on that day in honour of the new Governor.

The Pan-Malaya Malay Congress, led by the Sultans protested at the curtailment of the Sultans' powers, and urged the Malays to boycott the Malayan Advisory Council. They oppose any racial equality, as they fear absorption by the more vigorous Chinese and Indians. The proportions of the three races at present are,—Chinese 45%, Malays 42% and Indians 12%, although the main centres of non-Malayan population are in the Straits Settlements.

The Sultans have powerful supporters among the colonial diehards in Britain, notably the ultra-Tory Captain Gammon, and Sir Franc Swettenham, both of whom made fortunes in Malaya and consider that a good enough reason for leaving things as they were.

The smaller left wing Malay Nationalist Party opposes the Union because it is un-democratic. It urges the Malays to accept the inevitable changes that modern democratic ideas demand.

The Indian community is not taking the same interest in the

Union, as their eyes are turned towards India and the historical deliberations now taking place there. The organised Indian workers criticise the Union, especially its un-democratic set-up, while the Indian Chamber of Commerce have kept discreetly silent on the subject.

Many of the two lakhs middle class Indians who have settled down in Malaya will undoubtedly take out Malayan citizenship, but the four lakhs labourers in the main will wish to return to India and their own villages.

Only the Chinese Chamber of Commerce supports the principles of the new Union. The Communists and other democratic elements oppose it on every count. They expose the imperialist motives of the decision to sever Singapore from the mainland, and destroy the natural union of interests between town and countryside. They are quick to point out the enormous strategic importance of Singapore, and the influence Britain has regained in the Far East by its occupation.

Safeguards For Malays

The absence of any democratic rights of citizenship is a subject of further criticism. The Communists demand a democratic constitution with the widest political freedom to all who wish to become citizens, with absolute political equality irrespective of race.

But if the Chinese, who are the most industrious and politically

advanced race, and the Malays who are rather backward and jungly, are given equal rights, will these two races in effect receive equal opportunities of exercising those rights? In Soviet Russia in the early days, the backwards peoples of Kirghistan were not given simple equality with their Russian compatriots. They were given special encouragement to play their part in the development of their country. In the same way the Malays should surely receive safeguards to ensure that they are not economically and politically overwhelmed.

A Dangerous Game

The British Government is faced with two clear-cut alternatives at home and abroad. Either to ally itself with the common man (whatever his colour), and together oppose reaction and vested interest (whatever its colour) in order to build a free and happy life for all. Or to kow-tow to the imperialists, to tail along behind them, throwing occasional crumbs to the masses. At present they are playing a dangerous game. They are indeed attacking vested interest at home, but they are buying off the opposition by giving it unlimited freedom in the Empire.

But, as is well known in Britain, the capitalist who makes his money 'out-East', is the most reactionary and pro-fascist section of the community. Let such people get control of Britain and the Empire, and the peace of the world is doomed.

Abundant sources of uranium, the metal used for atomic energy, probably exist in virtually all parts of the world, according to a recent bulletin published by scientist members of the "Atomic Physicists of Chicago." Altogether, the report says, the earth's crust—in granite and in the ocean—harbours ten times as much uranium as gold. To obtain one ton of uranium, 40,000 to 250,000 tons of rock need to be quarried. And while gold having but one-fifth of an ounce of metal per ton is being mined profitably, there are vast uranium deposits with twenty times that metal content.—USIS.

SCHOOL FOR PARENTS

By D. Stonov

Teachers young and old, are meeting in Moscow and other towns to talk of the past and plan for the future, for this is a section of a community with increasingly important role in the post-war Soviet Union.

Here are teachers of the Constantine Ushinsky Pedagogical Academy in Moscow named after a famous Russian educationist of the last century. The first graduation of teachers from this Academy was in 1930. The latest was last year in 1945. And now veteran teachers who, for upto sixteen years, have been teaching in school instead of being pupils themselves are meeting their younger colleagues who have graduated more recently, having studied, for the most part, under the same Professors.

Sixteen graduations since 1930 have produced 2,353 qualified teachers for schools and universities. The young teachers often found problems difficult—and complex and gratefully turned to their old Professors and always received sympathetic help. There was a personal counsel and a vast library on the whole range of pedagogical questions to consult and most of the teachers subscribe to this library.

Out of all this came to the Director of the Academy, the idea of organising a big re-union of all graduates for the past sixteen years.

In the main the Academy trains teachers for the city of Moscow and the neighbouring villages and districts and nearly everybody wrote or telephoned to say that he would come. There were some who sent warm messages but regretfully added that they could not be there.

And so to-night for the special re-union the main hall of the Academy and the adjacent rooms begin to fill with teachers from all over Moscow and districts long before the appointed hour of seven.

Raisa Makhlina can be heard discussing the success of her idea to start a "university for parents" as an annexe to one of the Moscow schools where she teaches. Hundreds of parents come to lectures on the art of teaching, on education of children, psychology and so on. Other teachers tell of their regular meetings with fathers and mothers of children they teach.

There are quite a few touching scenes at this re-union and, in particular, one notes the glad exclamations as one war-veteran meets another for the first time in years. There is Olga Repina who left for the front in 1941 when she was still a young student. Three years later, when she was invalided out of the army, she returned to the Academy to complete her course and is now teaching at one of the schools of the Lenin district of Moscow. You can see medals gleaming on the jackets of war heroes, who are back again teaching at the school.

The work of the Academy did not slacken for a moment, even though many of the students were heavily engaged in digging tank traps and others obstacles to the onrush of Nazi ideas on education. For these stalwart Moscow pedagogues-to-be, who wielded the spade and shovel during the day, the Professors read lectures in the evenings. Crouched in basements during the most fierce German raids, these tough students and their Professors organised themselves into study groups.

It was far into the night before the meeting broke up. Yuri Ivashkin summed it up when he said "I hope we can have more of these meetings. At the Academy I learnt real love for my job, for the boys and girls, whom I was going to teach some day. It has been great pleasure to meet so many comrades and talk things over with them and it has helped us a lot".—*Tass*.

MONOGAMY AND DIVORCE

By Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan

I have followed with much interest the discussion in *Swatantra* on the subject of marriage and divorce. I strongly believe that reform of our marriage customs and laws is necessary for the speedy and healthy progress of our country. One of the main reasons for my participating in public life is to strive for reform of our old and hoary social customs and laws which cause harm, misery and suffering to any section of our people and which have become impediments to the advancement of the country. I have felt particularly concerned about the condition of our women whose life is seriously affected by old customs such as early marriage and polygamy.

Legislation Necessary

Soon after my election to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1938, I gave notice of my intention to introduce a Bill to prohibit polygamy. Unfortunately, owing to certain difficulties beyond my control, I could not even introduce that Bill during any session of that Assembly. I expected a great deal of opposition to this Bill and I thought that I should cautiously avoid any language in the Bill which would enable the narrow-minded orthodox section of Hindus (which though small is very vociferous) to use it for rousing the religious fervour of ignorant people in opposition to it. I therefore made no provision for divorce in the Bill. But to my most pleasant surprise, not only did the Bill receive remarkable sympathy and support from all parts of the country but also I was urged to revise it with provision for divorce. It was repeatedly pointed out to me, especially by lawyers of wide

experience that the Bill would not be of much help to women unless divorce was permitted. I revised the Bill with legal advice, incorporating the provision for divorce and gave fresh notice of it to the Assembly office. I also made a brief tour of the main cities of India and an extensive one of our province visiting even remote places to learn personally the views of the Hindu public on this Bill as well as on other questions of social reform. My correspondence too on the subject was very heavy as even complete strangers, men and women, wrote to me their views based on their personal study and experience of conditions in the country. I found that opinion was practically unanimous that polygamy should be abolished as it was detrimental to the peace and welfare of family life and caused misery and suffering to many women. But there was a certain amount of hesitation among the people to support the introduction of divorce. This need not be a surprise. In fact I thought the hesitation was mild as I could appreciate how unpleasant the idea of divorce could be to the Hindu mind when it is looked down upon even in advanced European countries where it has ceased to be an innovation for quite a long time ago. The Roman Catholic community still do not permit it without a special Papal dispensation. I must also confess that in spite of my enthusiasm for social reform, the idea of divorce severing a marriage tie is painful to me. But I do realise that under special circumstances such a dissolution of marriage is absolutely necessary and should be legally permitted. The sad instances that "Hamsa"

mentions prove that legislation for divorce is necessary.

Rights Versus Duties

I wish that present conditions in Hindu society in general proved that "K. S." was right in his belief that a "Hindu is taught to do his duty and not to assert his rights." This might have been true in very olden days but in modern times, the trouble in Hindu society as in any other community, is that man is prone to forget his duty and to assert not only his right but also his demand for more than his due. It is the tendency to overlook and neglect one's duty and to emphasise one's rights that is responsible for the opposition to reform of our social customs and laws and to democratic progress in general. Our country would not be in the sad state in which it is to-day if there had been a sufficient number of Hindus to give a good lead to society by personal example in following the excellent maxims of Hindu religion.

Divorce Will Not Encourage Desertion

The system of divorce is not entirely alien to Hindu society as some people believe. It is permitted in many communities, particularly in Malabar, South Kanara and to some extent in Tamilnad. But instances of divorce among them are few and far between and while devoted couples and happy homes are as common among them as in communities which prohibit divorce, they have comparatively fewer cases of desertion and cruelty. This proves that "K. S." and others who share his views need have no fear that "divorce will encourage desertion, cruelty and other ills of married life." During my many discussions with men and women on legislation for monogamy and divorce, I noticed that often their opposition to it weakened and eventually broke down after they gave their earnest consideration to the subject. I have the impression that most of the people who oppose divorce do so without giving serious thought to the matter and merely from the vague idea that it will be a disruptive factor in our

social and home life. This idea is due largely to the unpleasant accounts one hears or reads in the Press or sees on the screen of divorce cases in Europe and America. Some others oppose divorce on the ground that it is not necessary, because there is neither urgency nor need for it as polygamy is not common and unhappy marriages are rare. May I ask how is one to measure either the existence of polygamy, unhappy marriages or the amount of misery and suffering caused by them? But it is a fact that these prevail to a greater extent than is apparent to the public eye. Moreover, the State does not legislate for the removal or remedying of an evil only if it is common or only if it prevails extensively. Thieving and murder are not common but the State has laws to prevent them. Laws are as necessary for restraining and preventing an evil which does harm to society as for promoting the health and happiness of the people. Legislation is necessary for establishing monogamy and permitting divorce in order to avoid unhappy homes and hardship and misery to men and women whose marriage has turned out a complete failure. It is more often the woman who is the victim of an unhappy marriage and suffers much pain and misery. This I think accounts for the greater amount of earnest sympathy and support among women for monogamy and divorce.

Aid To Peace and Happiness

Monogamy is the ideal of Hinduism. The most famous and inspiring heroes of ancient India were monogamists, such as Rama and Sita, Savitri and Satyavan, Nala and Damayanti. Modern civilisation also holds monogamy as ideal and respects the "Darby and Joan" couple. It believes that the strength of a democratic nation lies in the disciplined and happy homes of its people and that monogamy is essential for such homes. It is only when the husband and wife love as well as respect each other and endeavour to make each other happy that their home can have humanising influence and can enable the

finest instincts of their children to develop and build up their character. If instead of mutual love and respect, there is intense contempt and dislike for each other between a husband and wife, it will be wrong for them to hold on to the marriage tie and make themselves miserable and their home unhappy. Divorce would give them an oppor-

tunity to prevent the wrecking of their lives and to endeavour to find some peace and happiness independently of each other. Divorce therefore should be supported as a measure which could save a person from misery and give him or her a chance to find peace and happiness.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

"K. S." is clearly right in assuming that the realization of the meaning and purpose of marriage in the context of the ethical code of a society, whether it is Hindu or Communist, cannot but confirm the permanent character of that association of man and woman. Society is concerned with the institution of marriage as a means to the orderly perpetuation of the race and its culture, and it is concerned in protecting the name and nature of marriage from errant extension to other and perhaps more delightful and less socially significant associations of male and female which may be as transient as the feelings and passions that bring them about. The true foundation of marriage is the conscious or conventional acceptance of social obligation and not the compatibility of any pair with each other. In fact the absorption of man and wife in each other will be socially a most undesirable feature of married life. To contend that marriage should last only so long as this infatuation remains is to misunderstand the nature not only of marriage but also of human love. Love which requires to be rendered respectable by marriage and marriage which needs justification by love for the duration are inhuman and absurd concepts of the truly bourgeois mind which abhors logic and emotion and ranges in the land of *Trisankhu*. It is not surprising therefore that "K. S." who courageously advises acceptance of the indissolubility of "unhappy" marriage as a spur to creative effort or purposeful activity should be called an "escapist" and "idealist" by those who advocate divorce as a means of escape and exalt the ideal of love

which, of all ideals, is the most chimerical. Those who would dissolve any marriage that is not "happy" forget that divorce is no remedy for an unhappy marriage but only a legal licence to try again to find a worthier mate. Other than legally marrying somebody else, there is nothing that an "unhappily" married person cannot do within the bonds of matrimony which can be done by a divorced person. Divorce is a parasite on marriage masquerading as a cure for the present conjugal infelicity of a man or woman and promising either or both future conjugal bliss. So it is not freedom, not even free love, which has nothing to do with the institution of marriage, that divorce offers, but an opportunity to enter hopefully into fresh bonds. It is when such opportunity seems to have appeared that most applications for divorce are made in communities whose laws allow it. And there divorce has manifestly become a habit-forming indulgence which, while undermining the institution of marriage to the detriment of society, has also failed to promote the conjugal contentment of individuals. One may be right to demand the abolition of marriage as an institution and may, if he can, go about as if it had been abolished or had never existed. But to accept the institution of marriage and, careless of its social purpose, to want to extend its traditional sanctity and social prestige to the wilful pairing of exceptional individuals is plainly to confound reason and pervert morals.

"K. S." says hard cases have made bad law; it is the thoughtless sympathy for the alleged victims of domestic tragedies which leads to

proposals of arbitration by spiritual men and good men and proposals for a special law for exceptional persons, the sort of suggestions made by "K. S." to mitigate the rigour of a totalitarian insistence on adherence to the established norm. Initial appeasements of this kind must surely lead to the cheap and easy divorce which "K. S." rightly deplores. The case against divorce in any form can be maintained without any reference to religious conversion; the institution of marriage is a secular institution which, though it may be reinforced by religious sanction just as it may be made agreeable by temperamental attunement, ought not to stand in need of spiritual convictions for its continuance. Marriage as a lifelong contract is assailed by secularist utilitarians. It can and must be defended on the

plane in which it is attacked. A permanent association of man and woman does on the whole provide the only convenient and practical alternative to the promiscuity which though natural to all animals including man he has been found to be a social menace beyond the negligible and neglected degree to which it is still practised in any civilised community. Let partners to an unhappy marriage blame society and busy themselves with other business than that of finding fault with each other or even with themselves. And if we must argue with "educated" persons we must hope to convince them of the essential sanity and reasonableness of our position without fortifying it by the prescriptions of Gandhi.

"B".

TAMIL NAD CONGRESS ELECTIONS

The recent elections to the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee smacked so much of Chicago that genuine Congressmen could not but hang down their heads in shame.

To the candidates who were bent upon winning the elections, no device was mean, no falsehood was dishonourable. Corruption and malpractices were prevalent to such a degree that the Gandhian maxim of means being as pure as the ends was completely cast to the winds. And the tragedy of it all was that the candidates resorted to these shady devices with the name of Gandhiji on their lips!

In the City of Madras itself two kinds of degenerate devices were brought to my notice. The first is false personation. The second is propaganda on communal lines. Never perhaps was false personation practised so much as a fine art as it was done in a particular circle in the City. It would appear that a candidate had "prepared" men ranging from the age of nineteen to sixty-five and made them impersonate voters to perfection. These false voters, it is said, went into the polling stations, repeated, robot-like, their names, their fathers' names

and their addresses and staggered the polling officer into issuing the ballot paper!

In another circle, a Non-Brahmin candidate utilised the accident of his birth to make such an open communal appeal to the voters that it put even the Self-Respecters to shame! And he won.

The lead given by the Congressmen of the City appears to have been generally followed by their compeers in the districts.

In one constituency in Chingleput district, school-boys are reported to have voted for absentee or unwilling grown-ups. In North Arcot district, a candidate is reported to have purchased votes, the maximum price paid being rupees five. Besides this, he is reported to have provided more exciting inducements. The owner of the arrack shop of the locality is reported to have exclaimed: "My shop had more income and more excitement than we used to have on the Dipavali night."

The southern districts beat all others hollow. In Tanjore, a polling officer was kidnapped. In Trichy, ballot boxes were removed.

If these malpractices are not stamped out with firmness, the Congress will disintegrate.—Kl. SA.

SIMLA CONFERENCE II BEGINS

Railway Board remains adamant—Communalism in U. P. and Assam

The anxious attention of India is focussed on the twelve men who have begun joint discussions in Simla. Only a bare outline of the Cabinet Mission's proposal has reached the public, escaping the fog of secrecy which surrounds the talks. These proposals are: (1) There is to be an Indian Union which will control Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications; (2) The provinces will have all other powers including residuary powers and they will be free to group themselves according to predominance of population into Muslim and non-Muslim zones for purposes of administering subjects of common interest; and (3) The Indian States will enter the Indian Union at a later stage after negotiating the basis of their entry with the Union Government.

The first two clauses are meant to provide a 'synthesis' of the desire of the Congress for a united India with a strong Central Government and the League's demand for sovereign Muslim homelands. Viewing this scheme with suspicion, as a surrender to the League's obstinacy, nationalist circles want to be assured that the Union Government will be vested with legislative as well as executive power, and that it will not be a machinery designed merely to discharge certain responsibilities delegated to it by the units. The grouping of provinces on the basis of the communal composition of their population is also vigorously opposed by Congressmen. The Muslim League, on the other hand, stands for a fully sovereign Pakistan State, which would conclude treaties for defence and other purposes with the rest of India.

The provision for the entry of the States at an unspecified later stage

into the Union, presumably on terms of their dictation, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. It strengthens the suspicion that States which might not be willing to join a modern democratic Federation would be allowed to stay out. They would form islands, large and small, of autocracy and feudalism, spread all over the country's surface and will be a fresh obstacle to the unity of India. They will, further, make for the continued presence of British troops and air-power on Indian soil, for the ostensible purpose of defending the sovereignty of the States against "foreign aggression."

The General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation has decided to give notice to the Government of India on June 1 that railwaymen will go on a country-wide strike on June 27 unless their minimum demands are conceded. The mood of the Council was illustrated by the hot reception accorded to Mr. Jammadas Mehta, once a labour leader and now Government of India's High Commissioner in Burma. Mr. Giri, Labour Minister for Madras, has resigned his Presidency of the Railwaymen's Federation, to avoid embarrassments in case of direct action. The Railway Board does not seem to be willing to consider the essential demands of the workers. Mr. R. de K. Maynard, General Manager of the M. & S. M. Railway, has declared that revision of basic scales of pay cannot be undertaken until the completion of the work of a Commission which is expected to be appointed by the Government of India to consider post-war scales of pay for all Government servants, including railwaymen. But when questioned he had to confess that he "had no information" as to when the Commission would begin

to function. The Railwaymen's Council, "while fully conscious of the gravity of the food situation", has appealed to all political parties and the public "to bring united pressure to bear on the Government to concede the minimum demands of railwaymen, to avoid needless suffering to all." The Railway administration must not be allowed to invoke the food crisis as a convenient cover for its unwillingness to share part of its profits with the workers. It is to be hoped that the Congress President's efforts to get the Viceroy to move in the matter will bear fruit.

Recent events in Aligarh and Assam are indications of things to come. Social and economic problems are being given a communal twist, and are leading to deplorable results. An altercation between some Muslim students and a Hindu shopkeeper in Aligarh led to rioting and arson. An ordinary quarrel became the starting point for a communal disturbance which has become a topic of controversy in the U.P. Provincial Assembly. Hindus are charging the Muslim Police officials of Aligarh with inactivity during the riots, while the Muslim League has attacked the

Congress Ministry's imposition of a punitive tax on the inhabitants of Aligarh and other measures to ensure discipline among the students, as deliberate attempts to harass the Muslim community. It is significant that the Enquiry Committee which was appointed to go into the matter, consisted of two English police officers, with no non-officials, either Hindu or Muslim. This was the only way, one supposes, to ensure 'objectivity'. As in Simla, so in Aligarh.

The problem of Muslim immigrants from Eastern Bengal has been before the Assam Government for several years. Assam has never favoured these incursions, and the present Congress Ministry is taking vigorous steps to evict the immigrants. The Muslim League is charging the Ministry with callousness in its treatment of the Muslim immigrants, and the Revenue Minister Mr. Medhi has retaliated by saying that the League leaders are inciting immigrants to defy the law. Without a real understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League, similar communal troubles are bound to crop up everywhere.

THE WORLD ABROAD

A Survey of Foreign Affairs

Reports that the last contingents of Russian troops in Persia are leaving the country continue to pour in, thus indicating the imminence of Russian evacuation of Persia according to schedule, namely 6th May. The withdrawal must not only be officially announced by the Russian Government, but admitted by the Security Council of the U.N.O. Only thereafter can the subject of Persia be withdrawn from the agenda of that body. It may, however, be expected that Russian personnel will continue to

stay in Persia in connection with the recently concluded oil pact between the Iran and Soviet Governments.

The report of the Palestine Enquiry Committee is a document of incredible effrontery, of calculated cynicism, and of an ill-concealed complacency arising from an excessive faith in 'the reeking tube and broken shard.' The unanimity of the Committee's findings advertised in advance is the result of agreement over a bewildering variety of negatives. Palestine is to be neither

wholly Arab, nor wholly Jewish, nor wholly independent, nor wholly mandated. No community will dominate the others; but the unwanted third party will dominate all with impartial efficiency. Jewish immigration at a lakh per annum is recommended, much to the gratification of Mr. Truman who referred approvingly to that recommendation in his weekly Press Conference. Britain who is thus committed to the maintenance of a permanent garrison in Palestine for strategic reasons is very anxious to know if America will underwrite her share of the responsibility. But the reception given to the report has been so uniformly and universally unfavourable as to make us conclude that it is likely to be implemented without many serious changes. For the mutual aversions of the many contending parties may be expected to act on the principle of the triangle of forces so as to lead the affected body to preserve its state of rest.

The protests of the Arab world are of special psychological interest. The spokesman of the Arab League has indulged in the threat that the Arabs will look to Russia for help, and indeed implore her to intervene to drive the hated western imperialist interlopers from the country. It is curious that the Moslem world is tending to use the Soviet as a kind of bogey with which to frighten the Western democracies. The cleavages that have already appeared in that world augur ill for the prospects of combined and determined action by the Arabs against common enemies. Persia's loss of its province has not evoked a word of protest from the Arab world; the repeated threats directed against Turkey have also been ignored by the other Islamic States. The position is thus analogous to that of India at the time of the Muslim invasion of the country. The native Hindu rulers looked askance at one another, and refused to combine against the common enemy. Wherefore the invader dealt with them singly, and by turns until at last he spread out the umbrella to

embrace the greater part of the country.

The Foreign Ministers Conference continues to meet almost daily at Paris, chiefly it would appear, to adjourn again! The disagreements are now admitted to be too numerous and serious to be smoothed over. The deadlock is thus sought to be stabilised as a normal feature of Four-Power diplomacy. Russia is in favour of withdrawing all supervisory committees from Italy, while at the same time she insists on her own figure of reparations to be paid to Yugoslavia. The proposal of Mr. Byrnes that America would underwrite a mutual agreement pact with Russia for a period of 25 years is said to have been made to convince the Soviet of the *bona fides* of the Western democracies. Strangely enough, the suggestion has not been received with the enthusiasm which it deserves in the circumstances. The prospects of peace in Europe are thus rendered more remote and nebulous than ever. The chances are that ultimately the dog it was that might die. Whether out of too much fear or too much cynicism, the future of millions of people in Europe is being trifled with by the United Nations. The possibility of their being called upon to pay for their evasions does not seem to have struck responsible people at key-points.

Mr. Bevin has made the suggestion that Lybia should be granted complete independence. The British Foreign Minister has almost succeeded in making us believe that the independence he is flinging about with such reckless prodigality is like the paper money which Germany and Japan scattered over the countries they overran; not only has it no value, but the possession of it becomes damaging evidence against oneself.

France has rejected the Constitution of the Fourth Republic by a majority much bigger than was anticipated. From this, one signifi-

cant conclusion may be drawn. The 'left' which manoeuvred itself into office, and which had a decisive voice in shaping the new constitution has much less support in the country than was thought to be the case after the last elections. France has to go through the whole weary process of a new Constituent Assembly and a new constitutional scheme and a new referendum before the Fourth Republic could get on its

feet again. All this will take another year at least—till then there will be a care-taker Government, which looks like being incapable of either taking care or of governing. The recession of France into the second rank of nations is far more painfully emphasised by the events since the unconditional surrender of the enemy than by her military collapse before the hosts of Hitler five years ago.

MOTHER AND MAIDEN

By Binod

My Mother was a wonderful woman. But I thought the girl I loved more wonderful still.

Love laughs not only at locksmiths, but at mothers. And it not only laughs at them. Sometimes it rails at them too.

And so I railed at my Mother. My sweet, darling Mother, now beyond the pale of all earthly influence. My Mother who bore me and bred me and loved me and suffered for me—and then lost me.

I railed at her strong and hard. She pleaded with me but I shut the gates of mercy on her. She coaxed me but I would have none of it. She warned me but I turned a deaf ear to her warning. Then she laid her face between her hands and wept. I heard her tears.

But when a man's soul is love-laden he knows not what he does. I was young and the boundless intemperance of youth glowed in my veins. I scoffed at my Mother's tears. I, a gentle youth, summoned the harshness of a thousand brutes to deny her her prayer.

Then my Mother looked at me—oh! how she looked at me! The anguish of a thousand souls, the desire of a thousand hearts, the longing, lingering look of a thousand eyes were concentrated on her son.

For an instant—only for an instant—I relented. But the change was

Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be

Ere one can say it lightens.

The iron of love had not only entered into my soul but had cor-

roded it. Anything that stood between me and my love must be destroyed.

My Mother saw that she was losing me. Me, the very staff of her age, her very prop. Pain and anguish wrung her brow. I hurried down the steps...down...down...down...

The sound of my own feet going down the steps leaving my Mother to her fate has tormented me ever since. Like the crack of doom it burst into my ears now and then—in the still watches of the night, in the twilight of the morning, in the silence of the noonday. I know it will not cease until I die.

I never saw my Mother again. She made no attempt to contact me. All that she had worked for, all that she had cared for, all that she had believed in, had crashed in ruins. I had sinned against Heaven and was no more worthy to be called her son.

And so my Mother wandered till she died.

I am not unhappily married and have most of the things of life that most people have. I have moments of joy. But an ever-present dread colours all my thoughts and my actions. It is the dread of meeting my Mother when I die. How shall I face her, what shall I say to her?

Yet I would have my Mother call me early. The sooner I know what awaits me, the better. I dare not live because I know my Mother hasn't forgiven me. I dare not die because, when I do, Mother will be there.

CHURCH AND STATE

We often hear it said that the present is the era of the common man. The triumphant emergence of the Soviet State after the most fearful struggle recorded in history, the general drift of the Left all over the world, the cashiering of Messrs. Churchill and de Gaulle, the apparent success of nationalist mass-movements in backward areas from Indonesia to Istanbul are all ascribed to the coming of the common man into his own. I am however not quite so sure of this, as many pre-determined optimists seem to be. There is, I agree, far more talk of the common man; but I find that most of the talking is done by proxy! My own view is that this mythical worthy—the common man—is just now the victim of a new kind of confidence trick; and he has fallen for it because of his inability to see that the latest stunt is but a variation of the time-honoured device of getting him round to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire. For, when the subject is viewed dispassionately, it is clear that the common man has never been in a position to solve the basic problem that faces him. What should he make of himself as an individual of the species, and what should he make of the species composed of individuals like him? I flatter myself that this is the simplest statement of an eternal problem which historians have to consider in terms of an unending conflict between Church and State.

The peculiarity of this conflict is that it is in equal parts objective and subjective. Even science which has long been assuring us of an indubitable, objective world is preparing to let us down rather badly with the discovery of the atom bomb. This has merely strengthened, if it has not indeed enlarged, the boundaries of the subjective world in which each of us lives; moves and has his being. Most of us get even this subjective world at second-hand, and die before we realise the mistake. But notwithstanding variations in individual apprehension, there is a greater

measure of agreement among the primary or subjective thinkers of the world than among the scientists concerning the realities of life. The same ideas are found in vogue among people scattered far and wide or among races who have flourished at different periods of time. We cannot explain away these resemblances as the result of accident. Amidst perpetual shiftings of stress or changes of hue, primary values persist; rather because some values always persist, they may be deemed eternal. Such at least are the considerations that seem to apply to the age-old idea of Church and State. Whatever the latest experiment in the field of politics, I think it possible to reduce it to a formula which will relate it to the eternal problem of the Church vs. the State.

Chronologically, the concept of Church must have preceded that of the State. For primitive man must have been the victim of a mysticism arising from the fear of the Unknown. (We have still this fear with us masquerading under other forms.) As long as Revelation was viewed poetically, the Church remained the concretion of the City of God on earth. Hence the earliest States were also Churches. It is a facile generalisation to speak of theocracies as peculiar to some people alone; it is rather an inevitable phase of human development. Many of the ancient theocracies perished in the pre-historic period; memorials of them are imbedded in myth, folklore and legend now relegated to the nursery.

As mankind reached the adolescent stage, there was a hydroptic thirst for knowledge, experience and experiment which are romantically associated with the era of Renaissance-Reformation. The Roman Church which inherited the Roman Empire donned the purple, hiding the hair-shirt underneath, and reduced the functions of the State to those of an errand boy waiting on a capricious master. The law-givers were followed by lawyers, who undermined respect for

law in their zeal for contentious hair-splitting. If the Renaissance registered a budding sense of artistic freedom, the Reformation extended it in the social and political spheres. While a secular State was slowly taking shape, the individual felt intoxicated with a sense of new-found freedom which naturally led to licence as well. In theory, there were as many Churches and States as there were individuals—such was the logical consequence of overthrowing the Church when it also usurped the functions of the State. But national sentiment, geographical barriers, a new-born linguistic pride tended to group people in bigger aggregations which saved them from the worst consequences of fragmentation. From a literary point of view, European anarchy in the Renaissance-Reformation era has many pretty things to its credit. Amidst a new Babel of tongues, one could decipher new thought-patterns which were consciously exultant or intuitively artistic. Shakespeare was the crown and glory of that era—considered not as an Englishman but as a European! Milton in his pugnacious phase, the English Bible, the Commentaries of Luther, the essays of Bacon and Montaigne—all aimed at the discovery of the private world of the individual to fill the void arising from the overthrow of the Catholic Church.

Not that the Church was quiet, it made repeated attempts to win back its lost authority. It was willing to pay any price—from the massacre of thousands to the execution of a monarch here or an emperor there. The inauguration of the worship of the Goddess of Reason by the French Revolutionaries was devised to discredit the Church for all time, and beyond hope of rehabilitation. Even in the age of Enlightenment, of so-called tolerance which abuts the revolutionary era on both sides, the Church continued to be active though it went underground. But the remarkable thing to note is that the Church, both then and since disdained to confess defeat. Of its struggles with its foes, of its appeal to the emotions of the multitude, of its uncon-

querable hope of ultimate victory, it is impossible even for the worst enemy to speak except in terms of superlative praise.

In our own times, we have witnessed the phenomenon of the State itself becoming the Church. The wheel has come full circle; and the chelas of Karl Marx have established an apostolic succession which through intensity makes up for lack of antiquity. The individual has saved himself by an enthusiastic losing of himself in the State. The economic man whose *El dorado* was a progressively mounting standard of life has exchanged it for the Nirvana of the Communist State. Caesar has been killed off; but Caesarism is firmer than ever in the saddle with the active co-operation of the common man himself bemused by the promise of bread and circus which will prepare him for the next proletarian holiday.

Literary memorials of this great swing of opinion are too numerous for mention. Our young men to-day know more about the Soviet than about the Satavahanas; they are admirers of the orations of Kalinin, but know not a syllable about Kalidasa. They are discriminating critics of the Russian ballet or the people's theatre, but are incurious about the heritage of Indian art. They have many five-years' plans at their fingers' ends, but do not know the system of municipal government or misgovernment that is going on in our towns.

There is however a transitional period of uncertain frequency when there is neither Church nor State at work. Anarchy, briefly stated! There are times when a state of anarchy is involuntary and inescapable—like the recoil of a gun as it is fired. When it is thus anticipated, it can be controlled or even willed up to a point. There is to-day no war in Europe, but it does not follow that there is order in any of the defeated countries, in the sense in which that order is found in the victorious nations. What is the role of America in China, of Britain in India? It is to use the concept or idea of anarchy

as an instrument of policy. Note the curious fact that there was not a single case of communal riots during the war-years. And why do we hear just now so much of riots and civil war? The Government is not the only agency which knows the answer to these questions!

You see therefore how the common man is being led to the shambles to the accompaniment of a new kind of flattery. This is due to the endless flux governing the relation between the individual and society, Church and State. The Hindu statement of the problem is

the quest of the *purusharta*—the ultimate *summum bonum*. The individual must seek his salvation through society; he must achieve a perfect fusion of means and ends, which is called *Dharma*. And the following exhortations stand as traffic signals to guide his further progress: Acquire knowledge without blurring vision: Get power but do not abuse it: Love Beauty without a craving for possession: And discern the roots of joy in renunciation!

P. M.

Never lend books; no one ever returns them.
The only books I have in my library are those people
have lent me.—Anatole France.



Lord Stanagate, leader of the British Treaty Delegation, being received by Lutfy El Sayed Pasha, Egypt's Foreign Minister, on his arrival in Cairo. Picture shows: (Left to right): H. E. Sir Ronald Campbell, British Ambassador, Lutfy El Sayed Pasha, Lord Stanagate and Sir Kinahan Cornwallis.

BOOKS



The Fatal Cart and Other Stories.
By C. Rajagopalachari. (The Hindustan Times, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2.)

In a memorable poem, Lord Macaulay contrasted the equable eternity of literature with the feverish ephemerality of politics. Though the value of these excellent reflections may be considered to have been tempered by the fact that their impulse was the great Whig historian's defeat at the Edinburgh elections, the truth is of universal application. It will be no flattery to assert of the author of this collection of short stories that, great as have been his services to the country, he has given up to Party what was meant for mankind. But the discerning reader will observe in these stories the same acuteness of intellect and the same ability to amass metaphors which, both in the general and in the technical sense, have been the characteristics of his political utterances.

The author is well-known to be what is called a man of his convictions, if this aspect is regarded in a favourable light, and to be a propagandist, if it is considered with hostility. It must be confessed that he has not resisted the temptation of subordinating some at least of his stories to the purposes of didacticism. But though the preacher in the guise of a man of letters is justly an object of anathema, an exception has usually been made in the favour of an author who, in the fire of his imagination, anneals literature with morality. *Eric*, or *Little by Little* is an unblushing example of unregenerate and dogged didacticism, while *The Scarlet Letter* is perhaps the noblest success of morality in literature. No reader can doubt that Mr. Rajagopalachari's place is rather with Hawthorne than with Dean Farrar.

It is true that if prohibition had been enforced in this country, the adventure of the *Fatal Cart* would not have taken place. But no thoughtful reader of this moving story will suspect that the author has a palpable design on him, to quote Hazlitt's expressive phrase. Indeed, this account of the sorrows of Par-

vathi, the village woman, is the finest example this book affords of the author's powers. Even the most confirmed devotee of Bacchus, who loves to look upon wine when it is red, must confess as he reads how as Parvati "sank into fathomless eternal silence, her soul escaped from its cage of misery", that vinousness can be carried too far.

The customs of caste also incur the author's wrath, who in the story of *Jagadisa Sastri's Dream*, endeavours to reduce them to absurdity by an involved train of sequences. The evils of untouchability are more clearly exposed in the opening tale, that which treats of *Ardhanari*.

On an altogether higher standard of excellence are a few other stories, where human nature is the theme. In the economy of detail and the achievement of effects, it is difficult to surpass the story of *Devayani*. In this tale of the anguish of the poor Salem woman, the author touches upon the misery of India itself. This exalted subject is again explored in the tale of how *Veeran*, attempting to get some crackers for his son, merely found himself in danger of prison.

The author is endowed with a delicate sense of humour. *Sabesan's coffee* was, at one time in Madras, considered the mortal equivalent of nectar. Such was its reputation that even white men fancied it. Ladies in the higher circles of Madras society maintained that coffee powder made at home however well selected the seeds or careful the roasting might be, could not compare with *Sabesan's* tinned coffee. But the dreadful fact was that it was mixed with soap-nut powder. When the foolish proprietor attempted to remove this addition, his goods were a drug on the market.

The effectiveness of these stories would perhaps have been enhanced if they had been written in English. Not that the translation has not been well done. It has been very well done, with unflinching faithfulness to the original. It is clear that this book is a portent in short story telling in this country and is certain to influence the technique of this medium.

Lord Macaulay's Legislative Minutes:
Selected with a Historical Introduction by C. D. Dharker, Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press. Rs. 12.

This is an admirable addition to the rapidly growing library of source-books dealing with the earlier phases of the governance of India by Britain. The last of the Charter Acts belonging to the year 1833 was also a prophetic anticipation of the assumption by the Crown of the overlordship of the whole country after the great Rebellion of 1857.

This book is divided into two parts in the first of which Mr. Dharker elaborates the stages in the development of the legislative functions of the supreme Government, and the codification of the law as administered through the company's judicial courts throughout the three presidency areas. In the second part we have extracts from the minutes themselves.

The English rulers of India, at first obscurely, and with the passage of time, consciously endeavoured to impart to the spirit and system of Government the uniformity, regularity and certitude which issue from what jurists call the rule of law. This conception, in its turn a legacy of the ancient Roman empire, has been worked out in the Government of India with a constancy of aim and zeal for progress which in the rulers were not the result of external prompting, but due to the natural extension of English institutions abroad. Not that the process was smooth-sailing; questions like the Freedom of the Press, the right of appeal of natives to the Supreme Court (long preserved as a useless vestige of the superiority of the ruling race), the establishment of uniformity in the administration of justice throughout the country were fought out, mostly between Englishmen themselves!

We also get an excellent resume of the part played by Macaulay as the East India Company's first Law Member. His personal love of liberty, his mastery of liberal traditions and his zeal for the growth of an ordered society based on the rule of impersonal law were invaluable assets to which we owe the fortunate and on the whole proud traditions of the reign of English law in the shaping of present-day Indian polity.

Mr. Dharker writes with trained precision and in a spirit of judicial moderation which must make the book invaluable for reference purposes.

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This is the address for all communications hereafter. The telephone number is 86252, and out of office hours, 86101. Telegrams may be addressed: "SWATANTRA, Madras."

There are numerous requests from agents and others interested in our journal for more copies. We have also been receiving several letters from persons asking to be enrolled as subscribers.

Under the present conditions of controlled production, we are not able to supply the agents as many copies as they desire, the full quota of paper allowed having been reached. Agents and subscribers are requested to make do with the copies now sent to them. Readers are requested to make up for deficiency of supply with voluntary circulation arrangements among themselves. We regret the inconvenience caused, but it is due to circumstances beyond our control.

In the meantime we will be registering all the applications whether for agencies or for enrolment as subscribers, and they will be dealt with in the order of priority as soon as we get an increased quota of printing paper and are able to meet the demand.

Contributors who wish unaccepted articles to be returned should send a stamped self-addressed envelope. No correspondence can be entered into over non-acceptance of contributions offered for publication.

On account of the demand exceeding the supply, it is found that requests for specimen copies cannot be always complied with.

LETTERS

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

"Char"

The following letter appeared in the London Times of Feb., 20, 1946: To the Editor of the Times

Sir,—You mention in an article on the General Knowledge paper of King William's College, Isle of Man, that in service slang the word "char" means food. I submit that "char", an Urdu word, means tea; it is certainly used as such in both the Navy and Army.

I remain, Sir, Your obedient servant,

ROBIN F. STOPFORD.

It is interesting to note that even "The Thunderer" which is held up as a model for other newspapers should err like this in its correspondence columns which is carefully scanned by its readers.

N. R. BHUVARAHAN, M.A.

Central Parliamentary Board Justified

The postponement of the meeting of the Madras Congress legislators, consequent on the calling of the Provincial Congress leaders to Delhi, has evoked resentment in some of the legislators. These infuriated legislators treat this call from the Central Parliamentary Board as interference from outsiders and against the spirit of democracy. No doubt such a call from the Central Board in connection with the selection of a Leader for the Madras Assembly Congress Party, would be against the spirit of democracy, if only the provinces are truly autonomous. But unfortunately they are not so. If they are otherwise, the present agitation for transference of full power is superfluous. After all, the provincial part of the Government of India Act, 1935, is so devised as to facilitate too much interference by the Governors with the powers of the Ministers. If we can tolerate interference by a Governor who is only responsible to a foreign Government, is it proper to take amiss the advice and instructions given to the provincial leaders by the

members of the Central Board, who are our accredited leaders? All the Congress legislators are themselves approved by the Central Board. It should not be forgotten that we are still fighting the imperialist Government which enjoys the confidence of the people. The present legislative programme is nothing but an additional fighting front in the peaceful and non-violent battle for Swaraj under the direct control and supervision of the Central Board, with implied rights to choose its own lieutenants to carry on operations in the various fields. There is therefore bound to be interference as long as the fight for freedom continues, in the provincial spheres in the shape of directions, control and advice from the Central Board and such interference is not only necessary but proper.

K. SUBBARAMIAH,
Advocate, Chittoor.

Missing The Better Side

In your over-enthusiasm to praise Rajaji to the skies, I think you are missing the better side of people equally eminent. It is not necessary that to extol a man, his contemporary should be condemned downright. In following such a technique, apart from the effect it will have on readers who can judge what is what, the writer himself suffers. The tirade you are conducting against Dr. Pattabhi can't but be read with mingled feelings of pain and sorrow.

I do not want any provincial patriotism to be shown, but even in judging a personality from purely an objective standard, you should not do less than what an unbiased journalist would be willing to concede to Dr. Pattabhi, as one of the great personalities who moulded the political life not only of this province but of the whole of India. That his intelligence is being bolstered up by the Congress High Command, that he has a rare capacity to earn money, that he installs his relatives in companies under his control, all come under cheap criticism and will not stand a moment's consideration. If really you

think that, the Congress High Command is such an insincere body as to inflate the values of people, I see no point in your arguing for Rajaji as a man recommended by the High Command. I hope you will not try to abuse for immediate ends your pen, for which we developed a certain regard over a number of years.

P. KRISHNA MURTHY
Masulipatam.

How Textile Control Works

In June 1944 I bought a sari six yards long from a shop in Salem. The shop-keeper charged more than its controlled price. Later when approached he was neither prepared to take back the sari nor to repay the excess charged. Then a complaint was registered with the Textile Control Officer, Salem, who seized the cash bill and the sari along with the complaint. About this matter several reminders were sent. In one of his replies dated 11th June, 1945 T.C.O., Salem, stated: "The sari in question was sent to the P.T.C., Madras, on 10-9-44 and it has not been received back. The P.T.C. has been addressed to send it to this office. On its receipt it will be returned." Then the Assistant Textile Commissioner, Enforcement, Madras, asked me to send a fresh registered letter to him, which was done on 18th July 1945. Many a month has passed. Till now I have not received any reply from the Assistant Textile Commissioner, Enforcement nor from the office of The P.T.C., Madras. When I met the Assistant Textile Commissioner, Enforcement, Madras, he told me that the sari had been lost.

I have my own doubts whether the department concerned has taken any action against the shop-keeper after proceeding with the investigation.

I appeal to the authorities concerned through your valuable columns that they will not keep such matters in suspense and will not turn a deaf ear to the pleas of persons similarly put to avoidable distress.

K. V. RANGANATH

What The Common Man Feels

Whenever elections begin, the dormant dirt in the Congress emerges to the surface. Congress is effective as a fighter, but is socially weak and ineffective, and resembles in one or two aspects, the proselytising missionary bodies in India. When elections are

held and Congress wants to assume power, there is an unholy scramble not merely in the rank and file but even among the so-called leaders for seats of power. Sense and wisdom are dethroned and bluster comes up to receive the crown.

The common man feels that self-seekers, opportunists wearing the livery of freedom, provincial and narrow-minded zealots and grey haired and glib-tongued intriguers can render a good institution ineffective.

Let the provincial leaders note this, and let them listen to the voice of Gandhiji, who stands for truth and non-violence and let them not suspect him and criticise him, as if he has an axe to grind.

A. NARASIMHACHARLU.
Anantapur.

"Verdict of the Polls"

As one of the thousands of your readers, please allow me to congratulate you on your having made a trenchant, but none the less justified, criticism of the present Congress leadership in not making use of the valuable services of that able and far-sighted statesman, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at the present juncture; for, by so doing, you have only voiced the feelings of persons like me, who are distressed at the recent turn of events in Congress affairs. This action on the part of the Congress High Command serves to confirm the prevalent impression in the minds of some of us that the Congress is becoming more and more to be dominated by certain leaders hailing from the North, although, for obvious reasons, you have not said so openly.

After all, when we find that the present policy of the Congress is the same as that advocated by Rajaji ever since 1942, viz., "negotiation if possible and fight, if necessary", one cannot really understand what makes the High Command keep him in the background during these critical times, if it were not for the reason that they want only people of mediocre talents who will always toe the line. It is now well-known that C.R. was against giving up the Ministries in 1939, though as a disciplined person, he was the first to submit the resignation of his Cabinet when once it was decided upon. At a recent public meeting held here, Sardar Patel openly admitted the folly of having given up the Ministries in 1939, whereby, according to him, the Congress fell into the trap laid by its enemies. A more damning confession

could not have been made by a member of the High Command, and yet the man who had the foresight to realise this at that time itself, is not being called by the High Command to help in their present negotiations.

I hope that the wholesome advice given by you to the Congress leaders will not go unheeded; otherwise, their professions of faith in Democracy, which only means public opinion in action, will be reduced to a mockery.

N. R. KRISHNASWAMI,
Matunga, Bombay.

A Separate State For "Thyagis"

Those who oppose the division of India haven't got an artistic outlook. They don't see that if we have a divided India, the map of the country will be very colourful—Pakistan painted green, Hindustan painted yellow, Rajastan blue, Sikhistan red, Ambedkarstan violet and Dravidastan black. I wish Jinnah would advance this brilliant argument to support his demand instead of betraying his intransigence and confusion by such statements as that 'he is not an Indian'.

I can also suggest another 'stan' for those martyrs of South India (call it Martyr-stan or Thyagi-stan) who claim (though not a two nation theory) that they are the only fighters for the freedom of the country and all others are Quislings. They must surely have a separate State for themselves where they can enjoy the three freedoms—freedom from want (of ministerial jobs), freedom from fear (of the sickle and hammer) and freedom of opinion (against Rajaji). In view of their small number they must be content with the city of Madura for their stan, of course including Tiruparankundram. For without Tiruparankundram, which is their Waterloo, Thyagistan will not be complete. Jai Hind.

AURAMES,

Brahmana Seva Sangam

Presiding over the first Brahmana Conference in South India Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer is reported to have said that the Hindu civilization of which the Brahmin was the symbol was worth preserving. But Sir C. P. failed to point out that to-day the Brahmin basing his claims to recognition on the accident of birth, has not only ceased to be the symbol of Hindu civilization but has become himself out of tune with modern so-

ciety. Nothing short of liquidation of the caste system and abolition of untouchability will save Hindu society and its glorious civilization from destruction.

On the other hand no sane man will resent the formation of the Brahmana Seva Sangam any more than he can take objection to organisations like Gosamrakshana Sangam or the S.P.C.A. But the trouble comes when a section of people assume superiority to the rest of mankind. Hence it would be good if the leaders of the newly formed Brahmana Seva Sangam do not forget the significant sentence of Sir C.P. in the course of his address that "in South India, the Brahmins' plight reminded him of the tribulations and travail of the Jewish community in Europe".

D. V. S. TIRUPATI RAO,
Kalahasti.

Smart Racketing

There is a flourishing black-market in second-hand cars actively promoted by the officials themselves without the public being aware of it at all! The manner of it is as follows:

New cars can be bought only by those granted a permit as belonging to an 'essential' service. The dispensers of these permits (being officials) have generously distributed them among themselves first on the principle of charity beginning at home!

There is no sort of control over the selling and buying of second-hand cars. Therefore the market in second-hand cars is a hungry market—the short supply of new cars putting up their prices to unconscionable heights.

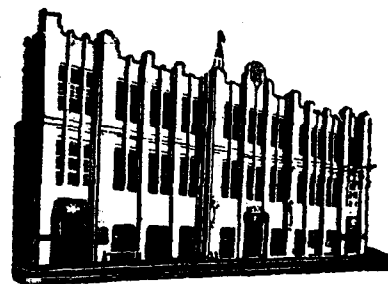
The effect of this 'economic' situation is to enable a priority permit-holder to sell his second-hand car at a fantastic price, buy a new model at controlled rates and pocket the by-no-means negligible difference.

For example, Messrs. Simpson & Co. recently advertised a second-hand Lincoln for a negligible Rs. 20,000.

Will the new Ministry send for statistics of new cars imported since the end of the war, the names of purchasers, details of old cars disposed of by them, reasons for disposal, to whom they were sold, at what price and whether all such second-hand cars are still on the road. If so, where was the necessity for getting rid of them?

If even a small part of all that one hears is true, there is some very smart racketing going on with 'official' connivance!

"NATHANIEL HIGGINS."



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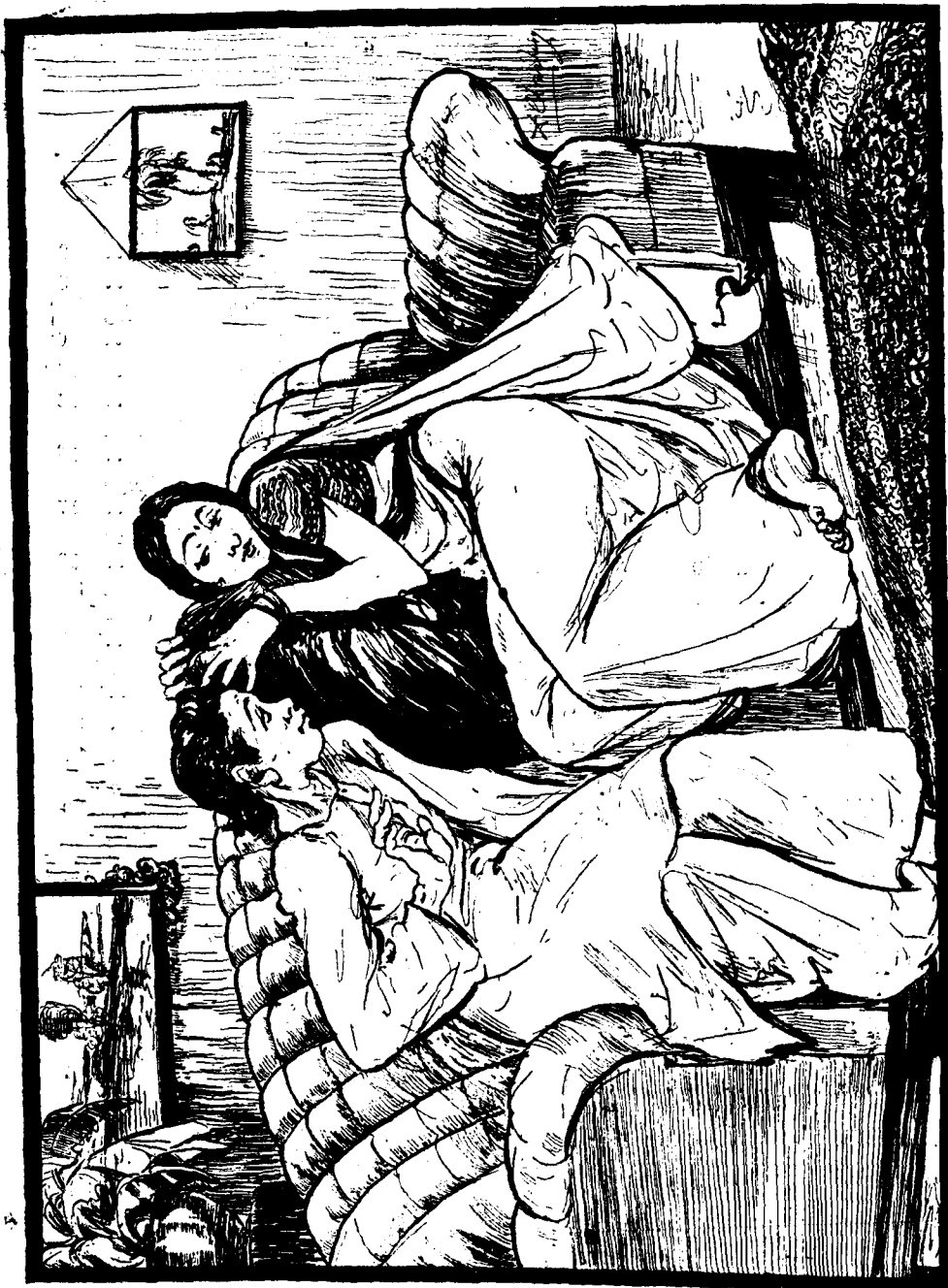
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TENSE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT (Platonic love) —By Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury

SWATANTRA

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No. 14

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1946.

ISSUED
WEEKLY

THE FOOD PROBLEM

FOOD scarcity in this province is no longer a ghost that is said to haunt the poor. It has now become a grim fact for the middle classes as well. The future is likely to be worse than the present. Some estimate a worsening of the position by July next, others push up the evil day by another two months. What the short-term crops due to be harvested about October will bring in, nobody seems to know. Present forecasts on this matter are extremely conjectural. It might therefore serve some purpose to consider the problem in its short-term perspective as well in its long range setting.

Madras did not have to face this problem all of a sudden. The first warning that was given to the Madras Government about a possibility of shortage of foodgrains was in the summer of 1940 when Burma rice could not be transported owing to the shortage of shipping and the West Coast and the Ceded Districts were hit hardest by it. It failed to have any effect on the administration. Two and a half years is a long enough period to enable the Government to take steps to increase production of foodgrains and much useful work could have been done if the warning was fully appreciated. The fall of Burma, famine in Bengal and somewhat similar conditions in the districts of Vizagapatam, Malabar and the Ceded Districts brought in their wake feverish activity all over

India, though in point of achievement no Government in India, Central or Provincial, did anything to reach the targets set by themselves even half way. In 1943 the figures for production in Madras furnished by its representative on the Gregory Food Grains Policy Committee were, that while Madras normally produced 67 lakhs of tons of foodgrains and had to import a net quantity of 8½ lakhs of tons annually, the net deficit for the year had increased to about 17¼ lakhs of tons.

The steps taken by the Provincial Government at that time were to introduce rationing in the principal towns—district-wide rationing in Malabar following a year later—to regulate purchase from surplus areas and arrange for the distribution of the foodgrains so purchased in the deficit areas and to explore possibilities of increasing food production, not to speak of growing vegetables in the compounds of the bungalows of District Collectors. The advertisements that appeared in the Press to help the Grow More Food campaign inserted by the National War Front should not be forgotten in this connection. Statistically the area under cultivation of food crops increased while correspondingly the area under commercial crops decreased. Virgin lands were brought under cultivation and to cite one well-known instance, 40,000 acres



Cabinet Secretariat and is consulted by Ministers as to the matters which ought to be brought before the Cabinet. In matters of emergency, he authorises the departments to take action on matters which ought, if there were time, to be brought before the Cabinet. He is the channel of communication between the King and the Cabinet, though other Ministers communicate with the King on matters affecting their departments. He is the leader of his own parliamentary party inside the House and the leader of the party outside. He has even the right to advise the Sovereign to dismiss a Minister. He is the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. An individual member of a Cabinet is not expected to make anything like definite pronouncements of policy until the Cabinet takes a decision or unless with the authority of the Prime Minister. In the words of Lord Palmerston in 1864, in a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone,

"A member of the Government when he takes office necessarily divests himself of that perfect freedom of action which belongs to a private and independent member of Parliament, and the reason is this, that what a member of the Government does and says upon public matters must to a certain degree commit his colleagues and the body to which he belongs if they by their silence appear to acquiesce; and if any of them follow his example and express as publicly opposite opinions, which in particular cases they might feel obliged to do, differences of opinion between members of the same Government are necessarily brought out into prominence and the strength of the Government is thereby impaired."

While it cannot be claimed even in the case of the British Cabinet that there has been a uniform line adopted by different Ministers or

different Prime Ministers, Palmerston's dictum fairly sums up the situation so far as the British Cabinet is concerned. Mr. Ivor Jennings in his treatise on Cabinet Government sums up the general situation in these terms:

"It may be said, first, that the Prime Minister is frequently in a position to pledge his colleagues' support, because the only alternative is his own resignation. Secondly, a Minister should not announce a new policy without Cabinet consent; but, if he does, the Cabinet must either support him or accept his resignation. Thirdly, a Minister ought to be chary about expressing personal opinions about future policy except after consultation; and if the circumstances are such as to pledge the Government, the Prime Minister has real cause for complaint. Any statement in advance of a Cabinet decision is dangerous to the stability of the Government."

With regard to the work actually in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister is necessarily the chief spokesman of the Government. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, as the leader of the House, suggests, and in a great degree fixes, the course of all principal matters of business, supervises and keeps in harmony the actions of his colleagues, takes the initiative in matters of ceremonial procedure and advises the House in every difficulty as it arises. The arrangement of Government business is the responsibility of the leader of the House. He exercises effective control on such matters as which Ministers are to take charge of proceedings, which of the Ministers are to speak, and the point at which permission is to be sought to move the closure and so on. Even in the matter of accepting an amendment, he may do so on his own responsibility even when the sponsor of a Bill

has at one stage of the Bill rejected the amendment. In fact, according to the accepted British constitutional conventions, he is not merely the leader of a party but the leader of the House.

Legacy Of The Past

When the history of the Advisers' regime in this province comes to be written, if it is ever written at all, it will provide an excellent illustration of the deleterious and corrupting influence of absolute power. The first thirty months of Advisers' rule was avowedly and really a caretaker regime. The administration was careful not to depart seriously from the broad policies followed by the previous popular Ministry. But after the failure of the Cripps' Mission and after they got over the panic of a possible Japanese invasion, it got visibly hardened. A weak Governor, highly susceptible to the pleasures of life and fond of hearing the sound of his own voice, left the Advisers to their own devices and they soon became autocrats in their respective spheres of activity. Joint consultations amongst them became a rare event. One Adviser did not know in the normal course of his work what the others were doing unless it be he got busy about it, in order to thwart the actions of his colleague or colleagues as the case may be. Favourites sprung up in plenty among the officialdom and corruption and nepotism went unchecked. It was said that X, the head of a newly created department, had developed the boldness to ask the permanent departments to lend him officers who belonged to his community and none others; Y the European over him, ordinarily a competent man, had become so callous and indifferent that he not only delighted in allowing his lieutenant to do things as he liked but he also went out of his way to secure for him further preferment. It was rumoured that in one case where an Adviser complained that one of his subordinates was corrupt, the other Advisers joined together

and secured for the official against whom the complaint was made a substantial promotion.

Instances can be multiplied where appointments have been created to find employment and sinecure jobs for the favourites of the high placed officials. It is scarcely likely that the popular Ministry now in the seat of power will be permitted to institute an enquiry into what happened in the past and, with the preoccupations that absorb its attention at the present time it may not be worth while even if it were possible. But the most important fact to be noted in this connection is that the administration, on which the Ministry is dependent to carry out its policies, is the same as the one that was functioning under the Adviser regime and continues to have the same inhibitions, proclivities and acquired characteristics that manifested themselves in such an abundant measure during the previous regime. Every new proposal has therefore to be examined with the background of the present administrative set-up.

We have heard that the Ministry is about to constitute a Development Board with Sir S. V. Ramamurthi, the permanent Chief Secretary, as Chairman, whether in addition to his duties as Chief Secretary or as Development Commissioner divested of his general secretarial duties, we are not aware. We also understand that the Board is to be composed of secretaries to the departments that come within its scope and heads of departments similarly situated. The employment of boards comprising officials of allied departments instead of vesting the entire discretion in a single head of a department is a normal and desirable feature of modern administration. We would like an Engineering Board to be created which will co-ordinate the activities of the Chief Engineers for Irrigation, Buildings and Administration, Highways, Electricity both Construction and Maintenance and also the work of

the Sanitary Engineer to the Government. We would like to have a Board of Education composed, by and large, of experienced educationists to take over the educational activities of the Director of Public Instruction. But we must confess that in spite of our avowed partiality for the employment of administrative boards as a normal feature of administration we are not enamoured of the proposed Development Board and our misgivings arise largely because of the past behaviour of the Development Department in the days of the Adviser regime.

We have referred to the industrial policy followed by the Adviser regime in a previous issue. We shall be dealing with the Food administration, past and present, elsewhere in this issue. But the proposed Board is, we are informed, to deal not only with industrial and agricultural development but also with Electricity, Irrigation, Forests, Fisheries and several other departments. We would like to examine the credentials of the present set of permanent servants to undertake this big responsibility. A large share of the responsibility for the production of the Madras Government's plan for post-war reconstruction must belong to the Development Department. If the plan had been drafted in 1937 it might even have been acclaimed as being progressive and liberal; but in the setting of 1946, the most charitable criticism of the plan would be to call it jejeune and one that hardly touches the fringes of the several problems it is intended to solve. The stimulus for action for this department was supposed to be furnished by the several sub-committees of the Provincial Post-War Reconstruction Committee. The non-official element in these sub-committees was furnished by the loyal supporters of war effort, a euphemistic description of war profiteers, and included in this category we find the name of a prominent Zamindar whose main claim to advise Government on industrial matters was due to his

entertaining a pious intention to start, *inter alia*, a sulphate of ammonia and perhaps a rayon plant. The Department has done more than draw up plans and write reports of the doings of its sub-committees. It has encouraged the flotation of many companies with the object of starting industries. The guiding principle in the granting of licences for this purpose is somewhat difficult to detect, unless it be that the promoter or promoters must have some influence at the proper quarters. Apparently being a Zamindar is a passport to entry into the field of industry in the eyes of this department. We note that the Department did not suffer for lack of expert guidance as it had secured the part-time services, perhaps gratis as well, of Mr. Ramakrishna, I.C.S., who is now functioning as Director of Resettlement, etc., under the Government of India. The history of the Development Department during the Adviser regime ought to serve as a warning to a popular Ministry and help it to make up its mind to achieve a clean break from all connection with this Department's past and above all to avoid the perpetuation of the influence acquired by this Department during the Adviser regime which would be the result if it is made the nucleus of a Development Board. The Ministry had better make up its mind soon enough as to its policy in regard to the ownership and control of industries in this province. If it has no views on this matter it must be careful in the matter encouraging Zamindars, war-profiteers and company-promoters to start industries as it would thereby get involved in a net-work of intrigue and nepotism in which civilian officials might revel, but which might well prove the Waterloo of a popular Ministry.

The Palestine Problem

The Anglo-American Committee on Palestine plumps for the continuation of the Government of Palestine under the present Mandate and the proposal that it shall

be replaced by a Trusteeship agreement executed under the United Nations is held merely to be importing into the question a distinction without a difference. To that extent it must be said that the recommendations will satisfy the Jewish population in Palestine though the recommendations taken in their entirety may not satisfy the claims of ardent Zionists. In any assessment of the respective rights of the Jews and the Arabs, importation of sympathy for the sufferers from the anti-Semitic drives that have taken place in the Eurasian continent all through the ages culminating in the terrible Hitlerian persecution, would be out of place. The reality of the devotion of the Jews to Jerusalem cannot be questioned. Nor can it be questioned that right through Jewish history there has been a steady, though numerically imperceptible, flow of Jews from all over the world to their ancient Home. The efforts of Zionists and specially that of Dr. Weizmann resulted in the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917 which was later confirmed by other Allied Governments. This declaration which serves as a Magna Carta for the Zionists visualises only a national Home for the Jews in Palestine and not a national State, "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

It is needless for our purpose to traverse through all that had taken place since 1917. The vesting of Palestine under the British, by virtue of a Mandate after the Versailles treaty, the Arab rising of 1936, the Peel Commission of the following year and their recommendation to divide Palestine into two States, are all matters of common knowledge. Certain facts are relevant in any consideration of this problem. For example, that the Jewish population which was in the region of 56,000 in 1918 had increased to over 430,000 or

roughly a third of the total population of Palestine about the time of the beginning of the Second World War; that the industry of the Jewish emigrants has, as it were, metamorphosed the agricultural economy of the country; that the Mandatory administration spends very little in the matter of Jewish education while its allotment of expenditure on such matters is all used up for the benefit of the Arab population; that the prosperity of the towns of Tel Aviv and Haifa is entirely the work of the Jews; that this atmosphere of prosperity has benefited the Arabs to a considerable extent physically though psychologically the very presence of prosperous Jews inflames their hatred.

The report of the Anglo-American Committee recommends that 100,000 Jewish emigrants be permitted to enter during this year. Considering that the total Jewish population in the world is in excess of fifteen millions and a third of this population are potential emigrants, the report is right in emphasising that the whole world should share the responsibility for the resettlement of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist oppression and that "New Homes" must be found for them. On the crucial question of the future of Palestine it states that it ought not to be either a Jewish or an Arab State and that the form of Government to be established shall under international guarantees fully protect the interest of the Christian, Muslim and the Jewish faiths. On the future of Jewish immigration it recommends that it shall be facilitated without prejudicing the position and the rights of the other sections of the population. Finally it pleads for the perpetuation of the Mandatory system in its present form or in some alternative form that may be suggested by the U.N.O. till the hostility between the two sections of the population disappears. In effect the verdict has gone against the Arabs. The Arab and the entire Muslim world

with it charge Britain and the U. S. with breach of faith, perfidy and what not. They allege that the report is an Anglo-American attempt to retain control over the Middle East by having an army stationed in Palestine, ostensibly to support the Mandatory administration. It is difficult for disinterested opinion to make up its mind on this question, with so many imponderables clouding the issues. Muslim sentiment and the dream of Arab unity are the important factors in the situation; and so long

as these are kept up to the fever pitch, it is either a question of the entire Jewish population quitting Palestine and commencing a trek in search of a new Home, or their staying on under the protection of the international Powers. So long as the Jews in Palestine do not seek to edge out the Arabs or attempt to keep them in a dependent economic state, neither of which is possible in the present state of affairs, they will command international sympathy in their struggle for existence.

Sotto Voce

Crisis within Crisis



"I have spent half a day in searching for a small bit of pencil which has been with me for a long time. I could not reconcile myself to its loss." Who will not recognise himself in that engaging confession? And yet how few of us would have had the courage to measure the height of our self-conquest from that base? Only a Mahatma can invest with a cosmic significance the act of sending away for a time an entourage of highly useful admirers, who could however be embarrassingly importunate in their attentions, at a critical moment when the object of their solicitude had need of concentrated thinking.

Gandhiji's devoted Secretary explains that "thanks to the burden of editing three—now four—Harijan weeklies and attending to the growing volume of correspondence and other work he has nowadays to keep a large staff with him." But on the eve of starting for Simla fierce moral scruples assailed him. "He had accepted the delicate role of adviser to the Cabinet Mission and ourselves." And he felt that he would fulfil the Divine purpose only if he could muster detachment enough to carry on without the usual aid. "If you are surrounded

by your family they divide your attention in however small a measure."

The Mahatma seems on this occasion to have underrated his powers of self-sustenance by sheer force of will. "It will be a great thing if I survive that detachment," he told Agatha Harrison, "and feel the inner joy, not start running high blood pressure." Well, he has successfully withstood the ordeal for nearly a week. I have no doubt the usual quota of articles for *Harijan* has been written, the crowd of callers expeditiously handled and the endless obligations entailed on an oracle have been duly discharged in the intervals of advising the Cabinet Mission even without the faithful Pyarelal at his elbow to prompt, to screen and to take down.

But the larger question remains. "If he was to be merely an instrument for carrying out the Divine will," says the Private Secretary interpreting the anxious mind of his master, "were outward trappings necessary for his purpose?" Gandhiji told his staff, "In this hour of trial I wish to put myself entirely in God's hands and proceed to Simla all alone. But I do not

want to do so unless I can carry you with me. To force my will upon you would be the negation of detachment." But,—one wonders—for the man who would cultivate detachment is not every hour an hour of trial?

Modifying the old proverb we may say there is a time for everything and everything in its time. That was the rationale of the Hindu order of *ashramas*. Detachment was a desirable virtue to cultivate at every one of the four stages, but the third, that of *Vanaprastha*, was looked upon as the special training ground of the moral athlete. And it was laid down that an indispensable preliminary to that discipline was the giving up of house and home and retiring to the forest, never to return to the old familiar haunts. Those tremendous psychologists, the *rishis*, recognised what a formidable temptation lurked in that dear stubb of a pencil.

True, the *Vanaprastha* who had graduated *sannyasin* could go back,

if he so chose, to the scenes of his former activities. But if at all he returned he returned so new a man that he felt not the slightest tug at the heart-strings seeing the good old faces. He was not caught in the eddying cross-currents of our fevered life. But so deep are the roots of attachment, so insidious and winding are the bonds of the *genius loci*, that a salutary rule requires that the ascetic shall not stay at one place for more than three days. Only Paramahamsas like the great sage of Arunachala may confidently repudiate the taint of Time.

Gandhiji claims to be an exception to every rule. He mixes up the characteristic *dharma*s of all the *ashramas*. He would apply the technique of self-conquest to resolving the inchoate longings of the undifferentiated mass. Detachment, when it comes, is like the ripe fruit falling from the bough. But Gandhiji's way is the way of the stoic who would take the Self by storm.

VIGNESWARA.

LITURGY BY AN ANONYMOUS PEN

(Form of daily service for use in Government Departments.)

Let us pray—

O, Lord, grant that this day we come to no decisions,
Neither run into any kind of responsibility,
But that all our doings may be ordered to establish,
New and quite unwarranted departments,
For ever and ever.

Hymn:

O Thou, who seest all things below
Grant that Thy servants may go slow,
That they may study to comply
With regulations till they die.

Teach us, Lord, to reverence
Committees more than common sense;
Impress our minds to make no plan,
But pass the baby when we can.

And when the Tempter seems to give
Us feelings of initiative
And when alone we go too far,
Chastise us with a circular.

'Mid war and tumult, fire and storms
Strengthen us, we pray, with forms,
Thus will Thy servants ever be
A flock of perfect sheep for Thee.

(Journal of Education.)

SIDELIGHTS ::

I find the great thing in this world
is not so much where we stand,
as in what direction we are
moving.

—Oliver Wendall Holmes.

The Presidentship of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, which Mr. Prakasam has held for so many years, is at last becoming vacant, on his having become Premier. Not all Presidents of provincial Congress organisations can be said to be real leaders of the people, genuinely representing them in the areas of their respective jurisdictions. One test of genuine representative status is that control of the organisation should not be necessary for continuance of political importance; as is the case, for example, with leaders like Gandhi and Nehru who confer on the Congress organisation as much of prestige as they receive from it, and do not therefore decline in importance when they happen to relinquish a key position in the organisation such as the Presidentship of the Congress or of any of the Provincial Committees.

There are, on the other hand, leaders who derive from the organisation which they come to control, far more of influence than they are able to impart to it as a result of their personal association with it. A classic example is the present President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Mr. Kamaraj Nadar. With or without a position in the Congress organisation, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is a man to reckon with. A quarter century of unremitting toil in public causes in the course of which high character, great ability and many virtues found prominent expression, have invested him with a power and force capable of withstanding all hostile onslaughts designed to supplant him from public life. In a similar



Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi

situation Kamaraj Nadar would have been reduced to complete nullity.

His rise in importance was very steep when he became President of the Tamil Nadu P.C.C. Equally steep is likely to be his fall to inconsequence should he cease to hold that office. Knowledge of this fact seems to have imposed on Kamaraj a grasping tendency. According to reports received, freedom of election would appear to have become a thing of the past in the Tamil Nadu Congress. Complaints have come from many quarters that forms for enrolment of Congress members were denied to pro-C. R. applicants. In the P.C.C. elections all sorts of malpractices are reported to have been openly encouraged. They were all evidently conceived to hound out of the Congress organisation anyone suspected of being unfriendly to the ruling President. To what limits this passion of exclusion can be carried is illustrated in the formal announcement of the success of some other candidate, ignoring Mrs. Subbarayan who secured the

RAJNI PALME DUTT

largest number of votes. Apparently Kamaraj is frightened of ceasing to be President. Every trick and flimsy pretext is therefore pressed into service for the elimination of his potential opponents from the P.C.C.

Kamaraj stepped into his present position in consequence of the avoidance of a direct fight for the Presidentship by stalwarts like C. R. and Satyamurthi. When a second-rater gets into first-rate rank, decline in the morale of public life and of the political activity subject to his guidance, is inevitable. Tamil Nadu should be an example to other Congress provinces against the folly of permitting second-rate leadership to occupy positions of supreme influence in the Congress organisation. In the Andhra P.C.C. Mr. Prakasam as President is a difficult man to succeed. There is no taller Congressman in Andhra Desa—none has given so much, worked so hard and unceasingly, and until his recent rise to Premiership, received so little in return. To the position to be presently vacated by him, Mr. Pallam Raju is one of the aspirants. Mr. Pallam Raju is a man of considerable energy. Given the proper direction, he is a good executive instrument for giving it practical application. He lacks self-dependent discretion. For years his activities were guided by Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi, and because he was an ideal lieutenant, he built for himself a large reputation for political reliability in his own district, most of which he lost swiftly

when he had to fall back on his own resources of judgment. Recently, with prodigious activity he won the role of a champion wobbler. Andhra Congress affairs need the guidance of a steadier intellect.

Dr. Pattabhi, as is the way with him, may be expected to announce himself at the eleventh hour, but Dr. Pattabhi is unsuited to P.C.C. Presidentship at the moment. The successor of Mr. Prakasam should be a democrat. Professor Ranga has a wider following than Dr. Pattabhi, but like the doctor, he is consumed by hatred of the Communists. Hatred is an evil passion which will not allow anyone possessed by it to do any good, and in the difficult period ahead, the great need is for men gifted with the power of bringing together elements divided in politics into harmonious common work for the maximum of public and social good. My vote would be for Mr. Sambamurthi. It is alleged against him that he has been moving too much in the company of maharajas and zamindars. Any company can be kept by one with detachment enough not to be sullied by what is objectionable in it, and Bulusu undoubtedly has detachment enough to remain himself in all companies. He has grit and integrity. He gave proof of great ability as Speaker. He is a man of the people. He is capable of moving with the times. Of all aspirants to the P.C.C. Presidentship, he is most worthy to succeed Mr. Prakasam.

—SAKA.

In Soviet Russia to-day, any person who shows even a modicum of talent for painting or drawing can go to one of the Vkhutemas Higher Art and Technical Workshops and all students are given a State allowance which provides the bare necessities of life. They can study at Vkhutemas for periods varying between two and four years. Later their pictures are sold by the Artist's co-operative and prices vary widely according to the picture involved. The average price for a painting is around 500 roubles, but some of them sell for as much as 10,000 roubles. Cartoons vary from 75-100 roubles, book jackets 300 and posters 400-500 roubles.

A Socialist meeting in Oxford in October, 1917.....an unsuccessful attempt by Tory students to break it up by attacking it.....

And Rajni Palme Dutt was ordered by the University authorities the next morning to leave within 24 hours. He had been expelled—for organising the Socialist meeting. The Tory lads who had attacked the meeting went scot-free. For such was England in 1917.

Palme Dutt's father belonged to the family of the great Romesh Chander Dutt. His mother was Swedish.

With all his childhood spent away from India, young Rajni's knowledge of his father's land was all second-hand. But his father taught him enough to make him realise what being a colonial country means.

In his school days, before the outbreak of the First World War, Palme Dutt made his first connections with the Socialist movement. Then Oxford and the expulsion. Then trying hard to secure a job.

He found that every conceivable form of employment was closed to him. In the end he became a master in a small school, where his main job was to occupy "the horse-box"—which was a horrid tiny cubicle in the middle of the boy's dormitory, from where he was to see that the boys did not talk at night!

Whole-Time Political Worker

But very soon—in January, 1919—Dutt left for London, and so began his life as a whole-time worker in the Labour movement.

Participating in the discussions prior to the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, he was one of its founder members in 1920.

In 1921 Dutt began his now world-famous *Labour Monthly* and has been its Editor ever since.

In October, 1922, after a reorganisation of the Party, Dutt became a member of its Central Executive

of which he has continued to be a member ever since.

In 1923, Dutt went to the Soviet Union and remembers having to sit up the whole night in the ramshackle hotel in which he was staying, with a shoe in one hand to aim at the rats with which the place was infested. (What a remarkable difference there was when Dutt went to the Soviet Union last, in 1937 when he had "a shower-bath, a radio, a telephone—a remarkable testimony to the change which can be brought about by Socialism")

"Conspiracy" And Arrest

In the end of 1925, he was arrested in Belgium on a charge of "conspiring to deprive King Albert of his throne". The police had orders to deport him within 24 hours; but they found he had too many books to be fitted into the packing cases they had brought with them. And so, almost in desperation, they threw him into jail.

A great campaign began in England, and Ramsay Macdonald, then Prime Minister, was forced to intervene and secure Palme Dutt's release after 15 days.

In jail, there was a regular queue of prisoners wanting to see him and ask him about Soviet Russia. They were all quite convinced that the future was with Communism, for the simple reason that Dutt was occupying the same cell as had been occupied twenty years earlier by Vader-velde, the Socialist leader, who was then Premier of Belgium!

Reporter For General Strike

Dutt was in Belgium also at the time of the great General Strike in England in 1926. Constantly on the telephone line to London, he was able to send out to the whole world the vital day-to-day news of this important event in the history of the working class movement.

It was Dutt too who immediately spotted at the end of the strike that what was being splashed as a workers' victory even in most of the

Left papers of the world, was a real sell-out to the ruling class. His despatch on the end of the General Strike was the first to place the situation in its true perspective.

Though sitting in Brussels, he was able to see clearly what had happened in England, when those nearest to the events failed to make a correct analysis.

And as with the General Strike, so with India, Palme Dutt, though unable to see India because of a permanent ban on his entry, saw more clearly than many who were in India.

From the very start of his political life, Palme Dutt devoted himself to a study of India and its national movement.

But it was not till 1924, when, because of illness, he was forced to take a short compulsory rest that Dutt wrote his first important book on India—*Modern India*. Realising that if he published the book first in England, it would never get to India—Dutt decided to send his manuscript straight to India and wait till its publication here before giving it to a British publisher.

Modern India thus was published first in our country. Of course it was banned. But the copies were there and they passed from hand to hand, winning reader after reader to the cause of the national movement. Some of the earliest Indian Communists were first attracted to Marxism when they read this magnificent book. But *Modern India* became a text book not only for Communists but for all anti-imperialist fighters.

From now on, Dutt became the foremost writer on colonial problems—his articles being eagerly read and performing an immense service to the cause of colonial independence.

Meeting With Jawaharlal

He met and had several discussions with nearly every Indian national leader who went to England. In particular, Dutt formed a warm friendship with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the two great writers and thinkers spent many

hours together, discussing the anti-imperialist movement of the world.

But Dutt not only wrote for India—he spoke all over Europe for Indian freedom. Every Independence Day since 1936, Dutt has spoken somewhere or another, at Trafalgar Square in London or elsewhere, at giant Indian Independence Day rallies.

In 1940 appeared Dutt's second great work—*India To-day*. Again banned entry into India, this book was reprinted illegally by the Communist Party of India, and once again, like *Modern India* before it, became a text book for Indian nationalists and a beacon light for the friends of India abroad.

Campaign Against Amery

Finally in 1943 Dutt began to campaign against Secretary of State Amery in his constituency of Sparkbrook in Birmingham. In one year's time, Amery was forced to make a special tour of the constituency to counteract Dutt's campaign. Six thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled "Amery's Record" were sold in the constituency, whose total voting was 30,000. And it was on this pamphlet that the whole campaign raged and resulted eventually in Amery's defeat. Of course Dutt did not win. But there is no doubt that his campaign brought to the forefront of British politics the whole Indian issue and was one more big contribution by Dutt to the cause of Indian freedom.

In India—At Last

To-day Palme Dutt is in India—the strength of the Labour movement in England and our own national movement having blown up the years-old ban on his entry into his father's land. Once more his dispatches to the *London Daily Worker* and his articles for the *Labour Monthly* and the international Press will help to mobilise opinion abroad for India and give a true picture of the Cabinet Mission's negotiations to counteract the pro-British propaganda of *Reuters* and other imperialist news agencies.

—ROMESH CHUNDER.

Short Story

BIRTH OF A LEADER

By V. Anantaramiah

It was two days prior to "Ugadi", the Andhra New Year's Day.

Subbi finished her work earlier than usual ('Subbi' and 'Subbadu' are the universal names by which the female and the male of the 'Yanadi' community, dominant in Andhra, especially in Nellore district, are called). She washed the clothes, cleaned the vessels, arranged the beds and performed the rest of her routine duties. She went to her mistress to obtain her leave to go home earlier. The mistress, a stout and ugly creature, puffed full with power and decked with all sorts of glittering ornaments, checked up Subbi's work and having found nothing to find fault with, reluctantly gave her permission to go. Subbi thanked her, collected the basketful of rice and curry and almost racing, reached her hut.

It was six in the evening, Subbadu would come at eight. So there was plenty of time. She glanced at the basket stuffed with boiled rice, brought from her mistress's house. It seemed spoilt. She tasted it. Yes, it was spoilt. It was smelling too. Subbi thought it better to cook fresh food for her dear husband. He would come terribly tired and hungry. He had to drag the rickshaw the whole day to maintain himself and Subbi. How much he loved her, she thought. She remembered the hot kiss he had given her, cinema fashion, that very morning. This made her blush deep. So, she set to work cooking food. One could hear her humming a familiar cinema tune. Food was ready. What about curry? Well, the curry brought from Reddi Garu's house was, luckily, good.

Subbi washed herself and sat on the threshold of the hut facing the way Subbadu usually came from.

That day she wanted to ask her husband to do her a favour. The day after the morrow was New Year's Day. Reddi Garu's wife, her mistress, had bought a cart-load of fine new clothes for herself and her seven children. What fine clothes they were! How soft and shining that Japanese silk saree was! She had even touched that silk saree secretly and felt the softness with her own hands. How she

wished to wear such a saree. Immediately she looked at herself and her hut and remembered her husband. What could poor people like them buy, she sighed. She was glad she had no children yet.

Just then there flashed through her mind that alluring offer of 'Pedda Babu', Reddi Garu's eldest son, to present her with a "beautiful new saree" for the Ugadi, if only she consented to his wish. Her eyes flashed with anger. No, that could never be. She didn't want that fine saree. She would ask her husband for only one new blouse, as the old one was half-torn. Again she saw in her mind's eye that crook of a Pedda Babu gazing at her intensely and passionately. She hated him.

At that moment, Subbadu was seen turning the corner of the road dragging the rickshaw and coming 'homeward'. He was tall, well-built, with attractively curved muscles and of a bright black complexion. He stoved the rickshaw under the improvised shed. He was all sweat and dust. He did not look at Subbi. He huddled himself there, next to Subbi, his back to the wall, and legs stretched full and wide apart. He didn't talk to her. He was blankly staring at the far, far distant sky—and what a beautiful blue sky it was!—and at the stars,—how brightly they were shining!

Subbi wondered what the matter was; but he was not looking at her, nor mindful of her presence. She tried to question him but dared not. He had still that empty far-away look.

"Is it the police again?" Subbi put in slowly, gently placing her hand on his shoulder.

Subbadu turned lazily towards her, and with a meaningful nod said, "Yes, again that dog of a policeman. He knocked off all of my day's hard earnings. He charged me on a false plea and let me off after robbing me of my two rupees—the whole day's labour." His hands clenched involuntarily and his eyes were emitting fire.

Subbi wanted to say aloud, "That means, no new blouse for me on the New Year's Day", but she couldn't say

that and didn't say that, as she knew perfectly well that her husband was helpless in the matter. If he could he would.

Rao Bahadur X's Tower clock just struck ten. People were returning from the theatre. Some were imitating the cinema tunes and some were laughing loudly in a happy way.

"Well, get up Subba, even the cinema is over. Let us have our food. There is no end to our troubles. I have prepared hot food and there is nice curry from Reddi Garu's house."

They finished their food and made their bed under the naked sky and on the bare sandy earth, lying side by side, so close and so near. A gust of wind blew past them. Suryakumari's record "Oogada Uyyala" was booming from the theatre through the loud-speaker. Subbi remembered that it was the same song which her Reddi Garu's daughter sang the other day when the bridegroom's party came to see her. Again that crook Pedda Babu came to her mind. She swiftly brushed him aside. She turned to Subbadu. The familiar sweet odour of sweat from his healthy body entered her nostrils. She knew he was not asleep. He was brooding over something—something to do with herself.

Subbi suddenly sat up, removed her old blouse, carefully folded and kept it under the weight of a broken slab. Bending over him and passing her hands round his neck, she passionately, with all the ardour of a loving wife, drew him to her. Her round firm breasts well shaped, her fresh and full youth, and the vigour of her love and passion, all made Subbadu forget everything,—the wretched police, the burdensome rickshaw, the exacting rickshaw-owner, the repacious money-lender, the merciless municipal tax-collector and his own unbearable existence. He was for the moment completely happy. What a cunning device nature has provided to make the poor forget their miserable lot!

Subbadu woke up from Elysium in good spirits. He wanted to have some fun with Subbi—after all, the whole day he had not cheered her up.

"Subbi", he called her softly. "Why did you remove your blouse?" There was that mischievous smile on his lips. He was caressing her hair.

"That is the only blouse I have and it is very old and is already half-torn,"

she answered calmly in a matter-of-fact voice.

"What if?" said he still mischievously.

"What if?" she retorted sharply. "I cannot go to Reddi Garu's house without it."

"Why not?" He was still in his jolly mood. He didn't notice the seriousness and anguish on her face.

Subbi was in a fix. Should she tell him about Pedda Babu's ungentlemanly behaviour towards her or should she keep mum about it? She must tell him everything. As a matter of fact she had wanted to tell him long back. Pedda Babu was going too far.

"Because Pedda Babu looks at me from head to foot so intensely. Everyday, every hour, whenever I am at work in their house, especially when I am pounding rice or washing clothes, he stands in a corner and stares at me like a madman. His looks are too hungry, so piercing and so vulgar....."

Subbadu grasped everything now. He was uneasy. Anger, shame, desire for revenge were consuming him. But, after all, was he not impotent to do anything? What power had a poor man's anger however just it might be? Society had made him so helpless. He remained silent for a long time and at last with the greatest determination, told Subbi, "I pledge myself to work as hard as possible, drag more and more of these 'baniyas' and 'Reddi Babus' every day in my rickshaw, save sufficient money and buy you half-a-dozen new blouses. That dog of a....."

"But what about the police?" remarked Subbi morosely.

"The police", he said contemptuously. "We will not allow them to exploit us any longer. We have suffered long enough. Now we will teach them a lesson. We are forming our Rickshaw Pullers' Union. In this town we are nearly eight hundred and we will teach these big 'babus' how to behave. But do not go to Reddi Babu's house hereafter. I will earn enough for both of us."

Subbadu was determined and firm. One could see in his face the whole revolutionary zeal of the exploited and humiliated mass of humanity and its determination to break with the past and have a better new world.

Subbi admiringly looked at her husband, the potential leader of the eight hundred rickshaw-pullers.

HOW THE ALLIES MET THE U-BOAT THREAT

Immense Peace-time Utility of Sonar

By S. Sampath

A submarine detection and ranging device called SONAR fought and won for the Allies the battles of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Leaving out the atomic bomb, Radar can be said to have helped most to win the war for the Allies this time. In fact, while the release of atomic energy only dealt the hammer-blow that brought peace, Radar, with the superior technique given it by American engineers, stood by the Allies in the darkest hours and brought them final victory.

SONAR is the RADAR of the Ocean.

Supersonic Beam

When the clouds of war burst in 1939, the ships of the British Navy were fitted with a device for submarine detection, called ASDIC, which took its name from the Allied Submarine Detection Investigation Committee, set up towards the end of the war of 1914-18. This apparatus was based on the principle of echo-sounding. Sound has been known to travel faster and farther through water than through air, and devices for detection and warning such as bell-buoys and oscillators came to be used in 1917. But the range available was too short to give the instrument any great virtue of safety, until the race the combatants ran for technical superiority yielded up the idea of using supersonic or high frequency sound beams in place of ordinary sound waves. The supersonic beam, powerful, concentrated, controlled to high precision and capable of greatly widening the range may be the result of the rapid oscillation of certain electrically excited mineral crystals, notably Rochelle salt, when they are cut with due deference to a certain grain, called the electrical axis, or again the vibration of some magnetic

materials, under the influence of alternating currents. The war had however ended before this idea could be given practical effect.

Progress Of Research

In the years following, research progressed apace until the instrument was perfected to which has been given the name SONAR. This consists of an oscillator, housed in a flooded dome beneath the keel of the ship, which sends out brief, continuous pulses of supersonic frequency in a thin, conical beam. These pulses go searching into the cold, dark waters of the ocean. After transmitting a pulse, the oscillator becomes silent for a few seconds, while the set acts as a receiver, listening for an echo, with the aid of an amplifier. A "ping" is heard when an echo returns from a reflection of the searching beam in the sea. A trained operator can distinguish between the echo from the hull of a submarine and that given by any other heterogeneity in the medium such as shoals of fish, bubbles, noise of breakers on the rough sea or the bed of the ocean itself. The moment a target is detected, he switches over to the visual recorder. This is a paper-screen, pre-impregnated with a solution of potassium iodide and soluble starch, across which a stylus is drawn over a certain length, every time a pulse is transmitted. Rectified current is fed from the echo-amplifier to the stylus, the circuit being completed through the chemically treated paper. An echo manifests itself as increased output of current to the stylus, chemical action ensues at the point of contact and the iodine is liberated and left as a dark mark on the scaled screen. From repeated pulses, the range of the target and its speed relative to the ship can both be visualised. The Commanding Officer has only to keep looking

at the chart, to decide when to initiate the attack by firing the depth charges.

Work Of German Scientists

The German scientists, at first believing that hydrophones were being used for listening to underwater sounds, devoted all efforts to minimising submarine engine noises. It took them some time to realise that the Allies' detection device did not rely on engine noises. Then they developed decoys in the form of ejections from the submarines, producing vigorous streams of bubbles that gave splendid Sonar echos. But the operators on the other side quickly learned to grow suspicious of bogus targets, which showed very little tendency to move! As Lieutenant-Commander S. T. Brookfield of the Admiralty observes, for every counter-measure used by the enemy to escape detection, a counter counter-measure was ready to enable the Allied escort vessels to continue sinking U-boats throughout the period of the war.

The quick and unpredictable changes of density and temperature of sea-water, causing the sound waves to be deflected and thereby creating blank zones in the investigation of the field have been one of the major difficulties to be tackled. A special type of thermograph arrangement has now been devised to investigate changes of temperature and correlate them with other conditions. Swift currents and exaggerated pressures at great depth profoundly affecting the sound beams, still need to be studied and analysed.

A U. S. Discovery

The U. S. Navy department takes the credit for perfecting a Cathode Ray Scope which gives accurate indication of bearing direction. It has also constructed a design called the Attack Plotter, which in principle is similar to Radar, and with which a whole battle in progress under the ocean can be watched.

Electronic and magnetic devices have been linked with the Sonar for the purpose of sure and swift detection of targets, even as small as a submarine periscope at useful

ranges. The transition from the metric to the centimetric type of Radar led to what in the Security Code was called Type 271, whose success in the field of detection was at once phenomenal and striking. Operating with a magnetron oscillator that sends out an intense beam of micro-waves and an ingenious system of wave-guides it came as a great boon at a critical juncture in the Battle of the Atlantic. The U-Boats on the surface at night used to pick up the metric Radar transmissions with search radio sets, and dived for safety; now Type 271 detected them, and they were attacked without warning. The German experts strove to find the cause, desperately and in vain. The number of cases of U-Boats which, thus surprised, surrendered for safety against depth bombing, is legion.

To turn to peace-time utility, the type of recording mechanism described can be modified to study the lay of the ocean beneath the waters. A single glance at the chart gives a picturesque idea. The authors of the 'hydro-graphic chart' idea claim that the supersonic depth recorder is the safest device hitherto made for navigation in darkness and fog. The dangers of reefs and wrecks and rocks exist no more.

Visual depth recorders have so much sensitiveness that the location of fishing banks and shoals of fish has become as easy as looking at newspaper headlines. Conquest of time has been achieved for the fishing industry. What unlimited scope there is for one who undertakes to study community life among fish!

Coming as an instrument forged to set the submarine menace at bay, to dodge the Nazi wolf-pack and the Japanese suicide squad, Sonar, by its adaptability and simplicity of use, has opened up many avenues of application. At the moment it is ceaselessly being used on the high seas of the world to rid them of the hundreds of thousands of mines laid adrift on the currents during the days of uncertainty by victor and vanquished alike. Once this all-important task is over it can be turned to constructive use.

TACTICS OF THE CABINET MISSION

BASIS LAID FOR LATER IMPOSITION OF BRITISH PLAN

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Simla, May 12: The Tripartite Conference which began on the 5th belied the British Mission's calculations. By Monday evening all controversial issues such as, All-India Union Centre, re-grouping of provinces, powers of provinces and constitution-making machinery had been discussed and it was clear that the Congress and the League contented themselves with stating their positions on these issues. This was mainly due to the tactics adopted by the Congress which was very dissatisfied with the terms of reference for the joint conference.

Tentative Proposals

It was at this stage that the Cabinet Mission decided to make certain tentative proposals so as to prolong the discussions and build up Congress faith once again in the Cabinet Mission.

The proposals were:

That the All-India Union Centre should have the power of raising money for the purposes of Defence;

Secondly, power to make fundamental laws regarding treatment of minorities;

Thirdly, that this All-Union Centre should be responsible to the Legislature;

Fourthly, that the re-grouping of provinces should follow the wishes of elected representatives of the provinces and suitable formulae should be devised for the purpose.

These proposals were a bombshell in the League camp. League leaders had imagined that the Mission had preference for the League as against

the Congress, but they now realised that what the Mission had done to the Congress in regard to the terms of reference was now being done to the League in regard to the amplified proposals. I understand that Mr. Jinnah informed the Cabinet Mission that the League would not participate any further in the conference on the basis of these proposals. Once again the Cabinet Mission persuaded Mr. Jinnah, as they did Gandhiji earlier, that the proposals were only tentative and not binding and that the League should come to the conference to raise all objections if deemed necessary to raise. By the third day of the Conference, therefore, the Cabinet Mission had been reduced to devising a formula even to keep the conference going.

The League Stand

The League stand was that an All-India Union Centre resting on and responsible to the Legislature would mean in fact the permanent subjection of the Muslim majority areas, because such a Legislature would give one-third representation each to the Muslim majority areas, the Hindu majority areas and the Princely States. League leaders maintain that they will not agree to any Union Centre which has power to make laws and raise money. They suggest that the Centre should only have executive powers, that it must depend on the willing co-operation of the units and administer only those minimum subjects entrusted to its charge. As regards finance, the League wants that it should be raised by means of contribution, by the units. Regarding re-grouping of the provinces, the League was, I

DO GIFTS DO GOOD?

By Kumara Guru

understand, opposed to the conditions suggested by the Cabinet Mission.

The Princes

The Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, came here and, it is understood that the Cabinet Mission had no difficulty in inducing the Princes to agree to the British plan which gave them the right to interfere in all-India matters through the Union Centre, while preventing the Union Centre from interfering with the internal administration of the States. Bhopal was also used by the Cabinet Mission as an intermediary to bring about a second meeting between Nehru and Jinnah.

Dramatic Events

On the 9th apparently dramatic events took place. The Cabinet Mission made the suggestion that Nehru and Jinnah should discuss some of the matters at issue with most of the other members of the conference and left Nehru and Jinnah alone to carry on their discussions. The announcement that the Executive Councillors had handed in their resignations was clearly to be a desperate final injection of penicillin to save the conference by giving further proof of the British desire to transfer power and induce the Indian leaders to make one more attempt at agreement. Everyone knew that the Executive Councillors had already expressed their willingness to step aside if a new Interim Government should be formed.

In spite of several conflicting reports and new optimistic speculations, there seems little hope of the conference arriving at a settlement of the fundamental issues involved.

Vigorous opposition of both the Congress and the League to the proposals put forward by the Cabinet Mission had also made it difficult for the Cabinet Mission to give an award to be immediately imposed. Frantic consultations at the end of the week do not seem to have yielded any substantial results and it is expected that the Cabinet Mission might terminate the conference in Simla and make their final recommendations at Delhi. This, it is said, would fall into two parts.

Firstly, on the final constitutional structure of free India recommendations would be made by the Cabinet Mission suggesting that the recognition of complete independence of India must be accompanied by the recognition of the complete sovereignty of Mussalmans in their own majority areas;

Secondly, this principle is to be given effect to by the regrouping of the provinces, and soon after, the reconstitution of the Central Government by Wavell would follow the lines of such an award.

It is clear that the failure of the leaders in the conference was like horse-racing,—“the loudest shoutings always before the horses start”—but it is now realised that it was not so easy to get Indian leaders to yield their positions to accept the British plan. In any case the Cabinet Mission has succeeded well in its tactical aim of laying the basis for the later imposition of the British plan as the only just and fair way of ending the Indian impasse. Therein lies the great danger to India.

When a colonel transferred to a new command, found the headquarters offices cluttered with useless documents, he wired for permission to burn them.

Back came the answer: “Certainly, burn the lot—but make copies first . . . in triplicate.”

—Evening News.

Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World* has some general observations to make on generosity. He relates in one of his letters the story of Mencius, the Chinese philosopher. Mencius finds during his travels a hermit aged about eighty years who, like Timon of Athens, retired from society, repelled by the base ingratitude of man. Mencius argues with the hermit that it is not fair that he should have desired gratitude; this expectation of explicit acknowledgment and return of an obligation retarded, he said, man's spiritual progress. The hermit then recognises in Mencius the world-famous teacher, and confesses his ignorance of the true path towards attainment of wisdom.

Motives for acts of generosity differ. Aristotle sounds a warning against wrong giving. “A gift”, he says, “should neither be to the wrong man nor on the wrong occasion.” But, how shall we be sure that the gift will turn out to do good unto the recipient?

I have known two cases where a gift to a poor student to enable him to pay examination fees, was remembered by him all his life. In one case, the recipient rose to high honour and wealth and acquired large property far greater than the donor who continued to live in mediocre circumstances. Every year, on a particular day, the best fruit from his garden would first go to the donor. But there are other cases where the recipient of a gift would wilfully ignore or show neglect, or even render harm to the donor.

I recollect a Buddhist story written mainly to illustrate the Buddhist view. A Burmese magistrate had one day to pronounce a judgment on a person who strangles his young wife in cold blood. The prisoner confesses his guilt without any coercion, and relates his tale of woe in the following manner:

“I was a beggar in the streets opposite the temple and a small shop near its environs. I was aged

about fifty and had known of no love. I had been suffering too from occasional attacks of fits. An old woman keeping the shop and her daughter would pass by the way, and drop a two-anna bit in my begging bowl after a visit to the temple. One day, the young girl's body touched me by accident, and from that day onwards I became inflamed with love. I ardently wished that if I could get some money I could purchase the girl for marriage by offering it to her mother and giving a gold bangle to the girl, as was the custom in the country. An opportunity offered itself soon, and I came by a purse containing two hundred and fifty rupees. Slowly I achieved my object by persuading the mother. After our marriage our business prospered, and I thought I had found happiness. Very recently I found my wife dallying with a young man, stated to be a distant relation of her mother. If I had not strangled her, she would have left me the next day.”

The magistrate then asks: “You have lost her even now; what did you gain thereby?” The prisoner said: “Well, I could not see her in another's arms.” The magistrate suspects theft of the money and questions him. The prisoner says: “No, I did not steal the purse. It was dropped into my begging bowl one day by a rich man; cursed be that man and the day when I came by that gift.” Suddenly the prisoner and the judge recognise each other. The magistrate is horrified that his gift under a strong impulse had mis-carried, and led to the murder of a young woman. He feels he cannot pass a judgment over the criminal, and unhinged in mind, sends up his resignation to the authorities.

As Joseph Conrad observes in his novel *Chance*, “There is a Nemesis which overtakes generosity too, like all the other imprudences of men who dare to be lawless and proud . . . It is a transgression all the same, and has got to be paid for in the usual way.”

THE MADRAS CONGRESS MINISTRY



Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmi pathi

MR. T. PRAKASAM: He is the oldest Congressman in office throughout India. An England-trained barrister, he had a growing practice which he gave up in the first flush of the Non-Co-operation movement. He then started *Swarajya* which with *New India* under the editorship of Mrs. Annie Besant was the prelude to what is now generally known as the 'Nationalist Press'. With a mounting record of jail-going reinforced by the passage of years, he has become a venerable figure, particularly in Andhra Desa. In conducting *Swarajya*, he evinced sublime patriotism and an equally sublime indifference to commercial considerations. In those distant days, it was as impossible to make patriotism pay as to make it now lose.



Bhaktavatsalam.

Mr. Prakasam was credited during the last Congress Ministry with a revolutionary zeal for overhauling the system of land revenue in the province. He now has a unique opportunity to implement the recommendations of the Committee he then set up.

MR. V. V. GIRI: Second in command, and even tipped for the leadership at one stage. A nationalist in the second generation, for his father V. Jogiah Pantulu was one of the stalwarts of the Parliamentary wing led by the redoubtable Motilal Nehru. A Socialist by conviction, he has made a conscientious study of labour problems after the manner of the English Fabians. Has



Kumaraswami Raja

a breezy manner useful for securing the friendship of the Press. With the predominance of State-initiative in most aspects of Indian economics he has ideal opportunities of making his mark as a parliamentarian and as a labour leader.

MR. M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: It is curious that the dailies have been unable to give the birth-dates of our Ministers. One wonders if our Ministers are as touchy on this question as old spinsters are said to

be. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, however, still a bachelor, but carries much experience. He has been Deputy Mayor of the City and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Local Self-Government in the last Congress Ministry. Accident enabled him to lead 42 Congressmen among Tamil Nadu after August 1942. His political constancy has been above suspicion.

MR. BHASHYAM: Next to the Premier, perhaps the oldest member of the team. He led the



Bhaktavatsalam

Congress Ministry for a time in the City Corporation; but has otherwise been inconspicuous.

MRS. RUKMANI LAKSHMI-PATHI: Only woman in the Cabinet who might have been a "chivalrous" one if "chivalrous" had been a word. Mrs. Lakshmi-pathi represented Indian women at the International Congress held at Paris in 1937. She was Deputy President of the Congress in the first session of the Constituent Assembly. But to judge from subsequent developments, that she was not enough to mollify her Nad constituency.

MR. KOTI REDDI: A grey-beard in national ranks, baulked of office for long through the malignity of unkind fates. He represents Rayalaseema, which for long has felt badly neglected and has been cherishing a mounting resentment



Koti Reddi

against the dominant leaders of the Circars. Koti Reddi's choice as Minister must prove popular with the people of Rayalaseema and have the effect of placating them and checking their Separatist tendencies.

MR. KARANTH: Is another Parliamentary Secretary of the first Congress team now to be promoted to ministerial rank. He clamoured for promotion even in the first Ministry by complaining in public that Parliamentary Secretaries were without work and responsibility. Now he has both.

MR. KUMARASWAMY RAJA: He has two titles to distinction. He is the only member of the Ministry without a university degree, and the only Andhra in it from outside Andhra Desa representing



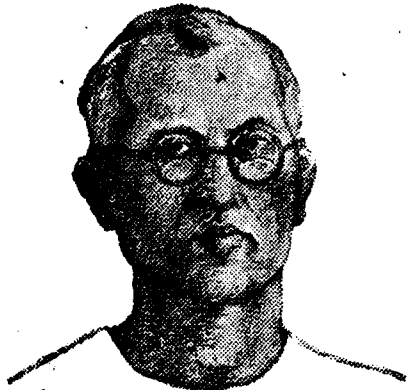
Giri

Tamil-Andhras of the South. For in Ramnad and Tirunelveli, there is a very compact, very influential and very industrious community of Razus who migrated from Andhra Desa long ago to plant a colony in the heart of the Tamils. They speak a sort of Telugu which is 90 per cent Tamil for all practical purposes, and they have been fiercely national and uniformly defiant of repressive authority. These virtues counterbalance their educational backwardness.

MR. AVINASHILINGAM Chetty: In addition to going to prison periodically, he has been



Bhashyam



Karanth

conducting a national institution in Coimbatore. Is new to office as well as to the guarded diplomacy of seasoned officials. For, in one of his earliest public utterances, he was frank enough to say he did not know how soon or late Prohibition would be re-introduced! If all the other Ministers are to dwell in similar *nebulae*, the public will be hard put to it to find out the difference between popular ministries and advisory regimes.

MR. DANIEL THOMAS: On the whole, a lucky man. One of those ordinary men who neither sink too far below expectations nor



Daniel Thomas

rise too high above them; who, like the immortal Vicar of Bray, make the best of both the worlds, and who above all make new friends as they get along without sacrificing old ones. Mr. Daniel Thomas has been a Justice Party man without incurring blame, as he has now become a Congressman without much praise. In fact, mediocrity has been his strength and salvation. He has been administering the affairs of a provincial municipality for a number of years, and has a reputation for zeal in serving the public. But none of these considerations helped him to a place in the Cabinet so well as his being a member of a minority community, and catching the eye of one



Kurmayya

of the provincial bosses. Loyalty to Congress from beginning to end has in the case of other Christian members been like virtue—its own reward.

MR. KURMAYYA: Apparently the baby of the Cabinet, being by all accounts, the youngest of the team. One who went to jail as to a school for his political education, and ended up with a degree from the Benares University. He represents the Adi-Andhras on the principle of rotation; since the last Minister from the Scheduled Castes was an Adi-Dravida.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF AT SIMLA

Muslim solidarity with Palestine Arabs—Repression in Indian States—South African Indians' Campaign for support

After a week's negotiations, during the course of which hope alternated with despair, the Simla Tripartite Conference has ended in failure. Despondency at the two consecutive adjournments of the talks was greatly relieved when it was announced that there was a personal meeting on May 9 between the Muslim League President, Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru, now President-elect of the Congress. The announcement of the readiness of the present members of the Viceroy's Council, including the Commander-in-Chief, to make room immediately for a new Government seemed to justify optimism. But when the second Nehru-Jinnah meeting failed to provide any basis for agreement, the failure of the talks became certain. The humiliating spectacle of national disunity which was witnessed in Simla during 1945 has been re-enacted this year, on a vaster scale and with keener emphasis.

Attempts to arrive at an agreement on the fundamental problems of the future constitution having failed, attention is now turned on the formation of an interim popular Government. Congress leaders and Gandhiji are hopeful that the Cabinet Mission will now proceed "with determination" to implement Mr. Attlee's declaration in Parliament. They desire the immediate transfer of power to this Government, even though the Muslim League might refuse to take part in it. The Cabinet Mission's plans regarding the formation of an interim Government and the machinery to draft the new Constitution are expected to be announced shortly.

The actual position, however, after seven weeks of the Mission's activities, remains a matter largely of negatives: (1) no actual declaration of Indian independence; (2)

no time-limit for the withdrawal of British armed power from Indian soil; and (3) no transfer of ultimate control over the Indian States to the Indian Central Government of the future. If the Mission 'accomplished' anything, it was an ostentatious demonstration of British sincerity and Indian disunity, which would be a convenient cover for continued British control over India's destiny. Imperialist statesmen have good reasons to be happy. Acting the prophet's part, the Conservative politician Earl Winterton said recently: "For some time I have held the opinion that the Cabinet Mission in trying to reach an agreement between Hindus and Muslims was attempting the impossible." The success with which our leaders meet this challenge will determine the country's advance.

A situation very similar to that which led to the Khilafat agitation at the end of the last war has developed as a result of the handling of the Arab-Jew question in Palestine. The recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine have resulted in grave dissatisfaction in the Arab countries and among Muslims all over the world. In particular, the proposal to bring into Palestine one hundred thousand Jews from outside, has been universally condemned as being unjust to the Arabs. It is notable that pro-Arab sentiment is not confined to any one section of the Muslim community. The Anglo-American award has been vehemently opposed both by nationalist Muslims and by Muslim League leaders.

Recent incidents in Faridkot State have brought once again to public notice the deplorable state of affairs in several Indian States. Popular leaders and political workers have been released from jails in the rest of India, but in Indian States,



Maulana Azad, the outgoing Congress President



Pandit Nehru, the President-elect

repressive measures against the people's movement for democratic rights have been continuing without check. When as a result of representations made to him, Pandit Nehru deputed Mr. Dwarakanath Kachru, General Secretary of the All-India States People's Conference, to report on the situation in Faridkot, the State authorities refused him entry into the State territory. Bands of Satyagrahis have been arrested. The Prime Minister of the State has had the audacity to warn Pandit Nehru against entering Faridkot; it appears his "presence would not be welcome." Similar oppressive acts have been reported from other States. Leaders of the Praja Mandal have been arrested, and over 80 people injured during a demonstration in Durgapur, a State in Rajputana. Restrictions on freedom of speech and movement in Travancore State are still fresh in public memory. These facts ill accord with the facile assurances given by States' representatives like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer of their readiness to "move with the times."

It is pertinent to ask, as Pandit Nehru has asked: "Is what is happening in Faridkot the prelude to the changes to come?"

* * *

The visits of the Delegations on behalf of the South African Indian Congress to Britain and India have helped to rouse democratic opinion against the grave injustice of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill which will soon become law in South Africa. Their accounts of the numerous humiliating laws under which the 'voteless and voiceless' Indian community suffers have thoroughly exposed the yawning gulf which separates the idealism which General Smuts preaches abroad at international gatherings, from his actual practice in South Africa. Numerous meetings held all over India have passed resolutions demanding the strict application of economic sanctions against South Africa by the Government of India, the immediate recall of the Indian High Commissioner, and the representation of the matter before the United Nations Organisation.

CROSS CURRENTS IN MADRAS POLITICS

By 'Salim'

Let me first congratulate you on your two brilliant leading articles in *Swatantra* of 20th and 27th April and the weighty note "Party control over legislators" in the latter issue.

Now that the elections to the legislatures are over and the election of a party leader and the installation of a Ministry in office in our province are also over, it will be profitable to take stock of the situation and realise where we stand.

Virtues Misrepresented

After the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee in June 1945, and in the light of the attitude adopted by the Congress High Command towards the Simla negotiations, C. R. felt that the differences between himself and the Congress had almost disappeared and naturally in the course of his conversations with the Congress President the question of his re-joining the Congress arose. Maulana Azad, knowing as he did the unique worth and value of this tried and trusted soldier of India's fight for freedom, was only too willing to welcome him. But our provincial leaders, apprehending danger to the positions which they had established and consolidated, made a foolish and futile attempt to shut him away from the Congress organisation itself. Such an attempt was foredoomed to failure. The very sterling virtues of C. R. were painted as weaknesses and defects as a Congressman; his independence and matchless courage of conviction were distorted and held up as violation of the discipline of the Congress. This was the state of affairs when the news of the Tiruchengode election was announced. Immediately, Sri Kamaraj declared that the election of C. R. to the T. N. C. C. was invalid, throwing to the winds all the con-

stitutional rights, provisions, and proprieties for which our Madras Congress legislators fought recently so heroically, valiantly and successfully too!

Inflated Opposition

Then the Congress Working Committee deputed Sri Asaf Ali to Tamil Nad to settle the dispute and this gave our local leaders an invaluable opportunity to marshal and mobilise all their forces and resources and confront Asaf Ali with the tremendous opposition of the provincial Congressmen to C. R.'s leadership. That it was an inflated opposition, Sri Asaf Ali did not take much time to find out. Even after Sri Asaf Ali's visit and award, our provincial leaders were not the people to concede defeat. Throughout, the people of the province whose admiration and respect for C. R.'s ability, integrity and earnestness were unparalleled, remained puzzled at this disgusting and nauseating spectacle.

Though the dispute that arose with regard to the constitution of a Provincial Parliamentary Board was settled with the intervention of Sardar Patel, the Provincial President and Working Committee took care to see that the anti-C. R. character of the Board was maintained. Then came the visit of Gandhiji to the South. With his unerring instinct and from the nature of the anti-C. R. demonstrations staged at Madura (it is said that the vulgarity of that demonstration alone was responsible for Gandhiji's Satyagraha at Madura) and other places the Mahatma came to the conclusion that there was indisputably in existence and operation a "clique" in Tamil Nad. Offended and pained by the use of such an expression, Sri Kamaraj, President of the T. N. C. C., a faithful and true follower of the Mahatma as he was, resigned his

office of the Chairman of the Provincial Parliamentary Board—that office only—taking care to see that his friends continued to remain in the Board at his request and on his persuasion.

Provincial Elections

Then came the provincial elections. The selection of the Congress candidates is a standing scandal. Notorious black-marketeers and merciless hoarders and profiteers found themselves as Congress candidates. Though the dominant qualification for the selection of candidates was their pronounced anti-C.R. attitude (whether purposefully pretended or genuinely held as in a few cases) and the assurance that they would continue to remain anti-C. R. even after their elections, other considerations too—by no means laudable—found a ready response in the members of the Parliamentary Board. The very persons who exploited the poor by hoarding and profiteering and by selling even the rationed rice at prohibitive and exorbitant prices were selected to represent the exploited people in the provincial legislatures. This peculiar fact put an unprecedented strain on the loyalty of the voters to the Congress. They were torn between two conflicting loyalties, loyalty to their national organisation and loyalty to their consciences which definitely told them that some of the Congress candidates were not even fit to be members of that organisation, let alone their fitness to represent the people on behalf of the Congress in the legislatures. The way in which the election campaign was conducted was itself very unsatisfactory. The members of the Board who toured the whole province to interview the applicants for the Congress ticket, did not visit any part of the province after the selection was made, the President of the P. C. C. being the only honourable exception. The main purpose of the Congress in contesting these elections is not merely to capture the legislatures, but to utilise the opportunity afforded by the elections to carry the message of the Congress to every nook and corner of the country. In this important purpose the

present office-bearers of the P. C. C. failed hopelessly.

Mirth To Rest Of India

What happened after the elections is a stranger story still. It provided a mine of mirth to the rest of India. A Madras daily newspaper treated the manoeuvres and intrigues that were employed for the election of a leader of the party, with the contempt they deserved, by discovering one leader every day. The Congress High Command, on the representations made by some "leaders" of the party, invited the Presidents of the three P. C. C.'s and Rajaji and Doctor Pattabhi for discussion. What actually happened there we do not know. But Mahatmaji, Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel must have given these invitees cogent and convincing reasons for the advice which they subsequently tendered to the party. But strangely enough, the three Presidents did not at all explain in the party meeting those reasons. On the other hand, the leaders of the various groups indulged in constitutional controversies concerning the mandatory or recommendatory character of the advice of the High Command.

Some zealots of constitutional rights claimed that it was the inherent constitutional right of the party to elect its leader, blissfully ignorant of the fact that the Madras Congress Legislature Party is a subordinate body of the Indian National Congress and the constitutional rights of a subordinate body are only rights conferred on that body by the constitution which created it. According to the Congress constitution, the Working Committee is the supreme executive body to which all the other Congress bodies are subordinate and consequently even its advice has the force of a mandate, if not literally, by political practice and constitutional convention. Even the provincial Ministers are there constitutionally only "to aid and advise" the Governor. One member is reported to have sought the aid of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors by His Majesty,

in order to reject the High Command's advice. It was strange, almost incredible that an M.L.A. elected on the Congress ticket which organisation is pledged to wreck the present constitution, should have attempted to take refuge under the same constitution in support of his anti-C.R. stand, and it is stranger still that that gentleman should be a member of the Cabinet now. Finally, the party rejected the High Command's advice unconstitutionally and Maulana Azad gracefully and tactfully averted an unhappy situation by permitting the party to elect its leader on its own responsibility. There is absolutely no warrant for inferring that the High Command recognised what the party claimed as its right.

Certain interesting things can be noted in this connection. What are the "certain difficulties to provide a way out of" in respect of which Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar was proposed by Sri Kamaraj for the leadership of the party? How does he reconcile this action of his with the assertion he made in New Delhi that the leader of the party would be elected unanimously? An answer to these questions will be very interesting and illuminating.

Choice Of Ministers

Sri Prakasam, the Prime Minister, has chosen his colleagues. Most of the members of the Cabinet cannot claim to have any administrative experience to their credit and the necessity for such experience cannot be discounted in view of the exceptionally difficult problems that are facing the province. Intellectual ability or integrity or outstanding merit in any sphere is conspicuous by its absence in the ranks of the Cabinet members. South India always had the reputation of leading the rest of India in its intellectual eminence and ad-

ministrative achievements. It is an irony of history that the Madras Cabinet to-day leads the other provincial Cabinets of India in paucity and bankruptcy of those positive qualifications that should characterise an able, enterprising and determined Cabinet having only service of the people as its aim and object. With such an Assembly behind and unrepresentative and not very capable colleagues by his side, the prospects of Premier Prakasam are bleak and dark indeed.

The leadership of this province is C.R.'s right and due. Though the present officials of the Provincial Congress have succeeded in hounding him out for the present, they cannot permanently deprive the people of this province the benefit of his unrivalled qualities, matchless abilities, outstanding eminence and his supreme zeal for selfless service.

It is no accident that all the available talents of the province are deposited in the so-called pro-C. R. group which Mr. Prakasam referred to as "one small section of the Congress Legislature Party which is keeping aloof from the main body." Though the opposition to C.R. was mainly sought to be pegged on to the emotional penumbra of the ordinary Congressmen concerning the 1942 August movement, as *The Hindu* wrote in its own inimitable way, "persistent and insidious propaganda has largely succeeded in obscuring the issues and mobilising against Mr. Rajagopalachari a fortuitous combination of irrelevant factors such as personal dislike, sectional jealousies, the resentment that disappointed hopes bring, and so on." Now, it is high time that the people of this province, who alone are the ultimate and final judges of the matter, consider the whole question in all its aspects and take immediately whatever steps are necessary to remedy the situation.

Literature is only one of the activities of a country, and can claim no monopoly of genius and devotion... It is honoured, but is never put above life. Poets are praised, but they are never exalted above humanity. Genius is acknowledged, but the licence which is sometimes claimed for it, to ignore the laws of society, is steadily and permanently refused.

—George S. Gordon.

THE THIEVES, THE NEEDY AND THE GREEDY

By C. R. Ramaswami

An infant was in the cradle suffering paroxysms of whooping cough. A boy of four was munching a sweet appam. A girl of six was singing Bharathi's militant songs where he threatens to destroy the whole world if anyone starves in his country—a vain threat. Their mother was winding up yarn at the spinning wheel round a bobbin. Murugesan was taking tea from an ice-cartwallah who was relating his prospects of getting good sugar for his tea.

Murugesan was one of those thousands of handloom weavers of the village-town of Zalajandapuram who were thrown out of employment by the practically anarchic conditions mis-called government that exist everywhere in India. Absence of control of price of cloth, under-rationing of yarn, black-market and corruption had deprived him completely of livelihood that in the best of times had been precarious. He knew the fat yarn merchants who were exploiting poor people like him—respectable people, who were selected for their money and influence to represent them in the Council Chambers. He decided upon the most daring of the three methods left to the poor, namely, stealing.

Bangaru Chetty was sleeping soundly. He woke up rather late. He went to examine his godown. There were rumours of an impending police search. Many of his friends had been arrested. He had planned to distribute his stock through secret agents. He found within a week his godown empty. There was not one bundle left even for *dhrishti pariham*. He found the window bars removed. Somebody must have sawn them through and wrenched them out and entered the godown and removed everything in a bullock cart. He was in a dilemma. He could not complain to the police. He found a ration card on the ground. He looked at the name. It was Murugesan's card. The fellow had been worrying him for yarn but was unwilling to pay the price.

At 10 a.m. a police inspector and several constables entered Bangaru Chetty's house. "Good morning, Chettiar," said the inspector in a hypocritically apologetic manner. It was like a cat saluting the mouse.

Bangaru Chetty smiled politely—he could afford to do it now—and asked what he wanted. The inspector showed a search warrant and asked permission to examine the stock in the godown.

"Do you suspect me too?" asked Bangaru Chetty and showed them....

The inspector was sadly disappointed in many ways. Next day Bangaru Chetty went to poor Murugesan's house and gave him his ration card. Murugesan was shocked. He was more surprised when Bangaru Chetty instead of handing him over to the police told him "You can come to me whenever you want yarn. You get good wages for cloth woven." Murugesan had no need to do so as long as there was yarn in the well. Bangaru Chetty supplied wooden planks to Murugesan to cover his well.

The handloom weavers of Zalajandapuram found a wonderful change in Bangaru Chetty. He did not sit unmoved like a stone god when approached for yarn, nor did he hagle when giving wages for woven cloth. Narrow escape from misfortune seemed to have sobered him. He advised the weavers to organise themselves and helped them to submit a petition to the Government for fixing minimum wages. Bangaru Chetty, the Councillor, may after all, turn out to be a more humane man than Bangaru Chetty the merchant.

Bangaru Chetty thought, if leading lights of the Congress can go about hinting that non-violence was the Congress policy, why should he not take to Congress politics as a policy, seeing that it served his interests better than the old one of grabbing which was not likely to be tolerated in a world tending to be more and more socialistic?

'RAJAJI AS I SEE HIM'

HE CONVERTED JAIL INTO A UNIVERSITY

By Kasinadhuni Poorna Mallikarjunudu

Until I was elected to the Madras Legislative Council in 1937, I did not know Rajaji except through his speeches, writings and reputation. My contact with him developed after that year as I had then opportunities of discussing with him some of the constitutional questions that agitated the country in respect of the assurances demanded from the Governors about the powers of veto vested in them under the Constitution Act of 1935.

His performances on the floor of the legislature are too well-known to need any description from me and compare favourably with the best speeches ever made by any statesman. In this connection, only to quote one instance, I would like to invite attention to the speech made by him when he proposed the resolution on the war in the Legislative Assembly. For its ideas, its masterly presentation, its marshalling of facts, its searching analysis of the position and its political survey, it was a speech without a parallel. The way in which he tried to answer all points of criticism levelled by the members in Opposition in the legislative chambers, illustrates the great care, patience and ability with which he tackled all problems that confronted him. His is a method which answers criticism and disarms opposition. His conduct of business in party meetings was marked by a high degree of tact and capacity to convert others to his point of view, though at times for want of time and due to pressure of work and the urgency of the measures to be adopted, the time available for discussion by members could not be found adequate.

A new chapter in my relations with him opened when I had the rare privilege of his close association for a period of six months in the Trichy Central Jail. I was then spending six to seven hours a day

in his company devoting myself mainly to the study of Valmiki Ramayana and Bhagavad Gita with commentaries of Sankara and Ramanuja. There were a few friends like K. Santhanam and N. S. Varadachari who were interested in the pursuit of the study of the two great works. As there was plenty of time at our disposal, we tried to make a detailed and analytical study of these works. If the essence of an ideal work of literary art is *dhwani* or the quality of suggestivity as enunciated by the great *alankarikas*, the Ramayana is a marvellous example of literary excellence. While it is simple, it is deep. Its style, though easy, is of rare variety, its descriptions are thorough and picturesque and its narration of story is superb. Without meaning any disrespect to Rajaji, I should say that his knowledge of Sanskrit is meagre. Still, with his brilliant intellect with its sharp penetrating power, he was able to correctly interpret the meaning of the verses as intended by the author, while some of us, having a little more knowledge of the language, failed to grasp their meaning with any degree of precision. That he was right and we were wrong was borne out by reference to the famous commentary of Sri Govindaraja, which was universally accepted as the standard commentary on the text. Such occasions of display of his brilliance were not few but many.

The commentary of Sri Ramanuja on the Gita is studied with long compound words known as *samasas* in Sanskrit. If a *samasa* containing nearly ten words is once read, Rajaji was able to give its meaning correctly even though he did not know the meaning of a number of words therein.

His knowledge of Shakespearian plays is so great that it compels admiration. I had the joy of having



read under him a few historical plays. He also made us read and enjoy the sayings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa which are really a fountain of worldly and spiritual wisdom.

In short, he converted the jail into a university, a residential centre of culture, so far as some of us were concerned. I can never repay the debt of gratitude under which he laid me in terms of culture and good conduct. His life in jail was an ideal one. It was an example for others to follow. It was only when the term of my imprisonment was drawing to a close that an idea dawned upon my mind that I should

have collected all the inimitable sayings that flowed from Rajaji and published them in the form of a book. It was then too late. Had I undertaken that job when I first entered the jail, I have no doubt that such a collection would have been a valuable guide in human conduct and a precious document of high moral purpose.

My admiration for Rajaji has never been that he held office. A great thinker, a first class statesman with invincible courage of conviction, one who does not swerve from the path of rectitude, he claimed and continues to claim my admiration.

GANDHISM IS A PASSING PHASE

By M. C. Chari

I hurried one day on leave to have *darshan* of Mahatma Gandhi when he visited our province in January last.

An eager throng of nearly 20,000 awaited him in the Railway grounds at Waltair. It was the first place in Andhra where he got down and spoke. He appeared to be—remarkably handsome, pulsating with life, and far younger than his age. The tiny wrinkles on his face and neck and the shaky voice when he spoke betrayed his age to some extent. He seemed calm, and to have absolute control over his mind. Miss Agatha Harrison was conspicuous on the dais.

After the usual prayer Gandhiji spoke in Hindi in slow, deliberate tones. He spoke with ease—with no effort and premeditated thought—and with natural eloquence free from exuberance of language. Though he spoke nothing new, and dwelt on discipline, Khadi, Harijan uplift and the importance of learning Hindi, words seemed to acquire new value as they gushed out from his heart. When Gandhiji was speaking, I was reminded of the chirping of

the cricket, the sighing of the wind, the singing of the bird and the flowing of the river, by the spontaneity of his speech.

Gandhiji as a personality will live for ever but Gandhism would be a passing phase. Gandhiji will be remembered as a great saint and social reformer by posterity but Gandhiji as an expounder of economic principles and political theories would fade out imperceptibly.

His condemnation of the R.I.N. strike, while keeping mum about the indiscriminate firing by the military, appears to me to be not sagacious. His observations on the enhancement of the salaries of Congress Ministers would seem to be sophisticated. Analysed in the spotlight of Marxism and Leninism, Gandhian economics and political doctrine is stale, puerile and ineffective. Gandhiji's comments on the sweepers' strike in Bombay and his suggestion for calling the military to discharge the duties of the strikers seem to me to be unfair, undesirable and inappropriate and even to involve a menace to the working-class organisation.

TRADITION AND ART

By K. Rangachari

Dr. Cousin's reply to Mr. Choudhury consists of a series of jumbled epigrams and hardly clarifies the issue on which the controversy started. Dr. Cousins' statement that tradition is not history is quite unexceptionable and when allowance is made for this amendment, Mr. Choudhury's statement about the futility of a blind adherence to traditional forms in art cannot seriously be challenged. It is startling to hear that freedom of expression is a myth or a euphemism for irresponsibility and self-conceit and that "beaten tracks" are inescapable. That the novelty of a new track wears out in the process of the pursuit of that novelty is an axiom; that in course of time a track becomes "beaten" is perhaps the best argument in favour of its innovation. It would be amusing to hear if it were seriously stated that the original art forms, say of the Middle Ages, represented at that time either the "greatness of irresponsibility and self-conceit" of its initiators or mere transfer to other "beaten" tracks presumably laid out by aboriginal man. Yet Dr. Cousins' position amounts to that. The fact that the art forms of the Middle Ages have become a part of our heritage (or Tradition with a capital T) need not blind us to the other fact that they were undoubtedly the products of freedom of expression in the sense that they made a departure from earlier forms. Our tradition is richer than the tradition of the Middle Ages; but it can at no time become a complete and self-contained body of doctrine.

Continuity amidst conflict and change is a dialectical principle; it is no more possible for an artist to make a break with his past heritage than it is possible for a revolutionary social reformer to make humanity start from scratch. No one outside an asylum could suppose that a person afflicted with amnesia (loss of memory) is best qualified

to be a creative artist or an original thinker.

A good memory is no substitute for the intellect though the intellect cannot function effectively without memory. Our intellectual heritage is therefore of vital importance when we aspire for the fullest freedom of expression; it has often been compared to an elevation provided by the ancients enabling the moderns to see further than their predecessors did. Our tradition is made up for the most part of the "provisional strivings of men of genius to make the most of the world as they saw it". In seeing differently or with deeper penetration than the ancients, we are merely carrying forward their effort and doing so we are being creative and helping future generations to learn more and achieve better.

In the passage in controversy, Mr. Choudhury had conceded that tradition has a place in art. Traditionalists are fond of tracing the germ of every modern accepted idea in some utterance of the ancients to deny thereby any insight or credit to the moderns. On the other hand, it is possible to be creative even though it were to move one step beyond or one shade over our inherited notions. The limits to the part played by tradition in art are set by these two considerations; while Mr. Choudhury's statement can without inconsistency be applied to the latter, the indignant declaration of Dr. Cousins that there is no track which is not "beaten" shows him to be a traditionalist of the former kind.

It would be relevant to quote a very apt criticism of traditionalists by Prof. A. E. Murphy (Illinois): "It is one of the sillier aspects of traditionalism that it asks us to venerate the intellectual heroes of our tradition, neither as they were when they were alive in the uncertain, courageous, fighting span of experience that was their present, nor as they would be if they were alive to-day sharing with us in the

work of our present and helping solve its problems but as cultural remains, transformed by their now respectable antiquity into disclosures of timeless truth. It was not thus that these masterpieces were created, nor thus that they can effectively be appropriated by a generation worthy to continue for itself the enterprise to which the great men of the past so greatly contributed."

Dr. Cousins states that he is concerned not so much about the place of tradition in art as about the "place of art in tradition"; but then he comes to the conclusion that "art does not preserve tradition: tradition preserves art". The contradic-

tion is fairly obvious and is the outcome of his definition of the problem of the place of art in tradition as "the relationship of forms and appearances to the continuous creative impulse that initiates and sustains them." Perhaps when the theme is tackled more fully, he will elaborate on this.

The truth is that while Dr. Cousins considers tradition as an anti-septic against "irresponsibility", Mr. Choudhury has urged the need for freedom of expression as an antidote to the stagnation caused by traditionalism. Whether round about Egmore there is "freedom of expression" is hardly relevant to the problem.

A CHILD IS GONE

By Binod

Still little lips and taut little limbs, angel face, brow serene there's no more tragic sight in the world than the body of a dead child.

Little one! Oh, little one! Snatched away in childhood's bloom, our young prince lies in state to go on death's journey even while his life's journey had just begun. Little one! Oh, little one! Why did you come to us and fill our hearts with gladness which has so swiftly flown? One summer morning you came to us—Gold bless that morning!—and, today, sadly descends on us the autumn eve.

Our child was grave and wise of heart beyond his childish years. Everywhere he found food for grave enquiring speech. Strange questions he asked of us and himself suggested even stranger answers. Wondering, wonderful, his azure eyes over-running with laughter, he took in more of the things around us than our more discriminate, less observant minds.

Our little one! Our little one! His heart was a lovely bower of innocence and bliss, a pure fountain of

kind and tender feeling. His every look was a gleam of light revealing rich depths of love.

When he walks with me, the country folk, who pass us in the street,

Will shout for joy, and bless my boy, he looks so mild and sweet.

Shout for joy! To-night our hearts are crying out in inconsolable pain. Our boy, after giving us his infant smiles for forty excruciatingly happy months, has bidden farewell to earth and gone to live in Heaven. No more for us the sight of our little one trying to walk in Daddy's shoes, no more the sound of his silver sweet tones while prattling on my knee, no more his mischievous mimics of adult ways, no more feigned anger followed by feigned reunion.

Soon, too soon, has the Reaper whose name is Death reaped the flower that grew between the bearded grain. But

I know that we shall meet our babe (his mother dear and I).

Where God for aye shall wipe away

all tears from every eye.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE GASOMETER

FOLLOWERS OF INDIAN cricket need not bewail the unpoetical fact that the tourists failed on a ground, which has some associations of poetry, but that they came into their own on a field, entirely given over to the crude unpleasantness of modern industrial life. The ennobling proximity of the Worcester Cathedral and the Severn of *Comus* availed the tourists nothing against the "arctic" conditions of weather at Worcester, while the disturbing influence of the gasometer has failed to prevent the happy valiancy of the visitors' batting at the Oval. Nothing more than progressive success in acclimatisation need be read into this fact, apparently so destructive of all principles of cricket, which is but poetry in athletics.

We are told that a black cat solemnly stalked across the Oval on Saturday evening as the Surrey players sought the shelter of the pavilion after the most remarkable and unexpected stand by Serwate and Banerjee had battered their bowling. It is difficult to say what this procession might hold in store for the Indians in this match, as I write these lines on Monday morning. But it is only gratifyingly too clear that the visitors have shed their *gaucheries* timidity, and hesitancy that very nearly earned contempt for them in certain supercilious circles.

The six days of play have indeed, made clear many lessons. The most vital of them is undoubtedly that the bland assurances that only weather and lack of practice accounted for the disappointing displays at Worcester and Oxford have been proved true. There was some reason to believe that these frantic extenuations were meant to hide the fact that the team was not only weaker in bowling and fielding than was expected, but also that its batting strength was negligible. The stand created by Sarwate and Banerjee is no doubt exceed-

ingly pleasant in savour, but, in a correct perspective, the partnership for the third wicket between Merchant and Gul Mahomed is of vastly greater significance. The continued success of the team cannot be maintained on a *tour de force*, which is what all last-wicket stands, however meritorious, are. It is correctly believed that a team should obtain its runs from the players who are placed earlier on the batting list, though nobody objects when the tail does add some runs. The collected, fraceful, and purposeful batting of Merchant and Gul Mahomed is a better augury than the century partnership of Sarwate and Banerjee.

The success at the Oval may be expected to infuse confidence into the team. It may not be proper to draw up an indictment on the strength of two performances, but it is clear that, from whatever cause, many of the Indian batsmen incur the serious risk of complete failure. Mankad continues his annoying habit of "hitting out" when there is no warrant for this piece of desperation. When your team's score is less than 200 on a good wicket, it is the height of folly to attempt to hit Bedser out of his length. The natural consequences must always be "easy catches at cover". C S. Nayudu also appears to have caught the infection, for both at Oxford and at the Oval he lost his wicket by this means. In the first innings at Worcester, Mushtaq Ali, we are told, yielded a catch to the wicket-keeper when attempting to pull a leg-break going away far outside the off-stump. He repeated, with the natural fatal results, this highly unbecoming piece of acrobatics at the Oval.

To continue this catalogue of fatalities, the Nawab of Pataudi lost his wicket both at Worcester and Oxford when attempting a late-cut. Amarnath "carelessly" hooked a short ball from Perks into his own face.

But, an examination of the methods of dismissal of the Indian batsmen reveals a significant fact, that they were dismissed when attempting strokes, and not merely suffering their innings. This feature should give rise to entertaining displays from the Indians when they become thoroughly acclimatised.

It is difficult to make any such forecast about the bowling, though if a pessimistic one were hazarded it would not be very much foolish. In the four innings which have been played as far by India's opponents, the slow bowlers have captured no less than twenty-six wickets, while only six have fallen to the medium pace bowlers. The wealth in spinning ability is gratifying, but it should, in a wise balance, be aided by at least moderate skill in medium pace. The fact that Amarnath, from whom much was expected in this category, is injured may be responsible for this disproportion, but it is, nevertheless, disquieting.

It is recognised that slow right-hand bowlers are at a disadvantage when bowling to left-handed bats-

men. It is surely significant that the two centuries compiled against the tourists so far have been scored by left-handed batsmen, Howarth and Donnelly. Heavy scoring must be expected from better batsmen of this type, who will be encountered in the Tests, like Leyland and Paynter. Though it is past mending now, it is proper to point out that the Indian attack would have gained much if another left-hand bowler like Ram Singh had been included in the team. As it is, Mankad cannot always be expected to succeed. Even so early in the tour, there is evidence that his exertions in bowling have vitally affected his batting.

The team's display in the days that have elapsed demonstrates that with all its batsmen sound and in form they need fear no attack. But the fact also remains that unless Amarnath, Banerjee, and Hazare reveal hitherto unsuspected bowling talents so as to balance an exceptionally able slow attack, the opposing teams, for their part, need not fear the Indian attack. It is an engaging situation which will no doubt be made more interesting as the tour continues.—N.S.R.

THE WORLD ABROAD

A Survey of Foreign Affairs

The Soviet withdrawal from Persia has been reiterated from a number of unilateral sources. Persia's Premier, M. Gavam Sultaneh, has no doubt that it has been completed, the Moscow Radio has claimed it as a *fait accompli*; but curiously enough, the UNO has not been officially informed of such a desirable consummation. In fact, the last meeting of that body was signalled by a plaintive reference to the Soviet attitude by the Australian delegate who contended that the Security Council was not likely to enjoy any prestige, if one of its leading members should treat it with the studied contempt shown

by the Soviet delegate. The final upshot is not yet clear; but the 'Persian' question continues to hang on to the agenda paper of the UNO.

The threatened break-down of the Foreign Ministers' Conference has been averted by a politic withdrawal by the Soviet of one of its demand for the trusteeship of Tripolitania. This withdrawal has been coupled with a corresponding stiffening of the demands which Russia is putting forward in Italy. Russia is anxious to strengthen Yugoslavia by securing for the State the Adriatic port of Trieste. On the face of it, it is an unexceptionable

claim considered from the point of view of making the losers of the last war pay for their failure. But in a long-range view, the cession of this port to Yugoslavia will enable the Soviet secure ingress into the Mediterranean through the back door, as it were. For this reason, it is likely to be resisted by the Western Powers, though it is bound to be conceded in the upshot. Neither America nor Britain are anxious to denude Italy so absolutely, since in such an event the Western Powers would be depriving themselves of the security of a friendly and fairly strong advance-post against the oncoming hordes of Communism. The motive that prompts them is the same as that which secured for France after the downfall of Napoleon an incredibly advantageous peace; for the alternative to a strong France was a stronger Germany even a hundred and fifty years ago, and it was rejected as the worse of two evils. In the altered conditions of to-day's power politics, Italy is the spring board of the rival ideologies of Capitalism and Communism.

The abdication of the Italian King and the proclamation of his successor to the Italian throne must be viewed in the background of the factors indicated above. The ex-King is sacrificing himself so as to render the continuance of the monarchy more than ever secure. The plebiscite on the question is to take place soon; and this change which eliminates the obnoxious figure of one who was actively associated with the 'Fascists' may be expected to work a favourable change in the popular attitude to monarchy. The forthcoming plebiscite is expected to be favourable to monarchy on general grounds. The Papacy has its home and deep roots in Italy, and has a unique appeal to learned and simple on grounds of antiquity, tradition and the temperament of the people. As in all other countries, so also in Italy, there is a Leftist wing; but its influence is still negligible. In the coming weeks, we may hear a good deal of Italian politics, centering

round the question of the monarchy. But the odds are rather definitely in favour of the continuance of that institution; if for no other reason, at least for the fact that the Soviet has been adopting a consistently anti-Italian line during the last ten years.

The presence of Gen. Marshall in China has had the gratifying result of promoting a truce between the Communists and Nationalists; the chief defect of which has always been its uncertain duration and validity. The report that Gen. Marshall favours granting the Communists all they want is one immemorial way of ending disputes which however is not as much in fashion as one would wish. Chinese politics will continue to be as impenetrable as a tropical jungle so long as foreign vested interests have the extent of influence they now have.

Mr. Bevin's confession that he had to agree to quit Egypt as a condition precedent to opening talks with the Egyptian Government has an element of candour which deserves notice. But the acceptance of the principle of it is being watered down in practice by substituting the UNO for the British overlord. It is not yet known how far the Egyptian spokesmen will agree to the continuance of the old incubus under a new name.

Mr. Sandys, chiefly known to fame as the son-in-law of Mr. Churchill, has made a lugubrious speech in which he has deplored the liquidating zeal of the present Labour Cabinet in throwing away a hard-won Empire. He asked with unconscious humour if the Cabinet intended to restore Hongkong to China and Gibraltar to Spain. Should such restitution take place, it would undoubtedly be a record instance in history of the voluntary return of stolen property to their rightful owners.

The American Senate has approved the proposed loan to Britain by a narrow majority. The dissident

votes which were not negligible stood out for an outright purchase or annexation of British Western bases to the American Republic as consideration for the loan, which many members pointed out was not likely to be returned in the usual course of business. While the loan is expected to be eventually passed

without any further amendments, the certainty of it has made many British spokesmen pretend as if they are paying much more onerously than they deserve to, at the end of the costliest war which they have been called upon to fight in the interests of the world as a whole.

THE ROADMAKERS

By "Baroo"

The road lay across a barren stretch of country, one of those military-purpose roads that lead from one uninhabitable place to another. Macadamized, under the noonday sun it was as a ribbon of steel binding down the angry, reddish-brown earth. Stunted scrub raised its head here and there, but seemed to have given up the struggle and fatalistically accepted the coating of fine red dust that hung in the air. Far away, a few palms stood proudly erect, but there was not a patch of natural shade anywhere nearby. Now and then a truck rattled past, swirling aimless clouds of dust behind it.

To the roadmaker, drums of tar are everything. Two empty drums with a piece of red cloth slung between them formed at once a barrier and a danger-signal to roadsters. A few yards off the road, two other drums, placed rather closer together and with a length of gunny spread across them, formed a crude shelter that served as the headquarters of the party. Here they kept their food, a pot of water and a little naked baby that was playing happily with the puddles he had formed in the dust. A little way off, a half-tin placed upon a furnace made out of presumably the other half contained tar at boiling-point. Black fumes arose from the tar.

Patching macadam surfaces is not a hard job. Two men with picks pecked gently at the dubious regions and removed the loose surface. The underside of the macadam was revealed black and shiny with tar that had not known dust. The men's bodies were a few shades lighter and a trifle less shiny, although the sun played brave-

ly with the streams of sweat that ran down their emaciated forms. Two other men scraped dirt out of existing holes in the road surface with brushes of steel wire. They sat on their feet as they worked and their faces were close to the dust of their own making. A man with hand swathed in gunnies brought ladles full of liquid tar and poured it into the conditioned patches. A woman with a basket of fine gravel spread it evenly over the tar, and two other men pressed it down flush with rammers that were too heavy for them.

The men were all black and naked and old before their time, but what of the woman? She too was dark and wizened, but her hair was still black, and well-oiled and shiny. Her face was small and expressionless—teeth red with the juice of the betel, and in the nostril a little piece of jewellery with a square of crimson coloured glass in it. She wore only one article of clothing, a threadbare saree that must surely once have been red.

Whenever the gravel in her basket ran out, she went to fill it up again from a heap by the roadside. She used a spade for this purpose. Every time she bent down, her saree, which she wore across her shoulder like a Sam Browne, slacked in the front, and one could see her breast. They were flat and leathery like a pair of deflated old footballs and hung vertically down into the dip of the saree. But it was all right when she straightened herself up again.

The roadmakers worked silently in the heat and the dust. Now and again a lorry rushed past, breaking the peace of the road.

IRAN AT THE CROSSROADS

By V. Venkatraman

On 12th March 1946 *Reuter* announced that Soviet armed forces and heavy military equipment were moving towards Teheran. Despite contradiction by the Soviet News Agency a dramatic report was broadcast by the B.B.C., London, on March 15 that the Iranian War Minister had declared that Russian troops were only 23 miles from Teheran. But the inevitable came the next day, when the Iranian War Minister categorically denied the statements attributed to him. Up to this day the Russian marchers have not arrived in Teheran.

Iran is a country with a population of 150 lakhs and an area of 6,28,000 sq. miles. It is a backward feudal country and its politics and its economy are dominated by two factors: first by the 2,000 huge wealthy landlord and industrialist families which own the land, are the Cabinet, are the Mejlis (Parliament), control finance and the army and keep 100 lakhs of Iranians always hungry and illiterate and with less than a penny income each per day; secondly, by the mighty Anglo-Iranian Oil Company which bought up from the then reigning Shah sixty years' concession to work oil in five-sixths of the realm (nearly 5 lakhs of sq. miles) for a mere pittance of just a little over five lakhs of rupees.

The Iranian people, like ourselves, have a long and proud history of democratic struggle and a clear understanding of the growth of that movement is essential to grasp the true import of the present events in Iran. Iranian Azerbaijan and Tabriz (its chief city) like Bengal and Calcutta in our own country were centres of national and democratic awakening in modern Iran. The first modern Press and school were opened and the first progressive newspapers *Habul Mateen* and *Hashratul Arz* were brought out from Tabriz. The first great patriotic epic was also written in a prison there. The first National Democratic movement equivalent to our Swadeshi movement began in Azerbaijan at the same time in 1906. The first armed insurrection against the Shah's autocracy and the tyranny of the landlords also took place in Azerbaijan in 1907 and again in 1908 when the province held

against the Central Government for nearly nine months. And this is but natural; for, just as Bengal and Calcutta were the first in India to come into contact with British liberal thought, so also, Northern Iran bordering on Russia first came into touch with Russian revolutionary thought and was inspired by the struggles of the Russian people against the Tsar—struggles that culminated in the Russian Revolution of 1905.

Came the year 1917. With the fall of the Tsar in Russia a new popular ferment became evident and a rebellion broke out in Northern Iran. Out of it emerged Reza Pahlevi who marched on Teheran and made himself the head of the Government. But Reza Pahlevi later betrayed the democratic movement and became instead the leader of Iranian oligarchy. He completed his Napoleonic career by declaring himself Reza Shah, Emperor of Iran. After Reza Shah's abdication in 1941 and the loosening of the chains of autocratic Government there came a new democratic upsurge which is the decisive factor in Iran to-day.

The democratic movement had to face different conditions in the two parts of Iran, Northern and Southern—the Soviet-occupied and the British-occupied portions respectively. And the comparison is illuminating. In Southern Iran the British at first allowed certain democratic liberties to the people and to the Tudeh (Masses) Party in order to gain the support of the people in the event of the Germans over-running the Caucasus and turning Iran into a battlefield. This honeymoon of the British with the progressive cause in Iran was short-lived and as soon as the tide of World War II was changed by the decisive Soviet victory at Stalingrad, the British turned their face against the Tudeh Party and began working with the A. I. O. C. in carrying out their policy of buying off and bribing rich Iranians, lining up with reactionaries and strangulating the life of the common people. They brought back to Iran from exile Syedzia-ed-din whose pro-British and reactionary attitude was too much for even a man like Reza Shah to endure. Syed Zia is the focal point of all reactionaries, landlords, profiteers and hoarders and the newly-formed industrialist class, which with the support of the United

There are two rules in writing short stories. The first rule is to write stories that please yourself. There is no second rule.

—O. Henry.

Kingdom Commercial Corporation, sells things at sky-high prices, as for instance a pair of shoes at Rs. 200 (figure taken from an official publication by the Iranian Director of Public Information). The British have given them a political machinery with which to fight the Tudeh Party. When the elections came they saw to it that in the Southern provinces only Syed's men were elected. Anti-Syed candidates like Dr. Sandjahi, Dean of the Teheran Law School, were simply not allowed to reach their constituencies. The British arranged to have the Southern deputies 'elected' earlier and these deputies reaching Teheran before the Northern deputies, ousted the latter, including Jafar Pishvari, the Premier of the Azerbaijan National Government from the Mejlis. Further, though British troops 'evacuated' Iran they left only after organising a coalition of Southern tribes trained by British officers. These tribal chieftains, Sheiks, Khans, Baluchis, etc., have always easily been bought up by oil imperialism. As revealed by General Arfa, the Iranian Chief of Staff, in April, 1945, the Union of Southern Tribes had built up an army of 50,000 equipped with modern arms and they were receiving further and considerable quantities of smuggled arms through the Persian Gulf ports which could possibly be done by the British only.

In the Northern Soviet-occupied Iran however the situation was quite different. The Tudeh Party adopted an 'outstretched-arms policy' inviting the co-operation of all those who agreed with its immediate programme of fighting people's enemies, black-marketing, hoarding, corruption and inefficiency and for people's rights such as food for all, jobs for all, freedom of speech, etc. Hoarded food-grains and profiteers' ill-gotten grains were confiscated and distributed among the people by people's committees in each town and village. Thus under occupation two Irans have grown; one in the North where the people's democratic movement has been nurtured, has flowered and grown strong; the other in the South where the people's movement is being stifled and persecuted while land-lords, hoarders and profiteers wax fat. Therefore as the Calcutta Statesman's correspondent wrote, "In Northern Iran there has been a striking development in the last few years. Many land-owners have left and there is little doubt that the peasants are happier."

All these aspirations of the people are clearly manifest in the published

"programme of the National Government of Iranian Azerbaijan." This official document begins with the preamble:

"The Azerbaijanian National Government consummates the dreams of the Azerbaijanian people concerning *autonomy* which will put an end to its sufferings," and gives us its immediate goal a programme the first clause of which runs as follows:

"Inform world public opinion about the existence of autonomous Azerbaijan. To consolidate its autonomous existence, to start negotiations with the proper organs and without violating Iran's integrity to set up a National Government based on truly democratic principles. All obstacles standing in the way of this must be swept aside."

Then follow 18 clauses covering fundamental rights, elections, local self-government, universal free education, police, purging of traitors in the people's movement, punishing of hoarders, food for the people, land for the peasantry, handicrafts, industries, means of transport, labour welfare, social insurance for work-people, clerks and office employees, health insurance, free medical aid, religion and worship, recognition of equal rights to Kurds, Armenians and others, and lastly recognition of the Central Teheran Government subject to the autonomy of the province.

When asked by the U. S. radio commentator Mr. Steele what he thought of the present events in Iran and the Soviet note, Reza Shah Shahani, former head of the Iranian War Information Office, stated: "As long as the British manipulate the Persian ruling class and the newly-created industrial classes, there will be friction and civil war. If we go into the motivation for the Soviet note we will see that it constitutes a reply to the British manoeuvre to create a political vacuum during the coming elections in which to operate and put in a Government of their choice, whereas the Soviet Union takes at its face value the Atlantic Charter and the Potsdam Declaration which proclaimed the right of self-determination. Evidently, the Soviets want to prevent anything from happening which would keep the Iranian people from deciding for themselves what kind of Government they want."

The British Imperialists know that Europe has gone democratic; they have no further hopes there and therefore they have great reason and urgency to continue to keep their grip on Iran

tight. Democratic and really independent Iran will shatter their hopes of dominating the Middle East, India and the Far East. Just as British rule in India is a menace to the progress of Iran and other lands under Britain, so also the continuance of the British stranglehold on Iran is a menace to our country's fight for freedom.

This is the substance of the contents of *Iran at the Cross-Roads* by Mohan Kumaramangalam. (Published by the People's Publishing House, Bombay 4.)

The book is a brilliant study of modern Iran; particularly scintillating are the chapters on the struggle for oil, rise of Democracy, two sides in Iran and the Imperialist Plan. It is well documented with a number of appendices and three maps. The style of the author is sparkling and vivacious and easily carries the reader from cover to cover at a stretch. The phrasing is crisp and concise and the marshalling of facts clear and cogent.

MUSLIM POINT OF VIEW

A Reply To "Apex"

By M. M. Shareef "Mujahid"

I am extremely thankful to "Apex" for his twelve questions and for giving me a chance to place before our Hindu brethren our Muslim point of view, which is always misunderstood and misinterpreted.

I do not agree with the statement that "Hindus and Muslims are not two nations", basing on the assertion that "no duality of nationhood can be predicted of people tracing their origin to a common stock, rooted in the same soil". The very basis quoted in support of the statement is defective and has been proved incorrect by the creation of half a dozen States in Central Europe and Balkan peninsula, the origin of whose inhabitants can be "traced to a common stock, rooted in the same soil". In view of this, Hindus and Muslims cannot form a nation, on this basis, even granting that most of the Indian Muslims are converts. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that it is the "homogeneity of a people", that decides their nationality and as such religion plays the most important part. To quote James Bryce, "it is on religion that the inmost and deepest life of a nation rests", and hence Hindus and Muslims do constitute two different peoples as they belong to two different rather antagonistic religions. Further, the Muslims belong to a faith, which

regulates every department of their life, educational, social, economic and political. The Muslim code of conduct is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets, rituals and ceremonies. Thus the Muslims not only differ in religion but also in every walk of life—from dress and diet to culture and civilisation. As such they form a separate nation from the rest by all canons of international law. And "as for those who maintain that religion is no basis for nationality and who would deny to Muslims the right to a separate nationhood at all, they are ignorant of the very concept of nationhood, for they never belonged to any nation, but only to a country." The narrow geographical conception does not hold good in case of Muslims for they are a nation, scattered all over the earth, while every other nation is restricted within its own boundaries. Though Buddhism and Christianity can also claim to be world religions, there are no such fraternal ties among their followers all the world over, as in Islam; as such they owe more allegiance to their country than to anything else, in contrast to the followers of Islam. A Muslim cannot pay his supreme allegiance to his country and yet be a true Muslim, as it strikes at the very roots of his faith inasmuch as it tantamounts to denying the supre-

macy of the laws of God. The present stand of the Indian Muslims is based on this conception—to negative which is to change their faith or go astray from the “right path”. Thus it is impossible for a Muslim to think in terms of an Indian Nation. The moment our Hindu brethren understand this, the demand of Pakistan will be clear.

The feeling of antagonism between Hindus and Muslims is a historical fact and not due “to one class being land-lords, capitalists and money-lenders and the other class being cultivators, labourers and borrowers in some areas and in other areas, the relation being reversed.” This feeling had been here since centuries, rather it will be more accurate to say that this has been here from the day, the Muslims set their foot in this land. Further there were frequent wars between Hindu and Muslim rulers of the land, which only fanned this feeling to fever heat. To cite an example, Aurangzeb is regarded as a national hero by the Mussalmans, whereas Shivaji is revered and respected with equal persistancy and zeal, if not more, by the Hindus. The Hindus think of Muslims in terms of foreigners and Malechhas (i.e., Usurpers), while the latter think of the former as those who caused their political eclipse and downfall, in allegiance with the British. Thus this antagonism is historical and traditional and no creation of our present economic system. Since it is so, it cannot be mitigated to any appreciable extent by radical changes in the economic system of the land.

Since Hindus and Muslims are two separate and irreconcilable nations, they should form two separate States. Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan should have full rights of citizenship. The minorities should have ample safeguards to ensure the integrity of their religion, language and culture.

The creation of a separate State, without making it economically self-sufficient will be ridiculous. This should be kept in mind, while

tackling the problem, whether Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan should be reduced to the minimum and subsequently while demarcating the boundaries of the two States. There may be free emigration but certainly there is no need for a forced one or for matter of that, of an exchange of population. The very basis of Pakistan is to have a sovereign State of the provinces, where Muslims preponderate and as such Sind, Frontier and other similar provinces should be included in it. The refusal of Hindus and Sikhs in Muslim provinces cannot carry conviction, much less any weight, as there are also Muslim populations in U.P., C.P., Bihar and other provinces of Hindustan accepting the Hindustan Government. As such, they will have to brook the rule of the Muslims, as the Muslims in Hindustan will be tolerating that of the Hindus. And as regards Hyderabad and Kashmir, it will be the subjects who will determine the character and form of the State.

From times immemorial India has never been a geographical unit, only the British bayonets have given it the present form which will die a natural death along with the removal of the British authority. Indian history knows only of two emperors, who attempted to create political unity out of the numerous races and communities of India, before the advent of British rule in the country, which proved to be abortive. One was made by Akbar, who tried to “bring them all into one” by starting a new religion which, though primarily based on the fundamentals of Hinduism and Islam, did not find favour with the people. Aurangzeb’s plan to create a State, in which Hindus were to be ruled by Muslims was smashed by Hindu reaction under the leadership of the Mahratta leaders, thus teaching us the historical lesson that an artificial unity, imposed upon India by some superior force cannot stand long. There should be two separate sovereign States—Pakistan and Hindustan for the two main nations of India.

LETTERS

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

S. Srinivasa Iyengar Day

The late Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar Day falls on 19th May, 1946 and I appeal to all to celebrate it in a fitting manner.

His dream of connecting the Ganges and the Cauvery should inspire us and provoke in us a zealous thirst for bold constructive planning and action. His teachings on democracy, his writings on party politics and his speeches on patriotism call for a deeper and more careful study now that we are coming into grips with power politics.

At dawn on 19th May, 1941, this great leader breathed his last. That the people of South India have not yet raised a suitable memorial for him is something unforgivable and I appeal to the members of the S. Srinivasa Iyengar Memorial Committee to renew their endeavours and fulfil its aims.

A. THIRUMALAI
Cuddapah.

Literacy And Illiteracy

With reference to the article under the caption “Literacy and Illiteracy” by Prof. N. R. Kedari Rao, that appeared in *Swatantra* of 27th April, the statement that “the number of illiterates is 64 or 65 per cent of the population” is apparently more misleading and fallacious than the one which puts the figure as “85 or 87 per cent of the population”, inasmuch as the world population in the latter statement very naturally, legitimately and properly includes children below five and those between six and ten, while the same word in the former does not do so. Though it may be necessary to explain the position of the children in the above two clauses with reference to literacy and illiteracy, in taking the census and computing the population of a country those children cannot be left out. Therefore, the proper way of stating the truth is that 13 out of every 100 persons (including children) or 13 out of every 77 persons (100 — 23, the

children belonging to the two classes excepted by N.R.K.) above the age of 10 or to whom the literacy test can be legitimately applied, are literate. That will be approximately 17 per cent. Therefore, if the considerations that the learned professor has taken into account are to be explicit in the very statement, it will be correct to state that the number of illiterates in our country is 83 per cent of those that are above the age of 10 or to whom the literacy test can be effectively applied.

M. M. I.

Royalaseema Relief Funds

The Ceded Districts are passing through famine. Transport of fodder by lorries, supply of onions, dried fish, dhall and vegetables in ration shops adjoining labour camps, regular supply of rations in village shops, increase of wages from 8 to 12 annas, sufficiency of works, supply of tools and implements, proper organisation of destitute-relief, drinking water supply by lorries such as Bombay has already undertaken, will go a great way in alleviating distress. The Bombay Government has given further a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs for developing spinning.

May I point out that three of the Royalaseema funds are not coming out at this crisis? One of them is the Sir Vijaya Fund of which Mr. G. V. Punnia Sastri of Guntur has Rs. 9,000 odd in addition to its trust fund. I did my best by sending one of our workers, Mr. K. L. N. Rao to personally meet the Secretary at Guntur. Mr. Harisarvottama Rao said that a committee has been formed but nothing has been done.

Mr. K. S. Raghavachari, Anantapur, has in deposit a sum of Rs. 5,000 of the old relief fund. I wrote to him but I do not get a proper reply.

Mr. Chavali Nageswara Rao collected in Bombay in 1940 a large fund which has been formed into a trust fund. They can expand spinning centres if they want.

We have started two centres of relief with Mr. S. Sambasivam in charge of

Kalyandurg taluk and Mr. K. L. N. Rao for Rayadoorg taluk. The area affected is vast. May I appeal to you to persuade these relief agencies which have collected funds for relief from the public to do something? Relief agencies can do much by way of distributing groundnuts, pulses, oils and cloth to the poorer classes.

K. G. SIVASWAMY,
Servants of India Society.

T. N. C. C. Election Tribunal

The Election Tribunal appointed by the Tamil Nad Executive consists of three young persons having no public experience. They were unknown in public life until they achieved prominence through anti-C.R. propaganda. Without experience of public life and with a definite partisan outlook, these young members of the Tribunal cannot be expected to command much confidence. There are already complaints against one member of the Tribunal, Mr. T. S. Pattabhiraman, that he is actively participating in electioneering in Salem district. (CONGRESSMAN).

Zulum In T. N. C. C. Elections

There is a great deal of confusion about the electoral rolls of Congress members of the different firkas. The instructions of the A.I.C.C. circular on the matter have been ignored.

Gerrymandering of constituencies is resorted to, evidently with the object of getting particular individuals elected. To my personal knowledge there is a glaring instance. Kandampalayam is a village forming part of Kapilamalai Firka where I am seeking election. On 24th April the Salem District Election Officer announced the names of polling stations for this Firka and Kandampalayam was one of them. On 28th evening news arrived that he had changed his mind and cancelled the order about Kandampalayam polling station. This area rightly belongs to this Firka and there is absolutely no justification whatever for suddenly disenfranchising its Congress members. This was done without reference to me as one of its candidates or to the Congress members as its voters.

The polling was first announced to be held on 22nd; it was changed to 26th and then to 29th April. On Monday, 29th morning, believing the polling had begun, I was starting to go on my round of the polling booths

when my agents arrived with the news that the election had been postponed to May 3rd.

I have had long experience of public life and I must confess that I am simply amazed and bewildered at the manner in which Congress elections are being held now. The general impression among the people, due largely to the boastful assertions of the partisans of those who control the Tamil Nad Congress, is that this high-handed and dictatorial chopping up of firkas and changing of polling stations and dates are suddenly made with the object of causing as much inconvenience as possible to the candidates they want to see defeated. Whether there is any basis for this belief I cannot say, but when I represented the matter to the President of the Tamil Nad Congress he replied rudely reprimanding me for doing so and warned me not to do it again.

It is sad that those who control the Tamil Nad Congress organisation should appear to turn the Congress which was loved and trusted by the people into an instrument for favour and persecution.

'FAIRPLAY'.

Constitution Of The Centre

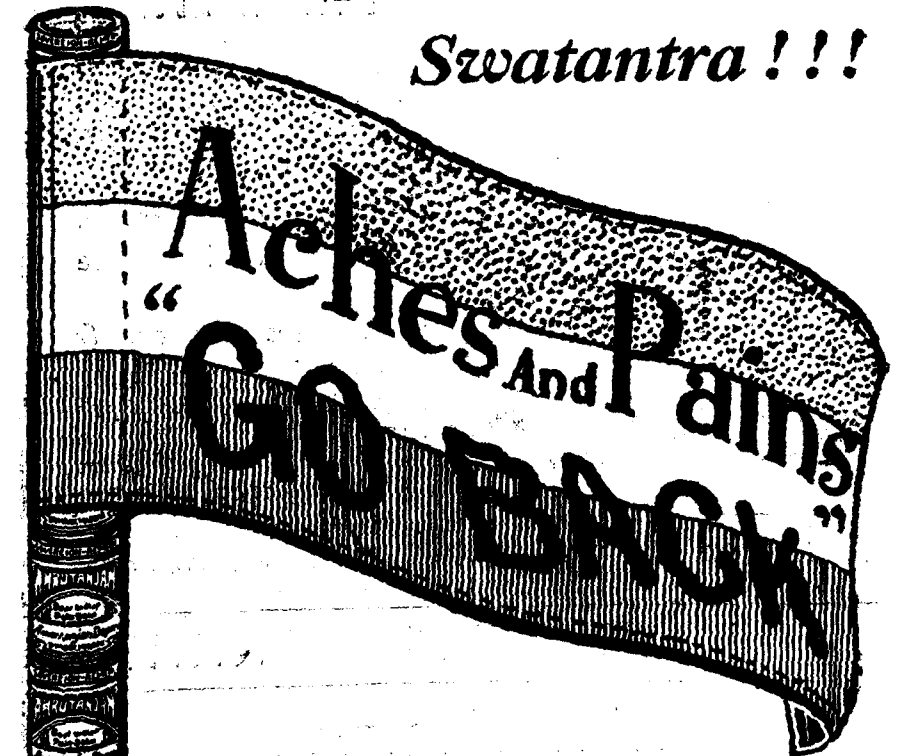
British India now consists of eleven units out of which only four happen to be Muslim majority provinces and rest Hindu. Out of these, eight belong to North India and three to South India. If the present provinces form the basis and join the Centre and constitute the Government, the whole of South India will have only three representatives in the Central Cabinet, viz., Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces. Any further constitution of new provinces will complicate the formation of the Central Government. That is how, at any rate, the High Command should be feeling, as all the new provinces to be constituted on linguistic basis can only be Hindu provincial units joining the Centre claiming equal rights. Take, for instance, Madras Province. If, at the time of the new constitution, it joined the Centre as a single unit, what would be the status of the Andhra Province that would be constituted subsequently? Would it form merely a sub-unit sharing power of representation along with Tamil Nad in the Central Cabinet by rotation or otherwise? Do the Andhras reconcile themselves to such a position? Will the Tamils agree to such a position?

A. VENKATRAMAYYA,
Rajahmundry.

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SWATANTRA, JUN 1946

(SATURDAY, MAY 1946.)

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GUIDE FOR 1946 PLANNING

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Editor: KHASA SUBBA RAU.

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ISSUED
WEEKLY

CABINET MISSION'S PROPOSALS

MAHATMA GANDHI has appealed for clear and independent thinking in judging the proposals put before the country by the British Cabinet Delegation. He has uttered a warning against the acceptance of ready-made opinions, especially from the newspapers. By the time this issue of *Swatantra* is published, many daily newspapers will have expressed their opinion on the proposals besides giving reports of the views of important leaders of political thought in the country.

Mahatma Gandhi has been emphasising for some time past his conviction about the sincerity of the British Delegation, but it is clear from the tripartite correspondence released in the wake of the proposals that the Congress attitude to the Delegation has often been one of tense dissent rather than overflowing trust. Particularly unsparing, for example, was Maulana Azad's denunciation of the provision relating to the formation of Provinces into Groups with executives and legislatures. Envisaging what it might lead to, he stated in the course of the correspondence that "it would appear that two or three separate constitutions might emerge for separate Groups, joined together by a flimsy common superstructure left to the mercy of the three disjointed Groups." Yet it is this same flimsy common superstructure, unredeemed by any concession by way of adult franchise, most axiomatic of the requisites of democratisation, that is offered by the Delegation, and instead of be-

ing condemned outright, is greeted warmly with every sign of approbation by a top-rank Congress leader like Gandhiji! What is the secret of this apparent anomaly?

Despite all the defects of the proposals, what is evidently responsible for the cordial greeting given to them by Gandhiji is the feeling that through them a big step forward and a bold one has been taken in one respect. Whereas the British attitude hitherto was, 'If you agree you will be free, but if there is no agreement between the two major parties, the *status quo* will continue,' the present position is wholly different. It is that what the Delegation has decided as fair, reasonable and practicable shall prevail in case there is no agreement between the major parties. But if there is a consensus of agreement on any proposal to modify the Cabinet Delegation's recommendations, the Delegation will not stand in the way, and the agreement can be given effect to. There is therefore no threat of a *status quo* in case of disagreement. The deadlock has thus been solved; and that is just the aspect of the recommendations and decisions of the Delegation that merits appreciation. The British Government's responsibility for leaving India in an orderly manner has been fully admitted, and the old British desire to take advantage of our differences seems at last to have been overcome.

The previous attitude of the British Government that they cannot impose a constitution on the

people of India and that they cannot be parties to any coercion of one party by another and that therefore the *status quo* must continue unless mutual agreement is reached, was met by Gandhiji with the counter argument that the British should, if they are unwilling to impose a constitution, quit India and leave the people of the country to settle their own affairs. This was not only a logical argument but was intended to be converted into a nation-wide non-violent movement. Unfortunately the British Government would not let things develop in that peaceful manner and answered the argument by imprisonment of leaders. The logic of the situation thus took the Congress movement into wrong channels.

When the Tories were in power, they argued that they could not quit India leaving chaos behind. At the same time they would not be prepared to impose a constitution on either of the two major parties. It is a triumph for the present Labour Government that they found a logical and statesmanlike third course which avoids chaos as well as the *status quo* and yet does not impose a constitution on either party. Pakistan has not been rejected but the Cabinet Delegation has built a platform on which, if Pakistan be really desired by the people on whose behalf it was claimed and if it be necessary in their interests, it could be secured and built. If, on the contrary, Pakistan is not really desired by the people on whose behalf it was demanded or if Pakistan be really against the best interests of the people concerned, or again if Pakistan be wholly impracticable and detrimental to the progress of India as a whole, the framework of the constitution which the Delegation has imposed on India in paragraph 15 of their statement is such as to prevent anything wrong being done in the way of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah's claim became hopelessly bad when he decided to make it an essential part of the Pakistan demand that non-Muslim areas in

the Punjab, Bengal and Assam should belong to the new State that he proposed. No tribunal in the world could give that to him and it is not surprising that the British Delegation has rejected it in the clearest language. The Delegation has however found it possible to conciliate the Muslim feeling as it has been developed on the question without doing injustice to those who opposed Pakistan.

There could be no objection to any number of autonomous States if division would not jeopardize the defence and communication of the country and on these matters the unity of India has been strictly conserved in the proposals. We therefore welcome the decisions announced by the Cabinet Delegation.

We cannot fail however to point out that the British Delegation has dealt with the Princes too softly. They might have more frankly expressed their views on the question whether Rulers of the Indian States really had the right to overrule the wishes of the people in regard to their future. It was not necessary for the representatives of the Rulers to assure the British Delegation that "the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India." The people of the Indian States are not only ready and willing to co-operate but eager to see autocracy ended and constitutional Government established and it is the Rulers that are standing in the way. If British Paramountcy ends with the transfer of power at the Centre from Britain to the people of India, the Paramountcy ends with the transfer to the new Indian Central Government, but accrues to it by the laws of nature that govern the fate of the Princes and the people.

If the people of the Indian States desire to be one with people of those areas hitherto called British and to be on the same level of constitutional development with them, no Prince can hope to prevent fulfilment of such a desire, without calling into aid the British soldiery. Paramountcy did not

mean the right to call such assistance but there was an illusory idea to that effect which will cease to be when the Delegation's proposals are implemented.

Autocracy At Large

Mr. Shibban Lal Saxena was one of the candidates for the Presidentship of the United Provinces Congress Committee. He was defeated by Mr. Damodar Swaroop Seth, a Congress Socialist leader. Irrespective of the merits of the two contesting candidates, the sympathies of the fair-minded will go to the defeated one on account of the part played by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru before the election. The Pandit wrote a letter to Mr. Saxena in which he said, "It would be unfortunate and undesirable for you to be elected. This has nothing to do with your merits which are evident but I am afraid you are very irresponsible and just at present that is a serious consideration. Indeed I feel this is such an important matter that I shall not be able to join the Council if you are elected President." Pandit Nehru is a great leader of international fame whereas Mr. Saxena is scarcely known beyond his province. A great name, however, does not condone injustice. It is so strange that a man of acknowledged and apparently self-evident merits should be ordered out of his undoubted right to contest an electoral office in the Congress organisation on the ground that Pandit Nehru regards him as irresponsible, that one cannot help having very serious misgivings as to where the sort of leadership reflected in the incident is going to lead the people. Pandit Nehru's threat of non-co-operation in the event of Mr. Saxena being elected President reduces the whole process of Congress elections to an absurdity. It means that, as evaluated by the President-elect of the Congress, a certificate of character personally issued by him has an overriding validity against the power of Congress franchise, and if this assumption should be challenged, there is a good case for teaching a lesson to the defiant by

resort to direct action. In his reply to Pandit Nehru, Mr. Saxena wrote, "I do not agree with the judgment that I am irresponsible. If the members of the U. P. C. C. elect me as their President, why should you refuse to join the Council? I did not expect this threat from a world-renowned democrat like yourself."

For all the tremendous disparity in status and political importance between the two disputants, the laurels in this U.P. election controversy do not certainly belong to Pandit Nehru. When abuses occur lower down in the Congress, an appeal lies to higher authorities. But where are the aggrieved to turn to for redress when it has to be sought, not against secondary leaders, but one holding the supreme position of Pandit Nehru, apart from being the President-elect himself? The U. P. episode is a fair measure of the rot that seems to be overtaking the Congress practically throughout the country. Authoritarianism has become rampant, and the whole drive of the principal office-bearers in key positions has of late been towards excluding from the organisation those whom they do not like, while resorting to no end of tricks and unfair means to push forward their own supporters. In Tamil Nadu, for example, the electoral machinery of the Congress has been reduced to a nullity by unscrupulous practices of the bosses that might well have done honour to Tammany Hall. They withheld forms for enrolment of members to persons they disapproved of. They shut out candidates likely to be independent on the flimsiest grounds. They bought votes. False personations at polling booths were not uncommon. They filled election tribunals with partisans incapable of fair decisions. In one case, while one candidate got the largest number of votes, they actually declared another "elected." It is a fact that public service has become secondary, and intrigue for personal ends all-supreme, in the working of the Congress organisation, a change that will be patent to all who merely take the trouble

to scan the names adorning the new executive. Against the rising insurgence of selfish interests under the shelter of the Congress organisation both here and elsewhere in the country, there is need for immediate concerted action on the part of truly patriotic elements who have no axes of their own to grind and hold public interests dear.

A Good Beginning

Mr. Prakasam alighted on a promising idea when he announced casually at a wayside station that the wholesaler would be eliminated from the food control and rationing system. The wholesaler has been responsible for millions of deaths. It was sardonically estimated by the Woodhead Committee that for every death in the Bengal famine someone somewhere in trade made a profit of some Rs. 1,500. The wholesaler however is not a distinct and separate being that can be tackled straightaway. He is an embodiment of the spirit of profiteering that has many incarnations, and his influence therefore is wide and far-flung, extremely difficult to isolate and overcome. This influence abides in industry, banking and insurance. It extends to the Press. It pervades a vast machinery providing employment and livelihood to people. It has even succeeded in invading some of the most powerful of the citadels of the administration. It is not without its allies among the police and the control officers. To attack the position of the wholesaler is therefore neither simple nor easy. When he proceeds with his plan, the Prime Minister will find himself subjected to a tremendous supplanting campaign organized by the wholesale interests, a great part of which may be clothed, with the service that money and economic power can command, in garbs dressed to look like public spirit. The organisers of the campaign will not hesitate to make use of every disruptive device they can lay their hands on. It may be found necessary, as the tempo of the agitation rises, that the effort of the Premier to save people from com-

mercial exploitation will have to be extended to other fields as well beyond the trade in foodstuffs. Unfortunately, some of Mr. Prakasam's colleagues are already found entangling themselves with profiteering interests of just the sort against which a potential battle is not unlikely in progress of the pursuit by the Premier of the food policy announced by him. As it is, there are far too many statements by Madras Ministers that are unco-ordinated and unprofitable, and not only serve no purpose, but actually do harm by the contradictions they reveal between the outlook of one member of the Cabinet and another. Fortunately, Mr. Prakasam has one great quality. In the pursuit of any idea which he has grasped with lucidity, he is firm and unwavering, impregnable against all assaults, and never prone to weaken, however formidable the forces ranged against it. He has stuck to barter with unwearied faith and calm imperturbability against all the weight of the wisdom of modern economic thinkers, hoping that some day the tide of advanced thought would turn in his favour. It is fortunate that he inaugurates his premiership with so unexceptionable a plan for the tackling of the food problem, and being a man not easily daunted, he is not likely, in tackling it, to be over-awed by the difficulties in the way. This is just the situation in which the Premier can count on the fullest public support against all the vested interests that might presently begin to assail him.

Playing With People's Lives

Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, the Health Minister, announced, while opening a commercial concern at Trivellore, that the present Congress Government in Madras would give as much support as possible to indigenous systems of medicine—Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani—by way of financial and other assistance. She improved the occasion by making a fling at Dr. Rajan who had held the portfolio of Public Health and Medicine in the Government of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. She said that "Dr. Rajan was

not able to do as much for the development of the indigenous systems of medicine as the people would have desired and hoped the same state of things would not obtain during the term of the present Government." Boiled down, Mrs. Lakshmipathi's words amount to a tribute to herself at the expense of a predecessor. In advance of actual achievement, it is cheap to indulge in this sort of thing. It is scarcely in good taste. Neither in ability nor in calibre of mind is Mrs. Lakshmipathi the equal of Dr. Rajan. It is a bad beginning for a woman Minister to take advantage of the chivalrous considerations that pitchforked her into a responsible position, for heaping, in public, disparagement costing nothing to herself on an obvious superior. Nor was Mrs. Lakshmipathi's choice of means for self-advertisement a happy one. For all the sentimental exploitation of the supposed glories of indigenous systems of medicine specialised in by some people, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the world has moved far since such systems came on their decline. News is to hand this very week of sensational developments in nuclear physics which have given medical researches artificial "eyes" whereby they can study the internal reactions of the human body. Radio-activity is fast revolutionising medicine. The marvels of science have armed doctors with an unprecedented potency for healing diseases such as the practitioners of the old methods that are now sought to be sublimated by half-baked faddists like the Health Minister, could not have even dreamed of as within the bounds of possibility. The bullock cart mentality that loves to be immersed in exhausted tradition in this age of the aeroplane is a menace specially to be dreaded when it has the resources of a State to play with and garbs itself unctuously with the glamour of Gandhian association for acquiring over-bearing capacity and silencing critics and sceptics. The health of the people is not to be trifled with for the sake of providing primitive doctrinaires a spectacular platform where they

can make exhibitions of their loyalty to outworn things pretending the while to be apostles of national regeneration. Modernity is a valuable asset in the promotion of public health. The modern manner of promoting people's health attaches high value to scientific knowledge and environmental sanitation. To discard it is to invite quacks and cranks to play with people's lives. This will not redound to the credit of any Congress Minister.

SWATANTRA and the Ministry

Many readers want clarification of *Swatantra's* policy towards the Madras Ministry. The demand from one of them, made rather challengingly, is published in the Letters Section of this issue. At the outset, let us say that it is context that imparts value and relevancy to discussions on public questions. So long as any purpose could be served by pleading for C. R.'s restoration to party leadership, *Swatantra* tried to serve it to the best of its opportunity. Things often happen in the world different from what we think to be the better way. Should, on that account, the better be made an enemy to the good? On two grounds, the Prakasam Ministry affords matter for real relief. It has put an end to the unendurable Adviser regime. Secondly, Mr. Prakasam shares with C. R. the distinction of being one of the two real leaders of the people in this province, and in the absence of a Ministry composed of both, it was much better that Mr. Prakasam should run the Government rather than that someone else of inferior popularity should do so. After all, be it noted, *Swatantra* conferred no favour on C. R. when it pleaded for his leadership. The benefit of the pleading would have gone to the people who, by the actual turn of events, have lost the guidance of a great man at a difficult time. Yet perhaps the guidance need not be altogether lost. In any system of popular government the influence of public opinion on the policies of the administration is not easy to eliminate. C. R. continues

to be, by being a little in advance of it, a great maker of public opinion, and nothing that has recently happened has made any change in his power of shaping it on the large issues of the day. It is therefore not necessary to be lugubrious. The spirit of freedom is not well served by competitors for leadership developing antagonism and irreconcilableness in the wake of a decision on the issue arrived at through customary means. The duty of serving it lies indeed heavier on those who have won for the time being than on other parties. This in fact was the point of our suggestion that the Premier should go out of the anti-C.R. clique to recruit talent and ensure the success of his Ministry. But it was not to be. Mr. Prakasam did no doubt the right thing in inviting Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer to his Cabinet. But loyal soul that he is, Mr. Iyer naturally could not respond to the invitation over the head of his leader. The right course for the Premier would have been to make direct contact with C. R. himself. If administration and service of the public good should synchronise, there should be no hesitation on the part of the Prime Minister in the matter of drawing liberally on the help of competent men in a position to give good advice. It would be fatal to get thrown into the arms of the bureaucratic civilian element who may not be averse now to play on parochial sentiment to put themselves forward. Of one thing there can be little doubt. The group of legislators associated with C.R. have come out of recent turmoils with shining colours. They have held aloof from intrigues and scrambles. They have conducted themselves with great dignity. They constitute the ablest element in the legislature, and in morale and character are the most esteemed and trustworthy. The Ministry has everything to gain and nothing to lose by enlisting their support and goodwill in the tasks that lie ahead. One feeble attempt is not enough. It should be followed by persistent pressure which we feel is not likely to be resisted

for long, having regard to the patriotic duty of all at this juncture to render every help in their power to enable Government to deal efficiently with grave and urgent problems like famine and unemployment.

Scarecrow Remedies

Mr. W. H. Kirby, the rationing expert, brought from England, has been touring South India and in company with Mr. C. Karunakara Menon, the Regional Food Controller, he has been trying to ascertain the pressure of famine in South India. From what he noticed of the conditions reported in North India, there is no prospect of any distress comparable to the sufferings of Bengal in 1943. By and large, it would seem that with the fulfilment of supplies promised from abroad, we should be able to tide over a disastrous crisis, but unfortunately the question of imports from abroad is causing worry in deficit areas. Sir Robert Hutchings declares that his reports about cereals booked for India are utterly at variance with the statistics given out in Washington. When the President of the Indonesian Republic speaks of 500,000 tons of rice as a gift to India, officials are dumbfounded and Pandit Jawaharlal has had to obtain confirmation of the offer by direct inquiry from Dr. Sharir. Obviously there is confusion in the handling of the food problem. If five hundred cities are brought under the rationing scheme, all it means is that the residents of those localities will have a fair distribution of edibles mobilised there for keeping up the standard of caloric distribution of food. What about the seven hundred thousand villages, where the method of allotting foodstuffs by the evidence of paper token is virtually impossible? Thus at one end is the experiment of scientific distribution for urban areas and at the other nothing but anarchic economy, nobody being responsible for the sufferings of the inarticulate. But for the docility of our people, there would have been many scenes of hunger marches towards the cities by now.

Sotto Voce

The Steam-Roller



Huddled in a pocket on the vast maidan where Gandhiji held his prayer meeting a friend was much disturbed in his strenuous attempt to attune himself by the beam of light that was flashed into his eyes. It came with every wave of the arm of the dim figure on the distant dais who was leading the chorus and marking time with rhythmic upward strokes. He was fretfully wondering whether it was some brilliant on the finger of the singer that caught the westering sun. But on closer inspection it proved to be a chromium-plated stylish wrist watch. And that shocked my testy friend even more than might have a heavily jewelled forefinger.

I mildly remonstrated with him. "A wrist watch", I said, "is far from a luxury these days. And look at the young man's distinguished simplicity in other respects". "That is the worst of it", he retorted. "I can't stomach this new affectation which insists on flaunting a khaddar bag only to put in it costly trinkets and gaudy fad-lals which no one would expect to see in the hands of a poor man. Did Thyagaraja and Dikshitar wear wristlets to help them keep time when they ecstatically sang the name of God?"

I must confess this incongruity rarely strikes our nationalists. The mind of the reformer who feels he has a mission seems fated to work in compartments. Khaddar is the symbol of poverty and purity and thus has attained the dignity of a uniform. The man who wears mill-cloth because he can't afford to buy khaddar is still looked upon as doing something indecent. But our neo-nationalist does not mind indulging himself to his heart's content outside the narrow bounds of

the prescribed discipline. Drink is evil and no words are too hard for it. But tobacco does not come under the interdict; and so, though it is in every way as injurious and wasteful and unbecoming, chain-smoking has its devoted adherents among the exalted.

They would perhaps say that Gandhiji himself has given no directive in this matter. He has not; neither has he included gambling on horses in the new Decalogue. But the reason is, not that he considers these things permissible, but that he fears his writ may not run in these domains. Following that line of speculation one wonders whether the concentration on the removal of untouchability may not have been subconsciously influenced by tactical considerations. Neither the passions nor the affections of the ordinary run of Congressmen are deeply agitated by this issue, and where it is a matter of comparative indifference to them personally, people are ready to do the bidding of superior authority for the luxury of feeling virtuous.

However that may be, there is no denying that the mind of the average party-man is an ideological rag-bag. This is amusingly illustrated by some of the speeches and actions of the new Ministry in Madras. The Health Minister has sturdily expressed her faith in the indigenous systems of medicine; what is even more striking, she has openly expressed her belief that her predecessor in the last Congress Ministry was mistaken in thinking that Allopathy was the only scientific system. All honour to her for thus speaking out her mind. But another Department of the Government has just told local bodies that

it is open to them to cancel the licences of hotels and catering establishments which refuse to admit all and sundry. Any suggestion that hygiene may have had something to do with the old prohibition would perhaps strike them as fantastic.

Hygiene is not merely a matter of external cleanliness. The findings of the eugenists show that incompatibility in blood-groups is a physiological fact the violation of which may lead to sterility or to disease. Temperamental incompatibility may be no less an arresting factor in the evolution of social groups. The Englishman looks upon his home as his castle and his club as his sanctuary. We applaud his instincts and imitate his customary privacies. But because he has no taboos in

eating and he practises congregational worship, we think we must do likewise.

Knowledge is a handicap to crusading zeal. But history, luckily for our latter-day reformers, is not their strong point. Otherwise those who are out to steam-roller us into unity might be weakened by the reflection that practically every movement in this land which began by abolishing what it regarded as outworn dogmas that cribbed human sympathies ended by erecting yet another wall of custom which we seek the aid of the Privy Council to defend! The right of cultural groups to maintain their individuality is as fundamental to the well-being of society as the Four Freedoms.

—VIGNESWARA.

NATIONAL MILITARY ACADEMY FOR INDIA

By "Befranke"

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has felt the absolute essentiality of training in military service for India if we are to hold our own among the greedy nations which are contending for power. Gandhiji may not agree with him. But until the metamorphosis of ideal non-violence comes, the more practical view of Maulana Azad will be agreed to by all Indians.

The Military Academy is going to be in Poona. It is an ideal place for several reasons. Its geographical layout suggests that training of all types of warfare can be carried out there without having to travel far in search of plains and hills. Poona has an even climate. It is more or less centrally situated. For training in combined operations the proximity of Bombay Harbour is a valuable asset. Traditionally Poona has been a centre of culture and combatant spirit.

In India soldiering was never considered a job. The Indian soldier from time immemorial has been distinguished for the spirit of

sacrifice. In several other countries soldiering was not considered an honourable job until this war began and until the greatness of the service of the soldier came to be recognised in this war. The National Military Academy will therefore be honoured as an institution of national service.

But with modern science progressing incredibly in other countries, that are concealing new developments from the world view, any academy depending only on traditional methods without aid of modern scientific equipment and ever-changing knowledge and improvements, will not be very effective. Our military training for some time will have to be left in the hands of foreign teachers. They are indubitably superior to us in skill. But will the cat teach the tiger the art of climbing the tree?

This is what every thinking Indian is worried about. He will be prepared to pay a high premium provided he is assured of the stability of the insurance fund.

"SPECULATION IS RIFE"

By Pothan Joseph

When special correspondents in the Imperial Capital are at a loose end, the custom is to wire out that speculation is rife, before anything is ripe. At the moment of writing (12 noon, May 21) speculation is fairly dead in *Swatantra* office and I am asked by Comrade Khasa to give my first impressions of the Simla Fiasco and the determined air with which the British Mission proposes to pursue their recommendations; recommendations mind you, neither a mandate nor a statute, nor even advice as in the case of the High Command over the C. R. protest.

My feeling is that Britain is getting away cheap from the moral scene without quitting India. She has won the reputation for being non-imperialistic, philanthropic. Just before the "advent" of the British statesmen, the three Magi from the West, there was acute political discontent in India and questionings about goodwill. The I.N.A. trials and the R.I.N. affair moulded general sentiment too much so that V. C.'s paraded at Victory Celebrations looked silly beside the accused. The visit of the British Mission came like the throwing of oil over troubled waters. Congress statement-wallahs have been screaming that the *bona fides* of the British Mission were obvious; prayer meetings attended by the vegetarian diplomat, the quaker philosopher and the hearty sponsor of muscular Christianity (Mr. A. V. Alexander to boot) captured the imagination of the Mahatma who actually dreamt of the removal of "religious divisions" with no assault on that negation of democracy, namely, the practice of the caste system. Incidentally, the absence of the following functionings of the British Cabinet has not caused any break-down—the Secretary of State for India, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the

President of the Board of Trade. Britain lives by economic cannibalism on India (Wilfred Blunt); "Thank God for the British Navy" (A. V. Alexander's beloi); "A nation of shop-keepers" (Napoleon's wisdom) while the President of the Board of Trade motors in Delhi with grass-hopper quickness. They could stay on, the whole British Cabinet in India, without impairment to policies at home as now conducted. If Congress or League turns nasty and non-co-operative, the business could be run by a Cabinet of 7 with 5 unfilled vacancies. That is how Premier Suhrawardy runs the show in Bengal; five vacancies for collective co-ordination.

The Pious Three are returning home, with loud applause, since they are supposed to have safely lived down the tradition of imperialism by the offer of the Sceptre. The recommendations put forward by the British Mission in spineless language furnishes a scene of confusion. A Constituent Assembly is to meet under three divisions, A, B, C. I am sorry they are defined as "Sections" (I would prefer it as categories, a bigger word) but those sections are free, it appears, to procreate sub-federal "Groups". Assam is more in favour of divorce than stormy wedded life in Pakistan, while the N.W.F. growls about "uncongeniality" in grasping under Section "B". I am glad that the language of solid geometry has been borrowed. There is no point in minorities entering a few remarks in the Suggestions Book of Indo-British History and pleading before the world about their helplessness. I notice the glee about "the rejection of Pakistan" among Congress pandits, but what have they won? Nothing except the age-old grab for jobs provided by the Act of 1910 when the British

Mission departs after the publication of a shifty thesis, good boys in the eyes of the world. That is all.

* * *

Still I am anxious to know of the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the scheme (that is all in law) of replacements, Gadgil taking the seat of Khare on the Treasury Benches and still snorting within the limits of the Montford Constitution. There is no energy behind the British Mission's capital scheme of delivering a lecture and doing nothing in particular. The Mission has been however a success upon the claim to prove that the pudding-eater in the pantry could spread the rumour that the diners at the table do not open their mouths. All this holy excitement will however end with the publication of the names of the Johnnies now on the run for Lord Wavell's Executive Council. His Lordship thinks his colleagues to

be a "much maligned" group, and himself as vastly eligible. His ardour for advertisement is a queer feature. The theory of Sections is really at conflict with the premises of Groupology as set forth by the British Mission. For India the episode in general marks no progress; but for the Cathedral view of Imperialism, it has registered a great success. Is not speculation rife?

* * *

My apprehension is that there is going to be a period of standstill, and that in proportion to Congress plaudits there will be a slump in the measure of welcome offered by other parties. "Recommendations" have been tendered by the British Mission and the authors are not in favour of further discussion for the time being. If no party moves under the incentive of a probable settlement, the situation must remain unaltered, Britain gaining all the time in world estimation.

TIT-BITS:

[These tit-bits are collected from books and magazines. No claim is made to originality. Readers are also invited to contribute.]

George Carr (G.B.S.' father) was born with a kind heart, a sense of humour and a total lack of professional aptitude or commercial ability. His humour took the form of a sense of comedic anti-climax so keen that disasters that would have driven another man to tears reduced him to helpless laughter. No sooner had he invested in a corn business than one of its chief customers went bankrupt owing it a lot of money. The blow prostrated his partner; but although George Carr was well nigh ruined, his son declares that, "He found the magnitude of the catastrophe so irresistibly amusing that he had to retreat hastily to an empty corner of the warehouse and laugh until he was exhausted."

Once there arose a controversy between Shaw and the editor of the *Chronicle*, over the question of remuneration for an article. Wrote the *Chronicle*, "Dear sir, I am directed by the editor to inform you that he will pay you five pounds for the article in question." Shaw's reply was: "Dear sir, please inform the editor that I

will see him, you and the entire *Chronicle* staff boiled in hell before I will do it for that money."

* * *

"I have always despised Adam," said Shaw once, "because he had to be tempted by the woman, as she was by the serpent, before he could be induced to pluck the apple from the tree of knowledge. I should have swallowed every apple in the tree the moment the owner's back was turned."

* * *

One day at Westminster Bridge underground station, Shaw slipped at the top of the stairs and shot down the whole flight on his back while the onlookers held their breath in horror. Then he rose to his feet without the least surprise and walked on as if that were his usual way of going down stairs.

* * *

After a circus performance at Olympia, Shaw was introduced to the famous clown Whimsical Walker. "It is very nice of you to shake hands with an old clown," said Whimsical. "It is just like one old clown shaking hands with another," replied Shaw.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The spirit of liberty is not, as multitudes imagine, a jealousy of our own particular rights, but a respect for the rights of others, and an unwillingness that any one, whether high or low, should be wronged or trampled under foot.—Channing.

Professor Ranga has realised the ambition of many years by becoming President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Professor Ranga has a large following in Andhra Desa. He gave political consciousness to many peasants who had little interest in things unconnected with agriculture and family life. An indefatigable wanderer, there are few places he has not visited in Andhra Desa. He is a close second to Prakasam in the matter of harnessing peripatetic exertion to political work. But Prakasam does not aspire for world leadership. He likes to be on good terms with the people of Tamil Nadu and Kerala and has paid occasional visits to them, but the main concentration of his public effort has been confined to Andhra districts. Professor Ranga is not content with anything so limited as provincial leadership. His bid has ever been for national leadership which he has sought to promote with frequent tours to far-flung provinces in the country. But it would not be correct to estimate his ambition politically as restricted by any means to the boundaries of India. He has not neglected the rest of Asia. Nor other continents either. He sees himself as a leader of the coloured inhabitants of colonial empires all the world over, and the rudimentary fragments of an organisation intended to give form to the vision have already, you can bet, taken shape in his restless brain.

* * *

Prakasam carries no elaborate ideological equipment in his political luggage. Between leadership and public judgment there is generally an inverted connection. The greater the leader, the less the inclination

of people to subject what he says to critical analysis. Once in a thousand years a man like Lenin is born who asks for no blind faith, invites criticism, and with every step that he advocates, increases the power of his followers to think, reason, discriminate, reject boldly and accept wisely. The ascendancy of such a one is accompanied by no mass enslavement. But the case is different with the generality of leaders the world over. Leadership of the ordinary type is a process of hypnotising the public, in which reason is scarcely the only method thrown in, and other expedients like stunts, bluff, superstition, religious and communal passion, are abundantly resorted to.

* * *

Prakasam is neither a mass-hypnotiser, nor a crusader for an ideology. He is a favourite with Andhra crowds who look upon him as a brave man that has dared much and made immense sacrifices. In their regard for him there is an element of the gentle mother touch. It is benevolent and protective. Allowances are made as a matter of course for shortcomings that will not be tolerated from any other. People are anxious to safeguard his success and greatness, and the rash ones found endangering it in any manner are treated wrathfully. Professor Ranga, on the other hand, is a flaming crusader with tireless propagandist zeal for slogans.

* * *

Professor Ranga's slogans have changed from time to time. Change is of course different from inconsistency. In an ever changing world, refusal to change is apt to degenerate into unrealistic cussedness, however much abstract theorists may labour to make it look like steadfastness. But while the lessons of the school of experience for teaching the necessity of change to correct error and make effort efficient and more perfect cannot be underrated, there are things of permanent

value that admit of no change without impairment of character and desirable standards. Love of justice should not change. Since Socialism is a creed pledged to political overhaul on the basis of economic justice, the Socialism of Socialists should not change.

Professor Ranga's start as a Socialist left nothing to be desired. It was made auspicious by renunciation of an assured career in the educational line, which precipitated him overnight from opulence and comfort into privations and comparative poverty. In those days the cause of the workers and the peasants was ever on his lips, and he never failed to drag it into discussion whatever the subject on hand. In the Central Assembly, where varied interests were represented and legislators with a proletarian bent of mind were not many, he acquired a reputation as a faddist, a man of one-track mind, and was often subjected to facetious comment, raillery and cruel ridicule. He bore all with cheerful unconcern. He survived hostility without a scratch. What he could not withstand was the thought of better service by others to the cause he espoused.

Our peasantry includes a vast variety of agriculturists. At the bottom of it lie the landless agricultural labourers, who are economically the worst off of all people, numerically the largest, and politically and potentially the most significant. Above them lie gradations of owners of holdings of increasing size. Each lower gradation pays with a share of its own ill-remunerated toil for the superior

affluence of each higher. As champions of the landless indigent have cropped up in consequence of the spread of Socialist endeavour, to which Professor Ranga's own contribution has not been negligible, he, instead of being gratified at finding himself rewarded and supported, seems to have felt his own influence challenged and imperilled. He became unproletarian: un-Socialistic; anti-Russian. The rebound of the change has been making him progressively the custodian of the interests of the richer sections of the peasantry. Concern for the price of grain has taken precedence over concern for the wages of tillers.

Professor Ranga's anti-Communism is the culmination of his intolerance of fellow-workers in the same fold, except on terms admitting of no competition with his own position as leader. Political science should go where arguments lead. But nowadays the Professor has made a speciality of fitting arguments to conclusions already reached independently. The result is that prejudice is being clothed with the garb of scientific thought. This is a pity as Professor Ranga has a great hold on many good workers of excellent mettle who hang on his words as gospel. It happens that the Presidents of all the three Provincial Congress Committees in Madras Province are anti-Communists. Anti-Communism as a creed of hatred is devitalising. It diverts to destructive ends precious energy deserving to be more worthily used. Also, it is inconsistent with any right and proper conception of freedom. Freedom is for self-expression, and the right to it belongs as much to those you disapprove of as to those whom you are pleased to regard as friendly.—SAKA.

A philosophy of life, it seems to me, is of so much more practical value than a religion. Religion is for the defeated, or those who lack courage. I believe in life—which is to say in myself as part of the physical world we know, the world of flesh and blood, cells and atoms and chemical elements. The atom may be the scientific explanation of God. —Ethel Mannin.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan

The ideal of full citizenship for women is comparatively new all over the world. In Europe, up to the last sixty or seventy years, it was generally held that woman was the inferior sex and that her sphere was in the home. But all the world over, in India as elsewhere, with the spread of democratic beliefs, these old ideas have given way to the new conception that men and women are equal partners struggling together in a common effort towards a better world. In countries where women have secured the fullest participation in public life, their contribution has been found to be of immense value. The remarkable part that the women of the U.S.S.R. played during the years of planning and of building a new and happy nation as well as in the successful defence of the Soviet Union against powerful and ruthless aggressors during the war, has roused the admiration of the whole world and raised womanhood in world esteem. The position of women in the public life of a nation has now become the criterion by which the civilisation of that nation is judged.

In India, as in the rest of Asia, women were bound by greater shackles than in Western countries but there has been a forward move in their condition due to the strenuous labours of men and women pioneers of social reform and to the influence of the world movement for advancement of women. This move in India has received a tremendous impetus from Mahatma Gandhi. He has repeatedly emphasised that advancement of women is essential to the true regeneration of India. The Indian National Congress under his leadership has recognised the importance of the contribution that women could make in the struggle to raise our country from her fallen state and enable her to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world. Even the Simon

Commission, though reactionary in its political outlook, declared that "the women's movement holds the key to progress" in India.

Considering how recently the women's movement began, how great were its drawbacks and the obstacles to it in many parts of India, it must be acknowledged that its progress has been substantial and gives large hope for the future. Public life is nowhere an easy matter, it always has its ugly side and this side is inclined to be more prominent in a country like ours, which has been under foreign domination for centuries without scope for free development. Our people have had no real opportunities for cultivating a sense of responsibility, with the result that the national cause is too often lost sight of, in the bitterness of communal differences, personal ambitions and rivalries, in intrigues and corruption. Women in public life must guard themselves against these dangers and keep the ideal of national service as their constant beacon and sink the personal, the sectarian and the partisan in that highest ideal. They must set a good example of toleration and of political good fellowship, find pleasure and encouragement in the success of others and help the able and the deserving to secure wider scope for useful work and completely eliminate that green-eyed monster, Jealousy, from their movement. Our women represent the motherhood of India and therefore they have a special mission to fulfil—to make our country a peaceful and happy land for their children to live in, just as they do in the case of their own homes. Earnest and selfless work by women is as essential to the happiness of their country as it is to that of their homes and they should at all times endeavour to promote unity, harmony, peace and contentment. A seat on the Legislature or any public body should not be looked upon as a coveted

place of honour and privilege but as an opportunity for further national service. I am sure that if our women will take heed of all these principles and be governed by them, they will have gone far to set India on the path of a healthy and great nation.

I have also held the faith that the cause of women's advancement and their work for it would be a strong bond for unity among women not only in our country but also in the wider world. It should be a genuine union of spirit without any question of race or creed or class or personal gain and it should develop into an important factor making for world peace. It is, therefore, extremely distressing that the women's movement in India which is still very young, seems to be in danger of being tainted by poisonous forces spoiling its noble aims and the high principles for which it stands. Inordinate personal ambitions, unhealthy rivalries, communal considerations and intrigues for personal advancement, all the ugly features that have been seen among men, are unfortunately appearing among women also in public life. This is a grave misfortune, not only to the women's movement, but also to the whole national movement. The mission of women should be to ennoble life wherever they go and whatever work they do. It will be tragic if the few educated women who participate in public life forget their ideal and permit themselves to be governed by personal considerations in the discharge of their public responsibilities. Those who are in the forefront of a young pioneer movement should ever try to maintain a high standard of honour and efficiency in their work and set worthy

examples for their successors as well as for the rank and file of their movement. Their failure to do so will lower public morale and do great harm to the country in general. In the case of women they have also an additional responsibility. It is true in India as elsewhere in the world, that unless women are actuated by high principles, the children and youth of the country cannot develop integrity and a deep sense of honour and duty, in short, all those virtues which go to form a strong national character. The responsibility of our women is therefore even greater than that of our men in the developing of our people into a free and enlightened nation.

The task of building up the New India that we envisage, is stupendous and calls for earnest and selfless service of the best of her men and women. At this critical juncture, the women's movement should strive for the cleansing of our public life of its existing evils instead of permitting it to imbibe their poison. I earnestly hope and trust that our women will recognise the urgency and importance of 'nipping in the bud,' the signs of any danger to the healthy advancement of their movement and to the fulfilment of its noble aims. If our women will realise the gravity of their public responsibilities and endeavour to be governed strictly by those high principles for which their movement stands, they will be able to make a most valuable contribution to the reconstruction work that awaits us and towards developing our people into a great nation, happy and contented at home and honoured and respected abroad.

If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

—John Stuart Mill.

Short Story

For The Country

By Chitrabhanu Nambudripad

That night she sat there stunned and crushed. The flickering flame of the dying lamp played on her face and made visible the melancholy, yet sweet, expression on her face—an expression of sorrow as well as of determination.

It seemed that she had to bear a severe blow. In her opinion, it was her fate. "Who can escape from the hands of fate?", she murmured to herself.

Seven days, she thought. Just seven days. Then it came to an end—her married life. It was a short, and at the same time, a long period. Short, because it passed in no time. Long, because she could never wipe out the sweet memories of those days, could feel their fragrance even in her grave.

Those seven days! She tried to catch them. They came to her flapping wings which were golden.

* * *

It was a moon-lit night. Madhavan and Devaki met for the first time as husband and wife.

He said: "You were so young when I joined the army."

"H'm," she replied.

"Now you have grown up into a big woman."

"H'm."

"Girls grow quickly," he generalised.

To that also she gave a "H'm."

Her face shone brightly as if challenging the moon outside. She said nothing, did nothing. She liked to hear him rather than to be heard by him. Her eyes simply looked down on the floor as if in search of some tiny lost thing. Her hands played on the hem of her skirts.

"Why don't you speak something," he asked.

"Why....."

She did not know why. She wanted to speak a lot, to do a lot. She wanted to cling to her husband's neck, kiss him and tell him: "How much I love you." But she said nothing, did nothing. Why? She did not know.

Days passed on. One.... two.... three.... Devaki became as talkative,

as ever. Persuasion from Madhavan was no longer needed.

He spoke about the life in the navy; about the evacuation of his company from Singapore and Rangoon; about the atrocities committed by the Japanese; about the heroism displayed by the Burmese.....

And she about the marriage of the third son of the local Jenmi under whom she worked; about the "Kala Vela" (Bull Festival) in Molenkavu, the local temple; about the quarrel that arose as to which party should exhibit the bull first which resulted in breaking the drums of each party; about the heroic part played by her own party in the quarrel.....

Thus they were together for seven days. Then came the break. Madhavan's leave was over and he had to join his comrades in the navy.

"Won't you reply when I write to you," he asked her when about to go.

"Of course," she replied, holding back the sobs that gripped her throat like two hands.

* * *

Three years had passed since then. But no letter of the kind she expected and he promised her did arrive. Occasionally, she would get a note which ran as follows: "I am quite happy here. I hope the same is the case with you too." There was no indication as to where he was and how he lived.

Then the war came to an end. Devaki thought that she could now live with her husband happily. She began to picture in her mind the scenes which would be enacted on Madhavan's return. How long had she been waiting for the day on which she and her husband would together go for the *Utsavam* in Cherpalcheri Temple. This year she would go. She would write to her husband to purchase a sari and blouse for the occasion like the one which Chirutha's husband gave her. To go for the *Utsavam* wearing that blouse and sari; to fill her mouth with *uriyappam* and *pori* and enjoy the *mela*; to purchase glass bangles enough for covering her arms up to the elbow....

But no letter, except the usual one, came from Madhavan. To-day it

would come, to-day it would come, she thought.

One day, while she was husking grains, someone called her from outside: "Devaki Amma, are you there?"

"Who is that?" she enquired and came out, her whole body covered with grain-dust. It was the postman. Her heart jumped. At last, it came, she thought. The postman hurried over many envelopes and from among them took one for Devaki. It might be a long letter, she thought, seeing the length of the cover. She took the letter with the tips of her fingers as girls generally do a new jewel. She went into the kitchen to wash her face and hands as if getting ready to receive her husband herself. Yes, she was going to meet her husband through that letter.

Wiping her wet hands in her dress, Devaki opened the cover. Alas, it was not a long letter as she expected, but only a short chit. Moreover, it was in English, neatly typed. Fears began to throttle her. It was such a piece of paper that brought the news of death of Raman Nair, one of her neighbours. She had seen it herself. She called back the postman who was talking with somebody not far off.

"Are you sure this letter is for me?", she asked him, "kindly read that address."

"Yes, surely it is for you," the postman said and showed her the address he had scribbled on the cover in Malayalam.

"Can you read English?", she asked him again and extended the letter to him.

"Very sorry, Devaki Amma," he replied. "I don't know English."

She did not know what she should do. There was nobody in the village who knew English. She had friends who knew the language, but they were all four or five miles away.

Meanwhile, Gopalan Master, a teacher in the Pampur School, four miles away, passed that way, for which too Devaki gave the explanation that it was her fate. Gopalan Master was a Kisan Sangham worker of the neighbouring village and used to visit her house occasionally. She called out to him:

"How happy I am to meet you at this time!" she said. "Please read this letter."

"Whenever people want us, we are with them, you know," he replied. "Give me the letter."

He read it and stood aghast. "What is it, Master Saheb, what is it?", she

asked him stricken with fear. He only looked at her pathetically. How to break that news to her?

"Read it, Master Saheb," she again entreated him. Master, holding the piece of paper in his shivering hand, translated it into Malayalam.

"The Headquarters of the Royal Indian Navy regret to inform Srimathi Devaki Amma that her husband, Madhavan Nair, was shot dead during the naval mutiny that took place in Bombay recently."

Devaki almost swooned. She wanted to tear that paper into shreds and disbelieve the news, disbelieve that such a letter came and that Gopalan Master read it to her.

That smile which stirred her to the height of ecstasy.... That look which went into her heart giving her coolness and comfort..... That strong chest which appeared as if ready even to swallow death.... That laughter flowing from his big heart which challenged death, scoffed at fate....

So all this had ended now? All this was just a dream?

No, no, he was not dead. He was chatting cheerfully with her, showing kisses on her cheeks, playing with her breasts. He was talking about war, about the happy life they would lead after the war.... No, he was not dead, he was not dead.

Tears rolled down Devaki's cheeks. Two drops fell on the floor. It seemed to her that those drops fell on her husband's heart. Yes, every particle of Indian dust was a part of Madhavan's heart. She knew that. So she feared that her tears would sore the heart of her beloved. She wiped them off her face.

The pictures that the same Gopalan Master drew before her at a public meeting held the other day, came to her one by one.

Bullets! Bullets!! They whizzed around her in mad fury for prey. Guns roared. White men in Khaki tunics rode on horse-back and in lorries through the streets. Smoke everywhere. The whole ground was covered with the bodies of people shot dead—children and old people, men and women, Hindus and Muslims.

A woman was passing by with a baby on her hip. Seeing the confusion, she ran away in fear. But the bullet went into her breast but narrowly saved her child. Even the bullet should have thought the child

should live in order to avenge its mother.....

Here was another woman. She was with child. It was after so many prayers that her wish for bearing a child was fulfilled. She was supple and eager. Her heart was beating drums for the child to be born. She too was killed by the bullet....

That youth was a worker. He took a wife only yesterday. The mark left by the first kiss had not yet vanished from his lips. The flush of his yesternight enjoyments had not yet faded from his face. He too was not spared by the bullets....

That boy! He had a bag in his hand. It contained his whole earning of the day—some rice, salt and so on. If he failed to reach home, his old mother and little sister would go without food. He too fell victim to the bullet....

Above all she saw her husband, her Madhavan, shouting slogans and holding flags. He led the people to face bullets. Devaki clenched her fists and replied to the slogan-shouting of her husband.

(Translated by the author from the original in Malayalam)

PERSONAL PROPERTY IN THE SOVIET UNION

By J. Brandenburgsky

Moscow: Is personal property allowed in the USSR? Of course it is and the question in this form borders on the ridiculous for that matter. Yet it cannot be disregarded, for it still persists in cropping up abroad; moreover, there are people beyond our borders who insist on giving a negative answer. There is no private ownership of any kind in the USSR, they claim, arguing that you cannot have your own home or your private car under the Soviet conditions.

Under the Soviet law all a citizen earns by his labour, whether he be a city dweller or a farmer, comprises his personal property which he may use or dispose of at his own discretion. He may sell his personal property, for instance, a house or an automobile acquired for personal use and not for gain, and he is just as free to buy with his earnings whatever personal property he may wish. A citizen of the USSR may enter into legal transactions involv-

ing such property with other citizens, contract obligations, etc.

The laws of the Soviet Union protect the right of citizens to their personal property and their earnings by personal labour, as well as savings accumulated from such earnings and, in the case of disputes as to the ownership of rights, the decision rests with the courts in keeping with the Civil Law and the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the right of individuals to their personal possessions.

The claims that no one in the USSR can have his own home, for instance, are all the more ludicrous in view of the fact that the Soviet Government has been assigning large sums from year to year for loans to private homebuilders. Individuals wishing to build themselves homes may obtain loans, maturing from between five to ten years, from the Tsekom Bank or the All Union Bank for financing municipal and

But a bullet pierced into his heart too and he fell down. She shrieked in horror.

The day was already dawning. The world lay like a woman whose chastity had been robbed by a cruel and brutal man.

"Fate, fate," she murmured to herself. "No," she corrected. "There is a more cruel hand on India than fate," she remembered what Gopalan Master used to say, "and that is foreign rule which is playing with the lives of forty crores of people."

No, Devaki was not alone. Her companions in distress were not one, not a hundred not a thousand, but 40 crores. India is a country of widows of such martyrs!

Devaki felt like crying; but tears would not come. She wanted to laugh, but that too she was not able to do. She simply sat there like a statue. Not because of sorrow, but because of ecstasy. Her husband died for the country, for the country!

housing construction. According to figures at hand credits thus extended by the State were taken advantage of by private homebuilders to erect private houses with a total floorspace of 150,000 square meters during the first six months of the last year alone.

Predominant in the USSR, of course, is the socialized system of economy with all implements and means of production publicly owned, that is belonging either to the whole people as represented by the State or to groups of citizens organised into collective farms or other co-operative associations. It is this that makes up the economic foundation of the Soviet State.

The Constitution of the USSR clearly defines these two forms of public ownership. The first applies to national property which includes the land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, post, telegraph and telephones, large agricultural enterprises, such as State farms, machine tractor stations, etc., set up by the State, municipal enterprises and most of the housing in towns and industrial centres.

To the second category belongs the property not of the nation as a whole but of collective farms or co-operative associations. The term "public property" is applied in this case to everything produced by collective farms and other co-operatives, to jointly owned enterprises belonging to collective farms and co-operative organizations and their public buildings. The land in the collective farm, while remaining a national property, that is State property, is, as the Constitution sets forth, "secured to the collective farms for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is in perpetuity".

Nature, even human nature, will cease more and more to be an absolute datum; more and more it will become what scientific manipulation has made it. Science can, if it chooses, enable our grandchildren to live the good life, by giving them knowledge, self-control, and characters productive of harmony rather than strife. . . . Then at last we shall have won our freedom.

Every member of the collective farm, however, has an additional plot of land to cultivate for his personal use and, whatever he grows on the plot, as well as live-stock, poultry and the necessary agricultural implements that go with it, are his personal property.

All the peasants who have not joined the collective farm, as well as handicraftsmen working on their own outside of the co-operatives, also have their private property. It must be remembered, however, that this private property is founded on the owner's personal labour, for the Soviet laws prohibit exploitation of others. This, as a matter of fact, is a specific feature of private property in the USSR.

All the income derived from these small private farmsteads belongs to their owners, just as the income of the collective farmer, derived from the farm of which he is a member, is his own property.

Generally speaking, the earnings of all Soviet citizens, whether the wages of a factory worker or an office employee, the workday earnings of a collective farmer or the income of a writer, artist, actor, sculptor or other professionals, are their property to dispose of as they see fit.

The personal property rights in the USSR are protected by the law both during the life-time of the citizen and after his death, for he may bequeath his possessions to his children or other legal beneficiaries. Any disputes arising in connection with wills and legacies are settled by courts.

Everything man earns by his personal labour is his by law, and hence the more productive the labour of a Soviet citizen the greater is his income and the savings which, as his personal property, are protected by law.

—Bertrand Russell.

WORLD DOMINANCE THROUGH FOOD CONTROL

IMPOSITION OF ANGLO-AMERICAN WILL ON DEFENCELESS PEOPLE

By K. T. Pathy

Ever since the beginning of the Second World War no topic has figured so prominently in the discussions among publicists as how best to devise a machinery for world-unification. The idea of a World Federation as a possible means of ensuring world peace has gained immense prestige in the estimation of every enlightened citizen. Nevertheless there is a significant line of thought which views such schemes of world-unification with a certain amount of legitimate scepticism. Dr. Mitrany, in his *Road to Cosmopolis* published in 1943, built up an argument for the functional development of international organisation. According to him the mere creation of a political international authority was destined to fail as a working system of peace and security. He suggested that the only way to establish an international government was to base it upon the fulfilment of positive common needs of all the nations of the world, mainly in the economic sphere. Political solution should be the outcome instead of the beginning of functional development of international organisation.

Food has assumed at the present day the gravity and significance of an international problem inasmuch as it touches a positive common need of all the nations of the world. At the United Nations Food and Agricultural Conference at Hot Springs it was the fond hope of the nations to come together and outline a World Food Plan. The 44 nations which met at the conference, representing nearly 80 per cent of the population of the world subscribed to the following proposals:

(1) Each Government should undertake the primary responsibility of seeing that all its people have available a diet adequate for health.

(2) All Governments should co-operate with each other to facilitate this being done for the people of all countries.

(3) A permanent Food and Agricultural Organisation on which all Governments will be represented should

be established to enable these recommendations to be carried out.

The experts estimated that the total world food production has to be increased about 100 per cent to meet the nutritional requirements of the peoples of the world on an equitable basis with due regard to differences in productive capacity and the needs of the various collaborating countries.

A Concrete Human Job

In a discussion on world peace held under a Special Brains Trust towards the close of last year, Prof. Cole said that it would be no good simply to devise an international machinery of government unless it was made a real focus of international loyalty through successful fulfilment of definite concrete functions affecting the vital needs of the common citizen of the world. He indicated that in getting the people of the world adequately fed there was a practical, definite and concrete human job which could well be a real focus of international authority. He concurred in the idea of Sir John Orr that the nucleus of hope for world collaboration was the Food and Agricultural Organisation. Prof. Joad followed up Prof. Cole with his insistence on a World Information or Education Service as also a desirable and possible focus of international loyalty. The implications of these suggestions are in essence much the same as underlie the argument of international functionalism advanced by Dr. Mitrany.

The process of formation of an international organisation on a functional basis could be visualised in a measure by examining the practical implications of a World Food Policy. It was thought that the adoption of a World Food Plan would inevitably lead on to the formulation of similarly planned schemes in regard to related and supporting functions of economic consequence such as co-ordination of transport, trade, agriculture and industry. A World Food Organisation could not subsist for long without

necessitating the formation of at least a rudimentary control of the entire economic activity of the world exercised by a body in the nature of a World Economic Council, which in its turn would commit the collaborating countries to financial adjustments of a unifying character. Thus a chain of inter-related functional participation of the various countries of the world would slowly but surely link up all their affairs, not excluding, ultimately, matters involving the political relations of countries *inter se*. World unity could be erected on the concrete foundations of functional organisation in response to the practical need of the nations for carrying through schemes governing affairs of vital common interest. Such, in brief, is the logic, or magic, shall we say, of progressive realisation of world unity by functional organisation of international relations.

Hard Realities

When we turn to the hard realities of contemporary international dealings, we find that it is not possible to get at the desired goal, whether we begin from the centre of international political authority or from the periphery of practical co-ordination of functional activities. Political unification does not, in itself, imply international prosperity any more than the building-up of functional associations will inevitably culminate in an international machinery of government. It is idle to talk of world government without envisaging the liquidation of all imperialist structures, whether military or economic, and the greater equalisation of economic and political status of the various countries of the world irrespective of size of territory or military might. Functional association between unequal entities will not be productive of any fair adjustment of rights and claims as there is an inherent inequality of bargaining power vitiating the transactions conducted through such an agency. The incorporation of a country, particularly a country more backward than the rest, in an organisational network linking its destiny with those of the more developed countries, will result in a slackening of the pace of development of the backward country whose specific requirements are thrown into shade in the larger concern for the integration of its economic life with those of the advanced countries. There is always room for doubt whether an international functional organisation in the economic

field would operate to the benefit of the backward countries in view of the possible adverse repercussions on such vital issues as industrial progress, full employment and a rising standard of living with which the backward countries are primarily concerned. As Prof. Hayek rightly apprehends, "It is fairly certain that in a planned international system the wealthier and therefore most powerful nations would to a very much greater degree than in a free economy become the object of hatred and envy of the poorer ones; and the latter, rightly or wrongly, would all be convinced that their position could be improved much more quickly if they were only freer to do what they wished."

Food Mission's Tribulations

The trials and tribulations of the Food Missions of the starved countries of the world in the matter of securing due allocation of food from the Combined Food Board at Washington afford ample material for a direct investigation of the prospects of a fair and decent handling of the world food situation. The Combined Food Board, judged by its composition, is not in the nature of an international machinery evolved by the free and equal association of the peoples of the world for the purposes of allocation of food on a scientific basis or on any principle of cosmopolitan justice. It is an organisation of the major food resources of the world under the aegis of an economic and political partnership between the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth to which the backward and the defenceless countries coming within their spheres of influence are held in helpless subjection. The temptations of Great Powers in alliance, placed in the control of such a vital world requirement as food, to use it as a lever of political coercion are far too strong to yield place to notions of distributive justice. It is a bitter lesson for the Indian Food Mission to realise that, after all, the Board's timorous response to India's case for food does not stand on the footing of an equitable fulfilment of a rightful demand but of political expediency, pure and simple. It has been revealed by a member of the expert staff attached to the Indian Food Delegation that the U.S. State Department is actively aware of the tremendous political role food plays in the strategic control of Europe and that in many countries Anglo-American food shipments have meant all

the difference between loyalty to the Soviet Union or allegiance to Anglo-American political policies. The position of India in this respect is most anomalous indeed. The UNRRA cannot speak for India, for India is not a beneficiary under the scheme of the UNRRA although she is a contributing member. Other nations cannot voice India's needs as effectively as India can.

An Instrument For Political Dominance

Far from being a possible focus of international loyalty, the operations of food control have meant the imposition of the superior political will of the U.S.A. and Great Britain upon the backward and defenceless peoples of Europe and Asiatic colonial regions. Food has come to present an equal eligibility with the atomic bomb, as an instrument of political dominance. It was the atomic bomb that brought Japan to its knees and it is through regulation of food, or what could be more appropriately called regulation of starvation, that the Allied occupation of Japan is sought to be carried out. Further, the Combined Food Board has no executive authority beyond recommending its proposals to the acceptance of the independent sovereign States whose food surpluses are sought to be diverted to the pacification of world hunger. There is no super-national political authority whose injunctions the States of the world cannot refuse to obey. The Combined Food Board has no power to direct the States which possess surplus commodities to yield up their holdings or to export them to areas specified by the Board. It has been announced that the Board has lately been faced with a deadlock over the scheme of world wheat distribution to the populations of Europe and Asia. There does not seem to be any unanimity as to the manner of disposal of the world exportable surpluses of

wheat between the UNRRA, India and the European States. The Board's Commodity Committee has failed to reach an agreement because private loyalties have outshipped international loyalty which was attempted to be exemplified in the working of the Combined Food Board, in however limited a scale. Argentina, a wheat surplus country, has refused to reduce its shipments of wheat to Spain and Portugal and other countries not severely affected by food shortage. The Board is unable to better the situation and is left to utilise the supplies available from their own resources and leave the rest to the goodwill of the Governments of the surplus countries figuring in the Commodity Committee.

Sir John Orr, the scientist, revelled in the conception of food as a programme of international action and saw the brightest hope for humanity in the fact that the United Nations even in the middle of the war, have combined to outline a World Food Plan which will bring freedom from want of food to all men. But the historical actualities of Allied operations in regard to food control and distribution, in the context of the political and diplomatic set-up of the dominant Powers of the world, have moulded international transactions in a way not quite in accord with the tenour of the original scientific conception, of food as a focus of international loyalty. The world food muddle is but another instance which goes to prove how grievously the expectations of a successful international organisation in a typical economic sphere have been frustrated in the absence of a nucleus of international political authority formed on a basic harmony of outlook, a certain homogeneity of social objective and political method and some degree of equilibrium between the nations in those fields where federal integration of the world is desired to be achieved.

One of the greatest pains to human nature is the pain of a new idea. It is, as common people say, so "upsetting"; it makes you think that, after all, your favourite notions may be wrong, your firmest beliefs ill-founded; it is certain that till now there was no place allotted in your mind to the new and startling inhabitant, and now that it has conquered an entrance you do not at once see which of your old ideas it will or will not turn out, with which of them it can be reconciled, and with which it is at essential enmity. Naturally, therefore, common men hate a new idea, and are disposed more or less to ill-treat the original man who brings it.

—Walter Bagehot.

FOR two decades now people have been asking pretty much the same questions about non-violence and getting pretty much the same answers from Gandhiji. Primarily a moralist, he rejoices more over one true disciple than a hundred half-hearted followers. But violence in politics is gaining ground. The old passivity, the old hesitation which was supposed to be inherited and intrinsic to the Indian character, is disappearing and every week the newspapers tell of more broken heads and "ugly situations" and police firing. It is no longer the rulers who use force; the patient Indian is developing into an unruly hothead and the crowds in the cities demonstrate a spirit of aggression that is probably the legacy of the war.

Now that we are on the brink of some form of self-rule, it is urgent to look again at the theory and practice of non-violence if we really believe it to be the unique contribution to political technique that we have been saying that it is. The extreme Left and the extreme Right have not much use for it. They applauded it so long as it was effective as Satyagraha or boycott against the British Government. But for them a free India will be a Great Power, with its marching armies and its fleets of war-planes, while internal security will be maintained by police armed with machine-guns and armoured cars. Then there are the Gandhians, nourished on the pure milk of the orthodox doctrine, who firmly believe that the Japanese could have been defeated by refusing them water. But the ordinary man who is neither intoxicated by the prospect of armed power nor convinced that handspinning and Satyagraha will transform the wolf into the lamb, is conscious that in the years ahead, India has an opportunity to find out for herself how far non-violence will go in practical politics.

Programme Of Reform

It is curious that neither the Congress Ministers of 1938 nor of the present time have made any

NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

BY

K. KARAK

attempt to alter the rigid system of enforcing law and order in the provinces. They may have toyed with the idea of separating the Executive from the Judiciary and done something to lighten the burden of prison life. But that was about all. Even Gandhiji saw that the police, to his regret, would have to remain and use their lathis and rifles on the recalcitrants. One reason for this is undoubtedly the failure of thought to bridge the gap between the negative conception of Satyagraha and the needs of practical administration. Congressmen in power could scarcely impose their will by prayer and fasting. But they could have tried to reform the police, the administration of justice and the penal system. It is a mistake to believe that the State is based on force; it is based on law, and force is called in only when people defy the law. The phrase "Law and Order" has a bad smell in India and calls to mind the policeman or the soldier. But properly speaking it should stand for the judge. It is the first job of the police to prevent violence and not to cause it; the judge is to settle disputes as much as to punish offenders.

All this is rather theoretical; how can we in practice meet violence and disorder? We might try to do it by bringing the administrator, the judge and the policeman nearer the citizen so that the latter can seek redress for wrongs more easily. The administrator must know what is going on, he must sense any trouble that is brewing, he must offer his services immediately. The judge must be quicker with his justice, he must dispense with the majesty of the law and think in terms of social reform rather than of vindictive punishment. The police open fire too easily; why not they throw away their rifles and

use instead of pipes and tear-gas and padded uniforms? Police officers could be trained to regard a civil commotion in terms of a dispute; find out what the mob wants and conciliate it. If it has leaders, treat with them. Use the services of men of popular influence. Most important of all, meet trouble half-way by anticipating it and taking preventive action. Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar reports that the casualties at Ludhiana could have been avoided. Aligarh, the university authorities might have prevented the burning and looting if they had restrained their students in time.

Peace Brigades

But the better way is to use the citizen himself. Under an alien regime, the good citizen has less incentive to remain his hooligan brother than under a popular Government. But any crowd to-day does contain both men of good and evil will and the former can be encouraged to stem the tendency to violence. The peace brigade system is effective, too, and capable of wider organisation. When the Indian sailors struck work in Bombay the crowds heard a false story of firing on the Talwar. But peace brigades from the Talwar went into the city and killed the rumour. Unfortunately the urban masses of Bombay have the wrong situation for rioting and the sociologists was badly helped us to understand this phenomenon of mass rioting in cities. Violence is infectious and the boy who throws the first stone begins an orgy that concludes with a heap of corpses. Why was that boy in the street? Why was he not in school?

The Gandhians have said much about the value of village economy and the importance of decentralisation. We cannot abolish the cities or drive the townsfolk back

to the fields; but we can carry the factory to the countryside, we can break up the unwieldy aggregations of the metropolis and encourage the growth of smaller towns. We can encourage civic responsibility by decentralising the administration of big cities and making a city a federation of districts and suburbs. Whenever a man ceases to be an anonymous unit he ceases to be a destructive element and feels the nature of his civic responsibility. If we break the isolation of neighbours in cities by giving each district its own institutions, if we break the isolation between town and village by deliberate methods, we shall have gone some way to cure that inner discontent that breaks out in civil commotion and factious fights in the villages.

The village Utopia that Gandhiji urges belongs to an unhistorical past and is as romantic as the economic self-sufficiency he advocates. All the villages of history were not particularly interesting and too often productive of a great number of futile quarrels that led to murder. Rural areas have to be "opened up" to the salutary influences of a wider world. They have also to be encouraged to produce their own leadership and their technique for settling their local quarrels. Our foreign rulers in the past denied the average man the use of firearms. That did not stop murder, of course, but it made it less easy. It may be wise to continue such disarmament which would however be more acceptable if the police also denied themselves the use of guns except in some very great emergency.

Defence Of India

The advice of the greatest man in the world is less effective than the force of public opinion. The

public to-day is, if anything, more aggressively minded than ever before. But it can be led towards the goal of non-violence by easy stages. Law will always have to remain, since man is finally an animal and not everyone can be domesticated. But the law can be humanised and the people can come to feel that it is their law, and that it would be disgraceful not to obey it. One obeys most social conventions partly by training, partly by snobbery and only in a very small measure through fear. And external aggression? India is a country of long frontiers and cannot neglect to patrol them. In the age of the atom bomb, mass armies and battleships are probably obsolete, but we shall need patrol forces both on sea and land to prevent minor attacks and liquidate piracy or banditry. It would be senseless to try to arm ourselves to the size of the big powers—our job ought to be to use whatever influence we possess to organise world security. In the past, we have been forced into isolationism and our eyes were always turned inward on our own problems. But a free India will have to speak for all those countries which were or are under the yoke of imperialism. The greatest powers—America and Russia—are not expansionist in the old sense. They are keener on finding security against each other. India should not take sides but offer her co-operation only when the powers act in co-operation. We must not believe the wild stories that these nations circulate about each other, nor must we play their game of strategic bases, political loans and puppet states. Then if a war breaks out it will not be on us that the atom bomb will descend.

Non-violence in foreign affairs cannot be a negative conception—India must intervene actively in favour of world order. But let us keep clear of limited entangling alliances and disarm ourselves to the point where it is obvious that we cannot be a menace to the peace of our neighbours.

BRITISH BLUE-PRINT FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

Mesh of Unsolved Problems—Hollow 'New Deal' for Ceylon

The Cabinet Ministers have announced their plan for the future of India. It has been offered as a *via media* course between the conflicting views of the Congress and the Muslim League. The invitation to accept it is couched in courteous terms, with a postscript which paints a grim picture of the anarchy that would follow if it should be rejected. Authoritative statements are not yet available, but it is clear that the Congress welcomes the plan as a whole, while pointing out certain defects and seeking their rectification. It is equally clear that the Muslim League is dissatisfied with the Mission's verdict against the division of India into two or more sovereign States. Only the liberal leaders have warmly welcomed the plan, greeting it as one more shining example of British fairplay.

Foremost among the Congress objections to the plan is the compulsory grouping of the north-western and north-eastern provinces. The correspondence between the three parties at Simla which has been published makes it clear that the Congress envisages the framing of the all-India constitution by the Constituent Assembly as the first step and any grouping of provinces which might be desired, as a later step. The Assam Premier Mr. Bardoloi has expressed vehement opposition to Assam's compulsory union with Bengal. It is surprising that Dr. Khan Saheb, Congress Premier of the N.W.F.P., is not hostile to the inclusion of his province in the north-western group. This provides an unexpected support to the League's claim that the Muslims of the N.W.F.P. who form a clear majority of the population are in favour of Pakistan, even

though the Congress has secured a majority in the elections there.

The financial viability of the Union Centre is another matter which has caused anxiety in the Congress camp. The published correspondence indicates that while the League would agree to contributions being levied by the Centre for Defence and other centrally administered subjects, it would never countenance direct taxation. Congress leaders, on the other hand, insist that the "Federal Union must have power to raise revenues in its own right" and that Currency and Customs must be included in the Union subjects.

The coming weeks will show whether the two main parties will accept the plan, which is only a slightly modified version of the Mission's proposals which they discussed and rejected at Simla. The controversy over the question whether the plan is an award or only a recommendation is no more than an exercise in hair-splitting since it is clear that only the acceptance of the proposals can lead to the formation of an interim Government and the convening of the Constituent Assembly.

The problems that are left unsolved by the Cabinet plan are many and crucial. The grouping of the six 'Pakistan provinces' is a compromise having no basis in just principles. The presence of a vast non-Muslim minority in these two groups was mentioned by the Mission as their reason for rejecting the League's demand for a sovereign Pakistan comprising these provinces. The freedom given to the units to opt out of the group at a later stage will not remove the

immediate fears of the non-Muslims. Most important among these are the Sikhs, whose leaders have condemned the plan outright.

The position of the States has been left undefined. Asked whether the States' peoples will have any voice or share in the Constituent Assembly, the Secretary of State said that all such matters were to be settled by negotiation. Sovereignty, which the States have been enjoying purely on the plane of theory, is to be scrupulously respected by the future Union Government. Put bluntly, the Princes and their nominees are to have a free hand in the internal administration of the States and in their relations with the Union. The present provincial and State boundaries which keep people of the nationality divided from each other, and joined to fragments of other national groups in the most arbitrary manner, are to remain unchanged. As for adult franchise, the Congress leaders appear to be at

one with the British Ministers in shelving it as 'impracticable' and involving undue delay. The proposed Constituent Assembly, charged with the shaping of the country's future, will rest on these irrational and undemocratic foundations.

Mr. Churchill's lamentation over the supposed alacrity of the Labour Government in disposing of the Empire would appear to be needless, at least in the case of Ceylon. The new Constitution which has been announced has no remote resemblance to independence or even Dominion Status. The New Senate is to have thirty members, half of whom will be nominated by Government. It can enact laws only for the "peace, order and good Government" of the island; Defence and External Affairs will be reserved subjects. The island will not have the right to secede from the Empire. The worn-out plea of the need to safeguard minority interests has been advanced to justify all the restrictions on self-government.

THE WORLD ABROAD

A Survey of Foreign Affairs

The Foreign Ministers' Conference at Paris has ended without achieving an agreed basis for a final treaty with Italy. The Yugoslav claim for Trieste, the future of former Italian colonies and distribution of reparations are the main issues which yet remain unsolved. The adjournment of the conference until June 15 has not attracted much attention. The differences between the Soviet Union and the new democratic pro-Soviet Governments like Poland and Yugoslavia on the one hand, and the Anglo-American bloc of nations on the other, are still unbridged. Russian spokesmen have attacked the "policy of force and notorious 'atomic diplomacy' of Britain and America." It is noteworthy that the latest advocate of a 'tough policy'

against Russia is the American Federation of Labour, an organisation discredited by American workers themselves, who are ranging themselves more and more behind the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It will be recalled that the AFL was the spearhead of the section of Social Democrats which tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions in London last year.

A fresh crisis appears to be brewing in Persia. The arrival of the Azerbaijan people's leader M. Pishevari in Teheran for negotiations raised hopes of a peaceful settlement. But the talks broke down since the Persian Premier M. Sultaneh would not agree to the

actual practice of self-government by the province. It has been made clear by M. Pishevari that Azerbaijan does not desire separation, and also that the demand for autonomy will be given up if the entire Persian administration is made truly democratic. Latest reports mention attacks on the province by the Central Government troops. It is to be seen whether M. Sultaneh will be able to resist the pressure of war-mongering vested interests in Persia, who are frightened by the land reforms being put through in Azerbaijan and who would like to suppress the movement. But the people of the province can be expected to resist any attempts to interfere with their newly-won liberties.

The volume of protest against the Palestine Commission's proposals has been mounting steadily, especially from Arab circles. Measures for blockading American aviation routes, etc., are being considered by the Arab League. If the threats are carried out, Anglo-American commercial interests will be considerably affected. The agitation has been so great that Britain and the United States have given the assurance that both Arabs and Jews will be consulted before a definite decision is taken on the Commission's report. Russian participation in the solution of the problem is expected, when, as it seems probable, the matter is taken to the Security Council.

Large-scale fighting between Communist and Kuomintang forces has once again broken out in China. The Communists are well ahead in the race for the occupation of areas recently evacuated by Russian troops. That part of China which is under the Central Government's administration has for a long time

been a zone of American "influence." The latest American envoy, appointed to hold the balance between the dissident parties and, incidentally to ensure American hold on China's economic life, is General Marshall. He is holding back the 500 million dollar loan to China which has been sanctioned by America, pending a settlement of the civil strife in accordance with America's wishes. This loan will be a further link in the economic encirclement of the Soviet Union by the Western powers. Significant in this connection are these remarks made by the Secretary of the U. S. Treasury: "About 75 per cent of world trade is in the British and American areas.....one might hope that it will extend further and encompass more than 75 per cent."

The Indonesian Delegation has come back after unsuccessful negotiations at The Hague. The Dutch Government tried to win over the moderate leaders by offering some concessions. They sought to isolate the 'extremists' and exterminate them. This plan almost succeeded. It was being reported some time back that the Republican Government were themselves rounding up the 'extremists' in order to placate the Imperial Government. But even moderate opinion is dissatisfied with the narrow margin of power which was offered. With the return of the disillusioned delegation, the Indonesian people are more than ever determined to win their freedom. The withdrawal of the British troops which is reported to have begun, is the most hopeful factor in the situation. Faced with the indignant protests of world public opinion, the British Labour Government has at last been forced to reverse its shameful policy of buttressing Dutch Imperialism.

Some people, once they adopt an idea, bury it in the ground and go on the rest of their lives defending it, without ever re-examining it to see whether time and the elements have caused it to decay into a worthless handful of dust. In that way you can be always consistent—and often wrong.

—Raymond Clapper.

IN BURMA TODAY

By K. M. Kannampilly

Allied victory in Burma was to a large extent facilitated by the active co-operation and help of the Burmese themselves. And yet the reward has been the curtailment of even the little constitutional advance that the country had made in over 25 years of national struggle.

An Army Vanished Overnight

Certain sections of the politically-conscious Burmese welcomed the Anglo-Japanese war, hoping that it would give them an opportunity to establish their country's independence while the two imperialist powers were fighting. But the British retreat was too precipitous for them to take advantage of the war. In an attempt to make the best of a bad bargain, they then tried their utmost to make the Japanese implement their invasion promises. The apparent Burmese co-operation with the Japanese was only an effort towards this end. When this failed, the people turned against the Japanese, and perfected one of the most daring and complete underground movements of which we have so far heard in this war. Under the very nose of the Japanese military police they organised units all over the country, sent men to India to be trained, contacted the Allied High Command. And on 27th March, 1945, the Japanese-trained Burma Defence Army marched off from Rangoon under its Commander-in-chief, Major-General Aung San. They were scheduled to join the Japanese army which was then desperately trying to stem the Allied advance. There were laudatory speeches by high-ranking Japanese officers, and Japanese planes flew overhead, dipping in salute to the departing army. By that evening the whole army had vanished—and the Japanese began a frantic hunt all over the country for the B.D.A. and its young Commander.

The Burma Defence Army, re-named the Patriotic Burmese Forces, went into action—against

the Japanese. Life became one long terrifying nightmare for the soldiers of Nippon. Supply lines cut, bridges blown up, camps raided—they did not know who was friend and who foe. The consequent demoralisation was one of the main factors helping in the swift advance of the Allied forces into Burma.

And so Burma was rid of the Japanese. The British came back and were welcomed as allies in the glorious fight against Fascism. At no time in Britain's imperial history did she have a people of a colony so friendly to her as in Burma in May 1945. There was no talk of independence. The emphasis was on co-operation and interdependence, but with national rights established.

Return To One Man Rule

And Whitehall replied by sending Sir Dorman-Smith, the Governor of 1942, armed with the White Paper of Churchill's Coalition Government. To a people who had proved their organising ability, who had shown a remarkable spirit of unity and sense of discipline, who had fought and shed their blood side by side with the Allied soldiers in the cause of human rights and democracy, the White Paper offered a Governor's one-man rule for an indefinite period, to be followed by the setting up of a machinery to lead the country by slow stages to the enjoyment of the meagre democratic rights of 1942. In a world that had in five years advanced by half a century in its conceptions of the Rights of Man, the British Government deliberately put Burma's constitutional clock back. Liberation indeed!

War-Made Unity

But the war had brought about national unity to a remarkable degree. All the old political parties and the new social organisations like the All-Burma Trade Union Congress, the All-Burma Youth League and the All-Burma Women's

Freedom League had joined forces under the banner of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. The leaders of this organisation, while expressing the public resentment at the reactionary nature of the White Paper, showed a statesmanly readiness to co-operate with the Governor in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of their war-torn country. They agreed to enter the Executive Council of the Governor, even though it was to be a nominated body in the full tradition of British colonial administration. Knowing the country and the mood of the people, they, however, suggested that the portfolio of Home Affairs should be given to one among them, leaving Finance, Defence, and other portfolios to be distributed among whomsoever the Governor fancied.

At that time it was generally thought that Sir Dorman-Smith, who had resumed office with loud professions of democratic faith, would agree to these proposals. People were surprised at the conciliatory attitude of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League; and there were protests in certain circles that Major-General Aung San had betrayed his men who had died to make their country free.

But the Governor turned down the proposals. Firstly he objected to one of the A. F. P. F. L. nominees. Strangely enough this turned out to be Ko Thein Pe who it was that had crossed the border during the Japanese occupation and contacted the Allied High Command and conducted negotiations on behalf of the then underground A. F. P. F. L. Secondly, the Governor insisted that the Home Affairs portfolio should be given to one of his old colleagues who, like him, had been away from Burma during the war, but had apparently been busy preparing post-war plans for Burma from the safety of the Simla heights.

And so started the rule of Sir Dorman-Smith with his Executive Council. The Council has all the characteristics of the Interim Ministries of 1937 in India. If consistency is the virtue of fools, most of the gentlemen in the Council have all claims to wisdom. Most of

them have been in more than one Ministry, whichever be the party forming it; and one gentleman has the unique distinction of having been in practically every Ministry that has been formed in Burma from the days of Dyarchy. With colleagues of such elastic political convictions, Sir Dorman-Smith should not be finding it difficult to get on.

Blow To Farmers

In the meantime the country is still awaiting the promised fruits of liberation. The Government has, in the guise of reconstruction projects, brought in most of the old British vested interests. Monopoly rights have been granted to foreign concerns in trade and commerce and industry. The reconstruction effected after nearly one year of liberation is so little that, if it proceeds at this speed, Burma, which used to be one of the main rice-exporting countries of the world, may well nigh be a deficit country in 1947. Prices are still high and wages have not kept pace with the rising cost of living. The demonetisation of the occupation currency was a terrible blow to the farmers and small traders. The resultant misery and suffering has produced an outbreak of lawlessness. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty and smouldering anger.

Burma to-day is proving that no Government which is not based on public support can effectively plan for the recovery of a country. Control economics in the hands of an alien Government has inevitably produced antagonism among the people. With the best of intentions, the Government of Burma as it is constituted to-day will not be able to help the country and the people out of the ravages of the war. That task can be undertaken only by a popular National Government.

What the British Government hopes to achieve by prolonging this one-man rule is beyond understanding. The popular support for the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League is clear enough for the blind to see. Sooner or later the Government will have to bend before

the people's will. As days pass by the strength of public resentment at the constitutional anachronism that is the White Paper Government is increasing. To-day the people do not speak of being part of the British Empire. The cry is for independence. For a time the usual tricks of imperial governance

may succeed, but as in India, the tide of the people's will for freedom will soon be too strong for any imperialism to withstand.

It is a tragedy that even a Socialist Cabinet in London is blinded by the traditions of an imperialism which has not yet learned to give way with grace.

MAJORITY IS NOT ALWAYS RIGHT

By "Gowri"

That majority opinion is what counts does not mean that majority opinion is always right. The majority, even like a lone individual, is fallible. All the milestones in the path of progress only prove—if they prove anything at all—that the majority is always wrong.

Whether it be politics, science or religion, all changes have been conceived only by a few at first. The few who conceived them at first were considered fools or cranks. That is perhaps the reason why John Stuart Mill denies to the majority even the privilege of crushing a crank. In many cases, the crank happens to be an original thinker and the rest who oppose him mere camp-followers, who have nothing else above their shoulders except tongues to parrot a truism. From the very nature of things the majority cannot lead but only follow some minority. The majority cannot halt and think. It must always be on the move. By the time it stops questioning and comes to believe in something, the something is questioned by an original minority and the majority resists the questioning minority with feudal fury.

Socrates was right and Athens was wrong. So Socrates had to drink hemlock. Soon he became a martyr

and the majority applauded him dead but that did not prevent the crucifixion of another noble soul, Jesus Christ. So runs the history of martyrs. Every generation condemns the death of historic Socrates while it kills its own.

If Gandhiji had lived in the Middle Ages he might have died early like Jesus. When Subhas Babu differed and said that asking for the war aims of the Allies (which never existed) was asking for the moon he was punished. When Rajaji, another systematic and original thinker, proposed a formula, it became a spade in the hands of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee to dig his political grave with. Thank Heaven! They have not succeeded yet. The Tamil Nad Congress Committee is the typical majority, headless in its thinking, heartless in its pursuit of power. They are drummers, who by force of circumstances have become generals in the battle front.

The affairs of Tamil Nad reveal the fundamental defect of Democracy, namely, that of the unlimited power of the majority. There must be some check to the majority. Else the Libuputians might, by simple process of shouting loud in groups, establish themselves to be taller than Gulliver.

Truth can wound like a sword, but it is a clean wound, for truth is shining and clean as a sword, and its wounding is antiseptic. But humanity prefers to poison itself with the little tainted barbs of half-truths, which are merely whitewashed lies.

—Ethel Mannin.

TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT YOUR AGE

By V. K. Varadachar

Telling the truth about your age depends upon a variety of circumstances and the values of a given society. It differs from nation to nation; society to society. Youth is adored in Soviet Russia. China treats her old men with great consideration and respect (I do not know the conditions in Yenan). With age comes mellowness of wisdom, richness of experience and balanced judgment. These are emphasised in a community where age is favoured. In communities where age is at a discount, the finger of scorn is pointed at senility which is a close attendant of old age.

A Chinese of 20 will listen with great attention to one of 30; one of 30 will listen respectfully when another of 40 discourses. Every Chinese longs enthusiastically for the stage when others' eyes will be rivetted upon him. There is a premium on age. A Chinese therefore even feels inclined to overstate his age if thereby he should gain the right to be heard, says Lin Yutang.

It can't be so in Russia; and for that matter, in Germany either. Revolutions and revolutionary schemes cannot be worked by old men. These nations, therefore, have no use for old men. Youth is exalted by them and adored; age is at a discount. Hope comes to be pinned to young men for grand projects. Most services are run by young and middle-aged men. They are the cream of the nation and the State looks to them for realisation of great objectives.

Women dread the advance of years. The average western woman's attitude to age is well known. They have not been trained to look beyond the romantic phase of their

years and I believe the men do not inspire any confidence in them to be otherwise. The fashionable dress, the lipstick and the rouge all make the sex appeal most prominent. A woman with a wrinkle does not cut any ice with men. They therefore love to be young and they dress to be young. And how will they answer a question shot straight at them, 'How old are you?'

An unmarried woman's years do not progress after a certain age until happy wedlock. In Hindu society, the age remains at 14 or 15 even for four or five years to come. In China it stagnates at 29.

Think of the popularity of the thousands of devices that either profess to make youth permanent or old age imperceptible and you will quite realise the weakness for youth and the horror with which the passing away of youth is looked upon. What of the dye, the rejuvenators, and numerous other "face-saving" devices? Definitely I do not think that people want to be young because they are afraid they will die if they grow old, but they want to be young in order to be heard and respected.

Among students, great importance is attached to a boy's years. A young boy in a class feels a sense of his own importance in relation to his older class-mates. The older among them are often constrained to understate their years. I know of cases where students when asked their age during medical examinations make an untrue statement and come out with a glow of satisfaction.

Have you ever seen a parent giving out his boy's class without mention of his age. "He is in the Sixth Form and you know he is only thirteen."

CONGRESS MEDICAL MISSION IN MALAYA

(From Our Correspondent)

Kuala Lumpur: The Congress Medical Mission to Malaya has now completed a preliminary survey of the areas in which it will work. The Director, Dr. M. R. Chalkar, who recently arrived in Kuala Lumpur by plane, was one of the leaders of the famous Congress Medical Mission to China in the pre-war years. When I introduced myself, he spoke in a brusque and business-like manner of his plans for Malaya. With him were Dr. B. M. Basu, and Mr. Jibananda Bhattacharya, who had already spent three weeks touring the country so that they could study local conditions at first hand, and obtain data regarding the nature of the diseases prevalent in it.

With their headquarters in Kuala Lumpur, the work of the Mission will be closely integrated with the Indian Government Medical Relief Party, and the Malaya Union Medical Services. Dr. Chalkar has been allocated the area north and east of Kuala Lumpur, and already centres are being organised at Sungei Pattani, Taiping, Telok Anson, Raub and Kota Baru. In each area, meetings were called of representatives of the medical services, I.N.A. relief committee, local doctors, and prominent citizens of the three communities. At these meetings, information was obtained concerning areas where poor medical facilities existed, and offers of accommodation and other forms of assistance were welcomed.

Dr. Chalkar has now an additional staff of eleven medical officers, dressers, and assistants. They brought with them two trucks, and over a lakh's worth of medical and surgical stores, which have all been obtained through Congress channels. The Mission is hoping to obtain six more vehicles on loan from the Malayan Government. Their journey to Malaya was greatly expedited by transport and loading facilities granted by the Indian

Government, and by the waiving of customs and river dues.

When I asked Dr. Basu how he thought the health services and conditions in general compared with India, he would express no opinion other than a jocular reference to the excellent roads in Malaya. But he did say that there was widespread mal-nutrition out here, especially among the plantation workers. This lack of food, together with the serious cloth shortage, are the two main factors affecting the health of the people.

The medical services of Malaya are organised on the following lines, although in many instances the plans exist only on paper:—

Every estate of 300 acres or more has an outdoor dispensary in charge of a semi-skilled dresser. Between ten and fifteen outdoor dispensaries are attached to a small group hospital in charge of a medical officer. Above the group hospitals are the district hospital, and in the large centres of population are the central state hospitals.

But many rubber estates are still derelict, and their dispensaries are closed down. The group hospitals themselves often lack a qualified medical officer, and are very short of medical supplies, and even such necessities as blankets.

Dr. Chalkar stressed the fact that the mission is non-political, and non-sectarian, and that it will administer to suffering humanity whether it be Malay, Chinese or Indian. But the efforts of the Mission will echo far beyond the narrow confines of a Chinese village, or Malay kampong. As a voluntary 'foreign' organisation bringing relief to all, regardless of colour, it will do much to bring the three races in Malaya together. The very action of a country, itself prostrate from disease and famine, in sending much needed medical

"I tell the truth as much as I dare, and I dare a little more as I grow older."

—Elbert Hubbard.

MARVELS OF THE ATOMIC FUTURE

supplies, and some of it all too few doctors to succour a neighbour is sublime in its unselfishness. Save the Congress Medical Mission to China, I can think of no historical parallel to this in any part of the world.

I have yet to hear of a Conservative Party Medical Mission to India, or of an American Republican Mission to China, although these organisations have a thousand times the resources of the Congress. U. N. O. rightly tries to plan an equal distribution of the world's food supplies, but it appears to pay little attention to the medical needs of the people. When India has her own genuine representative at the

U. N. O. council table, she will be able to put forward an appeal for international medical effort, and point proudly to her own individual effort in this direction.

One final appeal. Is it too much to ask Congress to send a similar mission to Java? Much damage has already been done to Indian prestige there by the use of Indian troops to crush the Javanese fight for freedom. Besides the obvious humanitarian need for such a mission, it would go a long way to efface the shame of this forced intervention, and introduce the Javanese to the real representatives of the Indian people.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN ART

By C. R. Ramaswami

God's *Prakriti* or *Maya* once created is not interfered with again by Him. It has qualities of automatism, self-repair, etc., which make it unnecessary to do so. God's humble imitator has also dabbled in creation. But unlike God who is unaffected by His creation, Man seems prone to get lost in his. Of all God's creatures, he stands out like Hamlet—a doubting Thomas. He suffers from memory of the past and doubts about his future, which sadden and paralyse him interfering with his work as well as play. It is our concern here to see how it affects his play, under which term we may classify Art. The artist asks himself: *Shall I follow tradition or innovate?* It is a useless question. He can no more help following tradition, while creating a new piece of art, by rule and method than the bird can help fly, the fish swim or the seed grow, without an inborn tendency. The artist must and should each follow his impulse. The old fades but reappears in new forms. The creative artist has the alchemy of sea-water as sung by Ariel: "Nothing of him that doth fade but doth suffer a sea-change into something rich and strange."

Theories of Art do not help to create a piece of art. The alchemy

is not taught in any school of art, but is achieved by the artist following his impulse or dharma.

When an original work of art is created it is easily distinguished from an imitation. To understand this one has to compare Valmiki's poetry with Kalidasa's. Valmiki's poetry bears the stamp of the renaissance poet—questioning old standards of duty and merit and sin, in the characters of Viswamitra and his disciple Rama—always following greater ideals while yet showing due respect for the traditional ones. Kalidasa follows old traditions and attains originality only in *Meghaduta* and *Sakuntala*, which of course justify his ranking as an original poet of the highest order.

Originality alone does not however suffice. Else every cartoon would be a piece of art. The essential characteristics of a great piece of creative art are originality, truth and the embodiment of an impelling idea set on the background of the cosmic rhythm.

In Art as well as in Nature there is no violent break in continuity of function. All things in the world are inter-connected however far removed from one another in space and time they may be.

Things might not behave the way they used to: wood and glass might become truly unbreakable and bounce like rubber, which, in contrast, might prove as stiff and brittle as a brick; porcelain might turn into an electrical conductor; copper into an insulator; gas into a radio console; metals might provide heat, light and power. Man might even produce oil by copying nature, but in a few months instead of 10 million or more years that the natural process takes.

New elements such as the earth does not contain, have been created. An astronomical series of new compounds and products, unknown heretofore, is pouring forth from reports and atom splitting machines to transform the world we live in. Much of this already lies within the reach of science or so close at hand that it might come to pass in our lifetime.

Top secrets of war achievements in chemistry and atomic fission—revealed by scores of foremost U. S. scientists at the gathering of 10,000 members of the American Chemical Society in Atlantic City, New Jersey, early in April, permitted a very practical glimpse into the new world which is in the making.

Nuclear chemistry, born at the splitting of the uranium atom, is the newest science of unfathomable potentialities that promise to affect vitally the life of man. Dr. Milton Burton of the atomic bomb plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, reported on one of the latest discoveries: that of the "discomposition" of solid matter by fast neutrons. By means of radiation released through atomic fission, chemists will be able to change the properties of familiar solids at will. Atoms, particularly those of the lighter elements and their compounds, abandon their normal position under the impact of fast neutrons, and rearrange themselves in behaviour patterns resembling foreign bodies rather than the atoms of the matter which they constitute.

Such behaviour results in a change of such properties as heat or electrical conductivity and elasticity. In graphite, for example, all these changes have been produced experimentally.

Similarly stunning discoveries came from several other reports. More than 150 radioactive substances not previously known in nature have been isolated and identified. Many of these promise usefulness in medicine and other fields.

Even more surprising appears the statement by Dr. Charles D. Coryell, also of the atomic bomb plant and a man of most practical atomic experience, that fission of elements lighter than uranium appears possible; but that elements lighter than iron would not yield atomic energy. What the scientists call "hot" atoms, resulting from the transformation of the atomic nucleus, have energies 10,000 times greater than the energies involved in ordinary chemical combinations. The yield of energy varies with the weight of the product formed and these variations of weight must be known in dealing with radioactive materials.

The commercial use of atomic energy was accepted at the meeting as a foregone conclusion. Atomic energy units of the future will in most cases utilize uranium-235 or pure plutonium derived from it. Mostly they will be large stationary plants, using heavy water instead of graphite in the uranium pile to cut down its size; they will heat cities, or drive turbines and electric generators, might well propel ocean vessels, and perhaps even large airplanes such as the future might produce.

Laboratory tests in which radioactive materials were applied to complex organic combinations resulted in a chemical compound much like natural petroleum. Instead of following normal synthetic processes, scientists of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at

Boston, Massachusetts, tried to copy natural processes. They proceeded on the theory that nature converted organic matter into oil not with temperature and subterranean pressure, but under the influence of radioactive particles. In nature, under low radioactive bombardment, the process takes 10 million to 100 million years.

In the experiment, a cyclotron and radion (the radioactive gas created when radium disintegrates) produced within a short time straight chains of hydrocarbon of the type which make up the bulk of the earth's petroleum resources. Fatty acids isolated from the mud of the ocean bottom were the "raw materials" used.

One of the more readily practicable by-products of the experiment is the possibility that oil fields might be uncovered by the presence of radioactive materials occurring in conjunction with petroleum, simply through the use of the Geiger counter which detects and measures radioactivity.

In the more traditional field of pre-nuclear chemistry, the lifting of war secrecy on new developments disclosed a wide variety of advances, especially in synthetics. Among the hundreds of new products is an elastic nylon fiber, Iso-butyl-610. Experimental quantities proved that it can be stretched 250 to 400 per cent (rubber: 600 to 1,100 per cent) and has an elastic recovery of 95 to 99 per cent (rubber: 100 per cent).

Isoprene combined with styrene in an emulsion mixture produced a special type of rubber which stretches further and bounces higher than any known rubber, natural or

synthetic. Isoprene, a gasoline-like material derived from petroleum, natural gas, or turpentine, has been known for more than a century, but it could not be produced in sufficient purity.

Another synthetic rubber, called X-285, possesses unsurpassed smoothness. Still another, lactoprene, is highly resistant to heat and the effects of lubricating oils. Its raw material can be agricultural commodities such as milk, sugar, corn sugar, or starch; coal, or petroleum.

Already proven in jet engine, in radar and television is Teflon (tetrafluoroethylene resin), a plastic of high electrical insulation and unaffected by heat up to 575 degrees Fahrenheit. It withstands acids which dissolve gold and platinum, and retains its strength and form at higher temperatures than any known organic material. Its uses include hydrochloric-acid system, tubing and piping for chemical plants, high-temperature heating, coaxial cables for high frequency radio, radar, and television circuits. Organic peroxides of petroleum are being put to work in jet propulsion fuels, plastics and disinfectants.

The list of advances and new products—ranging from leak-proof innertubes to life-prolonging yeasts and synthetic drugs capable of stamping out malaria—is practically inexhaustible. Some of them appear already among the 27,124 patents granted by the U. S. Patent Office within the last year. But many more are yet to come from the kettles of modern alchemists in which are aboil all the marvels of the atomic future.—USIS.

On a bright June morning in the early '90's, Bernard Shaw, full of revolutionary ideas, was speaking before a crowd in a city park. Poised on a large circus barrel, he alternately stirred his audience to cheers and jeers.

Suddenly, he disappeared from view. He had dropped through the barrel. The crowd rocked with laughter, but as he was hoisted out again, Shaw declaimed, "Surely nothing more need be said. The weight of my argument can always be depended on to carry me through!"

SEPARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE FROM THE JUDICIARY

By V. G. Ramachandra Ayyar, M.A., B.L.

Separation of the executive from the judiciary has for long been an article of faith with all political reformers. It is not a mere slogan. It is an essential part of any constitution that governs free countries.

The previous Congress Ministry under Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had this reform in view. But it was a short-lived Ministry. It had then also to introduce other urgent legislative measures affecting rural indebtedness and the drink evil, and for finding the wherewithal to accomplish desirable changes in the administration. The difficulties that Mr. Rajagopalachari was trying to overcome were two. One was that the High Court still stood as part of the Imperialist machine and was not an integral part of the machinery of Indian liberty. The other was the inherent difference between judicial functions and the preventive and prosecuting functions of the magistracy.

Now that the High Court will fall into the jurisdiction of the Swaraj machinery, the Ministry should devote its attention to this much needed reform and plan the reconstruction with care and forethought.

Bold reforms must be accomplished boldly and quickly. Prohibition was a costly affair and yet the Congress Ministry enforced it boldly by stages by augmenting depleted revenues with new measures of taxation.

The bureaucracy who are always conservative-minded and who on that account would like to retain judicial powers with the executive, would certainly see obstacles and press them with reference to this reform on the ground of lack of finance, lack of men, etc. But an examination of these objections would reveal that they are not formidable.

It should be borne in mind that it is even better to have costly justice than cheap 'injustice'. The expenses incurred would be a pub-

lic asset, not a liability. Justice should be fearlessly administered and whatever the immediate inconvenience or loss of prestige, an adverse decision from the judiciary will tend in the long run to strengthen a free Government, whereas a subservient judiciary is one of the worst enemies of a Government, even like sycophants and flatterers in the age of kings and despots. Ultimately the State is both prosecutor and judge. But the machinery of Government should be so organised as to create conditions for justice. Ample provisions may and should be provided for the prevention of crime and the preservation of order. These are not judicial but executive functions. Interpretation of law and evidence should not be influenced by any but considerations of justice whoever may be the person accused of the crime. The prosecution should not have any unfair advantage over the defence in the conduct of any trial. It is therefore just and necessary that a system which introduces a judiciary quite independent of the executive should be devised. An independent High Court, which is part of the machinery of a self-governing India should be maintained in the fullest dignity and power and should have unqualified control over the entire judicial machine.

It may be pointed out that the administration will in no way be impaired by the aforesaid changes. Government need not feel that its power or prestige will suffer. Even in times of crisis the Government will not find any difficulty in getting the help of the courts if only they place proper materials before them. In fact an independent judiciary will be an asset to the Government.

A Government with an executive-ridden judiciary will not have the confidence of the minorities and dissentients in the State. On

the other hand a Government which submits itself to the scrutiny of an independent judiciary will be supported by the people as a whole.

For an independent judiciary efficient men must be selected. Legal talent must be pooled. The judicial service should not be the dumping ground for unsatisfactory administrators.

A comprehensive study of the problems involved in the proposed change should be promoted by the

appointment of a committee of talented leaders wherein proper representation may be given to eminent members of the Bar, public men with administrative experience and experienced judges. The change suggested, when effected, will mean a great step towards individual freedom. The availability of true and fearless justice will make the Indian citizen a bolder and better man fully worthy of the national freedom he yearns for.

THE HARD WAY

By Binod

I am in love with a girl who passes by my house every day. I think she loves me too. But I am a married man. And she, I believe, is married too. So there seems to be nothing we can do about it.

She used to pass by twice a day—once to, once fro. One evening our eyes met—by accident. Then she passed by four times a day—twice to, twice fro. Our eyes met oftener and oftener—by accident of course. Now she passes by any number of times a day—and the accident graph is jumping up.

Every time our eyes meet, I have a queer feeling—and I am sure she has a queer feeling too. Sometimes she pretends not to be interested; and I, being among my people, pretend not to be interested too. And we both pretend that we don't pretend not to be interested in each other.

But it's really no use pretending. So often I catch her looking back at me after she has passed by feigning not to have noticed me. And of course she catches me looking after her after I had feigned not to have seen her while she passed by. And each of us knows what it all means, and we know it isn't any use pretending.

That's all very well, but I'm married, and she's married—and there seems to be nothing we can do about it.

Now hard it is to love and be loved—and not to be able to do anything about it! To love and not to show it; to be loved and not

be told it; to know and not to own it.

It's doubly hard when loves comes tumbling like that into the lap of a married man. I am not only a husband but a father. I love my wife and two children as well as the baby that is coming on. I would do anything to see that they are happy.

But what shall I do with this other love, which is wringing my bosom? It's too precious a gift to lose, too dangerous a one to pluck. I can't bring myself to lose it; I daren't bring myself to take it.

Yet, in my sane moments, I know the choice is clear. Indeed, there is no choice, for a man like me, with a girl like that, in a case like this. I must give up my new love. It's the hard way, the painful way, and it will hurt. But it will hurt only me and the girl. The other way lies ruination not only for us two but for so many innocent lives on either side.

Therefore, help me, girl. Help me to save yourself and me and your dear ones and mine. Take another road. When I wait at the gate next to behold your sky-blue eyes or to hear your airy tread, let me wait in vain. This is a dreadful thing to ask, but it would be a more dreadful thing not to ask it.

I was in love with a girl who passed by my house every day. I knew she loved me too. But I was a married man. And she, I believe, was married too. So there was nothing we could do about it.

THE RT. HON. SASTRI: A STUDY FROM HIS LETTERS

By R. Srinivasa Iyengar

For the past twelve years and more, I have had the privilege of intimate and personal friendship with the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, and have studied and preserved, for ready reference, most of his speeches and writings published in the Press. Many were the evenings that found me and Sastriar together at Coimbatore in our evening strolls; and I am one of his few friends who could take the liberty of asking him to throw light on any matter I pleased without being misunderstood. I had no idea of giving publicity to his letters to me; but now that he has left the world of the living, I believe I am not showing irreverence to the departed soul by sharing with the wider reading public some scraps from a few of his letters written to me mostly on public affairs. He himself used to say that we should know all about great men, and wrote to me in May 1945, "I have always held that a biography should tell all about the hero, not merely his serious side. We slide India into hero-worship and later into deification. Gandhiji is in this danger."

When the volume of his letters was published, I wrote that in the interests of his reputation, the publication while Gandhiji was in prison, of his letter to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao in 1911 declaring that he "cannot let my regard for Gandhi swallow up my love of country," was not wise and proper. A similar criticism I made with regard to the inclusion of his letter to Sir G. S. Bajpai in 1937 urging the Government of India to adopt a course different from the one favoured by the Indian community directly concerned. He replied to me thus:

"That letter to Suryanarayana Rao gave us pause. But it got in because other letters of a critical nature have also got in. I see, however, reason for dif-

ferences of opinion. There are worse things in politics than unpopularity. Treason to one's real convictions, for example. I am not so highly evolved spiritually as to disdain popularity. But I should not profess views which in my judgment are wrong or injurious for the purpose of remaining popular.

"In Malaya, the local politicians and I did not see eye to eye. My report was violently criticised by them and I was denounced in unmeasured terms. But I said never a word in self-defence,—except when summoned before a committee of the Central Legislature. I must say the committee agreed with me and adopted my report. In the end, however, a sort of stalemate ensued.

"I do not regard it as a sin to hold views not acceptable to the general public. In some cases it may be necessary to oppose the opinion that commands a majority."

Sastri On Gandhi's Ideology

In the special message that he wrote for the *Indian Express* on the occasion of Gandhiji's 77th birthday, Sastriar wrote, "I fear you will miss some of your superlative desires. Industry will thrive and machinery roar night and day. Villages will not be content with spinning and prayers. They will cry for electricity, for places of organised amusement, for the tram and quick-going plane too." I thought that Sastri was not fair to Gandhi in referring to his picture of future India on the basis of his views expressed in *Hind Swaraj*. Gandhi had modified his views since then, as may be seen from his article "Evils of machine-milling" in *Young India* of 12th May, 1927, wherein he says, "The hand-spinning movement is not an indiscriminate onslaught upon machinery. It is intended to displace

only such machinery worked by power as is harmful to the moral and material welfare of the starving millions." Sastriar replied to my criticism as follows: "Can you give me definite guidance as to the Mahatma's changes? He has bowed to circumstances now and then; as when he travels in trains and ships and uses the phone and the telegraph; or accepts money help from industrialists and merchants; or acquiesces in violence on extraordinary occasions. But these are modifications and departures forced on him: not theoretically justified deductions from the rigidity of his doctrines or ideals. To the principles of his *Hind Swaraj* he has more than once repeated his adherence. No use referring me to issues of *Young India* or *Harijan*. I don't keep either. I have taken these points with him before. There was once a strong criticism about his change of front over the non-violence pledge of the Congress. To this he gave no answer, but asked Mahadev Desai to do so. I got a feeble explanation which was neither here nor there." It was not entirely an innocent joke but a gentle hit when Sastri, during Gandhiji's last visit to him in Madras, pointed to the dangling watch and asked Gandhiji if he would give up using a watch if someone stole his. Sastri and Gandhi were poles asunder as regards their basic ideologies; and the psychology behind their mutual esteem and friendship is not only a mystery, but a miracle, testifying to the greatness of both.

Even Sastri Nodded

It is well-known that, in replying to Gandhi's request for a message for publication in the first issue of *Harijan*, Sastri furnished Gandhi with a list of mistakes of grammar and idiom in the first issue of *Harijan*, and that Gandhi published the same under the caption "The Schoolmaster Abroad". Sastri brought to the notice of the English-speaking world Churchill's wrong coinage of "triphibian". Sastri is reputed to be a careful writer and speaker. But even he has nodded. The sentence in his letter to Srima-

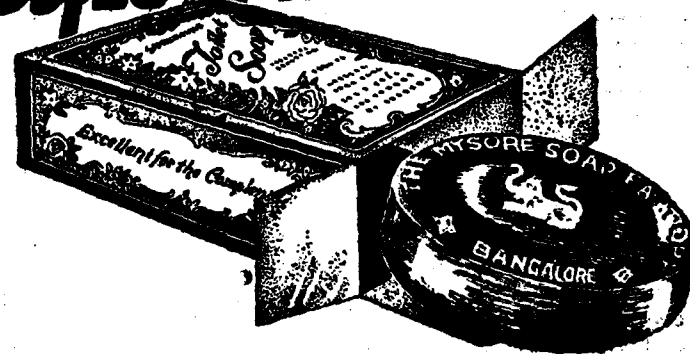
thi Rukmini from London in 1919 which was prescribed for the S.S.L.C. 1946, jarred on my nerves: "Being rather free, I propose to write you a few lines before going to bed, in case I should be too busy on Thursday next." The conditional clause for indicating the future contingency did not seem to me appropriate; and I drew his attention to it. Again, the famous Guildhall speech of Mr. Sastri is included in most of the selections compiled for use in high school classes. One sentence offends all grammatical propriety, viz., "Freedom is a thing which, the more it is given the more it grows." This sentence without the predicate for 'which' occurs in all the text-books; and I suggested to Sastri that the sentence might be corrected in the edition of his speeches that might be published. In the "The Other Harmony" that was edited by Mr. T. N. Jagadisan, the sentence reads, "Freedom is such that the more it is given the more it grows." In my opinion, the correction is no improvement; and my amendment would be, "Freedom is: the more it is given the more it grows." Sastri was generous enough to acknowledge both of my suggestions, and wrote to me in October 1945, "An English lecturer of Presidency College, whom I asked to help, has just informed me that the O. E. D. sanctions the use of the idiom "in case I am too busy on Thursday". The change in the Guildhall speech I made, T. N. J. protesting. You are right. Grammar is saved, but the effect is gone. Pity I dreaded the schoolmaster."

Though a figure of international repute, he gave me the blessing of his close friendship, and enabled me to live life on a high intellectual plane by replying in his beautiful handwriting to my many queries on all matters for the past 12 years. His last letter was in December 1945, regarding Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamiah's inclusion of the abolition of university examinations in the Congress election programme, and contained the exhortation, "You rightly sense danger in that direction. Go ahead." "Go Ahead" was his last message to me.



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MISSION'S OFFER, A NEW COMMUNAL AWARD

(From Our Correspondent)

New Delhi, May 17: The week which opened with the announcement of the breakdown of the Simla Conference is closing with the announcement of the British plan which can only be described as a new communal award.

Both Congress and League have now been bound to accept the very things they had objected to during the Tripartite Conference. It will be remembered that while the Congress accepted the Union Centre with Defence, External Affairs and Communications it vehemently opposed the communal grouping of provinces indicated in the terms of reference. The League which accepted the communal grouping of provinces vehemently opposed a Union Centre which would have the power to make laws and raise money. Though both Congress and League were induced to participate in the Tripartite Conference on the assurance that they were not bound by the things they objected to, the final statement of the Cabinet Mission which has been sanctified as a declaration of His Majesty's Government imposes these conditions on both Congress and League. Despite repeated assurances by the Cabinet Ministers that they are only recommending certain broad principles on which the future constitution of India might be based the reality is that it is a communal award which cannot be changed except by a majority of the representatives of each community agreeing to such change.

Broadly speaking, the statement of the Cabinet Mission follows the lines indicated by me in my previous despatch. It has the virtue of Sir Stafford Cripps of being all things to all men. It rejects Pakistan and concedes a Union Centre to the Congress, concedes Pakistan without complete separation to the League and hands back complete sovereignty to the Indian States.

The appearance undoubtedly is that the Cabinet Mission has managed to produce a just and equitable solution of a difficult problem. The reality, however, can be gauged by a close examination of what is maintained at the Centre and what is separated in the provinces. It will be clear that imperial strategic interests are protected at the Centre while imperial economic interests are facilitated by the division of India into four regions, Hindustan, North West Pakistan, North East Pakistan and Princistan. The fact that the whole problem of economic development will be left to these groups ensures that though industrially advanced Hindustan may not give enough room for British finance-capitalist expansion, the more backward areas in the other groups could be relied upon to give facilities. That the new plan announced with a fanfare of trumpets as the most selfless and crowning achievement of British freedom traditions, seeks in fact to continue British imperial interests was realized by a vast number of the Press correspondents at the Press Conference this morning. A number of questions in varying forms were put demanding from the Cabinet Mission an explanation as to why they showed such tender solicitude for the rights of Indian States and completely ignored the demands of the States' peoples. Their answers made the following things clear:

Firstly, British paramountcy would continue till the new constitution agreed to by the Princes came into force.

Secondly, that such paramountcy could not be transferred, being a mystic relation between the British Crown and the Indian rulers who are humorously referred to in New Delhi official circles as the 'impotentates.'

Thirdly, that no State can be compelled to get into the group

which is to be represented through the negotiating committee.

Fourthly, 93 delegates to the Constituent Assembly, i. e., a fourth of the total number, will be from States but how they are to be chosen must be 'negotiated' with the State rulers.

Fifthly, that an Indian State could elect to remain independent and claim the right to negotiate only on a footing of complete equality with the other groups in British India.

All this boils down to the simple position that during the entire period of negotiations that will accompany the setting into motion of constitution-making machinery the British will protect the rights of the Princes in return for which the Princes will further British interests.

The constitution-making machinery which is to be called by the Viceroy irrespective of whether Indian parties agree or not has, as Pethic-Lawrence himself admitted, the possibility of breakdown implicit in it and as the good Lord pathetically said, "If there be such unreasonable men there will be a breakdown." But he did not indicate either in the statement or in the explanation what is to happen in the event of such a breakdown.

Mr. Rajani Palme Dutt who is here in Delhi in a statement issued to the Orient Press, commented thus: "The more the scheme is examined the more it is clear that British policy remains the decisive factor in the crucial period and the shaping of the constitution and consequently also in the character of the constitution. In place of a formal declaration of Indian independence and transfer of power, the future of India is entrusted to a body whose

composition and procedure is in fact fixed and imposed by unilateral British decision. In this body the Princes hold one-fourth of the seats and since no provision is made as to the character of their representation, this may completely vitiate any democratic character of the Constituent Assembly."

With regard to the Interim Government, the Cabinet Ministers made it clear at the Press Conference that it will be nothing more than a completely Indianised reconstituted Executive Council under the old 1919 Act and that even the suspension of the veto could not be guaranteed and is a matter to be negotiated with the Viceroy.

Though no declaration as to Indian independence now or at any specified time later is made, and no powers are transferred to the proposed Interim Government, the *Hindustan Times* welcomes the proposals and says that Congress should work it. The League official organ, the *Dawn*, contents itself with a general criticism of the proposals and has not hazarded an opinion in favour of acceptance or rejection. From all indications I gather that despite certain features that are objectionable Congress leaders regard the proposals as fair. League opinion is not yet crystallized and it is likely that Mr. Jinnah might wait to know what the Congress attitude is before he decides his own. In view of the narrow margin of majority that the Muslims have in the two Pakistan groups, a section is of opinion that the League may not accept the proposals. Official circles, however, are fairly optimistic that both Congress and League despite verbal objections would accept the proposals and come into the Interim Government.

"Man's dearest possession is life and it is given to him to live but once. He must live so as to feel, no torturing regrets for years without purpose; so live as not to be seared by the shame of a cowardly and trivial past; so live that dying he can say with a clear conscience and all my strength were given to the great cause in all the world—the fight for the liberation of mankind."

MAKING HISTORY

The stroke which Merchant executed to glance Watts to the square-leg for a single will go down in the history of Indian cricket as signifying the renaissance of the game as far as this country is concerned. For, though combinations more powerful than Surrey have been defeated and by bigger margins, these successes have been qualified by the derision which properly appertains to the cock crowing vain-gloriously on his own dunghill. The teams which have been brought to this country by Ryder, Tennyson and Hassett are at least entitled to claim, in extenuation more or less of their lack of success, that they were defeated under unfavourable conditions. No fair-minded individual can deny, for example, that the vanquishing of Lord Tennyson's team at Madras by an innings was greatly aided by the rains and by the visitors' prostration due to over-travelling. But to have overcome Surrey at the beginning of the tour and on their own ground is perhaps the most shining success that has so far attended Indian cricket.

Though this view may be violently disputed, it appears probable that this gratifying victory was gained less by the record-breaking last wicket stand than by the unexpected efficiency of the Indian bowling, which really struck the mortal blow by dismissing Surrey in the first innings for a paltry score on an easy wicket. It would be useless to deny that the bowlers were put into heart of grace by the large total which the last two batsmen had helped to amass. But mere confidence alone will not suffice to persuade such great batsmen as Fishlock and Gregory and such experienced players as Parker, Barling, and Squires to abandon their wickets. In a considered view, the success at the Oval indicates not so much that the batting strength is powerful as that the bowling also promises to gain in efficiency and

success. The further gratifying fact is that for the first time in this tour, the pace bowlers held their own with the slow bowlers. Hazare, Banerjee, and Sohoni accounted for five batsmen among themselves. The two slow bowlers, contrary to custom, were able to gain only a small similar number of victims.

There is reason to believe that the team's fast bowlers have been unreasonably decried. It should be considered that Amarnath, probably the most Fabian bowler in the team, is unable to exercise his talent. Hazare's late in-swingers appear likely to gain him many victims. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the speed bowlers will contribute more to the success of the team than was at one time considered likely.

The bowlers, whether fast or slow, demonstrated their abilities in a different sphere against Cambridge. It appeared probable that the Nawab of Pataudi had thrown away his chance of winning by declaring too late on the third day. But his confidence in his bowlers was amply justified. For they were able to dismiss the opposition within the brief period allowed them. Even if it be true that the Cambridge batsmen were astonishingly inept, the fact that they allowed themselves to be skittled out in so short a period appears to present a new phase of the Indian bowling strength.

It is this aspect rather than the great success of the batsmen, which was a matter of course, that deserves attention. The suspicion that the bowlers were more capable than they were given credit for appears to be confirmed. This belief will not be put to a severe test either at Leicester or at Edinburgh. But the powerful M.C.C. team which he encountered this week-end will serve to demonstrate whether this view is correct or not.

—N. S. K.

LETTERS

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Andhras And The Anti-C. R. Clique

The public cannot but be highly thankful to you for the ability and courage with which you have been pleading the cause of C.R.'s leadership. But your latest writings regarding leadership of the Madras Congress Legislature Party have created some confusion in the mind of the public.

You cannot deny that the anti-C.R. clique in Tamilnad was actively helped by Andhra Congressmen under the leadership of Mr. Prakasam. Nobody can forget the famous resolution of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee regarding entry of C.R. into the Congress even as a four-anna member. Nor can anybody forget the various statements issued by Mr. Prakasam at the time when Mr. Asaf Ali was here and when Mahatma Gandhi issued his famous statement. You have not explained your position with regard to the activities of Andhras in the anti-C.R. campaign though you have rightly condemned the Tamilnad clique.

You have not also explained your attitude with regard to the propriety of the Madras Congress Legislature rejecting the advice of the High Command with special reference to the election of Mr. Prakasam as leader. Is it your view that Mr. Prakasam was right in rejecting the advice of the Mahatma and the High Command in accepting the leadership? Of course if he had stood out, the choice would have probably fallen on a person not wanted by Andhras and followers of C.R. Nobody would have welcomed such a leadership. But the public had a feeling that C.R. would have been elected as leader with the support of Andhras and some Tamilnad members.

Regarding your advice for the selection of Cabinet members, it is not clear how Mr. Prakasam would be able to form a Ministry without the aid of the anti-C.R. clique and other elements. In fact he has done so as

will be seen from the list of Ministers submitted to the Governor.

As he has not taken your impracticable advice, kindly explain clearly your attitude to the Ministry now formed by Mr. Prakasam.

N. V. RAMANUJAM,
Tennur.

We welcome the questions raised. They are answered in the editorial columns of this issue of SWATANTRA.—Ed.

Mr. Bhashyam's Visit To Malaya

I had occasion to read in the April 6th issue of your excellent journal an attack on Mr. K. Bhashyam, I feel that an injustice has been done to Mr. Bhashyam, and feel certain that on knowing the true facts you will rectify the position. I have no doubt that you must have based your comments on facts as placed before you, but let me assure you that they are not correct.

Mr. Bhashyam came to this country in the month of February while many cases were awaiting trial. No sooner had he landed than he began to do his duty by taking great interest in those who were in prison or were awaiting trial, made thorough enquiries, studied up their cases and was eager to do his best to those for whom he came. In the meantime however the policy of the Government appeared to have undergone a change and they were not proceeding with any of the political trials or trials of persons connected with the Indian Independence Movement. Thus there was little or nothing for Mr. Bhashyam to do here and as a conscientious and public spirited man he must have felt that he should cut short his stay and thereby not only save public funds but be of more use to his country and countrymen at home. There was no opinion or feeling in this country that Mr. Bhashyam hurried away without doing his duty. On the other hand he was a tower of strength to us and did his best for us. There was practically

no work left for him to do when he returned to India and if he had stayed on, it would have been a matter for misunderstanding and blame as it would have meant unnecessary expenditure.

Mr. Nariman and Mr. Sapru stayed on a few days more partly due to some work in the regions respectively allotted to them, and partly for taking their turn for air passage. The panel had divided Malaya into three—Messrs. Bhashyam and Venkataraman doing the Singapore area, Mr. Nariman Central Malaya and Messrs. Sapru and Dongre Northern Malaya; and they had these respective areas to look after.

In conclusion I wish to state that all counsel that came did their duty by us and their best for us. We are thankful to them.

N. RAGHAVAN,
Penang.

Marriage And Divorce

Thanks to the start given by Dr. Pattabhi, yourself, and K. S., discursive discussions about 'Marriage and Divorce' have become a weekly visitation in *Swatantra*, interesting none the less.

As Mrs. Subbaroyan justly points out, it is the fair sex that is taking the brunt in almost every instance of marital infelicity. The tragic instances brought to our notice by HAMSA show the very few cases where the benefit of divorce may be availed of. The rejecting husbands in cases like these should be asked to show cause. Why the Court should not intervene on the side of their rejected better-halves. An initial arbitration by a third party may be given a trial. But if either of the parties fail to come round to an agreed viewpoint, the other should have freedom to secede from the contract and do as she or he deems fit.

If the arbitrators find that the incompatibility between a couple is not, *prima facie*, so chronic as to warrant a separation, the partners should have to stick on together and try to improve their mutual relations.

Only in those cases where every avenue to rapprochement and conciliation has been explored and found useless, should anybody resort to the relief provided by divorce. If marriage is contracted between persons sufficiently qualified by age to think independently and decide well, there would be no need for escapist devices like divorce.

Social reform now should aim at the 'annihilation' of the conservative short-sightedness which has bred faulty customs like child marriage, forced marriage and placing all places barring the house-kitchen and the nursery out of bounds to the ladies of the house, etc. Thus, while the principle of divorce is conceded in the interests of the fair sex, in their own best interests, and in view of Indian tradition, it is incumbent on us to see that the path which divorce affords is treaded the least. Divorce should be the very last resort.

P. N. SAMPATH,
Nellore.

C. R. Should Advise Government

The end of an unpleasant controversy has witnessed the inauguration of a Ministry in Madras composed of men with varying degrees of intelligence and patriotism. One does not need to be very wise to state that the Andhra question has tilted the balance against C. R.

C. R. is by no means relieved of his duties to the nation. As a tried patriot, he cannot retire from South Indian politics and say, "Do as you like. I shall once for all take leave of you." That would hardly be a proper attitude for him to take. If people in South India do not want him, it is certainly not his misfortune but theirs. He can still advise the present Ministry through the columns of *Swatantra* on the many reforms awaiting inauguration.

The immediate reform to be brought about in this Presidency is the abolition of drink and land revenue. How this should be effected may be dealt with by C. R. The food problem may also be dealt with. I am sure the Ministry would welcome such assistance from him, if he would only care to offer it. If they don't, they stand self-condemned and C. R. would have done his duty to the country. To withhold his talent would be a positive act of disservice to the country.

M. S. V. CHARL,
Tindivanam.

Inquest Into The Past

In *Swatantra*, dated 12th May, "R. B." writing on the Madras Cabinet, remarks that the Ministry should be spared the folly of conducting an inquest into the past misdemeanours of officials during the August days. The terror and suppression that the police

indulged in during the chaotic period that ensued after August 8, 1942, did not stop where law wanted them to stop, but went to so great an extent as to cause intolerable misery in some places. The names of such places and the atrocities committed are too well known to need mention here. The recent *Bharath Devi* sedition case has proved how the police officials had behaved. To try wrong-doers for having burnt the houses of the poor, raped innocent women, indulged in gruesome sadistic acts is neither revengeful nor retaliatory, and is certainly a right move towards justice. There can be honest differences in judging all that occurred in the name of patriotism during that period, but one cannot understand the wisdom of leaving the worst kind of malfeasance unpunished.

T. M. THANGAVELU,
Salem.

Answer To "Apex's" Twelve-Points

(1) The two-nation theory is a mischievous propaganda at its worst, and nonsense at its best. In a wider sense (albeit political sense) we all belong to the same humanity and World State as the Icelanders or Maorians and Englishmen do.

(2) Hindus and Muslims of India do not belong to two different nations.

(3) I am a Hindu landlord myself and I have firsthand experience of how Muslim ryots behave towards their Hindu landlords. There is no antagonism in the villages. It is all made up by the politicians and educated men who captive to rule over us. The sins of the educated are more vile than the simple follies of the uneducated.

(4) Unity cannot be achieved overnight by legislation, political coups or economic overhauls. It can only be achieved slowly, if it is to be permanent, by educating the coming generations of Hindus as well as Muslims to an awakening of unity among all the peoples called collectively humanity.

(5) Unity is strength, whether for good or evil.

(6) and (7) Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan would all be normal citizens. To have special communal electorates or other favours is

surely to perpetuate the trouble we are having now.

(8), (9) and (10). It all depends whether Mr. Jinnah or his Pakistanite followers would be satisfied with anything less than the total extinction of Muslims in India. Readjustment of population or of boundaries is no cure for mutual strangling. What about Hindus or Muslims breaking the heads of their own brethren?

(11) What is fundamentally right for the Muslim man is also right for the Hindu man.

(12) Let the kings and princes 'go and sell their jewels' as Gandhiji said, and let them dress themselves and conduct themselves like their own subjects. Then would the people become king's subjects and not king's abjects. The problem would solve itself, melting into nothingness.

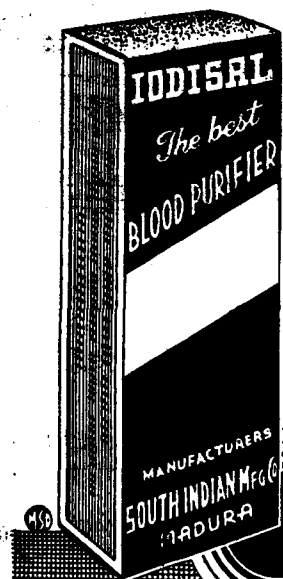
—G. N. RAMABHADRAN.

Ministers' Salaries

The increase of pay for the Congress Ministers is a denial of the Gandhian philosophy. May be the cost of living is trebled, but Rs. 500 is a decent salary. What are those crores of people, whose average monthly earning is Rs. 10, doing? How are these Congressmen who preach equality and plead for the underdogs justified in drawing more than fifty times that amount? They can, unlike the poor, get the increase for the mere asking; they need not stage strikes and face adjudicators. But if they really feel the responsibility as true servants of the people, they should not touch a single pie more of the people's money than what they are absolutely in need of. I hope, in Madras at least, those who have got other sources of income and those who have earned sufficiently for the rest of their lives, would abstain from drawing any salary.

Some are of opinion that if the Ministers do not draw a decent salary they cannot command the respect of the other big officers. This is a foolish statement. If salary alone is the measuring rod of greatness, India cannot afford to pay for the greatness of her beloved leaders. There is another view also: that if the Ministers are not paid sufficiently they might stoop to corruption. I cannot accept this as valid at least as far as the Congress Ministries are concerned.

AURAMES.



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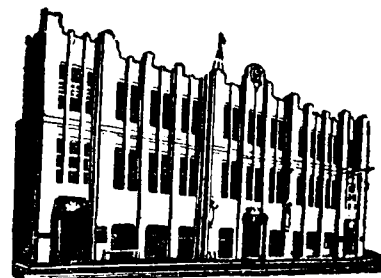
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jaundice (shown by the
condition of yellowness
of urine, eyes and skin),
collection of fluid in the
abdomen, distension of
the abdomen, protuberance of the
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and hands, are developing, it need not
be given up for lost, as there is still
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